

CONTACT AND CONTRAST IN VALLEY SPANISH

by

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List of Abbreviations

1st	first-person
2nd	second-person
3rd	third-person
ACC	accusative
CAUSE	causative
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
excl	exclusive
inclus	inclusive
NEG	negator
NGO	non-governmental organization
pl	plural
refl	reflexive
REP	reportative
sing	singular

Abstract

Linguistic features that are transferred through language contact are distributed over social contexts as a result of their role in a system of social meaning. In this dissertation, I investigate the distribution of Quechua contact features in Spanish over different social contexts in a community in central Bolivia. Through the process of *enregisterment*, contact features participate in a system of social meaning that contrasts "traditional" categories (encompassing the feminine, rural, highland, Quechua-speaking, etc.) with "modern" categories (associated with male, urban, lowland, Spanish-speaking, etc.). Local identity, however, is produced through a fusion of these categories, often associated with a particular style of speech centrally involving contact features.

The question of how and why contact features are distributed leads inevitably to the question of what contact features mean for speakers. I suggest that the meaning of contact features is not fixed, but rather is accomplished through comparison to, and in contrast with, expected patterns of speech, both in terms of contexts of speech and in terms of individual speakers. In order to understand why contact features are used, it is necessary to develop a model of what is expected of certain speakers in certain situations. Yet it is equally important to recognize that the way speakers depart from expected templates is as meaningful as the way they conform to them. Both events and speakers are *always* textured by reference to diverse parts of a semiotic field of meaning.

Contact features participate in a local, and locally dynamic, system of social meaning. It is speakers' reference to this system that governs the distribution of contact features over different contexts of speech. Through participation in this system, contact features become an integral part of the representations that speakers construct of themselves and for others. The role of enregistered contact features as indices that speakers use to position themselves with respect to a semiotic field influences their distribution, and ultimately, their persistence or disappearance.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Central questions

In this dissertation, I ask how and why contact features are distributed over social contexts. The answer to this question, I suggest, involves investigating how speakers interpret contact features as part of a field of social meaning. Contact features must be *recognized* and placed in a semiotic field before they are available to speakers as meaningful entities. Therefore, contact features act as indices through their participation in a group of features, linguistic and non-linguistic, that gain meaning through their relationship to each other and their participation in a semiotic field.

Contact features *cannot* have an indexical value until they are placed in the context of a particular speech event, including (at least) information about the speaker, the interlocutors, and the context of the interaction. As Eckert (2008) suggests, indices have an *array* of meanings that are picked out (singly or multiply) by the circumstances of their utterance. I show in this dissertation that these meanings are not only groups of closely associated concepts, but that they can be polar opposites; for example, Quechua contact features in Spanish mark insider status when used by people who are from my field site, while the same contact features can be an indicator of being an outsider when produced by a Quechua-speaker from outside the area.

This phenomenon is possible because no single contact feature can be analyzed in isolation. Speakers understand contact features as part of an overall pattern of use by any particular speaker, a pattern which includes tendencies of use of particular features, tendencies of use of groups of features that are linked through semiotic processes, and tendencies of speakers over different social situations. In short, contact features are part of systems of language use that speakers interpret by constructing templates of typical, expected, or acceptable use of language. The meaning of a contact feature is based on its relationship to these complex models of language use.

The contact features that I describe participate in a semiotic field that is organized around bundles of concepts linked to tradition and bundles of concepts linked to modernity. While the Quechua language as an abstract entity is associated with the traditional complex, particular contact features are *not* part of the traditional complex until they are recognized through the process of enregisterment (Agha 2005; 2007). Therefore, not all contact features act alike; features are associated with different areas of the semiotic field through historical processes. They are distributed over speech contexts with through their participation in this semiotic field. Features that are related in the historical sense often have similar distributions, but this is not always or necessarily the case. Therefore, I differentiate between two classes of features: contact features and features that are linked to the traditional semiotic complex through enregisterment.

Tradition here refers to a concept that exists in the mental representations of speakers in opposition to concepts related to *modernity*. As they are interpreted in my field site, these associations produce a functional equivalence between concepts on one side of the field and concepts on the other side of the field, so that any member of one group can be understood to be the opposite of any member of the other group. These terms do not refer to an actual temporal difference; tradition is *conceptually* linked with a far past and with history, but it is *performed* and *interpreted* in conversation with and in relationship to "modernity." Likewise, modernity, although it is spatially linked to urban centers and the international sphere, uses these linkages as forms of reference rather than as sites of production; in fact, modernity is produced through its juxtaposition with tradition in the space that defines my field site. Tradition is theorized by speakers as a marked concept in contrast to modernity; therefore, it is easier to "recognize" linguistic and other semiotic features that are linked to tradition than those that are linked to modernity.

1.2. Language contact

This dissertation builds on the assertion that the outcome of language contact situations depends on social factors rather than grammatical ones. Thomason & Kaufman argue that 'the major determinants of contact-induced language change are the social facts of particular contact situations, not the structural linguistic relations that obtain among the languages themselves' (1988: 212). While certain types of grammatical contact are cross-

linguistically more common than others, Thomason & Kaufman argue that social factors always take precedence over grammatical constraints. A common response to this work by linguistic anthropologists is that while the assertion is probably correct, there needs to be more information about *what* social processes affect contact features and *how* these processes work. For example, Irvine & Gal observe that "Thomason and Kaufman's argument is primarily a negative one, showing that linguistic explanations alone are inadequate rather than supplying a substantial indication of what the social factors are or how they might operate" (2000: 75).

In this dissertation, I argue that contact features are distributed over social situations because they are identified with clusters of ideas within a framework of social meaning. In doing so, I propose a method for understanding why contact features are distributed in this way. Through this work, I make two main points: First, that "contact influence" encompasses a range of variation within a community, and second, that understanding this variation can lead us to understand why and how contact features move between languages.

The study of language contact has been oriented to social factors influencing contact since the early days of the discipline (Weinrich 1953: 3). Yet scholars have traditionally identified differing degrees of contact across language varieties with groups of speakers, which are characterized as geographically or socially distinct populations. The concept of the creole continuum, for example, is based on the identification of type of person with degree of contact influence—speakers of higher social status speak the acrolect, and speakers of a lower social status speak the basilect. In a classic text on language contact, Weinreich identifies language practices, and language dominance, with groups based on demographic categories such as geographic origin, cultural groups, age, race, and sex (1953:89-99). In more recent work, Winford stresses the importance of understanding 'the history and social dynamics of the contact situation,' but ties these to a typology of maintenance, shift, or creation of new contact languages (2003: 24-25). Appel & Muysken (1987: 19) discuss the importance of language attitudes, distinguishing between high-status and low-status varieties of languages; yet here, too, they seem to assume that groups of speakers use *either* a high-status or a low-status variety, never explicitly addressing situational switching.

In studies of bilingualism, on the other hand, situational switching has a foundational status (see Wei 2000 for an overview). Ferguson's concept of diglossia, for example, recognizes the existence of two languages or varieties of language with different social

statuses within a single community (2000). More recent studies of bilingualism enter into sophisticated analyses of the complex symbolic meanings related to particular codes, which question the notion of codes as discrete entities with clear boundaries in all social situations (for Spanish in the US, Silva-Corvalán 1994; Zentella 1997). Chen (2008a; 2008b) demonstrates that speakers who identify with different groups engage in different styles of code-switching.

In surveys of language contact, there is an almost reflexive structure that divides studies of bilingualism, which center around typologies of code-switching, from studies of mixed languages or of other types of contact influence, where dynamism is associated with language loss, shift, or interference. This disciplinary habit tends to direct attention away from the diversity of language forms that are contained in *any* contact situation. In this dissertation, I demonstrate that Quechua contact influence in Spanish is based on a system of differentiation that can shed light on the construction of the categories of "Quechua" and "Spanish," and more centrally, on the process of distinguishing "Quechua-speaker" from "Spanish-speaker." I show that speakers have recognizable patterns of switching between social situations, and that the interpretation of contact features depends on both the speaker and the context of the utterance.

A major issue in studies of language contact is the lack of attention to how varieties are *recognized* as standard or nonstandard, prestigious or intimate. Yet this process of recognition is crucial to the deployment of features by speakers in particular social contexts. In my work, I look at language contact features as part of a system of social meaning, through which social varieties of language are generated.

1.3. Linguistic anthropology and contact

Garrett notes that while formal and historical linguists have been interested in the commonalities of language contact outcomes, and sociolinguists have sought orderly relationships between linguistic structure and social characteristics of communities in which languages are in contact, linguistic anthropologists 'have generally been...focused on the ways in which speakers in specific situations of contact use the language available to them as a cultural resource in a situated social interaction and in the construction of self and community'(2006: 49). In this dissertation, I argue that the way that people use and conceive

of the language resources available to them has a direct effect on the way that language is structured, and ultimately on the way that contact varieties are shaped through use.

The field of study of language ideologies shifts the attention from the referential content of utterances to their symbolic interpretation (Silverstein 1979). Kroskrity sums up this field of study as

(A) body of research which simultaneously problematizes speakers' consciousness of their language and discourse as well as their positionality (in political economic systems) in shaping beliefs, proclamations, and evaluations of linguistic forms and discursive practices.

2006: 498

In their simplest form, language ideologies are ideas about language that are held by speakers; language ideologies are ideas about language that people take to be true because of the way they are embedded in a social structure. Woolard defines language ideologies as 'representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world' (1998a: 3).

The aspect of language ideologies that is most important to my own work is the way that they 'mediate between social structures and forms of talk' (Kroskrity 2006: 507). The ideas that people have about language shape the way that they use language to present themselves and interpret others' self-presentation, ultimately changing the language itself.

Language ideologies are interesting and useful to my work because they provide a way of linking speakers' ideas about language to language use. Gal (1978) demonstrates that ideas about language, and the symbolic possibilities that languages offer speakers, are crucial to language choice. In addition, as Irvine & Gal argue (2000), the boundaries between languages are produced through historical and social processes and influenced by social ideas.

Irvine & Gal suggest that 'the direction and motivation of linguistic change can be illuminated if we attend to the ideologizing of a sociolinguistic field' (2000: 75). In this dissertation, I discuss the way that particular contact features fit into the sociolinguistic field. I suggest that the relationship of contact features to a semiotic field, a relationship which is built through historical processes, influences the distribution of contact features over different social situations.

Individuals are aligned with the categories of "Spanish-speaker" and "Quechua-speaker," and hence "insider/outsider" through language ideological processes. This process feeds into the production of templates of expected speech for types of speakers, which in turn are used to decode the meaning of contact features.

1.4. Code-switching

While code-switching is concerned with shifts between languages, register is concerned with shifts between varieties within languages. Yet, as I discuss in Section 1.3 above, the distinctions between languages and varieties are ideologically governed. Woolard (2006: 73-74) notes that the literature on code-switching should also encompass the relationship between varieties of speech, whether they are classified as separate languages or not. She suggests that 'the more distinct the varieties between which speakers switch, the more available for inspection and reflection codeswitching may be, to both analysts and speakers' (ibid). It's important to recognize that the salience of the differences between language varieties is *produced* by speakers and audiences. The functions of switching between varieties of a language are similar, if not identical to the functions of switching between languages.

Although the data that I describe does not deal with switching between different codes, the ideas that I set out in this dissertation are relevant to the theoretical discussion around code-switching. One central debate in the code-switching literature has been the relationship between the participation of codes in social systems of meaning, and the production of meaning at the individual level by speakers. In this dissertation, I propose a method for relating these two levels of analysis by suggesting that the meaning of features in particular instances of speech lies in their relationship to a general model of speech that speakers use as a form of reference. This model, though it is built up from particular speech events, is abstract, and serves as a template for rather than a determinant of language use.

In this discussion of the literature on code-switching, I follow the general lines set out by Woolard in her review chapter in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (2006). Woolard compares three influential models of code-switching and suggests ways in which they might be integrated into more general social and linguistic theory.

Gumperz views the motivation for code-switching as conveying meaning through specific ideas associated with the codes. In his view, code-switching can be either a cause or an effect of a change in context. This context, however, is fluid, not necessarily discrete; Gumperz distinguishes between *situational* code-switching, which is tied to a change in context, and *metaphorical* code-switching, which refers to the ideas that are contained in situational code-switching, but does not in itself entail a change in context. Gumperz centers his discussion of the meaning of codes on a *we code* and a *they code*, a simple distinction between an in-group and an out-group that is available at multiple rhetorical (or recursive) levels to speakers. This structure is also closely related to a dominance structure, in which the *they code* is often characterized as more prestigious and powerful. Through this characterization of language, Gumperz locates the production of meaning in the ideas associated with the codes themselves, not with individuals who use the codes.

Gumperz characterizes code switching as 'a discourse phenomenon in which speakers rely on juxtaposition of grammatically distinct subsystems to generate conversational inferences' (1982: 97). Yet even beyond grammatical categorization, Gumperz recognizes that 'speakers have their own socially defined notions of code or grammatical system' (1982: 99). Since his very early work, Gumperz has emphasized the importance of social group identification to the maintenance of language features through processes of linguistic and social distinction; in his doctoral dissertation, Gumperz examines effect of group identification on the use of Swabian dialect among descendants of German immigrants in Washtenaw County (University of Michigan, 1954). The close relationship between group identification and linguistic repertoire emerges as a key aspect of linguistic and social relations for Gumperz's work throughout his career (Di Luzio 2003).

Gumperz's view of language is tied to a relationship between participants' understandings of interaction, based on social groups and types of interaction, and an overarching, yet contestable, hierarchy of power and prestige. Gumperz is wary of conversation analysis, a school of thought in which all meaning is derived from the details of the interaction itself, often presented in the form of a transcript; he notes that 'there is a tendency to take for granted that conversational involvement exists, that interlocutors are cooperating, and that interpretive conventions are shared' (1982: 4).

In contrast, Auer (2000) locates the motivations for code-switching in particular speech events, through which discourse functions such as shifts of topic, voice, or

interactional frame are produced. Auer rejects Gumperz's identification of languages with certain fixed set of ideas, arguing that language use is more flexible than can be captured through Gumperz's model. Instead, Auer locates the reasons for code-switching in the local production of meaning. One attractive consequence of this suggestion is the way it moves the analysis of code-switching practices into interactions, and indeed particular interactions.

Auer's view of bilingualism is situated in practice; he states that bilingualism cannot exist in someone's head, but rather must be located in the act of speaking (2000: 169). Auer considers cognitive aspects of bilingualism to be secondary to this interactional practice. He dismisses 'macro-sociological perspectives,' which tie code-switching to "'roles" and "statuses" in a given society' as failing to capture the interactional component of code-switching (2000: 184). Auer locates the primary meaning of code-switching in local interactions and individual relationships. He argues that it is possible to reconstruct social values by attending to the transitions between codes, characterizing the meaning of code-switching as produced through contrast (1984: 93). Invoking Gumperz, Auer argues that languages must be understood as repertoires which are internally structured; however, unlike Gumperz, Auer believes that structure and context are produced at the level of the interaction, that 'context...is not given but has to be made available' (1984: 98-99).

Myers-Scotton moves meaning away from locally negotiated social meanings, characterizing meaning as produced through 'rights-and-obligations balances' (1993: 60). She appeals to a markedness model, through which codes contrast with each other based on expected choices of use, which has the value of recognizing situational flexibility in determining which code acts as a marked choice. It also has the advantage of locating the meaning of code choice in relation to, essentially, models of discourse. Woolard states that Myers-Scotton's definition of markedness seems to rest on frequency, although in a footnote she remarks that Myers-Scotton herself differs on this point (2006: 91). Myers-Scotton locates the social meaning or indexicality of linguistic forms in the ways they are repeated in and associated with particular kinds of social relations, eventually coming to be naturalized as representations of those relations.

Myers-Scotton's model moves away from the association of any particular code with dominance, instead locating the meaning of code-switching in the context of situational norms. She also describes different patterns of linguistic alternation by different speakers within "the same" social group (1997: 233-35). Yet her work also tends to seem inflexible

and limiting, perhaps because of her adherence to strict typologies, not only in code-switching but also in her discussions of language contact in general. Immediately after her discussion of different patterns of linguistic alternation, she locates the motivation for code-switching in the assertion that 'speakers wish to signal their memberships in the communities of speakers of both languages, not just one' (1997: 235). This generalizing statement seems to obscure the creative potential evident in the examples she presents.

More recent works take a different angle on the way that repertoires of language use can be used to produce relationships between individuals and groups. Chen (2008a, 2008b) demonstrates that different styles of code-switching are one part of the production and recognition of individuals as members of groups who are identified as "local Hong Kong people" or "returnees," i.e. expatriates who have lived in the United States or Britain and subsequently returned to Hong Kong. Yet Chen shows that the patterns of language use that characterize the two groups are part of a continuum, through which group identification can be negotiated, hidden, or made salient. Following Gal (1988), Chen demonstrates that bilinguals use code-switching 'to create, maintain, and cross social group boundaries' (2008b: 126). Through this research, Chen moves the analytical focus from the *meaning of* code-switching to the production of *meaning through* code-switching.

Taking data from a Zapotec-Spanish contact situation, Sicoli (2007; 2010) demonstrates that pitch and phonation can be used in both languages to frame a speaker, and hence an interaction, with regard to a speech continuum from politeness/deference to authority. Sicoli characterizes these as speech registers, arguing that the content of a linguistic act is interpreted as a relationship between prosodic structure and propositional content. He characterizes the relationship as a 'layer on top of' segmental structure, which encodes affect, attitudes, and ideologies, in addition to genre and register information. Like Chen, Sicoli focuses on the production of interactional settings *through* linguistic material rather than the *meaning of* particular linguistic elements. Both Chen and Sicoli find gradient structure in apparently categorical identification.

In this dissertation, I synthesize many parts of these elements of theory on code-switching. Like Chen and Sicoli, I approach the meaning of contact features by asking *what they do* for particular speakers in particular situations. Like Myers-Scotton, I locate the meaning of code choices in system of contrast, but I suggest that the models for these systems of contrast are produced in conversation with broader social dynamics and indexical

relations, as Gumperz indicates. The models that Myers-Scotton and Gumperz propose are fairly rigid in terms of the types of indexical relationships that they are able to pick out. In my work, I treat models of speech as templates of use that are connected both to particular interactions, as Auer suggests, and also to individuals and their participation in social groups, which in turn connect them to a wider semiotic system.

Ultimately, neither the bottom-up nor the top-down models of code-switching are able to account for the way that people interpret concrete social and linguistic interactions within a system of abstract social classification. In this dissertation, I integrate the analysis of social structure with observable data of individual interactions, suggesting that social structure is produced and replicated through practice.

1.5. Integrating code-switching with linguistic anthropology

Woolard proposes three directions for code-switching research which would integrate it more broadly with the production of social meaning through language. These are footing, voice, and indexicality/language ideology. I discuss each of these theoretical orientations further in order to identify the elements that I find interesting and relevant to my work.

Goffman draws explicitly on Gumperz's code-switching data in discussing the concept of footing (1979). He suggests that code-switching is just one way of producing changes in the relationship of the speaker(s) to the act of speaking; he comments that the designation speaker/hearer is misleading, since the same sort of effect can be accomplished through visual or tactile cues. Goffman notes that even in the act of speaking, far more relationships are encoded than are actually described by the categories of speaker and hearer. To begin with, he distinguishes between the roles of author, animator and principal. An author is the person with whom the words originate, while the principal is the person to whom the position or stance are attributed. Each of these roles may be separate each other and from the animator, the person who actually speaks the words. Irvine (1996) proposes that these roles can be excerpted and re-contextualized, producing potentially infinite varieties of participant roles through recursive intertextual effects.

Code-switching, like gesture or physical orientation, can be understood as a way of generating or evoking participant roles; in Woolard's words, 'rapidly altering the social role in

which a speaker is active' (2006:86). Participant roles, as Irvine develops Goffman's framework, are not only multiple but multiply embedded, accessible through a series of recursive frames of reference. This means that languages, or varieties within a linguistic repertoire, are available to generate and respond to the process of positioning as speakers move through an interaction.

Another central element of Goffman's discussion that I find interesting is the assertion that language is embedded in, and dependent on, other forms of social semiotics. Indeed, Goffman at times seems to suggest that language is coterminous with and/or equivalent to elements such as posture, gesture, and movement; or, in the more static sense, the way that types of dress and political orientation are encoded in status as a language speaker in my data. At the end of his article, Goffman makes an interesting assertion; he speculates that a joke of Nixon's with which he opened the article was seen by the audience 'as forced, wooden, and artificial, separating him from them by a behavioral veil of design and self-consciousness' (1979: 26). Goffman justifies this conjecture by appealing to common knowledge of 'what is known about Nixon as a performer' (1979: 25). In this dissertation, I am trying to get at precisely this process of understanding people, not just public figures, through a comparison to their known habits of speech and interaction. How do we generate ideas about what people generally act like? How do we interpret their subsequent speech and actions in light of these expectations?

Bakhtin's concept of *heteroglossia* asserts that there are multiple varieties of speech embedded in any language; that is, language is always fractured, encoding multiple perspectives and multiple ways of approaching and processing information (1981). The multiple voices that make up heteroglossia can be layered, with a single utterance encoding many voices. Voice comes out of reference to, replication of, and interaction with other voices and other utterances, real or imagined. Therefore voice is not located in an individual, but in a negotiation between individual and collectivity. McDermott & Tylbor argue that all communication is tied to collusion (one of Goffman's terms), that meaning comes out of a negotiation between participants and that even the meaning of the words spoken by an individual are uninterpretable until they are contextualized through other utterances (1995). Perhaps counter-intuitively, voice is produced through higher-level social references and negotiations, while footing is tied to speakers in individual interactions. However, Woolard notes that 'for Bakhtin, it is intentions, not linguistic markers, that

constitute distinct voices. External linguistic markers such as codeswitching are just the deposits of that intentional process' (2006:88).

At the risk of flattening these complex theories, I suggest that in Goffman and in Bakhtin, I see a repeat of the social order vs. individual interaction discussion that is found in Gumperz, Myers-Scotton, and Auer. Meaning cannot be formed out of either the broad, overarching social context or the individual interaction alone. Each of these theories tries to generate one out of the other. I suggest in this dissertation that linguistic features gain meaning through their participation in systematic patterns of language use, which in turn are tied to ideas about social structure. Patterns related to individual use and patterns related to social context work together in the interpretation of linguistic signs.

1.5.1. Indexicality

The concept of indexicality comes from Peirce's semiotic theory (1955). Peirce describes the relationship between objects and signs. The sign "points to" or picks out the object. According to Peirce, signs can be divided into the categories of icon, index, and symbol. An icon is a sign that replicates or represents the object, even if in a highly stylized way. For example, a blue wavy line on a map is an icon of a river, because it takes roughly the same form as the object or concept that it signifies. An index is a sign that is related to, but does not directly represent its object. The "new-car scent" that is applied in car washes is an index of newness and thereby, perhaps, cleanliness or wealth. Symbols are signs that stand for, but have no direct relation to their object. Flags are symbols of countries; a ring is a symbol of marriage. Most sign relationships are either ambiguous or multivalent within this trichomy. Sociolinguistic signs are generally characterized as indices, but most linguistic forms (with the exception of onomatopoeia) are considered to be symbols.

Silverstein (2003) draws on this concept to show that the creation of linguistic meaning relies on a dialectic between presupposition and entailment. That is, linguistic signs can be used either to produce or to reflect (and replicate) context. Silverstein demonstrates that the indexical value of signs is recursively produced; that is, any instantiation of a particular index can generate new meanings through reference to earlier models of that index. This is what Silverstein refers to as *nth-level* and *n+1th-level* orders of indexicality. As Silverstein indicates, this is a potentially infinite process. This process can be traced in my

data in the multiple interpretations of contact features that are variously understood as marking or producing social groups, contexts of intimacy or formality, registers of speech, and ultimately excerpted to perform types of people or to highlight aspects of a personality.

Woolard points out that 'models of code-switching allow only a single order of indexicality when they treat the macrosocial order as intertly embodied in fixed "RO sets" or in-group/out-group dichotomies' (2006:89). Silverstein's model allows for ideological transformations between context and speaker, as well as playful or unexpected use of particular enregistered features. As Woolard, citing Silverstein, states, '[t]he projected relationship could be partial, false, misrecognized, misconstrued, distorted, etc., but in this kind of creative projection, it comes to be "real" in the way that all performative language can be real' (2006: 88).

1.5.2. Enregisterment

Enregisterment, as I use the term in this dissertation, can be described as the historical process by which people link linguistic signs to social meanings, producing relationships between signs and social categories (in other words, linguistic features become *indices* of social categories and stances). Through the process of enregisterment, contact features are linked to the individuals most likely to have significant contact influence: second-language speakers, women, and those with little formal education. These features also come to be associated with contexts in which these kinds of speakers are likely to speak—informal conversations, jokes, stories, cooking, weaving, agriculture, and other traditional activities.

I am interested in enregisterment because of the way that it places indexicality in the context of a historical process. Indexical relationships are not fixed; rather, they are produced and reproduced through individual encounters. When contact features act as indices, it is because they have become associated in some way with a semiotic field that organizes people's understanding of the world.

I make a distinction between *register* and *speech context* in this dissertation. There is some slippage between speech contexts and registers. This is perhaps unavoidable, both for reasons of analytical practice and of practice in the world. People identify registers, both named and unnamed, with particular social situations, institutions, and types. There is

overlap between these three perspectives on social information; certain types are associated with certain situations, certain situations occur only within institutions, etc. Acceptable, appropriate, or customary types of speech are only definable in relation to the people who use this speech and the contexts in which it is used. And yet, this speech is abstractable, portable, variable, in a way that contexts are, perhaps, not. Precisely *because* a certain type of speech is expected, appropriate, etc. in a particular context, the fact that there is a range of actual performance opens up the possibility for social action, whether by conforming to expectations through speech or silence, or by violating them by choice, ignorance, or necessity. Speakers can choose to highlight one aspect of speech or one possible model out of the variety that are available to them. Finally, speech contexts are characterized by textured speech acts; even in the case of the most regimented contexts, different registers of speech are used as participants work together to combine oratory, jokes, asides, and scolding; and shifts in the proportions of these combinations can contribute to drift in the type of event over time. Contact features are one way that speakers frame their contributions within these types of discourse. A truly isomorphic speech-context/register parallel is a meaningful social fact in and of itself, not a necessary entailment of the concept.

Register is a snapshot of the process of enregisterment at any given moment, a product of the process of relating linguistic forms to a semiotic field. Register, by this definition, refers to a particular, more-or-less-bounded segment of the semiotic field, not to an activity bounded by contextual factors. Registers of speech are composed of bundles of linguistic features that are associated with a particular semiotic cluster; in this dissertation, I talk about registers that speakers use to orient towards tradition and registers that speakers use to orient toward modernity. Speech contexts, on the other hand, are particular encounters among particular individuals in particular settings, which are defined and characterized both by these contextual factors and by the patterns of speech that occur there. These patterns can and do encompass a variety of registers.

Agha defines a register as ‘a linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices’ (2006:24). He argues that registers are formed, or recognized through the historical development of metapragmatic stereotypes of use. Following Silverstein, he suggests that register exists in a dialectic between individuals (performable roles) and contexts. However, both Agha and

Silverstein end up discussion—in their own way, replicating—stereotypes of usage in their discussion of register.

We seem to have an intuitive grasp of what constitutes a register, without finding the concept easy to define. There is a natural, or naturalized relationship between registers of language use and the stereotypes of language use that Agha discusses. In this dissertation, I suggest that registers can be associated with speech contexts and with roles, but are not coterminous with them; rather, context and roles are produced through *orientations toward* particular registers of speech, in interactions that are textured by micro-changes in positioning and by speakers whose patterns of language use may be congruent or incongruent with the expectations of particular forms. Indeed, I argue that individuals have different *styles* of switching between speech contexts. In doing so, I present register as an abstract division of social space, one that is produced through oppositions between semiotic clusters. Speech contexts, on the other hand, are the concrete manifestations of interaction that are organized by participants into particular constellations of meaning.

Context, then, can be produced by the predominance of a particular register of speech, among other factors. Yet interactions are fundamentally heterogeneous. In any speech context, a variety of registers will be employed.

1.5.3. Theories of register

The term *register* was first developed in sociolinguistics to describe special types of language that seem to be set apart from ordinary speech in some way (Halliday 1964; Halliday 1978). These types of language are often related to a professional jargon, such as sports broadcaster talk or legalese. Register is also associated with formality scales, ranging from very informal, conversational speech to reading or reciting styles (Joos 1961). The term register is often used in connection with languages such as Javanese (Errington 1988), which have a variety of named registers that are appropriate for certain types of interlocutors. A central property of these theories of register involves linking language varieties to situations rather than to speakers.

Theories of register, often overlapping with closely related theories such as style, genre, and dialect, represent an enormous and heterogeneous group of literature. The

common denominator in all of these studies is the connection between context and varieties of speech, as stated by Ferguson:

[T]he basic working assumption implicit in sociolinguistic study of register variation is **B**.

B. A communication situation that recurs regularly in a society...will tend over time to develop identifying markers of language structure and language use, different from the language of other communication situations

(1994: 20)

Biber & Finegan locate the beginning of register in Malinowski's "context of situation" and Firth's elaboration of that concept (1994). Firth suggested that meaning was not uniquely determined by linguistic elements; rather, he argued, context played an important role in systems of interpretation.

One way of approaching register is through co-occurrence patterns, which are based on correlations between context and groups of features. Halliday states that the relationship between context, language, and participants determines register (1978:31; quoted in Biber 1994). Biber notes that this relationship need not be as deterministic as Halliday suggests; rather, he indicates, it can be understood as correlational. Biber characterizes co-occurrence patterns as 'underlying dimensions of variation' (1994: 35). Likewise, Halliday characterizes a register as 'a cluster of associated features having greater-than-random...tendency to co-occur' (1988: 162; quoted in Biber 1994: 35). Biber situates these concerns in the work of Ervin-Tripp (1972) and Hymes (1974) on speech styles. Biber suggests that 'co-occurrence patterns are interpreted in terms of the situational, social, and cognitive functions most widely shared by the linguistic features' (1994: 36)

For me, the value of these approaches to register is the way that they locate the production of register in systems of patterns of occurrence of contact features. However, this work has the same problem that appears in Myers-Scotton's and Gumperz's theories of code-switching—in searching for correlations between text and context, it captures only the first level of recursivity of patterns of language use. In this dissertation, I examine the way that context is not only correlated with, but referred to and produced through the use of particular patterns of contact features. Meaning is produced through multiply embedded

recursive references to concepts associated with, and produced by, particular varieties of speech.

Recent work on register, such as Silverstein (2003) and Agha (2007), focuses on the process of *enregisterment*, by which linguistic features become indices of speaker attributes. Silverstein presents register as a dialectic, an ongoing, symmetrical relationship or process that is located between two poles, each of which can be described and theorized. One pole consists of contrasting sets of lexical and/or grammatical features, overlaid on a base of other linguistic features that do not vary. At this level, registers are theorized by speakers as equivalent, "different ways of saying the same thing" (Silverstein 2003: 212). The second pole is constituted by groups of features, clusters or bundles, which become indexically linked to the qualities of a person, group, or activity. Silverstein compares these two poles, which together constitute register, to Gumperz's distinction between *dialectal* and *superposed* varieties of language. Dialectal varieties are linked to types of people, while superposed varieties are linked to types of roles; an individual may inhabit more than one role in the course of time. Silverstein's theoretical move reveals a relationship between precisely the two types of variation that the concept of register was developed to distinguish between.

Agha defines enregisterment as 'processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language speakers' (2005: 38). In a later work, he describes the same concept of enregisterment as 'processes and practices whereby performable signs become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population' (2007: 81). A central element of this definition is the shift in focus from a variety to a process. Enregisterment focuses attention on the social processes by which indexical relationships are built and maintained, and how they may shift or become multiple or even contradictory over time.

Agha makes a claim that the indexical processes of context-based and person-based variation are essentially related. Indeed, the type of speaker who is licensed to speak in a certain variety of discourse and the type of language that is considered to be appropriate to that category are, as Silverstein points out, related through different levels of indexical order (2003). That is, the type of language that is appropriate at a certain type of event probably does not intersect with the abilities or licensing of all speakers, and so not just some types of

language, but some *speakers*, as a result of the language they use, are considered to be inappropriate for a certain type of event.

1.5.4. My view of register

Agha comments that 'a register exists as a bounded object only to the degree set by sociohistorical processes of enregisterment, processes whereby its forms and values become differentiable from *the rest of language*' (2007:168, emphasis mine; see also Agha 2004). In this dissertation, I show that Quechua contact features undergo a process of enregisterment through which they are identified with a set of concepts related to "tradition" and informal contexts of speech. However, I take issue with Agha's view of registers. In a separate section, he states again that 'the study of such reflexive behaviors allows linguists to distinguish a register's repertoires from *the rest of the language*' (2007:151, emphasis mine). As is evident in the quotations above, the question of boundedness of registers often appears as an assumption. What is "the rest of (the) language"?

I argue that the process of enregisterment must be understood as part of a system of social contrasts which produce not register in the singular, but rather a continuum of mutually interdependent registers that play on the contrast between Spanish and Quechua, modern and traditional, and other dialectical oppositions. There is no such thing as "the rest of language"; there is no speech that is neutral, without register. Any instance of speech is marked through the use enregistered features. Meaning is formed through contrast and relationship—from borders to centers, rather than moving from a semantic center to a semantic periphery (Abbott 1995; Irvine 2001). These systems of sociolinguistic contrast draw their values from the production of meaning within broader social contexts.

Studies that rely on Agha's and Silverstein's framework have a tendency to focus on isolated features that have become linguistic stereotypes. These relationships, while easy to grasp, reduce the study of register to something mechanical and simplistic. I believe that this tendency has roots in two fundamental (and related) weaknesses of this theory of register: the emphasis on diachronic development at the expense of synchronic semiotic systems, and the focus on the process of enregisterment, leading to a description of register in the singular, instead of a relationship between registers, with emphasis on the plural.

Firstly, in centering attention on the process of enregisterment, there is a tendency to focus on a feature or set of features as the defining characteristic of a register, without attention to the semiotic field surrounding this register and its set of features. Silverstein describes the 'fractionation of any so-called language into a union of registers' as the terms by which language users understand indexical variability (1996:491). But when Silverstein discusses *oinoglossia*, or wine-talk, as an example of a register of speech, something is lost between the fractionation of a language into a union of registers--a process which I envision as leaving no leftover pieces—and a handful of "registers" defined from the center out. Why is it wine that is the focus of talk, rather than prestige-comestible? Why not prestige-activity? Or simply prestige? Where should we draw the line around the register that *oinoglossia* typifies? What is it defined in opposition to?

Secondly, the emphasis on enregisterment as a historical process has the tendency to frame enregisterment as a process which has worked itself out and reached its goal.¹ It is right to understand language variation in a historical context; but not as a culmination of a process. Rather, it is necessary to understand register variation as a synchronic process within a social system. In order to make sense of register, I suggest that we must place the concept in the context of a set of registers. Irvine, in a paper in which she emphasizes the importance of contrasts in the development of the theoretical concept of style, describes register as 'differentiation within a system' (2001). Registers only work when they are part of a system of contrast between a *set* of registers, a *system* of social variation.

The relationship between historical indexical linkages and synchronic indexical fields is perhaps best understood through the Bakhtinian concept of dialogicity, the idea that 'the unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances' (1986: 89). Bakhtin describes the speech genre as a tension between individual utterances and 'relatively stable types of utterances' that become associated with 'each sphere in which language develops' (1986: 60). For Bakhtin, categorization of speech must be understood through an understanding of both individual speech styles and general speech styles. Bakhtin uses the image of a 'chain of speech communion of which the utterance is an inseparable *link*' (1986: 100) to describe the relationship between utterances and, ultimately, all aspects of style. Bakhtin's concept of

¹ This comment, or a similar one, was made by Kathryn Woolard in her discussion of the AAA panel on register in November 2009.

dialogicity brings together the evolution of language varieties and the synchronic existence of a set of varieties that are understood to represent orientations within a semiotic field.

Recent work on enregisterment has moved away from the emphasis on co-occurrence patterns found in Firth and Halliday, instead focusing on the behavior of a few features in isolation (e.g. Johnstone & Kiesling 2008). I start from the relationships between a set of features that seem to have undergone similar processes within the landscape of a particular community. It is within the context of these co-occurrence patterns that atypical usage of features becomes meaningful and interesting.

In some senses, more dated concepts of register, such as those represented in Joos's and Halliday's work, have an advantage over the concept of register developed by Silverstein and Agha, in that they focus attention on a system of distinction rather than on the production of a variety—not a variety from nowhere—but a variety that seems to grow in and of itself, rather than in conversation with other varieties.

By using the concept of register, I want to draw it away from its traditional linkage to "special" types of language, or jargons. Instead (as Agha painstakingly details) registers must be linked to a meaningful system of social classification—sometimes referring to a group of speakers that is largely imaginary. In my work, I present a set of registers in the context of their differentiation within a semiotic system linked to ideologies surrounding Quechua and Spanish, tradition and modernity.

In my data, contact features participate in the construction of social categories in complex ways. I present the use of contact features as a marker of register formation, but also as an enactment of a type of difference that is framed as fundamental to social distinction in my field site. I conceptualize register as it is organized around a culturally salient opposition between two clusters of indices, symbolized by Quechua and Spanish languages and speakers and discussed through tropes of tradition and modernity.

1.6. Register and style

Co-occurrence patterns constitute one way of characterizing and describing registers. Beyond recognizing the unities of register formations, however, I suggest that registers are formed through systems of semiotic contrasts. When one considers registers of speech in the plural rather than the singular, speakers' strategies for moving through different contexts

of speech constitute an additional source of socio-semiotic information. I show that speakers shift their use of enregistered features over contexts of speech, suggesting that speakers cultivate distinctive linguistic patterns when they orient towards types of conventional social interactions. However, speakers also have some degree of leeway in conforming to or contesting these expectations. These findings demonstrate that speakers control what can be described as styles of register-switching, bringing together research on style (Eckert 2000; Eckert & Rickford 2001) and research on register (Agha 2007; Silverstein 2003).

I suggest that the concept of *style* as a necessary complement to the concept of register. If register is to be transformed into registers in the plural, and if individual speakers control more than one register, there must be some way of theorizing how these registers are organized, how speakers deploy their range of abilities. Here, I turn to the concept of style.

1.6.1. Style

Both register and style cover similar territory and I at first supposed that they were probably redundant; indeed, many popular sources of information on these terms (for example, Wikipedia) assert that this is the case. To complicate the matter, it is hard to come by a good definition of style, a term that, like *identity*, seems to mean different things to different people.

Eckert states that in her view, style is focused on the 'clustering of social resources, and an association of that clustering with social meaning (2001: 123). Through this definition and in the article from which I took it, Eckert situates her research as a successor to the Labovian paradigm, in which variation in linguistic features is correlated with social groups, subdivided by styles that are characterized by attention to speech. In the section associated with this quotation, she argues for a holistic view of the systematicity of linguistic variables as stylistic markers. Eckert moves beyond Labov's simple correlations, centering her own work in the construction of personae through styles, with style as the mediator in a system that takes linguistic variables as the input and produces identity as the output.

Irvine suggests that register and style both concern systems of distinctiveness, but she argues that register is a narrower framework than style in that it concerns only language.

Irvine characterizes style broadly as a process, 'a social semiosis of distinctiveness' (2001:23). She distinguishes between register and style in the following passage:

Research on “registers” has often concerned relatively stable, institutionalized patterns and varieties, perhaps having explicit names within their communities of use, and/or being connected with institutionalized situations, occupations, and the like (“sports announcer talk,” for instance). Style includes these, but it also includes the more subtle ways individuals navigate among available varieties and try to perform a coherent representation of a distinctive self – a self that may be in turn subdividable into a differentiated system of aspects-of-self. Perhaps there is another difference too: whereas dialect and register, at least as sociolinguists ordinarily identify them, point to linguistic phenomena only, style involves principles of distinctiveness that may extend beyond the linguistic system to other aspects of comportment that are semiotically organized.

2001:31-32

What Irvine highlights in this passage is the contrast between recognized 'patterns and varieties...connected with institutionalized situations, occupations and the like' and 'the subtle ways individuals navigate among available varieties...[to] perform a...distinctive self' (ibid). Though work on register has moved far beyond institutionalized varieties in the decade since this article was written, there is still a perceptible difference in orientation to situation and orientation to selves. Whether as a cause or as a result of its association with identity, the study of style has a central orientation to the relationship of the production of individual stances and personae to group membership.

I suggest that register and style are complementary concepts, in that style can be used to describe an individual's strategies for moving through registers. Here and throughout the dissertation, I take the position that *styles are oriented toward the production of social personae, while registers are oriented toward the production of social context.*

1.7. Genre and register in context

Garrett (2005) describes the use of St. Lucia Kwéyòl in certain genres of interaction, namely insulting, joking, or vulgar speech. In his article, Garrett urges researchers to look beyond code to the genres in which codes are instantiated, because of their properties as mediators between social change and linguistic structure.

In my data, as in Garrett's description of San Lucia, the non-prestige code, Quechua, remains closely associated with rurality, poverty, indigeneity, etc., but also with intimacy, locality, an idealized past, and traditional activities such as weaving and cooking. This can be seen in the higher incidence of Quechua contact features in some types of contexts (informal, conversational, joking) than in others (formal, meeting-style, serious). One result of these associations is the fact that contact features do not occur evenly over all genres, or registers, of speech. At the same time, as I demonstrate in Chapters 3 and 4, the Quechua pragmatic system doesn't just fade away; it is modified to fit the speakers' changing understandings of appropriate language.

I argue that certain genres not only call for certain languages, they call for certain varieties of those languages. Spanish and Quechua exist in a complex relationship in the community that I describe. In using these two languages, and mixtures of the two, speakers draw on semiotic resources that synthesize aspects of each language, from grammar to pragmatics.

Garrett discusses the relationship between code and genre variously as one of 'determination' (2005: 333), of 'parametric constraint' (2005: 335) and of components in a local contextual dimension. These terms imply that code choice is more automatic than I would like to claim. Over and over, in my data, I find that speakers use unexpected features contrary to general patterns of distribution of contact features. I find that these can only be understood by appealing to the very large scale together with the very small scale: *first, by placing discourse within a larger semiotic system, of which language is only a part; and secondly, by attending to the very local, very individual characteristics of a particular speaker and a particular act of speaking in this context of this system.*

1.8. The Andes

Most of the research on languages of the Andean region has been carried out in Peru, and to a lesser extent, Ecuador. The violent recent history of Peru and the patterns of language spread in Ecuador have led to very different language ideologies and categorizations of speaker than in Bolivia, where bilingualism is widespread in both urban and rural settings and is relatively stable. Spanish- and Quechua-speaking *campesinos* 'peasants' in rural areas such as the one I describe have historically lived in close contact and

under similar circumstances, interacting with each other through market activities, religious festivals and ritual occasions, in games and sports, at festivals, through economic relationships, circulating children, and finding marriage partners in both language communities. Speakers who identify themselves as Spanish-speakers may actually have a wide range of Quechua abilities, from true native fluency to knowledge of a few words, a bit of Mock Quechua, or punchlines of jokes (Section 3.3). A constant flow of migration from the bilingual western highlands means that the contact situation in my field site is constantly renewed. The designations "Spanish-speaker" and "Quechua-speaker," while socially meaningful, are based less on language abilities than on a speaker's orientation to a social category.

There is a great deal of detailed and careful work on Andean Spanish, and more generally on language in the Andes. Much of the sociolinguistic work in the Andes has focused on language policy and bilingual education (e.g. Cerrón-Palomino 2003; Coronel-Molina 2005; Hornberger & Coronel-Molina 2004).

Pfänder (2009) suggests that Spanish in the Bolivian city of Cochabamba should be seen in the context of its relationship with, and mutual interdependence with Quechua, drawing a parallel between the mixture of languages and the racial-ethnic concept of *mestizaje*. He characterizes the relationship between Spanish and Quechua as 'productive interaction rather than mutual interference,' (2009: 34) noting that Quechua-Spanish contact in Cochabamba is rooted in oral interaction rather than in static texts.

Howard (2007) argues that languages in the Andes are not neatly bounded, but are the result of processes of hybridization and transculturation, involving the convergence of linguistic systems and the interweaving of ideological systems. She locates identity in the production of difference, arguing that permeable boundaries allow us to articulate relationships of similarity and difference and processes of cultural change. Howard takes the position that discourse not only represents identity, but constructs it. She speaks of borders as entities that are moveable, broken, traced, erased, and reinscribed.

Howard states that 'the formal features of [language] contact...are translinguistic effects that are significant to understanding the social, cultural, and political processes that characterize Andean society on the threshold of the twenty-first century: effects of resistance, accommodation, subversion, hybridization, assimilation, or renovation' (2007:372,

my translation).² She makes the point that linguistic practices are only one mode of semiotic interpretation, which also includes details such as dress and hairstyle. In this book, Howard draws her data from extensive sociolinguistic interviews, describing the repercussions of and reactions to educational and state-level policy at the level of individual linguistic choices and attitudes. Through this work, Howard questions the naturalization of linguistic and social categories, demonstrating how they are blended and blurred in practice. Drawing on Howard's work, I try to move beyond the Quechua-Spanish, highland-lowland dichotomy that has characterized understandings of this region.

In ethnographies of the Andes, from Allen's classic *The Hold Life Has* (1988) to Van Vleet's recent *Performing Kinship* (2008), scholars have privileged elements of Andean life that are exotic to many North Americans—life in the highlands, with special focus on ritual, coca, religion, kinship, and other well-trodden anthropological territory. These works—despite their sensitive handling of difficult topics—have the effect of reinforcing stereotypes of the Andes in general and Bolivia in particular as a poor, highland country with a "vibrant indigenous culture."

Scholarship that focuses on the indigenous experience in the rural highlands has been balanced to some extent by work such as Goldstein's *The Spectacular City* (2004), which examines violence in urban Bolivia, and by works on migration (Rockefeller 2004; Stearman 1985). The less-picturesque lowlands are in many ways a different world from the Andean highlands, but these two spheres are not as distinct as they may seem; as Stearman points out, the city of Santa Cruz and its surrounding urban area have been colonized by migrants from the western highlands. Archaeological evidence also demonstrates that integration between highland and lowland has a long history in the Andes (Murra 1985).

Even when the anthropological gaze has widened to include the lowlands of Bolivia, the country is still conceptualized through contrasts between highland and lowland, Quechua and Spanish, west and east. In this dissertation, I wish to show that way that my consultants problematize this dialectic through their linguistic and other semiotic practices, even as they recognize and reinscribe it. In doing so, I am taking a view from the periphery, characterizing my experience in Bolivia through my interactions with a group of people who

² In the original: Los rasgos formales del contacto...son efectos translingüísticos significativos para entender los procesos sociales, culturales, y políticos que distinguen la sociedad andina en los umbrales del siglo veintiuno: efectos de resistencia, acomodo, subversión, hibridación, asimilación, o renovación

locate themselves in the middle ground of the dialectic between highland and lowland, Spanish and Quechua.

1.9. Structure, practice, and history

I propose that meaning is produced through contrast between a template of speech and an actual instance of speech, which itself becomes incorporated in the template of speech. Through this circular process, I try to bring together top-down (social structure-oriented) and bottom-up (interaction-oriented) models of code-switching. Here, I move this discussion into the realm of social theory, where the tension between structure and agency form a wider field in which to situate this work.

Though structuralism has been out of style for many years in anthropology (and, periodically, in linguistics) it has a deep history in each discipline, and as a point at which the two disciplines meet. Saussure is often cited as the founder of structuralism because of his argument that language consists of an abstract system of signs. Saussure's distinction between *langue*, a perfect, abstract system underlying the messy and imperfectly realized *parole*, or physical manifestation of language, is still foundational to much of the study of linguistics. Another set of structuralists formed the Prague School of linguists, including Jakobson and Trubetzkoy, who arguably founded the modern science of linguistics with their assertion that historical language change is patterned and regular. In anthropology, classic structuralism is exemplified by Levi-Strauss, who used Saussure's work in linguistics as a model for a "cultural deep structure" that organizes all social meaning. Levi-Strauss's work is often read as deterministic because of his emphasis on universal laws that govern human behavior, but his argument that all meaning is generated through its place in a structure has been foundational to subsequent discussions in anthropology.

This premise is attacked by post-modernists such as Foucault and Derrida, who argue that there is no singular reality, much less a singular underlying system. Post-modernism is characterized by an insistence that the production of meaning is fractured, multiple, and relative rather than absolute. Post-modernist thought disputes the premise that there is a single unmarked form against which all other categories are marked or deviant; rather, meaning is created through relationships between categories (such as tradition-modernity that I describe in this work). Anthropologists such as Daniel (1996), Spivak

(1988), and Crapanzano (1996) argue that there are points at which meaning cannot be found through structure because there is a failure of mapping between lived reality and structure. I am skeptical of these arguments because even the articulation of lack of alignment with cultural structures through, for example, violence is lived and expressed through particular social and cultural forms (as argued by, for example, Van Vleet 2008).

Sahlins proposes that social structure is both transformed and perpetuated through its replication in specific events. Sahlins suggests that 'culture functions as a *synthesis* of stability and change, past and present, diachrony and synchrony' (1985: 144, emphasis original). Referring to linguistics, Sahlins points out that meaning is constituted as part of a system. Any given idea 'has a conceptual sense according to its differential place in the total scheme of...symbolic objects' (1985: 150).

Sahlins grounds his arguments in a series of metaphors drawn from linguistics and the philosophy of language. The arbitrariness of the sign, according to Sahlins, is crucial not only to linguistic symbolism but to cultural symbolism. Since a sign has no intrinsic relationship to a given concept, meaning is never anchored, but has the potential to change—indeed, is constantly shifting. It is the quality of instability that gives a cultural system its flexibility. Because each manifestation of a symbol is temporally and contextually unique, every act or experience constitutes a reinterpretation of meaning. This continual re-embodiment and re-interpretation is the key to the relationship between event and structure.

According to Sahlins, this dynamic, flexible cultural system encompasses every aspect of lived human experience. No event can be understood outside of the framework of this system; rather, 'it is a *relation* between a certain happening and a given symbolic system' (1985: 153). Because of this relationship, Sahlins argues that structure and history cannot be theorized independently. Sahlins calls this relationship the *structure of the conjuncture*, which he defines as 'the practical realization of the cultural categories in a specific historical context, as expressed in the interested action of historic agents' (1985: xiv).

Like Sahlins, Bourdieu's approach to the relationship between structure and agency focuses on deconstructing the illusion of an autonomous, externalized structure in opposition to (or to the exclusion of) individual action and determination. While Sahlins's approach attempts to reconcile structure and history, Bourdieu approaches the matter in terms of the internal and the external, characterizing his work as a '*dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality*' (1972: 72), emphasis in the original). Bourdieu

seeks this dialectic in the quotidian. Rather than examining (capital-P) Practices such as ritual, religion, kinship, or even historical moments of encounter, Bourdieu takes his material from the everyday individual and collective actions of ordinary people. In other words:

the little routines people enact, again and again, in working, eating, sleeping, and relaxing, as well as the little scenarios of etiquette they play out again and again in social interaction. All of these routines and scenarios are predicated upon, and embody within themselves, the fundamental notions of temporal, spatial, and social ordering that underlie and organize the system as a whole. In enacting these routines, actors not only continue to be shaped by the underlying organizational principles involved, but continually re-endorse those principles in the world of public observation and discourse

Ortner 1984:154

The central concept in this theory is the concept of *habitus*. In Bourdieu's formulation, it is the habitus that mediates between the individual and the collective, agency and structure. This is a circular relationship, in which 'habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history' (1972: 82). The habitus is all-encompassing and unconscious. It is inculcated in every individual through the sum of that person's experience, and is replicated through the forms of individual embodied practice. The habitus is not deterministic—it does not dictate action and thought, but constrains them, situates them in a moral and conceptual geography.

Ortner defines *practice* as 'any form of human activity considered in terms of its “political” implications and considered in the context of “structure” ' (1989: 194). Like Sahlins and Bourdieu, she argues that practice and structure are inseparable—the study of entails the study of structure, and vice versa. In contrast to the two approaches described above, however, Ortner suggests that an individual does not engage with “culture” in the same way in every interaction over their lifetime; rather, like any complex cultural artifact, different aspects of structure come to the fore for the individual at different times, ages, and in different relationships and situations.

Mahmood argues that 'the significance of an embodied practice is not exhausted by its ability to function as an index of social and class status or a group's ideological habitus' (2005: 26). Mahmood's research focuses on female teachers of Islamic texts, or *da'wa*. She criticizes Bourdieu for using practice only as a means to create or define a symbolic system,

without considering the contrasting texts that might be contained within bodies and actions. Rather, she suggests, 'practice is also interesting for the kind of relationship it presupposes to the act it constitutes wherein an analysis of the particular form that the body takes might transform our conceptual understanding of the act itself' (2005: 27). Mahmood proposes a reappropriation of the Aristotelian concept of *habitus*, a conscious effort of "learning by doing", 'e.g. men become builders by building and lyre players by playing the lyre; so we too become just by doing just acts, temperate by doing temperate acts, brave by doing brave acts...' (Aristotle 1941:592-592 in Mahmood 2005: 136). Mahmood objects to Bourdieu's assertion that the *habitus* cannot be changed, least of all intentionally; she points to the pedagogical process by which moral training is cultivated in devout practitioners of Islam.

In my work, I approach the production of meaning through a relationship between templates of language use that are reproduced and instantiated in individual interaction. In doing so, I draw on Sahlins's notion of "the structure of the conjuncture," as well as theories of practice that locate production of meaning in daily activities, repeated over and over even beyond conscious control. From Ortner and Mahmood, I take the suggestion that orientations can change gradually over time, even intentionally, providing a way of modeling drift and change (whether slow or sudden) over time. I suggest that abstract templates of speech work as models that speakers conform to or creatively modify in individual interactions.

1.10. Exemplar theory and social modeling

Exemplar theory, a current theoretical approach in phonetics, proposes that 'a perceptual category is defined as the set of all experienced instances of the category' (Johnson 1997:146; see also Pierrehumbert 2001). This theory suggests that linguistic categories are formed out of the accumulation of experiences of actual instances of speech, which encode detailed linguistic and non-linguistic information.

Johnson defines an exemplar as 'an association between a set of auditory properties and a set of category labels. The auditory properties are output from the peripheral auditory system, and the set of category labels includes any classification that may be important to the perceiver...' (1997: 147). Every time a speaker produces a sound, it is compared with all kinds of sounds produced by that individual or by groups within which the individual is

identified. There is a circular interaction between identification of sounds and the formation of categories of sounds and categories of speaker. According to this theory, we don't so much have /s/ as we have a representation of what /s/ usually sounds like for a particular speaker or a particular group. With each new data point, that model shifts or changes.

Johnson's *exemplar resonance* theory posits a cyclical calibration process between exemplars and categories. For each instance of speech, multiple exemplars are activated based on similarity with stored data. This activation is gradient and changes over time. As exemplars are activated, they feed information into models of social categories such as gender, and in return the models give information about the types of speech that can be expected from members of these categories (2006). Intriguingly, Johnson suggests when an exemplar is activated, activation will "spread" to any other exemplar that shares membership with it. As a result, Johnson states, 'this will then tend to produce a blurring of auditory details, and will tend to centralize the response of the model so that perception is more categorical than it would have otherwise been' (2006:494). That is, once a speaker is identified as male or female, the system will expect additional tokens to continue to conform to the expected patterns of the gender that has been picked out. What is most interesting about Johnson's model for me is that suggestion that multiple relationships can be activated simultaneously, so that responses to and identifications of speakers work through comparisons to multimodal patterns of behavior.

I suggest that there may be a similar set of processes linking individual interaction and social forms. Each individual interaction feeds into a model or a map of lived experience, a model which includes not only patterns of linguistic features but also their indexical relationship with social groups. Each individual interaction is compared with the accretion of experience with individuals and groups, and in turn adds to the modeling of that person or that category. There is a parallel to Sahlins, who suggests that transformation is achieved through replication. I also find striking similarities between the concept of an exemplar, as an accumulation of lived experiences, and Bourdieu's *habitus*, an abstract structure that mediates between our experience of the world and our daily actions in it.

1.11. Summing up

The goal of my work, in the broad sense, is to demonstrate that language and social factors are mutually interdependent, using theories of language and language in society to explore specific interactions situated in a broader societal context. In this dissertation, I use detailed exploration of the social dynamics of a town located at a midpoint between eastern and western Bolivia to explain the distribution of Quechua language contact features in spoken Spanish over a variety of discourse contexts.

As Eckert (2008) indicates, meaning is not rooted in a single definition entry, but is tied to a web of related concepts, which she terms an 'indexical field.' The meaning of a linguistic sign shifts depending on the circumstances of its utterance. I interpret linguistic usage through a detailed analysis of a system of meaning that is enmeshed in a particular community and used by particular speakers. Throughout this work, I situate my linguistic analysis in a cultural semiotic system as well as in the histories and stances of individual speakers. I suggest that indexical meaning is underspecified until it is located in a physical act of speaking, and in the history of participants in a speech event. In considering the "meaning" of a speech act, one must take into account a variety of stances and perspectives, including possible incongruence between speaker intentions and audience uptake and interpretation.

I argue that the meaning of language in use is produced through systems of contrast and is rooted in particular communities, speakers, and utterances. I describe a community located in central Bolivia in which speakers use Quechua contact features in Spanish to situate themselves with relation to dialectics of tradition and modernity, east and west, highland and lowland, masculine and feminine, and Spanish and Quechua. I examine speakers' use of contact features using both quantitative and ethnographic methods in order to contrast general patterns of distribution with individual language use. These patterns of variation must be understood as one part of the construction of social meaning in this community, which also encompasses related categories such as dress styles, migration patterns, ethnicity, and political affiliation.

I show that speakers use Quechua contact features in Spanish to construct a unique local identity, but also to position themselves with respect to abstract templates of appropriate speech, which vary by social category and social context. The way that speakers

depart from these templates can be as meaningful as the way that they replicate or conform to them. Rather than blindly following established patterns of speech, speakers use them as a basis for creative synthesis; it is very unusual to find speakers following strict parameters of language usage that could be codified as, for example, "formal speech" or "traditional speech." Speakers engage in sophisticated manipulation of expectations and contrastive effect, working together to construct an interesting and textured speech event. For this reason, although I set a background of general *tendencias* of usage, it's important to recognize that individual speakers in particular interactions are subverting these expectations, using them as raw material from which they construct their own social stances and positioning.

1.11.1. Dissertation overview

In this section, I outline the structure of the dissertation.

In Chapter 2, I describe my data collection and analytical methodology. As part of this discussion, I give an introduction to the contact features that I discuss later in the dissertation. I also discuss the design of the dissertation and the challenges that I faced in data collection.

In Chapter 3, I describe the relationship between Spanish and Quechua, and concomitantly, the way that people construct status as a language speaker and thereby placement in the social geography of my field site. I approach the production of linguistic and social groups through the framework of language ideologies. I argue that, although groups are identified with migration histories, group identification is in no way deterministic, but rather is formed through processes of positioning and recognition. I give examples of speakers who shift between groups or whose group identification is questioned. This chapter serves as a background to my argument later in the dissertation that the indexical value of linguistic features depends on the social positioning and group identification of speakers. I demonstrate that while being a Quechua-speaker or speaking Quechua is associated with being an outsider, using Quechua features in Spanish is a marker of local identity. I question the naturalized distinction between Spanish and Quechua, noting that Spanish and Quechua share similar ideologies of purism and mixing, and demonstrate that Spanish speakers recognize social differences in varieties of Quechua.

In Chapter 4, I describe the semiotic field in which linguistic and non-linguistic forms are situated in the context of my field site. This field is characterized by the construction of pairs of concepts as polar opposites, such as Spanish-Quechua, west-east, highland-lowland, and the regional/ethnic labels *colla* 'western highland (bilingual) Quechua-speaker' and *camba* 'eastern lowland (monolingual) Spanish-speaker.' Concepts are glommed together into clusters of ideas that I gloss broadly as "tradition" (western/ highland/ bilingual/ Quechua-speaker/ rural/ female/ indigenous) and their opposites, which I gloss as "modern" (eastern/ lowland/ monolingual/ Spanish-speaker/ urban/ male/ mestizo). The production of a local identity involves claims to a middle ground in this dichotomy; however, in the act of producing a middle ground, the oppositions are recursively re-inscribed, and "modernity" is cast as the normative, unmarked orientation, while "tradition" is marked or foregrounded.

In Chapter 5, I describe the distribution of a group of variables over three social contexts. I classified this group of features as *convergence* features, because they have clearly traceable origins in both Quechua and Spanish. These features take the form of Spanish words, but often act in ways that are similar to analogous Quechua constructions. Most of these features tend to occur more in conversational contexts, which are characterized by an orientation to private, intimate interaction, than in meeting contexts, which are characterized by an orientation towards public interaction. However, this is a tendency, not an absolute prediction, demonstrating that speech events are characterized by more than one type of speech. Some contact features do not follow this general pattern, but rather are more common in formal, regimented types of discourse. To explain this result, I argue that the category of contact features must be understood through the social semiotic field in which features are located. Not all features that linguists consider to be contact-related are associated with the traditional complex; conversely, not all features associated with the traditional complex are contact-related.

In Chapter 6, I continue this argument, presenting a set of features that are clearly borrowed from Quechua, yet used in local Spanish. Largely suprasegmental, these features seem to be highly salient to speakers; they are much less common than the convergence features and seem to be easy for speakers to bring under their conscious control. As is the case for convergence features, three of the contact features I discuss are tightly linked to the traditional semiotic complex, and tend to be used by women and in conversations. The

fourth, falsetto voice, shows exactly the opposite pattern; it is used by men in formal meeting contexts. As in the previous chapter, I use this discussion to show that even highly salient, discourse-oriented features must be enregistered in order to be understood to correspond to the traditional semiotic complex. Chapters 5 and 6 together demonstrate that contact features are distributed differently over social contexts; however, the distribution of contact features depends on their enregisterment within a social semiotic field.

Having established a relationship between *contact* features and *enregistered* features, I turn to the way that particular individuals who are identified with particular groups use these features, and how they are understood by audiences. In Chapter 7, I demonstrate that not only do different groups use features in different ways, they are understood to index different ideas depending on the group identification of the speaker. While enregistered features are understood to index local identity (among other functions) when used by insiders, they are understood to index outsider status when used by individuals who are identified as Quechua-speakers. In doing so, contact features function as part of a semiotic field that also includes other modes of recognition, as detailed in Chapter 3. I take this result as further evidence that the key to interpreting contact features in a semiotic field is not a feature in isolation, but its participation in patterns of use by speakers. Because patterns can be recognized both for groups and for individual speakers, I suggest that the meaning of a contact feature must be taken in the context of its adherence to or contrast with templates of expected or appropriate use.

In Chapter 8, I further develop this line of argument by showing that even individual speakers have varying distributions of contact features. I characterize this as the development of a personal style that is expressed through enregistered features. In this chapter, I focus on two individual speakers of similar demographic categories and personal histories, who develop similar propositional stances in the course of an interview about their path to community leadership. Yet these two individuals use different patterns of contact features, which I suggest are used to position themselves as social actors.

These styles are expressed not only in stable patterns of the use of enregistered features, but in the way that speakers shift between situations. In Chapter 9, I find contrasts in the way that two women, again apparently very similar with respect to social groups, shift between contexts of speech. Through this finding, I argue that style and register each capture one aspect of the way that people position themselves in a semiotic field, but that

the theories can be used in complementary ways. Style, I suggest, is used to generate social personae, while register is used to generate social contexts. Both style and register participate in systems of contrast. Speakers can use linguistic features to refer to parts of a semiotic field, or position themselves with respect to social categories.

Throughout this dissertation, I argue that meaning is generated through the comparison of actual speech events to expected models of speech. That is, speakers have templates of expected use that are built up both through group identification and on the performance over time of individual speakers. Because the expectations of use are different for particular speakers and for social groups, the meaning of contact features consists of an array of possible associations. Thus, contact features are deictics, in that they pick out different ideas based on the circumstances of their utterance. Ultimately, I suggest that contact features move through language based on their participation in these social processes and on their enregisterment in a social semiotic field.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1. Overview of the Methodology section

In general, Methodology sections are intended to allow another researcher to replicate one's research, or at least get a general idea of how it was done. This Methodology section covers a somewhat broader territory, as I use this opportunity to explain more about the ways that I and my research fit into the general social scene in Iscamayo,³ the town in which I do my research. This information is important because the kind of data I was able to collect was determined by my access to particular speakers and particular types of situations. Unlike experimental studies, this work cannot be "replicated" in the strict sense of the word, although my general philosophy can be followed.

My general methodological philosophy is deep integration in the community—integration that goes beyond the process of collecting and analyzing data. I have nearly four years of experience in my field site. I first visited Bolivia as a tourist on two separate trips in 1999. Subsequently, I spent two and a half years in Bolivia as a Peace Corps volunteer, three months in Cochabamba (January-March 2002) and more than two consecutive years in Iscamayo (March 2002-May 2004). Since then, I have made two three-month visits during the Northern Hemisphere summers (2005 and 2006) and also spent a twelve-month fieldwork period there in 2008. It is from this last period that the data in this dissertation is drawn.

More importantly, people expect that I will continue to come back, and possibly return to Iscamayo permanently at some point. The social relationships that I entered into through my marriage to my husband, a native of my field site, the birth of my daughter, and my *compadrazgo* 'ritual kinship' obligations are serious, lifetime obligations that go far beyond my individual relationships with a husband, child, and godchild. These relationships place me in a social universe and involve me in a wide-reaching social network. Even

³ All place names and personal names are pseudonyms.

outside my field site, one of the first things that strangers try to do is to establish mutual acquaintances, and if possible mutual relatives, from Iscamayo. When visiting other small towns in the area, strangers will often introduce themselves to me as distant relatives of my husband's. Somewhere between my near and distant relationships are my daily working relationships with friends and relatives who live beside me day after day, week after week, and are present in my life through weekly telephone conversations even when I am not in the field.

Entering deeply into the life of a social network, participating in relationships and rivalries and exchanges of goods and labor, has permitted me to access many situations that require lasting, trusting relationships that cannot be built in a matter of days or weeks. In return, I am indebted to my consultants in the literal as well as figurative sense of the word. People in my field site do not talk about the classic Andean concept of *ayni*, often glossed as 'reciprocity,' but perhaps better understood as a mutual cycle of indebtedness (Van Vleet 2008). Nevertheless, their sense of obligation and duty and their observable patterns of work and social relations seem to me to be compatible with, and perhaps even rooted in, this idea.

There were also limitations to this general methodological philosophy. While my access to some types of social situations is broadened by my participation in the community, being identified with a particular social network and a particular social group also limits my access to other networks and groups within the town of Iscamayo. Random sampling of households in which I can record conversations or hold interviews is completely out of the question. At the individual level, too, there are people who don't like me very much; there are others who find dealing with me politically inexpedient. The data that I am able to obtain are only as good as my relationship with the participants in any given recording session. On the positive side, when relationships are good, recording sessions are very productive. The network that I have built over the past eight years gives me access to speakers and situations that are completely out of reach for a stranger who happens to come into town with some recording equipment. One of the nice things about social networks is that they grow and change over time, broadening and deepening. Even as I nurture my relationships with older consultants, I can begin to work with new groups and new speakers.

I strive to obtain naturalistic data, but because there are a variety of "natural" social situations, the ways of eliciting "naturalistic" data vary over the contexts in which I recorded.

As I explain further in Section 2.2.4, recording meetings was as easy as showing up with a recorder and a notebook. I was often made more prominent by being asked to sit at the head table, and several people asked me if I could do video recording. Recording conversations, on the other hand, required establishing a close and trusting relationship with my consultants, and under these situations the participants needed to "forget" the recorder in order to relax. For this reason, the inconspicuous size of my recorder was extremely important. In interview situations, I manipulated the interaction to create an unnatural, atypical social situation, by keeping the recorder in a prominent position and consulting a sheet of questions.

This chapter is split into two major sections, data collection and analytical methodology. In the first section, I describe my equipment, informed consent process, selection of recording contexts, and sampling. In the second section, I describe my selection of contact features, splitting these into convergence features and borrowed features. I also discuss the particular analytical approaches to different chapters in the dissertation.

2.2. Data collection methodology

2.2.1. Equipment

I made my recordings with a small solid-state digital recorder, the Marantz PMD-620. This recorder is palm-sized and uses two AA batteries. All recordings were made as .wav files, using 16-bit format and a 48 kHz sampling frequency. I did not use an external microphone as the recording quality was quite good without it, and I aimed for a minimally intrusive recording system. The PMD-620 uses an SD card, and I carried a pair of 2G cards, each of which had the capacity to hold nearly three hours of recording at this recording capacity. In practice, I rarely recorded more than three hours at a time, and more often less than an hour.

2.2.2. Sound quality

Ambient noise was the primary cause of poor sound quality. Traffic noise, small children, and animals frequently drowned out the main speakers in my recordings. In conversations, people talked over each other. In meetings, whispers and background noise

from the audience often drowned out the main speakers without adding intelligible discourse. In addition, meetings were usually held in cement-brick box style rooms, where, unless enough bodies were present, sound quality was poor because of the lack of sound absorption of building materials. The PMD-620 recorder was too sensitive to record amplified performances or speeches, which are conventionally broadcast at earsplitting levels. As a result, I did not record or transcribe events which included amplification, though I did take notes on them. I did the best I could with the rest of the material, but frequently found that I needed to adjust the segment of recording that I transcribed in order to find intelligible discourse.

2.2.3. Informed consent

Informed consent varied somewhat depending on the participants and the type of recording. All consultants were informed of the fact that they were being recorded, and that the material would be used in my thesis and presented in the United States. They had a general idea of the topic of my thesis, and were told that their contributions would be anonymous and that they could request that the recorder be turned off at any time. The recorder was visible at all times while in use, although in order to manipulate levels of formality, the prominence of the recorder in the interaction varied—it might be in my hand the whole time, or on a table between myself and the consultants, or it might be placed on a shelf to one side of the participants in a conversation.

When I asked to observe and record a meeting, I approached the president of the organization first, and received his permission to be put on the agenda to present my case to the meeting. Having obtained the president's permission, I would attend the meeting, and at my agenda point, stand up, face the audience, and briefly explain my project. Afterwards, the president (who had implicitly pledged his support by allowing me to be put on the agenda) would often say a few words on my behalf. Then there was a short discussion, a few questions or clarifications, and without exception permission was granted for me to attend meetings and record them. Usually this was a fairly formal procedure, with a few approving comments about helping out young people who are interested in getting an education and in the traditions of Iscamayo. A record of the agreement was entered in the

libro de actas 'minutes' by the secretary of the meeting, and thenceforth I would attend and record without further consent protocols.

In contrast, in a rural mothers' club which I had worked with extensively in the past, the women asked rhetorically, *Acaso no nos conocemos?* 'Don't we know each other?' This comment pointed to the importance of the relationship of trust that I had worked to establish over the years in my field site. While other meetings that I recorded were public and featured speakers who were well-versed in oratorical style, meetings of the Mother's Club tended to be more private or conversationally-oriented in tone, with speakers who were less educated, often even illiterate, and more likely to feel shame or inadequacy when placed in an on-record situation. These speakers were also those whose speech was most likely to contain interesting examples of contact phenomena, even during the meeting itself—the Mother's Club was the only meeting I attended in which the audience spoke both in Quechua and in Spanish (Quechua was still used in a joking or off-record format). Without the personal relationships that laid the groundwork for this recognition of trust, a statement of the women's confidence that I would treat them in a respectful manner, it would have been very difficult to get permission to record the meeting. Indeed, the professional organizer from the city, who attended every few weeks, commented to me that I should hide my recorder, implying that I would never get good data if the recorder was visible.

For the conversations that I recorded, the consent process was minimal. Everyone whom I recorded in a conversational context was someone I knew socially. Most of them had asked about my project before and knew that I was working on a thesis project on the topic of typical ways of speaking and Spanish-Quechua contact. However, because these conversations generally occurred before the recording, they were not at the top of people's minds during the recording session. Of the sixteen conversations that I recorded, two of them were among a group of close family members, and close family members were among a larger group of participants in eight recordings (though they did not necessarily dominate the conversation). Other participants included more distant relatives, people I knew through previous projects, and friends of friends. All consultants were informed when the recorder was turned on. Although the recorder was visible at all times while recording, it was not always in a prominent position. They were also aware that they could leave or ask that the recorder be turned off at any time. However, I generally did not go through a formal consent script in these contexts.

In interviews, as part of the interview frame, I made a formal explanation of the goals of the interview. While I used colloquial language, the context was clearly institutional, and I asked for a verbal confirmation of permission to record. When carrying out language ideologies interviews, I gave a brief explanation of my project. For kitchen interviews, participants were told that the interviews would help an NGO improve its services, and that the recorded data could be used to clarify any questions or might be used in my thesis research (only a small percentage of the kitchen interviews were long enough to be included here). The two "accomplishment" interviews both involved individuals who had already received detailed explanations of my project in their capacity as municipal representatives. (More information about recording contexts is discussed in Section 2.2.4).

The municipal government was informed of my activities and agreed to act as an intermediary should any complaints arise. They were initially involved as a partner in the project, but after a change in municipal government, the new mayor delayed returning the signed memorandum of understanding to me. Ultimately, it was (no doubt purposely) misplaced. Thus, the mayor could claim that he always intended to sign it if the project was a success, but he could distance himself if it turned out to be a liability. Given the political climate between the US and Bolivia in 2008, this was a strategic move, if a frustrating one for me.

2.2.4. Recording contexts

I divided the recordings I made into general classes of three contexts: meetings, conversations, and interviews. I did not use any sort of formal analysis in the process of choosing these contexts. However, because of my previous experience in the area, I had a good understanding of local ideologies regarding types of speech and appropriate venues for different social varieties of speech.

Meetings are metapragmatically regimented genres of interaction, in which speakers are expected to adhere to a certain template for an ideal meeting. In meetings, individuals are expected to use a named genre of speech, oratoria 'oratory.' A pamphlet that I bought on this topic emphasized fluency, naturalness, and finding one's own voice; but another important aspect of oratory involves the command of a flowery oral genre including learned and technical vocabulary. Individuals are implicitly and explicitly evaluated on their

oratorical skill, and oratory is taught in schools. Self-improvement pamphlets teaching people how to improve their oratory are sold by hucksters on public buses, along with tracts on nutrition and religion. Formal oratory is not the only type of language that is used in meetings, nor are good orators the only people to speak in meetings, but they are generally felt to be an important ingredient in establishing a meeting context.

Conversations, on the other hand, are not metapragmatically theorized but represent a common genre of interaction, one which is not understood to require formal study or skill, despite the fact that some individuals are recognized as particularly good storytellers and raconteurs. Conversations occur at any hour of the day and in any setting, including within sections of meetings. They occur between friends and neighbors, family members, fellow workers—that is, achieving a successful conversation requires establishing some kind of sympathy, understanding, and similarity of condition.

Interviews, unlike meetings and conversations, are not a genre that most people experience on an everyday basis. I chose interviews as a third context because I would inevitably be carrying out interviews, and I was interested to see how they were understood by my consultants, but also because people have to guess how they are supposed to speak in the interview context. I expected interviews to fall somewhere between meetings and conversations in terms of both formality and density of contact features.

2.2.4.1. Meetings

I attended a variety of meetings. Eight of the sixteen meetings that appear in my recordings were meetings of neighborhood political units, known as *Organización Territorial del Base* 'Territorial Organization of the Base' or OTBs. These units are the fundamental form through which most rural Bolivians experience citizenship. In the municipality of Iscamayo, with an official population count of some 5,000 residents, there are thirteen OTBs, of which five are located in the urban center. Membership in OTBs is based on home ownership, divided by neighborhood. Each of these neighborhood organizations presents annual requests for projects which will benefit their neighborhood or the municipality as a whole. Municipal funds allocated by the federal government must only be used for projects presented by an OTB. OTBs may also act as a unit of political activism, or in addressing the more mundane details of community life, such as coordinating fumigations or being

informed of programs available through the local electric company. One of the OTB groups whose meetings I attended represented a neighborhood that existed only in the imagination—a group of individuals who were not homeowners, but were requesting federal poverty relief funds to subsidize the construction of a new neighborhood to the southeast of town. While it is understood to be a homeowner's civic responsibility to attend OTB meetings, some OTBs meet very infrequently—once or twice a year, or less. Even among those that meet frequently, no more than a third of the members of record typically attend OTB meetings.

Four of the meetings that I attended were meetings of a rural mother's club, officially sponsored by the Catholic church, which met in a satellite town some 5 km south of the main town, but along the principal road. This mother's club had been in existence for twenty years, since splitting from the mother's club in the main town of Iscamayo. At the time of its inception, the group had a large attendance, mostly because of the existence of weekly *cupos*, donations of food and other materials for members. By the time I became familiar with the club, it had thirteen to twenty regular members, whose main activities were knitting, gossiping, and organizing fundraisers such as sports tournaments in order to fund yearly or semi-yearly excursions. Occasionally one of the local nuns would visit and lead the group in a rosary, then scold them for real or imagined faults. (When I started working with a women's group, the nun gave me some well-intentioned advice: "You have to keep these women on a tight rein or they'll take advantage of you.") During my fieldwork in 2008, the group had once more grown to thirty or more regular participants, who met for seminars on civil rights, led by a licenciada 'professional' from the city.⁴ At the end of the series of seminars, the group was to be rewarded with a small animal project, in the form of laying hens.

The remaining four meetings I have classed as "miscellaneous". One was a Catholic baptismal class led by one of the local Dominican nuns and attended by families and prospective godparents of children to be baptized. One was a meeting of a group with the purpose of organizing a town festival around the theme of "Iscamayo's traditions". A third was a meeting of the local Asociación de Productores 'Farmers' Association.' Finally, the fourth meeting was dedicated to describing and promoting a more efficient wood-burning

⁴ People who hold a B.A. are respectfully addressed as *licenciado/a*, while people who hold a B.S. are addressed as *ingeniero/a*. These terms imply some social distance.

stove, which was being marketed to the community by CEDESOL, an NGO that I cooperated with in the cooking practices interviews (See 2.2.4.3).

As is probably clear by this time, there is an abundance of community organizations in Iscamayo. I didn't attend the most serious meetings, such as the PTOs for each of the local schools and the Asociación de Regantes 'Irrigators' Association.' These were organizations in which I had no stake, and I felt that my presence would be more noticeable and less welcome in these meetings, particularly the male-dominated Irrigator's Association, than in the community-oriented OTBs and Mother's Clubs. In addition, these meetings tended to be long, tedious, and dominated by the same speakers that spoke at the OTBs and Mother's Clubs.

As I have described, community meetings, and thus community representation, are usually the domain of the wealthy, the educated, the literate, and the oratorically skilled. Rural women are often reluctant to enter these settings because they feel ashamed of their own poverty, ignorance, and illiteracy. Development organizations and policy-makers at a national level often focus on bringing women into an existing system through education, training, and affirmative action. In the context of the mother's club meeting, in contrast, women were given a sense of ownership. By modifying the participation structure of the meeting, they evoked competing value system in which modesty, hard work, generosity and respect are valued over education, literacy, and oratory. Because of this contrast, I expected and found a much higher density of contact features in the mother's club meetings than in other types of meetings.

2.2.4.2. Conversations

I only recorded conversations when there were at least two people talking apart from myself. Although I didn't set an upper limit, no conversation involved more than six participants. Usually, these were recorded at my own or at someone else's home, and the participants either sat in chairs facing each other, or squatted on low stools or on the curb in front of the house. When someone visits your house, it's polite to bring out tall chairs, but if the visit is informal many people, especially women, feel more comfortable squatting on a low stool or *toko* (from Quechua *tuqu*). Most work in the home context is done squatting or sitting on a low stool, although making bread is done standing at a waist-high table. The

traditional local home has a covered porch area with homemade wooden benches, covered with bright hand-woven rugs, where guests can sit (or temporary workers can sleep overnight). In the central part of town, where there are sidewalks, anyone who is at home will sit outside on the stoop in the evening. Many families have small stores in their home and chat with customers and passersby as they lean on the door. The conversations that I recorded took place in all these contexts—on the sidewalk outside a family store, under a typical "traditional" porch, standing around a table making bread, sitting on a low stool while doing cooking tasks, and most of all, sitting in tall guest chairs while entertaining (or being entertained) with conversation and food.

Men are gone most of the day, at least while they have crops in the fields. Plenty of men appear in my recordings of conversations—a worker, a friend of my husband who was working at my house, several retired men, some family friends gathered for a festive occasion, a carpenter or a teacher talking with his wife after work—but there's no doubt that the conversational recordings are dominated by women. This effect is both logistical and social; a woman, single or married, who seeks out the company of men is understood to be up to no good.

Conversations tended to be more variable in length than either interviews or meetings. I tried to keep interviews around thirty minutes, while meetings never lasted less than two hours—and frequently quite a bit longer, although I didn't always stay to the bitter end. A conversation might last for just a few minutes or for several hours, though I never recorded more than three hours at a time. But if people really got to telling good stories and didn't have anywhere else to go, they would just keep on going. In contrast to interviews and meetings, conversational turns were usually short; participants faced each other in an informal grouping, and participants moved in and out. Sometimes children were present.

2.2.4.3. Interviews

Interviews usually occurred between me and one or two other participants (usually a husband and wife). In conversations, an awkward moment sometimes occurred when I turned on the recorder, or when someone drew attention to it in some way; but in interviews, the awkwardness was not focused on the presence of the recorder, but on the interview setting. After I explained my project and asked interviewees if they would be

willing to answer some questions, they sat formally, expectantly, a little nervously, waiting to see what they would be asked. In ten interviews, I asked questions about language ideologies (which I wrote myself). In more than a dozen interviews, I followed a questionnaire about cooking practices for a local NGO, described below (although only four of these interviews reached the twenty-minute threshold). In two interviews, I asked about an individual's accomplishments as a community leader. These topics were largely guided by me, in the role of interviewer, and interviewees would answer questions fairly succinctly. These recordings were never more than forty-five minutes or so, and I aimed for about thirty minutes. While I was asked to sit down, I was seldom offered food during an interview, even though they all took place in the interviewees' homes. Not all interviewees, especially in the case of the kitchen practices interviews, were people I knew socially.

The kitchen practices interviews were conducted under the auspices of an American-run NGO based in Bolivia, CEDESOL. The mission of this NGO was to replace open cooking fires, which consume relatively large amounts of firewood, with more efficient metal box stoves. The most recent Peace Corps volunteer had worked with this NGO to sell more than a hundred stoves in the community. These stoves were heavily subsidized by various government and international organizations, with the aim of reducing carbon emissions under the Kyoto protocol.

When the Peace Corps left the country abruptly in the wake of the 2008 expulsion of the US ambassador to Bolivia, this and other projects were left hanging. The head of the NGO sought me out, knowing I was a former volunteer and familiar with the community, in order to help him complete his certification process under international guidelines. My main participation in the project involved recruiting individuals from the group who had received stoves, as well as an equivalent number from the group that had not received stoves, to participate in a week-long test during which we measured the amount of wood consumed by the household. Each household also completed a short interview with me, during which I asked them questions about their use of natural resources and their observations regarding the utility of the stove, if they had received one. In exchange for their participation in the project, households which had received stoves were given a replacement combustion chamber for their stoves. My husband was recruited to install the replacement chambers, which (as is the case for Prima's interview in Section 8.4) he occasionally did while I was conducting interviews.

I interacted with thirty-five different households in the course of this project, and recorded some twenty of the interviews I carried out, but only four interviews reached the twenty-minute threshold necessary for inclusion in the present study.

Despite these limitations, the kitchen interviews provided an interesting contrast to the language ideologies interviews. While I had great difficulty recruiting people for the language ideologies interview, and was consistently steered towards older men and people with educational credentials, this was not the case for the kitchen interviews. In the case of kitchen interviews, the topic was clearly related to women's work, and in particular it is older women, poorer households, and more traditionally-oriented families that use the *kboncha*, an open fire, for cooking rather than the more modern (but more expensive) gas stove.

In all interview situations, I kept to the interview frame by sitting across from my interviewees; controlling the topic of conversation through questions; using the tape recorder and following a short informed consent script; and by keeping a sheet of paper with questions visible, sometimes referring to it during the interview. Often, after the interview proper, I continued speaking with the participants, but switched to a more conversational mode. I marked this change in frame by thanking the interviewees for their time and ideas, turning the recorder off, putting it away in its case, putting away the sheet of paper with interview questions, and letting the conversation be jointly guided. If I did not turn the recorder off, I kept it visible but moved it to a less conspicuous place. In one of the kitchen interviews, the interview finished in less than ten minutes, and so the transcribed segment took place in the less formal mode of interaction; I grouped this recording with conversations rather than with interviews.

2.2.5. Sampling

2.2.5.1. Sampling from recorded material

I made numerous recordings over the course of eleven months in Iscamayo. Five of the recordings were discarded because they principally involved speakers from other parts of Bolivia or other parts of the world (Spain, Cuba, the US). Six recordings have been set aside for future work because they contained long stretches of speech in Quechua, and this

dissertation considers only Quechua influence on Spanish.⁵ (There are three files included in the sample which contain short segments of speech in Quechua.) Eight files were eliminated because of insuperably poor sound quality. Finally, a large group of recordings (fourteen kitchen interviews and a large number of conversations, which I often deleted on the spot if they didn't reach 20 minutes) did not reach the 20-minute minimum needed to be included in the sample. These four reasons (speakers from outside the area, long stretches of speech in Quechua, poor sound quality, and length of recording) were the only bases on which recordings were eliminated from the sample. One recording was not included in statistical analyses because the speaker, who had a fairly low level of Spanish proficiency, used very different patterns of Quechua contact features in Spanish than the rest of the participants. This speaker alone accounted for virtually all of the morphological contact features in my data, confirming Escobar's discussion of the differences between native Andean Spanish and non-native Andean Spanish (1994). This speaker is discussed in Section 7.3.1.1. The remainder of the recordings involved principally very able Spanish speakers, although many of them identified themselves as Quechua-dominant speakers.

The second ten minutes of each recording were transcribed and coded for a set of contact features using Atlas.ti, a qualitative analysis software product. I chose Atlas because I was familiar with the software from an earlier project, and because it easily searches and labels transcriptions, although it cannot be used to tag sound files. The second ten minutes were used in order to dampen the constraining effect of the recorder on the interaction, and to move beyond the usual formulaic opening remarks. When the second ten minutes of speech was not appropriate for transcription because of a long silence, unintelligible stretches of speech, or long turns by individuals not residing in Iscamayo, the recording was moved forward to the next ten minutes. On a few occasions, neither the second nor the third ten-minute stretch was found to be appropriate and so a later section was selected on the basis of intelligibility. Ultimately, forty-eight recordings were collected and divided into recording contexts of meetings, conversations, and interviews. As it happened, the recordings were distributed evenly among the three contexts, with sixteen recordings of each group.

⁵ I would have loved to include data on Quechua and hope to do so in future work. This was not possible in this dissertation, in part for reasons of space and time and in part because my relationships with Quechua-dominant speakers are still developing. The late Prof. Jorge Mamani helped me with transcription of the Quechua data that I collected, but unfortunately illness prevented him from continuing with this project.

2.2.6. Conclusion

Meetings were relatively easy to record. As long as I went through the correct protocol, nobody ever questioned my attendance at a meeting, even though I was not on the attendance lists of the group. Nobody ever asked to go off-record, or asked me to leave or turn the recorder off when a sensitive subject came up—and this is not because they never did! Meetings are rife with interpersonal conflicts, power struggles, and thinly veiled insults. However, they are construed as public contexts which are available to anybody. Indeed, on more than one occasion, I was asked to join the *mesa directiva* 'officers' table,' probably because my official, foreign presence with a tape recorder was used to the organizer's political advantage.

Interviews were also relatively easy as long as I stuck with a group of people that were believed to be appropriate repositories of knowledge regarding the topic of the interview. Interviews about stoves and cooking practices were appropriately carried out with women, even uneducated women, who cooked and used the stoves. Interviews about typical styles of speech in Iscamayo were to be conducted with older people, generally men or couples, who had been born in Iscamayo and held positions of authority and influence during their lifetime. Nevertheless, there was an awkwardness, a nervousness, as interviewees struggled to understand what they were expected to say and how they were expected to act.

Conversations were very difficult to record and required both an established intimate relationship and a period of acclimation to the recorder. The attempt to record conversations in the presence of individuals with whom I did not have an established relationship was very similar to the experience of trying to recruit individuals for interviews when they felt they were not qualified as experts. Responses ranged from polite put-offs and excuses, to misdirection, to stubborn silence, to anger and resentment. This is because conversations are construed as a private context, to which only participants who already share a relationship should have access, and during which private information is shared. More than once, consultants requested that I turn off the recorder, or took matters into their own hands and turned it off when I stepped away for a minute or two.

Eventually, I went back to recording conversations among my original group of consultants—my extended family and close associates. Ironically, this was a more diverse

group—in terms of age, gender, socioeconomic class, education, ethnicity, place of origin, and background as a language speaker—than the one I had ended up with by using "random" selection. Since I saw these close associates frequently, they were well-informed about my project and became somewhat comfortable with the tape recorder, and I was often able to take advantage of a casual visit from a friend or relative in order to ask some questions or do a little recording.

2.3. Analytical methodology

In this section, I give brief descriptions of the contact features that appear in the dissertation, then describe the types of analytical approaches used in each chapter of the dissertation.

2.3.1. Contact features

The features that I present in this chapter have been well-described in the literature on Andean Spanish and it is not my intention to duplicate the descriptive work that already exists. For each feature, I include a few references for further information on or different views of the features that I describe.

I went to the field with a list of features that I had found in the Andean Spanish literature. I selected these features because (a) they were described in the Andean Spanish literature, or I had previously documented them myself; (b) I was confident from previous experience that they were used in my site, and (c) there seemed to be a strong case for their Quechua origin (i.e., because they are similar to a feature found in Quechua and they are not found, or not used in the same way, in other regions of the Spanish-speaking world). The original list is reproduced in Appendix B. The features that appear below turned out to be the most interesting for my analysis.

Palacios (2007) carefully demonstrates that contact influence may be of a variety of types. These types include not only borrowing and convergence between similar structures in languages in contact, but also reorganizations of systems in the target language that are triggered by contact with second-language speakers. In her words, ‘the language that undergoes change (Spanish) does not import material from the contact language (Guaraní or Quechua) but due to their influence, a restructuring of the pronominal system is triggered

that follows, or more accurately exploits, general patterns of the language's own evolution' (2007: 263).⁶ In her article, Palacios argues that language-internal tendencies and contact effects are not, in fact, mutually exclusive. Here, I divide contact features into three classes—those that arguably represent convergence, those that are clearly borrowings, and those that represent restructuring of the Spanish system.

2.3.1.1. Semantic convergence features

The features in this section emerged from my analysis as one of the most dependable correlates of speech contexts. They are very high-frequency and as such are often good candidates for statistical analysis. Convergence features seem to have developed when speakers took advantage of similar structures that existed, as far as can be determined, in Quechua and Spanish before contact. These features are identified as convergence features because there is a close parallel between the Spanish word or construction and a Quechua word or construction. As several lines of semantic research on Andean Spanish suggest, points of similarity between two different grammars may form the most likely site for contact influence to occur (Company Company 2006; Escobar 1997). However, this makes establishing status as a contact feature difficult, since in most cases the contact influence draws on an existing, but less-salient aspect of the Spanish word, drawing the semantic center of the concept into alignment with a Quechua affix or grammatical concept. In the following sections I discuss particular features and their Quechua and Spanish roots, giving references for further information.

While convergence features do have a reliable general pattern of distribution over the speech contexts that I identified, they do not figure in explicit models of appropriate speech (see Section 8.5.1 for more on metapragmatic transparency or lack thereof). It was my impression that speakers were not aware of these features in an explicit sense, although the ability to use these features appropriately in a variety of situations formed part of the general picture of what made a good speaker or a poor speaker.

⁶ Original: 'La lengua que experimenta el cambio (el castellano) no importa material de la lengua con la que está en contacto (el guaraní o el quechua), pero debido a la influencia de estas se desencadena la reestructuración de su sistema pronominal siguiendo, o mejor aprovechando, pautas generales de la propia evolución de la lengua.'

Dizque

Diz(que), from the verb *decir* 'to say' and the sentential complementizer *que*, is used as a reportative evidential marker in this and other varieties of Andean Spanish. De Granda identifies *dice* as a 'reportative element, clearly impersonal, calqued on the value of the morpheme -SHI/SI in Quechua' (2001a: 127). Olbertz finds it to be typical of bilinguals and narrative texts in Ecuador and Mexico (2005; 2007). This particle is also described in Mendoza (2008: 225), Calvo Pérez (2000: 107), Escobar (2000: 135-36), Company Company (2006), and Babel (2009).

Dizque is highly likely to occur in conversational contexts in which speakers orient towards private speech and traditional activities; in my data, 70% of the uses of *dizque* occurred in conversations. Consultants associate *dizque* with gossip and hearsay, although it is also used more neutrally as a reportative marker. Although *dizque* was present in Spanish at the time of colonization, it subsequently disappeared from peninsular Spanish, while remaining as an irrealis marker in many varieties of American Spanish (Olbertz 2007). However, in Bolivia and in regions where Quechua is widely spoken, *dizque* appears to be used systematically as a reportative evidential marker, modeled on the Quechua reportative evidential enclitic *-si* (Babel 2009; Company Company 2006; Travis 2006).

Dizque can be used clause-initially or clause-finally and often functions along with *diz* or *dive* (without the sentential complementizer *que*) as a frame around a clause or sentence. In this set of data, I only counted usage of *dizque* with no clear person referent in the discourse context. All contact features were coded by sentence, so that even if *dizque* appears several times in a single sentence, it counts as only one occurrence. Very commonly, *dice* or *dizque* occurs after the topic of the sentence, as in the following examples from my data:

(1)
*De raza **dizque** son.* *They're purebred, I hear.*
Of race REPORTATIVE (they) are

(2)
*Y segundo padre **dizque** es, es el padrino.* *And a second father they say he is, the*
And second father REP(he) is is the godfather *godfather is.*

While these examples have parallels in some historical and regional varieties of Spanish, they have a distinctly Quechua flavor. In other varieties of Spanish, *dizque* carries a strong mocking or ironic connotation. In the examples above, in contrast, neither of the speakers intends to cast doubt on the proposition, but rather to invoke an external source of information.

Saber

Saber ('to know' in most varieties of Spanish) has shifted from a simple verb of knowing to incorporate an additional grammatical category of habitualness, on direct analogy from Quechua *yachasqa* 'accustomed; known.' Pfänder describes the use of this word in Cochabamba Quechua for habitual actions, noting that, like many semantic convergence variables, this usage has roots in both 15th-century Spanish and Quechua semantics (2002: 235-36). Escobar (1994: 75) also mentions this construction as a causative, although in my data this usage doesn't appear.

In most modern varieties of Spanish, *saber* must be linked to an animate agent. However, as can be seen from Example 3 below, this is not the case for my data.

(3)
abi sabía haber un hoyo *there was habitually a hole there*
 there HABITUAL was a hole

(4)
Así, un vasito nomas sabe *he is accustomed to drink just one little glass*
 Thus, a little-glass only HABITUAL *[of chicha, an alcoholic beverage]*

This word is commonly used to describe a person's habitual consumption of food or beverages.

Pues

Though there is no strict morpheme-to-morpheme correspondence between Andean Spanish *pues* and Quechua, it has been widely described as a contact feature (Mendoza 2008: 228, Calvo Pérez 2000: 98-100, Escobar 2000: 136-37, Pfänder 2009: 126-30).

In non-contact varieties of Spanish, *pues* is a discourse marker that indicates a relation between two parts of a sentence or an exchange. It is often glossed as 'well' in English.

Pues is used remarkably frequently in Bolivian and other Andean varieties of Quechua, and as such might be best understood as a validational or focus marker, like the Quechua suffix *-mi*, as Zavala argues (2001). However, Calvo Pérez argues that *pues* is related to the emphatic suffixes *-taq* and *-má* in Peruvian dialects of Quechua (2000). I lean towards Calvo Pérez's explanation, although I think *pues* is even more pervasive than *-taq*; it occurred no fewer than 636 times in my 480 minutes of transcribed data, more than any other variable except the diminutive. If Zavala's argument is correct, and *pues* corresponds to *-mi* as an affirmative or personal-assertion particle, then it should never co-occur with *dizque*, which I have argued corresponds to the Quechua reportative *-si*. Yet in my data, there are several examples of co-occurrences of these two particles. Two examples follow:

(5)
dice que madura todo el año p' madura *They say that it gives fruit all year, it does*
 REP that (it) matures all year PUES it matures

(6)
Dizque él manejaba pues. Decían así. *They said he carried [cocaine]. So they said.*
 REP he handled PUES (They) said thus.

The co-occurrences of *dice* and *pues* pose a difficulty for Zavala's account, since she argues that *pues* is analogous to *-mi*, while *dizque* indicates a reportative marker analogous to *-si*. *-Mi* and *-si* do not co-occur in Quechua. However, as Zavala points out, Calvo Pérez's "emphasis" is an overly broad category, without a clear definition, so there is perhaps more work to be done before we can really say that we understand the relationship between *-taq* and *pues*. For now, it seems most reasonable to suppose that *pues* guides sentence focus for speakers of Andean Spanish in a way that is comparable to the functions of more than one particle in Quechua.

At this point, it may be unnecessary or even undesirable to insist on a strict morpheme-to-morpheme correspondence between Spanish and Quechua. In this dissertation, I follow Calvo Pérez's and Zavala's case for contact influence, made on the basis of semantic similarity, frequency and distribution of use, and finally contrasts between the use of *pues* in the Andes versus its use in other regions.

Ya

In normative Spanish, *ya* is usually glossed as 'already, soon.' In contrast to *pues, ya* has a close surface similarity, both phonetic and semantic, to the Quechua suffix *-ña*. *Ya* has been the focus of analytical attention in the Andean Spanish literature in Cerrón Palomino (2003: 250-51), Calvo Pérez (2000: 80-96), Escobar (2000: 138), and Pfänder (2009: 118-21). In dictionaries and grammars, *-ña* is directly translated as *ya*.⁷ Yet despite these surface similarities, *ya*, like the other particles discussed in this section, is used quite differently in my data than in normative Spanish.

(7)

Pero ya aquí mire centro ya estamos ya
But YA here look center YA (we) are YA

*But right here, look, we've become
the center [of town] already,'*

(8)

Ya en el cuarto anillo, otra vez vuelta me
YA in the fourth ring again return 1st-sing-ACC
hicieron parar ahí.
(they) made stop there

*When I reached the fourth ring,⁸
once again they had me stop there.*

(9)

Nos quedamos ya a esperar cuántos años más.
1st-plural refl. stay YA to wait how-many years more

*[If we don't submit this grant] we'll
be left behind to wait who-knows-
how many more years.*

Adelaar & Muysken (2004: 597) briefly discuss an example of *ya* to demonstrate duplication patterns in Andean Spanish, one very similar to my first example above. The syntactic and semantic organization of *ya* seems to be quite different from other varieties of Spanish, such as the examples given from the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*. Like other particles described in this section, *ya* can be used as a frame to organize focus. The use of *ya* not only frames segments of discourse and guides emphasis (*centro* 'center' and *estamos* 'we are' in the first example), but also communicates a quality of having reached (or missed)

⁷ I noticed on numerous occasions in my Quechua class at the University of Michigan that speakers of Spanish from other parts of the world had a difficult time with Spanish translations of Quechua material, which frequently employed contact-influenced words, such as those I describe here, as if they were direct translations of Quechua--which they may be for many Andean speakers.

⁸ The speaker is a bus driver, talking about leaving the city of Santa Cruz, which is laid out on a radial pattern; the fourth ring is the end of the dense metropolitan area.

a goal, as in Example 8 and Example 9. This can be compared to Quechua *-ña* in examples such as the following, also drawn from my recorded data:⁹

(10)
*Doña Anita, Doña Anita a casada...*¹⁰ *Doña Anita, Doña Anita, right, married...*
 Doña Anita Doña Anita emphasis married *She's, um, a married woman, isn't she?*
naña a casadaña a.
 um-ÑA emphasis married-ÑA emphasis

In this excerpt, the speaker rebukes her adult daughter for referring to me without the honorific *Doña*, appropriate for adult married women. (This is a defensive response to her daughter, who criticized her for calling me Juana.) Although this excerpt could be translated and understood as *already*, referring to an unexpectedly early marriage despite my youth, the speaker certainly does not consider me to have made an early marriage (quite the contrary!); instead, she intends to emphasize that I have arrived at the stage of life in which one must be addressed with respect. As in many examples of semantic convergence variable, this example is not incompatible with normative Spanish *ya*, but it illustrates the parallels between local Quechua and local Spanish usages.

Nomás

Nomás is considered archaic in peninsular Spanish, but is used in much of Latin America, especially Mexico, to mean 'only, just a little,' and especially to indicate politeness. In the literature on Andean Spanish, *nomás* is generally treated as a direct calque on the Quechua suffix *-lla*, which, in contrast to *-ña*, receives extensive treatment in the dictionaries I consulted; it is glossed as 'limitation, exclamation, modifies the action of the verb, of tenderness, of adulation' (Gonzalez Holguin 1901: 188) and as expressing 'affection, plea; corresponds to solely, no more than, only; also means relative acceptance; equivalent to simply, merely' (Lara 1991: 125). The extensive lexicographic treatment of this Quechua particle, in contrast to the brief translation given for *ya*, indicates its complicated status as a politeness marker and also its felt difference from Spanish usage. *Nomás* is discussed in the

⁹ I am very grateful to the late Prof. Jorge Mamani for his help in transcribing this and all following Quechua excerpts from my data. Translations, both from Spanish and from Quechua, are my own.

¹⁰ The word *casada* 'married [woman]' is a Spanish loan, one of a large class of loanwords relating to Spanish religious and judicial concepts; the speaker in this excerpt is a monolingual Quechua speaker. The word *a* (phonetically *ä*), often translated as *pues*, is used to organize focus in discourse.

Andean Spanish literature in Mendoza (2008: 228), Calvo Pérez (Calvo Pérez 2000: 100-02), Escobar (2000: 137), and Pfänder (2009: 130-33).

Nomás seems to be principally identified with Latin American Spanish in modern usage; the CREA database of the Real Academia Española finds the word *nomás* occurring primarily in Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, and Bolivia, and mostly in the genres of "fiction" and "everyday life"—oral, informal genres. Bustamante-López & Niño-Murcia describe *nomás* as a polite particle used in making requests. They note that 'the impositive acts used by [North Andean Spanish] speakers not only differ at a grammatical level from the general patterns in Spanish but also show subtle pragmatic dialectal differences' (1995: 885).

Based on my data, I would suggest that the central meaning of *nomás*, like *-lla*, is of limitation, with the pragmatic extension of politeness (cf. expressions in English such as "just one little thing"). Here are some examples:

(11)

*Es que, antes la gente estaba **nomás**,*
It's that before the people were NOMAS
como sea trabajaba para su ropa
however (they) worked for their clothes

It's that, before the people were just there,
they worked however they could for their
clothing

(12)

*Yo creo ha debido decir, ahí **nomás** el*
I think (they) must have said, there NOMAS the
gobierno también.
government TAMBIEN

I think they must have said, no further, the
government.

In the first example, the speaker contrasts current times, when Quechua speakers own taxis and valuable property in the city, to the past, when people did their utmost just to keep clothes on their backs. As in this example, *nomás* can often be translated into English as 'just.' In the next example, the speaker uses *nomás* to describe a limit set by (or for) the government—they can come up to this point but no further.

This can be compared to a Quechua example of *-lla* from my data, in which the speaker contrasts her upbringing to that of modern children:

(13)

Chay-rayku-chá burr-ita-pis
That-reason-perhaps burro-DIM-PIS

Maybe for that reason we just grew up like
burros [wild, ignorant].

wiña-ku-lla-yku-taq a.
 grow-refl-LLA-3rd inclus-also emphasis

This usage of *-lla* is directly calqued in the variety of Spanish that I describe.

Siempre

Siempre 'always' is typically associated with a temporal quality in standard Spanish. However, in this variety of Spanish, it use used to mean something more like 'absolute affirmation, without room for doubt,' as the Quechua suffix *-puni* is defined (Gonzalez Holguin 1901: 279). This particle is described in the Andean Spanish literature in Mendoza (2008: 228), Calvo Pérez (2000: 77-80), and Pfänder (2009: 124-26). Its non-temporal quality is based on a clear parallel with the Spanish 'in all cases' (if something happens in all cases then it definitely happens in any one of those cases), and is used in Colombia to mean 'definitely, decidedly' (DRAE). In my data, it is clear that the Bolivian *siempre* has meanings that encompass 'always,' 'definitely,' and 'entirely':

(14)
Una semana siempre he estado ps I was there for an entire week
 One week SIEMPRE (I) was there PUES

Here, *siempre* refers not to the duration of stay, but for the wholeness or inviolability of the concept expressed, translated here as *entire*. In the literature on Andean Spanish, it has been suggested that this particle is used to express emphasis (Laprade 1981: 218) on the model of *puni*; Manley disagrees, arguing that *siempre* is used on the model of evidential *-mi* to communicate a high degree of certainty (2007: 196). However, as Manley notes, the semantics of Quechua *-mi* and *-puni* overlap. Here again, I think the pragmatic salience of certainty, and its connection to absoluteness, in Quechua is enough to justify the argument of contact influence, without tying the Spanish word down to a literal Quechua translation.

Below is an example of *-puni* from my Quechua data:

(15)
...mama-yku-ta-pis ni-puni ni ima-ta-pi Nor our mother, we absolutely never
 mother-our-ACC-PIS NEG-PUNI NEG thing-ACC-in *ever went bothering her for*
mana molesta-q-chu ka-yku... anything..
 NEG bother-habitual-NEG were-3pl excl

In this excerpt the speaker uses parallel constructions, repeated use of the negators *mana-chu* and *ni* (a Spanish loan), and the absolute *-puni* to emphasize that unlike today's children, she and her siblings never pestered their parents for money or clothes. This sentence does not have a literal, word-by-word translation into Spanish; however, the semantic content of *-puni* is clearly parallel to the use of *siempre* in local Spanish.

También

También, glossed as 'also, too' in standard Spanish, has a clear parallel to the Quechua suffix *-pis/pas* (dialectal variation), and is discussed in the Andean Spanish literature in Cerrón Palomino (2003: 246-48), Calvo Pérez (2000: 90-94), Escobar (2000: 137), and Pfänder (2009: 134-35). While in standard Spanish *también* is used to link two arguments, in this variety of Spanish it is used principally to mark parallelism, but also to motivate or explain previous utterances.

Escobar (2000: 81), citing a 1996 manuscript by Cerrón-Palomino, discusses *también* as an 'indefinite marker and connector,' attributing these usages to calques of Quechua *-pis/pas*. They give the following examples:

(16)
papa también maíz también hemos sembrado 'We planted potatoes and also corn.'
 potato TAMBIEN corn TAMBIEN we sowed (Cerrón-Palomino 1996a)

(17)
allí mismo come también duerme también 'Right there he eats and he sleeps.'
 there same eats TAMBIEN sleeps TAMBIEN (Cerrón-Palomino 1996a)

These examples seem to me to be a clear case of marking of parallel structure. In the examples above, *también* is used like *-pas*, marking noun and verb phrases for parallelism. The examples from my data were rarely this clear-cut; rather than marking parallelism at sentence level, they tend to mark parallelism at the level of discourse—parallelism of ideas rather than of arguments, as in Example 18:

(18)
Ya ellos, sabemos, ya, agarran le, ya, 'So they, we know, ok, they take it up, ok,
 YA they (we) know YA (they) grab DAT YA there's always something, ok, they make an
siempre hay algo, ya, [porfean] ya effort and they make us understand
 SIEMPRE there's something YA (they) try YA

nos hacen entender también
 us (they) CAUSE understand TAMBIEN

In this sentence, the speaker explains how she communicates with monolingual Quechua speakers. She marks the structures *porfean* 'they make an effort' (from the normative Spanish verb *porfiar*) and *ya nos hacen entender* 'then they make us understand' as parallel using *también*. While the first segment is not marked, it is implicitly compared to the second segment. (Notice the use of *ya*, *siempre* and *hacer* causative in this sentence as well).

The following sentence, drawn from the same recording context as Example 15, has the same pattern of implicit marking on the first segment and explicit marking with *-pis* on the second segment:

(19)

<i>mana antes molesta-q-chu kay-ku</i>	<i>We were never bothering our father</i>
NEG luckily bother-habitual-NEG were-we	<i>for anything, Nor our mother, we</i>
<i>tataykuta ni imapi,</i>	<i>absolutely never ever went bothering</i>
father-our-ACC NEG thing-in	<i>her for anything..</i>
<i>mama-yku-ta-pis ni-puni ni ima-ta-pi</i>	
mother-our-ACC-PIS NEG-PUNI NEG thing-ACC-in	
<i>mana molesta-q-chu ka-yku...</i>	
NEG bother-habitual-NEG were-3pl excl	

There is a second use of *también* that is widespread in this area. This is when *también* is used to motivate or justify a previous statement; it's often brought up when people are making excuses or justifications, as in "Sorry I am late. The bus always runs late *también*." This use has no parallel that I'm aware of in standard written or spoken varieties of Spanish. The following example of *también* from my data, in a quotation that is one of my personal favorites, is of this type.

(20)

<i>Que significa el nombre? No entiendo.</i>	<i>What is the meaning of a name? I don't</i>
What means the name NEG understand	<i>understand. Your question is a poor one.</i>
<i>Mal su pregunta también.</i>	
Poor your question TAMBIEN	

In this excerpt, the nun in charge of baptism class baldly reprimands one of the parents whose child is to be baptized, using a language of criticism that is redolent of the autocratic elementary-school classroom. She mockingly repeats the mother's question,

"What is the meaning of a name?" Then she dismisses the question, saying that she doesn't understand and characterizing it as a "bad question" (meaning, I think, that the question is unclear, poorly phrased, or inadequately thought out). In this case, *también* is being used as a rationalization for her previous statement that she doesn't understand—casting blame on the student, not on the teacher.

This use can also be found in Quechua data, in Examples 15 and 19:

(21)

Chay-rayku-chá burr-ita-pis
That-reason-perhaps burro-DIM-PIS

*Maybe for that reason we just grew
up like burros [wild, ignorant].*

wiña-ku-lla-yku-taq a.
grow-refl-LLA-3rd inclus-also emphasis

This speaker, like the nun, is casting blame, but she is doing it obliquely. She compares modern children, who unabashedly demand clothing and gifts from their parents, to her generation, when children never asked anything of their parents. Then she justifies this by criticizing herself, saying that she was raised ignorant and uncivilized like a dumb animal. This is a common trope in the stories of the older generation—something along the lines of "Maybe I'm just old-fashioned and I don't know any better". But like this English gloss, it means exactly the opposite of its surface value. *-Pis* in this context works with *chayraykuchá* 'perhaps for that reason' to make an ironic show of suggesting that the reason for her lack of understanding of modern child-raising is her own faulty upbringing.

Hacer

Hacer ('to do, to make' in standard Spanish) is used as a causative, like the Quechua suffix *-chi*, as described in the Andean Spanish literature by Escobar (2000: 128). Again, it is easy to see the semantic potential for the shift, as *hacer* in other varieties of Spanish can mean 'make (someone or something) do something.' This is a point on which I was frequently corrected; if I said, for example, that I was going to put up a wall around my house, my consultants would amend my comment, 'You mean, you'll *have a wall put up* around your house.' There is a strong distinction in this dialect of Spanish between doing things oneself and having them done, or causing them to be accomplished. Escobar (1994: 75) mentions the use of *hacer* as a causative; some, but not all causative constructions using *hacer* are grammatical in normative Spanish.

Causative *hacer* occurs frequently in my data, as in the following examples:

(22)

*Entonces, quiero **hacer** conocer a Uds,*
So (I) want CAUSE meet pers. youPL

So, I would like to have you meet each other
[to make you known to each other]

(23)

*No le **hecho** cenar, pues, en,*
NEG ACC CAUSE eat-dinner PUES in

I didn't have him eat dinner; in, I didn't have
him eat.

*no le **he** **hecho** comer*
NEG ACC CAUSE to-eat

(24)

*Así que nos **hicieron** casar como a la moda*
Thus us-ACC CAUSE marry like the style

And so they married us [caused us to be
married] in the old style.

antigua, así.
old thus

Many of these examples sound strange to Spanish speakers from other parts of the world. However, they have parallels in local Quechua usage, again from the same section of data quoted in Examples 15, 19, and 21:

(25)

ni ropa chura-yku-way nispa, ni kirus
NEG clothes put-us-ACC saying NEG teeth

We didn't ask for clothes, we didn't ask for
our teeth to be fixed.

*chura-yku-**chi**-way nispa,*
put-us-CAUSE-ACC saying

Here, the speaker uses the verb *churay* 'to put on/in' for both clothes and teeth; when she was a child, when referring to clothes, which her parents would buy or make for her directly, she does not use the causative, but when she refers to teeth, which her parents would have the dentist fix (or replace, as 'put in' new teeth seems to imply), she uses the causative.

2.3.1.2. Borrowed features

Borrowed features are among the features most strongly associated with the traditional semiotic complex (e.g., likley to be used among women and in informal or intimate conversation, or as a marker of alignment with traditional values). Interestingly,

with the exception of loanwords, these features tend to be suprasegmental and have received little attention in the Andean Spanish literature.

Loanwords of Quechua origin are widely documented as a feature of Andean Spanish (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 590-91). These range from the quotidian (*wawa* 'baby,' *mut'i* 'boiled corn') to the unusual (*pujtida* 'crouched, bent over,' *pjosoko* 'bubbly foam'). Loanwords encompass all grammatical categories, although adjectives and nouns are most common. They are often inflected with Spanish grammatical suffixes (*thantakbat-ero* 'peddler' from Quechua *thanta qhatu* 'used goods' and Spanish person suffix *-ero* 'person who does/makes'). When adjective loanwords end in *-a* in Quechua they are not inflected for Spanish grammatical gender (*perros k'alas* 'hairless dogs (m),' from Quechua *q'ala* 'naked,' where a Spanish masculine adjective would ordinarily end in *-o*); however, when they end in *-u* they are inflected for Spanish grammatical gender (*perro ñato* 'snub-nosed dog (m),' but *perra ñata* 'snub-nosed dog (f),' from Quechua *ñatu* 'short- or broad-nosed'). Loanwords are accommodated to Spanish phonology, but local Spanish includes a two-way distinction between ordinary consonants and aspirated or ejective consonants, partially reproducing Quechua's three-way distinction. (See Appendix D for a table of loanwords from this dissertation.)

Aspirates and ejectives constitute a separate, but overlapping class of contact features. There is a continuum of affect that is expressed in the realization of aspirates and ejectives. A word such as *t'ajra* 'dry, rocky, infertile place' might be realized with a glottal stop, aspiration ranging from light to heavy, or an ejective, again varying in strength and salience. Aspirates and ejectives are used mostly on words of Quechua origin, but also on Spanish words to mark affect or emphasis, often along with other contact features. As such, aspirate and ejective marking constitutes a class that is simultaneously gradient and categorical. The Quechua loanword *ʔapa* 'nest' is usually realized with an aspirate, but different speakers might use a glottal stop or an ejective for the first consonant; this word contrasts with the Spanish *tapa* 'lid, covering' for most speakers. However, an angry mother might scold her daughter for not making her bed by using a strong, loud ejective. Although I do not have specific evidence to point to, it is also my feeling that Spanish words that begin in voiceless consonants tend to get aspirated in angry or mocking speech. Heavy aspiration is often used to mark foreign accents.

Falsetto voice, described in more detail in Chapter 6, is used in Quechua for ritual occasions and in speech to otherworldly beings, such as gods, spirits, and ancestors (Albó 1970: 128). It appears in my data only in the speech of men and in the context of serious discourse, such as meetings, in which individuals voice inner pain and sorrow as a form of public protest.

Ingressive airflow is used primarily among women to indicate emotions such as concern, empathy, urgency, anxiety, surprise, or resignation. It is very common in the speech of Quechua-speaking women. In general, ingressive airflow seems to be used to generate a feeling of closeness and involvement with an interlocutor. It can take the form of short intakes of breath after sections of speech, or can consist of speech produced while breathing in. In my data, occurrences are dominated by three speech contexts in which women used ingressive airflow to punctuate a longer narrative. (This feature is discussed in more detail in Section 6.2.)

2.3.1.3. Reorganization of the Spanish system

In addition to the semantic convergence and borrowed variables that I discuss in detail in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I also refer to a group of variables that represent regularizing or leveling of the Spanish system, probably triggered by language contact. While many of these features could be motivated simply by regularizing the Spanish paradigms, rather than from contact with Quechua, I follow Palacios's suggestion that contact and language-internal tendencies are not mutually exclusive (2007). Whether or not these features represent true examples of contact influence, they are enregistered as part of a pattern of features that also includes many contact features.

Quechua has a very regular **penultimate stress pattern**; the default for Spanish is also penultimate stress, but it has more exceptions than in Quechua. Often, words that do not have penultimate stress in Spanish are used with penultimate stress as a way of invoking the traditional semiotic complex. For example, the proper name *Ángela* is pronounced as *Angéla*, or *plátano* 'banana' becomes *platáno*.

In verbs, penultimate stress seems to be even more stylized. Spanish-speakers use penultimate stress on the first person verb forms, the only member of the paradigm that does NOT have normative penultimate stress, to invoke ideas associated with the traditional

semiotic complex. In particular, the imperfective verb form *-abámos* (in place of normative *-ábamos*) is used to evoke a remote past that is remembered with nostalgia.

Both Spanish and Quechua have normative CV syllable structure, but Quechua is much more regular; often, speakers create **CV syllable structure** in Spanish diphthongs. For example, they insert a glide in the verb *traer* 'to bring,' making it *trayer*, or change *ie* diphthongs to *e*, changing *bien* 'well' to *ben*.

Unlike Spanish, Quechua lacks **gender marking**, and **number marking** is optional. Irregular gender and number marking in Spanish is often associated with Quechua interference.

One of the most salient, most iconic markers of Quechua-speakers in Spanish is the influence of the Quechua three-vowel system, *a, i, u* (with backed allophones in the context of uvular *q* and glottalized consonants) on the Spanish five-vowel system *a, e, i, o, u*. Speakers tend to use **vowel raising** of *e* and *o* to *i* and *u*, and they also hypercorrect, using **vowel lowering** of *i* and *u* to *e* and *o*. This phenomenon affects Spanish-speakers as well as Quechua-speakers. One of my most unpleasant encounters with airline personnel in Bolivia involved a flight attendant who passive-aggressively refused to hear my pronunciation of the airport code *GSO* as anything other than *GSU*. For a discussion of this phenomenon, labeled *motosidad*, see Cerron-Palomino 2003: 37-64.

Finally, I discuss the **realization of /f/** as a bilabial voiceless fricative [ɸ], or more accurately, [ɸ^w], with lip-rounding. This allomorph of the labiodental /f/ appears in rural varieties of archaic Spanish. While Quechua does not have a labiodental fricative, /f/ is usually borrowed into Quechua as /p^h/. It's possible that some degree of variation in /f/ comes from Quechua speakers; it's at least as probable that it has an archaic Spanish source. What's important for the data that I discuss is that this feature is strongly associated with the traditional semiotic complex and with Quechua speakers.

2.3.2. Methodology by chapter

In this section, I describe the methodology for the analyses that are presented in each chapter of the dissertation.

2.3.2.1. Chapter 5

In Chapter 5, I tested whether there was a non-random distribution of contact features over the three recording contexts. At the first step of analysis, I grouped features into classes based whether they were (1) phonological (2) morphological or (3) semantic convergence variables. Then, using Atlas.ti, I counted the occurrences of these variables over the 480 minutes of transcription, and compared their incidences in interactions which I had grouped as conversations, interviews, and meetings. If they are coded correctly in the transcription, Atlas can automatically mark words or phrases, e.g. "all occurrences of the string también" or "all occurrences of intake," which was the notation I used for ingressive air flow. Other features, such as shift to penultimate stress marking, were coded by hand. When features were coded automatically I also checked them by hand. I then used Atlas to quantify the distribution of features over each of the three contexts that I had identified.

Not all the features occurred enough to be significant in my analysis. I eliminated features that occurred one or zero times over the 480 minutes of transcription. It soon emerged that phonological and morphological features were extremely uncommon compared to semantic convergence features; for example, the semantic convergence variable *pues* occurred 636 times in the corpus while the phonetic variable of *w realization of /v/* occurred just three times. Morphological features, which were also uncommon, turned out to be concentrated in the speech of one speaker who had learned Spanish as an adult; I decided to exclude this transcription from the general analysis because of its divergence from the general patterns of contact features (confirming Escobar's argument that native and non-native varieties of Andean Spanish are linguistically different entities (1994)).¹¹ This was a practical issue rather than a theoretical stance; while many speakers in my samples identified themselves as Quechua-dominant speakers, this individual had issues that were unique to her case. Because I wanted to include this speaker in the picture as the whole, I did qualitative analysis of her speech in Section 7.3.1.1.

Semantic convergence features were abundant in my transcripts, and yielded highly statistically significant results when I used a chi-square test on their distribution across the three speech contexts. The chi-square test is one of the most commonly used tests for a

¹¹ However, I would contend that these differences are also tightly integrated with linguistic ideologies and social structure, as I detail further in Chapter 3.

simple analysis of distribution. It is used to test the probability that the distribution of a particular variable across categories is likely to be random. A low p-score indicates that the distribution is unlikely to be random, and thus can be explained by other means. For the test described here, I proposed that the distribution of contact features depended on the context of speech. The chi-square test is constructed by setting up a table, in this case with three columns (speech contexts) and dependent variables, or contact features, arranged as the rows.

The assumptions for the chi-square are the following: That the data come from a random sample, that there is a sufficiently large sample size (generally more than 30), that each cell have at least 5 members, and that each observation is independent (does not count for more than one square). As I discuss in Section 2.2.5, my data did not come from a random sample of speakers; however, they were selected systematically from recordings. The main difficulties for applying statistics to my data are sample size and cell count. Many of the variables that I examined occurred very little over all; others hardly appeared in certain contexts. This made parts of my data unsuitable for statistical analysis. The most appropriate features for statistical analysis are the semantic convergence features, described in 2.3.1.1. Borrowed features, in contrast, are infrequent and unlikely to appear across all three speech contexts. While this makes them inappropriate for statistical analysis, it supports my assertion that they are different as a class from convergence features, and more salient at the conscious level to speakers.

In contrast to an experimental study in which the results would be produced by particular speakers against all three contexts, my data came from different speakers across contexts and therefore was not suitable for a variety of statistical tests that would have given information about cross-context patterns.

2.3.2.2. Chapter Six

For Chapter Six, I focused on a set of features that did not meet the requirements for the chi square analysis. While initially I characterized this group as phonological and morphological features, it soon emerged that the most interesting and systematic contrastive patterns in this group of features that also included lexical items such as loanwords. After careful analysis, I decided to characterize these features as borrowings, based on the fact that

they are features that have no analogue in Spanish, and therefore are not of the convergence type, but rather have a clear Quechua origin. Interestingly, these features are the least frequent and the most available to conscious manipulation by speakers, as I discuss in Chapters Eight and Nine.

In Chapter Six, I contrast the general patterns of use among borrowed features (as I did for convergence features in Chapter Five). These features are not appropriate for statistical analysis because (1) they occur less frequently, and therefore yield less significant results and (2) many of them do not occur across all contexts of speech, and the chi-square test cannot function when the table contains zeroes. Therefore, I use qualitative analysis, looking at how speakers use these features with attention to specific social context.

In order to talk about the way that people play with expectations of types of speech in interaction, it's important to set up a description of what these general expectations are. My goal in Chapters Five and Six is to set a general picture of how contact features are distributed over social contexts.

2.3.2.3. Chapter Seven

In Chapter Seven, I look at social groups through an analysis of transcripts showing the use of contact features by particular individuals who are identified as members of social groups. The groups that I identify are linked to histories of migration; *collas* are migrants from the western highlands, *vallunos* are migrants from the local highlands surrounding the Iscamayo valley, and *legítimos Iscamayeños* are from traditional land-owning families of the area. A fourth group is constituted by small group of highly educated multilingual *profesores* 'teachers' from the highlands who hold a special position of respect in the community. Through analysis of sections of these transcripts, I show that speakers use contact features to highlight aspects of their own or others' positioning. While speakers seem to have different levels of awareness of contact features, all speakers shift their use of contact features in some way depending on the situation and their orientation. However, the use of enregistered features is interpreted differently depending on the group the speaker is identified with.

2.3.2.4. Chapter Eight and Nine

In Chapters Eight and Nine, I combine qualitative and quantitative approaches found in Chapters Five and Six, and Seven. In these chapters, I focus on two pairs of individuals, using detailed information from transcripts in order to examine the way that speakers shift patterns of contact features between contexts. In Chapter Eight, I show that two speakers with comparable histories and propositional stances create divergent social positions through the use of contact features. In Chapter Nine, I examine the way that another pair of speakers varies in their use of contact features over social contexts. Through these examples, I show that the use of contact features must be considered in the context of local, and locally dynamic language use. I do this through a quantitative analysis of contact features in two comparable social contexts for each pair, as well as a qualitative analysis of sections of transcript.

For these analyses, it was necessary to use speakers with whom I shared a close personal relationship, not only because I was able to obtain recordings of them under different social circumstances, but also because I am very familiar with their personal circumstances and their personal lives (as they are with mine). This familiarity enabled me to have a strong instinctive feeling for the nuances of word choice and narrative, as I fit this information into the context of my knowledge of their lives. At the same time, it makes it very difficult to maintain a principled boundary between public and private, on-record and off-record aspects of our relationship. I owe a great deal of gratitude to the four women I discuss in these chapters, not only for their participation in my research but for their friendship, and I hope that I will be successful in presenting the information here with delicacy and respect.

2.3.2.5. Summary

In Chapters Three and Four, I use ethnographic description to set the stage for my analysis of contact features, since I argue that contact features are tied to a locally-dependent system of social and semiotic interpretation. In Chapters Five and Six, I describe the way that contact features are distributed over a set of social contexts. In Chapters Seven I turn to the interpretation of contact features based on social categorizations of speakers. In

Chapters Eight and Nine I discuss styles of use of contact features, describing individuals with locally interpretable positioning that is enacted through language.

Chapter 3: Ideologies of Quechua and Spanish

3.1. Orienting to the dissertation

Scholarship in the Andes tends to start from the assumption that Spanish and Quechua are discrete entities with logical boundaries, and the scholarly literature on language contact attempts to describe the influence of one on the other. But as Howard-Malverde implies in her article "Pachamama is a Spanish word" (1995), language boundaries can be theorized in different ways and individual features or lexical items may be strongly associated with the "wrong" social group. Linguistic features are distributed depending on the way that speakers perceive their relationship with social groups, not on the way that linguists classify these features with relationship to idealized historical trajectories.

Code-switching and code-mixing themselves are behaviors that are associated with particular types of people, as I describe below. But who is to define code-switching and code-mixing, when the question of what is understood to be part of one code or another is in doubt? Can a feature be identified as a contact feature because linguists affirm that it has roots in one language or another? Or should it be grouped with features that native speakers identify as characteristic of certain speaker groups? I introduce this issue here in order to discuss it in more detail in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

In the present chapter, I contrast the use of the Quechua language with the use of Quechua features in Spanish as markers of distinct social groups. Spanish-speakers generate a distinct local identity through their use of Quechua contact features in Spanish. Furthermore, I show that speakers of a mixed variety of Spanish characterize speakers of mixed varieties of Quechua as being similar to themselves.

Speakers highlighted the relationship between histories of migration and identification as a language speaker in staking out and maintaining the boundaries between social groups. In later chapters, I refer to the social groups that I describe here as speakers orient towards or question the boundaries between these naturalized categories. Since expectations of appropriate ways of speaking and typical language use differ for different

groups, it's crucial to understand which social group an individual is identified with, or orienting towards, before analyzing their use of contact features.

Group identification provides a background against which a speaker can orient to semiotic oppositions such as tradition and modernity, described in Chapter 4. It also provides a framework for speakers to monitor appropriate behavior and to evaluate claims that their friends and neighbors make to belonging in different groups, whose members share different values and social status. Although groups are naturalized in local discussion, they are also characterized and performed in different ways at different times.

I use the term *social-semiotic field* in order to capture the interdependence of social relationships, such as the formation and regulation of social groups, and the production of meaning through the symbolic system of language. Although this term is associated with Halliday's concept of systemic functional grammar, I use it only to link the production of linguistic meaning to the production of social meaning. This involves both particular social relationships between individual actors and relationships between sign forms. Halliday defines the *social semiotic* as 'a system of meanings that constitutes the 'reality' of the culture. This is a higher-level system to which language is related: the semantic system of language is a realization of the social semiotic' (1994: 39). In using this term, I wish to evoke the mirroring of social and linguistic organization.

I also echo Eckert's use of the term *field* when I discuss the social-semiotic field. Eckert uses the term to point out that the meanings associated with particular indices are not fixed, but are constituted by a constellation of related ideas that can be picked out by different contexts and speakers. The interaction has no meaning outside its embodiment in a particular place and a particular set of interlocutors. Here, too, there may be a harmony with Halliday's use of the term *sociosemiotic*; he states that 'a "sociosemiotic" perspective implies an interpretation of the shifts, the irregularities, the disharmonies and the tensions that characterize human interaction and social processes' (Halliday 1994:42). I would suggest that these shifts and dissonances take place not only over time and in a uniform direction, but are inherent in any interaction.

I approach this data through the theoretical framework of language ideology. Woolard states that 'representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world are what we mean by "language ideology" ' (1998a: 3). If people believe that *collas* are bilinguals, then they are, in the eyes of

believers, and any individual who isn't must be understood as an exception to the general rule. Indeed, a monolingual *colla* may be felt to be an imperfect example of *colla*-ness, and people who consider themselves to be *collas* may pride themselves on their bilingualism.

As Woolard states in the essay quoted above, the study of language ideologies represents an approach that links linguistic and social theory. Ideas about language shape the way that language is used by speakers as they relate to these systems. In this case, the data that I discuss below show how the boundaries between Spanish and Quechua languages and speakers are maintained and complicated, and how a common ideology regarding purity and mixing unites these two categories.

Because I am interested in the way that these boundaries are created and enforced, I ground this analysis in Irvine & Gal's framework of linguistic differentiation, including the processes of *iconization*, *fractal recursivity*, and *erasure* (2000). Irvine & Gal use *iconization* to refer to the process that links linguistic features to social groups, 'as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence' (2000: 37). As I discuss below, this is evident in my data when being a monolingual speaker of Spanish is linked to European heritage, along with features such as a light complexion and curly hair. These characteristics are linked to being advanced, modern, and worldly in opposition to the backwardness, indigeneity, and traditional activities that are associated with Quechua and Quechua-speakers. The latter characteristics are also associated with the mixture of Quechua contact features (or more accurately, features associated with the traditional semiotic complex) in Spanish. The repetition of this binary in the context of 'pure' or 'impure' varieties of Spanish is an example of *fractal recursivity*, which Irvine & Gal define as 'the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level' (Irvine & Gal 2000: 38). This process also works to distinguish groups of speakers; while Spanish-speakers are characterized as insiders and Quechua-speakers as outsiders, the use of Quechua features in Spanish is understood to be a marker of a distinct local identity. Finally, *erasure* simplifies relationships by ignoring or denying real-world complexity in the process of creating an abstract system of reference. This process is at work when speakers tell me that Quechua is not spoken in Iscamayo, despite ample evidence to the contrary.

Perhaps more important to my argument, however, is Irvine & Gal's discussion of the way that language ideologies, political, folk, and scholarly, are implicated in the theorizing of linguistic groups. Native speakers aren't the only people to have ideologies; language

'experts,' including linguists, also bring their ideologies to the study of language groups, as Irvine and Gal point out. I think this observation is particularly important to remember in the discussion of "Spanish-speakers" and "Quechua-speakers," or even "monolinguals" and "bilinguals" in the Andean context.

3.2. Reframing belonging through language ideological processes

In this section, I discuss the way that Quechua is systematically erased from the construction of Iscamayo's linguistic and social scene, while Quechua contact features are reformed as markers of distinctive locality through the ideological processes of iconicity, recursivity, and erasure (Irvine & Gal 2000).

Quechua contact features are transformed through semiotic processes into markers of local identity (Johnstone et al. 2006; Johnstone & Kiesling 2008). Through these processes, they gain a second-order indexical interpretation as markers of a distinct, unique local identity that is imagined as ethnically and socioeconomically unmarked (Silverstein 2003).

In describing this process, I wish to direct attention to the function of language ideological processes in changing the framing and interpretation of language ideologies at a local level. In the sections below, I discuss the appropriation of salient markers of a traditional rural lifestyle by a group that casts itself as *legítimos Iscamayebños* 'legitimate native-born people from Iscamayo'; the implication is that a legitimate Iscamayebño is of European descent.

3.3. Quechua not spoken here

My boss from the Peace Corps knew I wanted to go to a Quechua-speaking town, so when he assigned me to Iscamayo, he assured me, "Sure, there's lots of Quechua spoken there." When I arrived in Iscamayo, everyone told me that he had tricked me. No, nobody speaks Quechua here. Yet there was abundant evidence that there were Quechua speakers, even monolingual Quechua speakers, in Iscamayo. (True, none of them wanted to practice speaking Quechua with me.) Everyone told me that these cases were exceptional, impermanent, transient, not members of Iscamayo society. Years later, the number of

Quechua speakers has not only remained stable, but grown,¹² and I hear Quechua daily in the streets; yet I still hear the same claims—if anything, more insistently—that Iscamayo is a monolingual town. These statements come from consultants of all social groups, including Quechua-speakers themselves; when my consultants recognize that Quechua speakers do live in Iscamayo, they characterize them as marginal. Quechua speakers, both monolinguals and bilinguals, told me themselves that it was hard to get around in Iscamayo without speaking Spanish.

I'm hanging out on the curb in front of my mother-in-law's house, watching two young men wash and vacuum a car at the tire stop across the street, a place where truckers can go to get a little more air in their tires, to change a flat, or occasionally to find enough gasoline to make it to the next gas station. One of the young men has his head in the car and I can't hear what he's saying, but it's clear that he's teasing the other one. The boy standing outside says, "Mana intindigiychu Queshua," a somewhat garbled phrase meant to assert that the speaker doesn't understand Quechua, in common joking circulation among monolinguals as part of a small repertoire of Mock Quechua (Hill 2001). The other boy, cleaning the inside of the car, answers something I couldn't hear. The one outside responds, *Habla en español por favor, estamos en Iscamayo, no estamos en Aiquile* 'Please speak Spanish, we're in Iscamayo, not Aiquile [a nearby Quechua-dominant town].' The kid in the car answers, again in Quechua and this time I catch some of it—*Ma' castillata parlanichu nuqa*, 'I don't speak Spanish.'

In this case, the Spanish-speaking young man was clearly on the losing side of an exchange of joking insults. He tried to turn it around by asserting his language choice as one that is appropriate for Iscamayo, making fun of Quechua by speaking it poorly, and linking its use to the western highland town of Aiquile. But he understood enough Quechua to get that he's being made fun of, and to make a Mock Quechua response; the other boy is making the most of his position as a fluent bilingual. In what sense, then, is Iscamayo a monolingual Spanish-speaking town?

Hill (2001) argues that mock languages are racist, providing an acceptable framework for speakers to replicate cultural stereotypes about less powerful languages and speakers; she gives the example of *El Cheapo*, a Mock Spanish term that could not imaginably be

¹² Many of these speakers have come to Saipina as part of a chain migration effect following the opening of new agricultural lands through a dam/irrigation project in 2004.

transformed into a parody of the language of a prestige group (such as French) in the context of the United States. However, in the context of Iscamayo, Quechua, Mock Quechua, and Quechua contact features have a somewhat more complicated valence.¹³ Even as the boy standing outside the car tries to assert the primacy of monolingualism in Iscamayo, he is at a disadvantage in this exchange of joking insults. Quechua is typically used in jokes and insults; a knowledge of Quechua loanwords and contact features is essential to being considered a good local speaker.

Stories and anecdotes often contain crucial phrases in Quechua. For example, my husband, a monolingual Spanish speaker, can tell a story he heard from his grandmother about a man whose horse was running away. This man, a monolingual Quechua speaker, was sitting with a group of Spanish speakers. One of the Spanish speakers noticed that the Quechua-speaker's horse was running away. The joke consists of the following exchange:

–¡Se va tu caballo!	Your horse is running away! (Spanish)
–Ben, ben.	Good, good (Monophthongized Spanish <i>bien</i> , emblematic of Quechua-speakers)
–¡Se va tu caballo!	Your horse is running away! (Spanish)
–Ben, ben.	Good, good (Monophthongized Spanish <i>bien</i>)
–¡Kaballuyki ripushan!	Your horse is running away! (Quechua)
–¡Ay, caraste!	Darn it!

Exclaiming "Darn it!", the Quechua speaker gets up and races after his horse, now far away in the distance.

While this joke pokes fun at a Quechua speaker with little knowledge of Spanish, it also demonstrates that speakers who consider themselves Spanish monolinguals are often capable of producing well-formed Quechua phrases when needed, not only within the framework of the anecdote, but in the telling and re-telling by speakers like my husband, who assert that they have no knowledge of Quechua. These kinds of jokes and stories, and the ability to respond to jokes and insults, are a central part of life in Iscamayo.

Through these kinds of performances, speakers who position themselves as Spanish monolinguals reveal (perhaps limited) Quechua competence. Yet they use Quechua to represent Quechua-speakers, Mock Quechua to respond to Quechua discourse, and Quechua contact features to position themselves as local speakers. Through these

¹³ Jonathan Rosa set the groundwork for questioning and complicating mock languages in his 2009 paper at the Michiganian Linguistic Anthropology conference.

interactions, Quechua plays multiple functions as an icon of Quechua-speakers, an index of local identity, and a symbol of outsider identity. At the same time, these phenomena contribute to the blurring of the boundaries of what constitutes a language speaker.

3.4. A meeting with the *legítimo* Iscamayéño

I'm on my way out to buy bread and I notice a woman sitting outside her house, crocheting on the sidewalk. I say hello and she invites me to sit down and we start talking. She turns out to be a part-time teacher in the schools, Profesora Alejandra 'Aleja' Rodriguez, and one of the first things she tells me is that she is a *legítima Iscamayéña* 'native-born person from Iscamayo.' She tells me all about her family, how they lived here when the town wasn't much more than the central plaza, a block from where we sit. Gesturing at her own dark eyes and curly hair, which contrast with her light complexion, she explains that she's the darkest person in her family, but that all the rest of them are fair and blue-eyed and curly-haired, and her great-grandfather was a Spaniard, and her father and grandfather came from towns to the east, from the monolingual lowlands.

Without prompting, she tells me that she doesn't like more recent immigrants and she hopes that her children, who are studying at the prestigious public university in the city, don't marry anyone from bilingual Cochabamba. I ask her why not, and she explains that people from Cochabamba are mean, that they're not like people from here. *Te hablan muy lindo pero si les neigas algún favorcito ya no te miran*, she says: They talk pretty but if you deny them the tiniest little favor they never look at you again. In contrast, she talks about the generosity and friendliness of people who are *real* Iscamayéños.

Profe Aleja is an endangered breed. She tells me this, and so does everyone else who I talk to about migration and Quechua-Spanish contact. They say they can count the number of *legítimos Iscamayéños* on their fingers, and they do, flipping through their mental notes, commenting on who's died and who's moved to the city. Two generations ago, Iscamayo was a tiny town—but it wasn't quite as tiny as they imply. In Spanish as in English, the word *legítimo* is connected to birthright; a legitimate child is one whose father's name appears on his or her birth certificate. It is no coincidence that discussions of Iscamayo's roots also revolve around European heritage, and that the families that are identified as

legítimos Iscamayebños are all owners of large tracts of land, most of them wealthy. Over and over, I hear that *real* Iscamayebños are monolingual Spanish speakers.

I explore this question with my friend Doña Mónica, a small business owner. When I talk to her she is hot and uncomfortable and irritated, and she speaks more directly than she might have otherwise. She talks openly about her dislike of Quechua speakers, characterizing them as both ignorant and arrogant. "These people don't even know how to dial a phone, but they think they're something special," she says.

We talk about being an Iscamayebño, and she explains that being Iscamayebño means being born, brought up, and living in the town of Iscamayo. She mentions her parents, who came to Iscamayo at the age of ten and thirteen, respectively, and formed their family here. We talk about a neighbor who has lived in Iscamayo for nearly sixty years, who is a fixture in town and an icon of Iscamayo, and she hesitates. He's *almost* considered to be an Iscamayebño, she says, with the manner of giving a generous compliment; I've heard people say the same thing about me.

But this neighbor is a proud bilingual, and though he has not lived in Cochabamba in many years, he enjoys speaking Quechua on the streets. It emerges that being born and raised in Iscamayo is not the only quality involved in being an Iscamayebño. I quote the passage below because I found it unusually direct and clear, as Mónica responds to a question about whether all her friends speak alike or whether there are some who speak better than others.

TRANSCRIPT 3.1

M (*Mónica*), A (*Anna*)

1. M: Yo creo que los Iscamayebños que somos Iscamayebños, hablamos todos iguales.	1. M: I think that Iscamayebños, those of us who are Iscamayebños, all speak alike.
2. A: Mhm. Mhm. Todos son iguales.	2. A: Uh-huh. Uh-huh. All alike.
3. M: Si. Los Iscamayebños que <i>somos</i> Iscamayebños, no?	3. M: Yes. We Iscamayebños that <i>are</i> Iscamayebños, right?
4. A: Y que quiere decir, <i>ser</i> Iscamayebño?	4. A: And what does it mean, to <i>be</i> Iscamayebño?
5. M: Bueno, que, e, por, somos nacidos aqui, somos criados aqui, digamos. Ya?	5. M: Well, that, um, because, we're born here, and we're raised here, let's say. Okay?
6. A: Mhm	6. A: Mm-hmm
7. M: Todavía vivimos aqui desde que hemos nacido, digamos.	7. M: We've lived here since we were born, let's say.
8. A: Mhm	8. A: Mm-hmm

<p>9. M: Y somos todos conocidos porque ya no somos muchos.</p> <p>10. A: Ah, pocos son.</p> <p>11. M: Sí, ya somos pocos los Iscamayaños. Entonces, clarito, el Iscamayaño , que, que vive, aquí,</p> <p>12. A: Hm</p> <p>13. M: Pero no es, desde, bueno, viven muchos años pero no es Iscamayaño,</p> <p>14. A: Mhm, mhm</p> <p>15. M: Tambien hay muchos Iscamayaños que desde, han llegado niños y se han criado aquí,</p> <p>16. A: Mhm</p> <p>17. M: Casi ya son considerados Iscamayaños, no, porque hasta su forma de este, ya, son, son como un Iscamayaño, no como las personas que decimos [que] estan llegando.</p> <p>18. A: Mhm</p> <p>19. M: No, o por lo menos no sabe el Quechua.</p> <p>20. A: Ah ha</p> <p>21. M: Pero el Iscamayaño siempre casi poco sabe. No sabe Quechua.</p> <p>22. A: M, ya, ya.</p> <p>23. M: No, El Iscamayaño no sabe Quechua casi.</p> <p>24. A: No sabe</p> <p>25. M: No. No, no sabe. O tal vez ha aprendido, ya, con el tiempo, pero yo creo que no sabe siempre bien el Quechua.</p>	<p>9. M: And we all know each other because there aren't many of us anymore.</p> <p>10. A: Oh, there aren't many.</p> <p>11. M: Yes, there are very few of us Iscamayaños now. So, it's very clear, the Iscamayaño that lives, here,</p> <p>12. A: Huh.</p> <p>13. M: But it's not, since, well, they [can] live here for many years but they're not Iscamayaños.</p> <p>14. A: Uh-huh, uh-huh.</p> <p>15. M: There are also lots of Iscamayaños that since, they arrived as children and they grew up here.</p> <p>16. A: Mm-hmm</p> <p>17. M: They're almost considered Iscamayaños, right, because even their manner of um, they're, they're like an Iscamayaño, not like the people we say are arriving.</p> <p>18. A: Mm-hmm</p> <p>19. M: No, or at least they don't speak Quechua.</p> <p>20. A: Uh-huh</p> <p>21. M: But an Iscamayaño doesn't know practically anything. S/he doesn't know Quechua.</p> <p>22. A: Mm, okay, okay.</p> <p>23. M: No, an Iscamayaño basically doesn't know Quechua.</p> <p>24. A: S/he doesn't know it.</p> <p>25. No. S/he, doesn't know it. Or maybe s/he has learned, now, with time, but I think that [an Iscamayaño] will never speak Quechua well.</p>
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In this conversation, Mónica begins by describing Iscamayaños as people who are born and raised in Iscamayo (Turn 5, 7). She elaborates, mentioning that all Iscamayaños are by definition *conocidos* 'known.' This puts a little different spin on the definition; a *familia conocida y decente* 'known and decent family' is a designation used since colonial times to denote white families in contrast to non-white families; something like a "good family" in English. If Iscamayaños are *legítimos* 'legitimate' and *conocidos* 'known,' then the idea of being

an Iscamayeño is tied not only to place of birth but to station in life—tying this concept to race, class, and language, as Mónica goes on to explain.

In Turns 13, 15, and 17 Mónica allows for some doubt in the cases of people who live in Iscamayo from a very young age—that is, who are raised but not born in Iscamayo. She begins to mention that even their manner of speaking sound like an Iscamayeño (Turn 17), contrasting people raised in Iscamayo with recent arrivals. She links recent arrivals with Quechua, emphasizing in Turns 19, 21, and 23 that a *real* Iscamayeño cannot speak Quechua, although she hedges this statement, using the qualifier *casi* 'almost.' Mónica concludes that a being Iscamayeño and being a Quechua speaker effectively contradict each other. In Turn 25, she seems to say that it's acceptable for an Iscamayeño to try to learn Quechua; but she concludes that a person who is serious about being an Iscamayeño will never be serious about learning and speaking Quechua.

In Doña Mónica's opinion: Real Iscamayeños don't speak Quechua.

Between Profe Aleja and Doña Mónica, some clusters of ideas begin to emerge. Being an Iscamayeño—or at least an Iscamayeño *legítimo*—is connected not only with birthplace, but with being of European descent (fair, curly-haired, with light eyes), speaking Spanish, and being friendly and generous; new immigrants, on the other hand, are described not only as Quechua speakers but as interlopers, who are two-faced, ignorant, mean, and arrogant. By definition, an Iscamayeño is a monolingual Spanish speaker, or at least knows very little Quechua. A person who was raised in Iscamayo, but not born there, can be considered an Iscamayeño—as long as s/he is not considered to be a Quechua speaker.

In these commentaries, Spanish is presented as an index of belonging, and not only belonging, but belonging to a select group of people from Iscamayo who are of European descent and of recognized families—families that can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Or, perhaps more accurately, the fact of speaking Quechua openly becomes a symbol of outsider status. A person who is openly proud of being a bilingual will never *really* be a *legítimo Iscamayeño*. Conversely, a real, true Iscamayeño, Mónica asserts, will never be able to speak Quechua well. In telling these stories and making these claims, Mónica and Aleja are policing the borders of polite society, using language identification as a litmus test. The problem with bilinguals is not that they are *able* to speak Quechua; it's that they are *proud* of being able to do so.

In fact, the great majority of individuals residing in Iscamayo fell somewhere between these two poles of *real, true* Iscamayebños and recent, much-resented migrants. Speakers can orient themselves with respect to these poles in a permanent way by claiming to speak "legitimate" varieties of Spanish or by openly speaking Quechua.

3.5. Language shift and contact features

While the binary contrast between Spanish and Quechua languages is used to mark a line between people who are legitimate Iscamayebños and people who are outsiders, this same contrast is reversed in the case of Quechua-influenced contact varieties of Spanish. As I discuss in this section, speakers who use a very educated, modern-sounding variety of Spanish with few contact features are cast as outsiders, while local people describe themselves and their neighbors as speaking a variety of Spanish with heavy contact influence, even as they condemn it as impure and uneducated. Identifying oneself as a speaker of Quechua, then, is a marker of outsider status; but using Quechua features in Spanish is the mark of an insider. At the same time, "pure" varieties of Spanish and Quechua are perceived as foreign, while "mixed" varieties of both languages are characterized as marking locality. As part of the recursive process, the valence of the relationship shifts; while using the Quechua language marks speakers as outsiders, people who use Quechua contact features in Spanish are characterized as genuine local people.

The term *conocido* isn't limited to the Iscamayo elites. It can also be used for somebody who is well-known, or who's just an acquaintance. It is used by and for many families who are not in the upper echelons of Iscamayo social life; it has something to do with permanence and rootedness as well as race and class. A person who is *conocido* is someone you can trust, even if you don't know them very well. When we were looking for a renter for our house, we were repeatedly urged to look for someone who was *conocido*. This, it was implied and sometimes stated, would exclude Quechua-speaking recent immigrants, or *collas*. The issue is not just race, not just class, but is centered most explicitly on language and place of origin.

The definition of *conocido* and of *Iscamayeño* must have changed a little sometime in the past generation. After the river shifted¹⁴ and the roads were improved to the point that agriculture became a lucrative enterprise, migrants began arriving from the highlands surrounding Iscamayo. The highland farms are small plots dependent on rain and unlike the lowland agriculture around the river, they don't produce large crops suitable for commercialization; they are also even now inaccessible during the rainy season. Young men and women from the highlands began to move closer as Iscamayo turned into an economic boom town in the 1970s and 1980s. There was an enormous demand for labor and an enormous profit to be made—heavy application of pesticides, which sap much of the profitability from harvests today, were not yet required.

The young families who formed in the 1970s and 1980s in Iscamayo had children who are now thirty and forty years old and can claim to be *Iscamayeño* by birth and by upbringing. Since those years, one of the main environments for producing "Iscamayeños" has become the school system. Beginning in the early 1990s, as Iscamayo grew large enough to support a *núcleo escolar* 'school district,' children could attend school in Iscamayo from kindergarten through high school. Like schools everywhere, this institution produced close relationships and friendships, and people feel a close kinship with their classmates throughout their life. As I describe in Section 4.3, the school system is also an important emblem of progress and investment in the future for residents of Iscamayo.

I find Doña Sofía and her husband Víctor sitting in chairs on the dirt road outside their house, as they sit every evening, watching the sun set and the people walk by. I squat down in the dirt to talk to them and after a while Don Víctor offers me his chair, going back into the house to bring back a stool for himself. Their grandson, who lives with them, plays in the street with his friends.

When I ask, Doña Sofía tells me that she comes from Cochabamba and speaks Quechua. Her mother was a monolingual Quechua speaker, and although her father spoke Spanish, she didn't learn the language until she enrolled in school. "My mother spoke to me in Quechua because she didn't know how to speak anything else," she tells me. She says that her friends are sometimes surprised to learn that she speaks Quechua. She has lived for

¹⁴ I wish I had an exact date for this. The river shifts every year after the spring floods, but there was one year in particular, perhaps forty years ago, when it really jumped and completely changed the geography and topography of the area. Until this time, a town on the opposite bank of the river was the dominant population center, and Iscamayo was only a tiny backwater. From this time on, Iscamayo began to gain importance.

almost forty years in Iscamayo, and her accent is indistinguishable from other Spanish speakers in the area. Sofía claims she's forgetting the Quechua because she hardly uses it; none of her children learned Quechua, although the grandson playing nearby learned to count to ten in school.

When I ask Doña Sofía and Don Víctor about language instruction in the schools, they both talk about English. They say that there should be more English taught because so many young men and women are going to foreign countries for work. They tell a story about how their son was swindled by a person who claimed to be able to obtain a visa for the United States. English, of course, is a language that is tied to the concept of modernity, a modernity that always comes from the outside, and exists in the same relationship to Spanish that Spanish does to Quechua, at a different recursive level. When I ask about Quechua, Don Víctor says it's useless to teach it in school; Doña Sofía says it might be useful if children have to go to Cochabamba or Potosí, to the west, where people speak Quechua. She tells about how her children sometimes meet someone who speaks Quechua and don't understand, don't know how to respond. In these comments, Sofía and Víctor develop the idea that Quechua is not useful in Iscamayo, though it may be so in other parts of Bolivia; at the same time, they use English to articulate their aspirations to the wider, modern sphere.

This pattern is widespread among families who immigrated from the local highlands thirty or forty years ago. Many of these individuals came from families with mixed Quechua and Spanish background; often women spoke Quechua and men spoke Spanish, or some branches of the family were Quechua speakers and some were Spanish speakers, or neighboring towns were known as Quechua-speaking towns or Spanish-speaking towns. I know several pairs of siblings, mostly women in their sixties and seventies, in which the older sibling speaks Quechua and the younger does not. Patterns of migration, adoption, and family changes due to death and remarriage also resulted in widespread mixing between Spanish speakers and Quechua speakers.

After settling in Iscamayo, like Sofía, all these families switched to Spanish, and their children grew up as Spanish speakers; yet Quechua didn't disappear completely. It is this group who come up to me on the street and, speaking Spanish, admire my daughter's *chberos* 'curls'; they squeeze her little legs and call her *thusuda* 'big-calved' and *chaskañawicita* 'star-eyed, having long, curly eyelashes'; they suggest that I squeeze her nose every night so that she

doesn't grow up *n̄ata* 'broad-nosed,' and they carry her around in their *mark̄ba* 'load carried in arms' or *kbepi* 'load carried on the back'; they scold me for letting her run around *chuta* 'naked-bum, lacking something' in the cold weather, and they tell me when the *thantakhateros* 'peddlers' are in town; they come to her *thiluda*, the hair-cutting ceremony, also known in Quechua as *rutucha*, where she is given an *iwacha* 'animal still in the womb.' (See Appendix D for an explanation of the Quechua and Spanish elements of the words in this section.)

The influence of Quechua on Spanish is not only lexical; speakers also calque expressions such as *en su encima* 'on top of,' *no seas malito* 'please,' and *en delantito* 'just a moment ago' from Quechua semantic structure, and they tend to prepose sentence elements to indicate focus. Many speakers have phonemic differentiation between pairs such as *tapa* 'lid, top' and *thapa* 'nest' (although none have aspirate-ejective differentiation).

Contact influence is most noticeable around certain semantic clusters: Words relating to agriculture (*kbora* 'weed,' *thamir* 'to loosen soil'); weaving (*k'aytu* 'hand-spun yarn,' *awanero* 'loom'); making and drinking chicha (*muk'u* 'chewed corn,' *ch'allar* 'to make an offering'); plant and animal vocabulary (*thaco* 'acacia tree,' *wajcha* 'orphan'); sexual imagery (*p'itu* 'dick,' *k'ajllu* 'vagina-shaped opening'); onomatopoeic words (*lap'o* 'slap, blow,' *lak'ar* 'to plaster'); child-raising vocabulary (*ch'eti* 'little guy,' *mark̄bar* 'to carry in arms').

Quechua loanwords and phonology, in a recursive replication of the ideologies related to the relationship between Spanish and Quechua, are used to mark anger, affection, solidarity, or jokes. Not surprisingly, Quechua semantic and syntactic structure also seems to be most common in very informal settings.

People are ambivalent about Quechua contact features in Spanish. On the one hand, they tell me, in Iscamayo we are a mixture, we are a border area; we speak this way because we are neither *cambas* (Spanish speakers from the east) nor *collas* (Quechua speakers from the west). Children are taught in school that this is bad Spanish, and educated outsiders hold that people from the Iscamayo area, though they think they are speaking Spanish, are actually speaking neither Spanish nor Quechua.

On the flip side, people who speak Spanish that has very few contact features are often characterized as being boring, pretentious, or fake. I attended one meeting that was run by a wealthy individual who had lived in the area as a small child, but settled permanently in the business community in Cochabamba. This person was investing a large amount of money in local industry, and was engaged in the unrewarding task of trying to get

the small producers of the Iscamayo area to form a cooperative in order to demand higher prices. This endeavor was viewed with suspicion by most local producers; while they liked the idea in theory, they suspected that they were being taken advantage of for the personal profit of the Cochabamba businessman. The businessman dominated the entire meeting, with practically no back-and-forth from the audience. His speech was Cochabamba-accented, but slick and educated-sounding, and he used a lot of marketing terminology. Later, people who had been at the meeting described him to me as a fake and an outsider, a person who thought he was better than everyone else. They pointed out that he supported the elite politicians in Santa Cruz who opposed the MAS government, even though he was, in their view, clearly a *colla* himself.

Through these commentaries, my consultants described a complex and sometimes contradictory landscape of ideologies surrounding Spanish and Quechua. Spanish is understood to be the best marker of local prestige, acting as an icon of racial superiority, but at the same time educated, western varieties of Spanish were felt to be alienating. Quechua, on the other hand, is a marker of outsider status, characteristic of western bilinguals, but also a familiar code used in jokes, insults, and nicknames. In contrast, a particular style of Quechua contact influence in Spanish was presented as a convincing marker of local identity. The indexical valence of Quechua switches in the change of scale; Quechua as a language marks outsiders, but Quechua contact features in Spanish mark insiders. Indeed, people spoke approvingly of my own use of Quechua contact features in Spanish as marking me as "almost like an Iscamayena."

3.6. Recent migrants: Erasure and shift

I go one day to visit my friend Doña Lorenza, because I heard her daughter Damiana is in town. Doña Lorenza and her husband Samuel moved to Iscamayo from the Quechua-speaking area to the west nearly a decade ago, when Damiana was a young teenager. Samuel is a day laborer and sometime sharecropper; Lorenza cares for a wide variety of livestock. In Iscamayo, they joined family members who had moved to Iscamayo a few years before. Damiana and her younger brother Tomás grew up and went to high school in Iscamayo; the family now owns a house not far from the center of town.

Doña Lorenza's husband is bilingual and she herself speaks some Spanish, but all their interaction at home is carried on in Quechua. Damiana speaks fluent Quechua, although she prefers to speak Spanish with her friends; her younger brother Tomás seldom speaks Quechua and does not seem comfortable in the language. Both Damiana and Tomás moved to the urban center of Santa Cruz after graduating from high school and have picked up a strong *camba* 'eastern lowland' accent in Spanish.

On this day, Tomás was making *bico*, a paste that intensifies the stimulant properties of chewing coca leaf. He can sell this bico to workers in the city for a profit. In addition to Tomás, his mother, his sister, and his cousin Isabel were all at home. As we talked, I noticed that Damiana and Isabel were the barometers of language choice; both fluent bilinguals, they accommodated to Doña Lorenza by speaking Quechua, and to me and Tomás by speaking Spanish. The two young women used mostly Spanish when addressing each other, but would switch to Quechua to elaborate an argument or clinch a series of thoughts.

At one point, Doña Lorenza and I were telling the group about the interview that I had carried out with her a few days before. I mentioned (in Quechua) that I didn't speak well but that I could understand. Tomás challenged me, "How can you speak but not understand?" Without thinking, I countered, "But you understand and you can't really speak"—forgetting that this might be insulting or inaccurate.

He responded, "It's like if I was trying to say a word in English. I might not say it perfectly, or pronounce it well, but I still say it." By this statement, Tomás positioned himself as a non-native speaker of Quechua. His mother, too, sometimes insisted that Tomás could speak and understand just fine, but also commented that he almost never spoke to her in Quechua.

On that particular afternoon, he spoke to her in Quechua only once. They were packing the loaves of bico into a cardboard box for his bus trip that afternoon. He wanted to pack them in groups of five, but Lorenza's hands were too small to pick up groups of five at a time. After asking her several times to pass him groups of five, frustrated, he said *Phishqamanta phisqaman* 'five by five' to her in Quechua, framing her failure to respond to his request as a lack of understanding by switching into a code that he seldom uses. This phrase, incidentally, is directly calqued in local Spanish as *de cinco en cinco* 'from five in five.'

Both Isabel and Damiana are married to Spanish speakers and speak mostly Spanish with their peers, but Isabel's sister Flora is a different story. Several years older than Isabel,

she came to Iscamayo as an adult and returned frequently to the town where she was born and where she met and married her husband, César. Both are fluent bilinguals, but they speak Quechua with each other and in their home. They still return to their hometown and made it a point to tell us that, although César works as a carpenter and builder in Iscamayo and Santa Cruz, they own land and a home in their hometown. Their children, who range in age from two to eighteen, are following the familiar pattern of language shift—they can all speak Quechua, but prefer to speak Spanish with their peers.

Flora and Tomás fit easily into language categories. Tomás lives in Santa Cruz and speaks little, if any Quechua, despite his mother's preference for the language. Flora, on the other hand, orients to Quechua, although her children follow Tomás's pattern. Isabel and Damiana are in a more ambiguous position. Having migrated to Iscamayo as young adolescents, they speak the local variety of Spanish and speak Spanish in the home; however, they are cast as *collas* by other Iscamayños because of their fluency and comfort in Quechua (Isabel is described in further detail in Section 4.4.1).

Families such as Lorenza's constitute a second wave of migration to Iscamayo, after the influx from the neighboring highlands described in Section 3.6, but only in the sense that migration from west to east is a constant flow with peaks and valleys. Children of this second wave of migrants attend school, and in school they are inculcated with the dominant language ideology; despite the growth of a new, largely Quechua-speaking neighborhood, language shift is still in process. Intertwined with this process of assimilation, Quechua-dominant speakers are erased in popular conceptions of Iscamayo, and speakers such as Isabel and Damiana find themselves not easily categorizable.

3.7. The fourth wheel

In the previous sections, I've described three social categories as they are understood in Iscamayo, and linked these to language practices and ideologies. Spanish, as the language of the descendents of Europeans, is understood to be the language of Iscamayo, and "legitimate" Iscamayños are understood to be monolinguals. Quechua speakers are cast as upstarts, new arrivals, and outside of society, and the fact that people do speak Quechua, in some cases on a daily basis, is hidden or denied—a self-fulfilling prophecy, since their

children rapidly shift to Spanish. At the same time, Quechua contact features in Spanish are understood to be part of a distinctive local speech style.

I've characterized my speakers in terms of three principal social groups: *legítimos Iscamayeños*, long-term residents who own valuable tracts of land, are politically and socially prominent, and claim European heritage; migrants from the local valleys who have arrived within living memory; and recent immigrants, poor and landless, from the Western highlands of Cochabamba and Chuquisaca (See Appendix A: Maps).

There is a fourth group—educated and wealthy teachers and merchants from the *altiplano* regions of Potosí, La Paz, and Oruro. *Profesores* 'schoolteachers' are respected in rural regions of Bolivia; often they are the most educated sector of the population, and have an air of cosmopolitanism because they have studied in urban areas. There is an internal hierarchy among, in order of importance, young students who must do an internship in the country as part of their scholarship conditions, local individuals who have managed to get a teaching certification, and a small group of individuals from the highland regions around Potosí, Oruro, and La Paz who have settled permanently in Iscamayo. Teachers from these *altiplano* regions are among the most highly educated and respected townspeople, despite their outsider status. All these individuals are bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, and many are trilingual in Aymara as well.¹⁵ One of these teachers had studied at a Catholic seminary in Venezuela; he read Latin and Greek, as well as several European languages. One day on a bus ride he and I had a long philosophical conversation about the relationship of women to the clergy. Another, the late Jorge Mamani, had studied Saussure and knew the basics of linguistics, and along with his wife, Nora Flores, shared many thoughtful conversations with me about indigenous language education. A third consultant, who I identify by the pseudonym Quispe in this text, was conspicuous for being the only person in all my recordings whom people consistently referred to by the respectful title + last name, Profesor Quispe. The wives of many of these teachers run small stores along the main street in town, an enterprise that requires significant capital investment and generates a steady income.

Clearly, it's not the indigenous language itself that's at the heart of the social stratification surrounding Quechua in this area. The most highly respected individuals in the

¹⁵ The Aymara are small, prestigious, wealthy, and powerful ethnic group. These populations have historically been among the most politically active indigenous groups; it is no coincidence that current President Evo Morales, although he herded llamas, is from an Aymara village. (Which is to say, herding llamas does not necessarily mean that one is of a low social status.)

town of Iscamayo are speakers of indigenous languages. These speakers, however, are generally wealthy and educated, and in addition to Aymara and Quechua (and perhaps Latin and Greek) also have a firm grasp of educated registers of Spanish. With few exceptions, the wives, running the stores, speak a variety of Spanish with heavier contact influence, and are accorded much less respect than their husbands, particularly in settings such as meetings. Still, speaking an indigenous language is a marker of outsider status, whether that status is high or low.

3.8. Mixing and matching

Quechua language and speakers are not monolithic for Spanish-speakers in this area. Spanish-speakers often commented to me that Quechua speakers from the fertile agricultural valleys of Cochabamba, just across the river from Iscamayo, spoke a Quechua that was *más ch'uwa* 'clearer' (they said this in Spanish, but *ch'uwa* is a Quechua loanword meaning clear, liquid, or watery). It has been widely observed that Cochabamba Quechua contains a high degree of contact influence from Spanish (e.g. Albó 1970), and through their comments my consultants indicated that they found this variety easy to understand.

Quechua speakers from the Chuquisaca highlands, on the other hand, were characterized as *cerrado* 'closed,' an idea that also works with depictions of these speakers as others in terms of their poverty, distance from urban centers and "civilized" society, and exoticism (See Appendix B for map). It is in the remote areas of Chuquisaca that people wear clothes of hand-woven cloth and tri-cornered hats in imitation of the conquistadores; these images are readily available through media and tourist depictions of Bolivian indigeneity.¹⁶ Their exoticism, ironically, makes them attractive to the international tourism industry, and these areas are therefore well-connected with international aid and culture organizations. People from Iscamayo buy into—and also help construct—images of these groups as remote, isolated, and pre-modern.

When a truck carrying bags of cement drove off the road near Iscamayo, several passengers riding in the open bed, mostly men coming from the highlands to work, were killed. Their families came to Iscamayo to claim those that were identifiable. In several cases, the families were women, monolingual Quechua speakers, wearing indigenous woven

¹⁶ Try Googling "Tarabuco," a popular tourist destination in this area, for instance.

clothing. One of my neighbors was overcome with pity when talking about how these women struggled to navigate the Spanish-language bureaucracy and unfamiliar instruments such as the public telephone across from her house.

While bilingual Quechua speakers from Cochabamba are called *collas*, and characterized as aggressive, hostile, mean, and a host of other stereotypes, Quechua speakers from the rural highlands of Chuquisaca are known as *runita*, from the Quechua word *runa* 'person' and the Spanish diminutive suffix. In Spanish, the word is patronizing, derogatory. People often relate it to the physically small stature that is typical of highlanders,¹⁷ to the Quechua language, and, implicitly at least, to the low socioeconomic power that these groups command. These individuals often come into town as seasonal laborers and speak very little Spanish. The use of the word *runita* 'little people' places them within a foreign realm of indigenous highlanders. While exchange and intermarriage with *collas* is a part of daily life, interactions with *runita* are generally limited to their seasonal appearance as agricultural workers. I was often told that the "real" Quechua, or the "pure" Quechua was spoken by these speakers from the Chuquisaca highlands.

When people from Iscamayo speak of Cochabamba Quechua as being *más ch'uwa*, they are also iconically drawing the residents of the Cochabamba valleys closer to their own experience. People from Iscamayo, living as they do on the border of the Santa Cruz and Cochabamba provinces, define themselves in contrast to areas further east by their mixture of Spanish and Quechua languages; but from another point of view, they define themselves in contrast to their close cousins in the Cochabamba valleys by their orientation to Santa Cruz and to Spanish monolingualism. Indeed, Iscamayebños' Spanish prosody and pronunciation is markedly different than towns even a little further west; when asked to comment on how the *collas* spoke, my consultants told me that they "whistled," imitating a salient retention of syllable-final /s/, in contrast to the weakened [h] that is used in Iscamayo and regions further east. (I was told that my pronunciation of /s/ was the most noticeably "foreign" element of my own accent).

This relationship also has valence in terms of the fields of modernity and tradition; while Santa Cruz is Spanish-speaking and modern in relation to Iscamayo, Iscamayebños consider themselves to be Spanish-speaking and modern in relation to their bilingual

17 I surmise that this is due both to genetic factors and to nutritional ones.

neighbors in Cochabamba. At yet another recursive level, the bilingual Cochabambinos are more Spanish-speaking, modern, and less exotic, than Quechua-speakers from Chuquisaca.

People from Iscamayo have strong trade and kin relations with people from the Cochabamba valleys. Before the existing roads were developed, it was much quicker to walk to population centers a little west of the main town in Cochabamba than it was to travel east. As a result, many children born in the areas surrounding Iscamayo were baptized and issued birth certificates in the west. Agricultural relations surrounding seed, production, and marketing of the potato, the most important cash crop in Iscamayo, are also centered in Cochabamba.

Is it any wonder, then, that Cochabamba Quechua speakers, even monolinguals, are described as speaking a language that is "clear"? I think it would be a mistake to suggest that a purely functional explanation; i.e., these speakers are clearer because of their high level of contact features. Rather, Cochabamba Quechua contains Spanish contact features for the same reason that Iscamayo Spanish contains Quechua contact features: speakers have a high degree of interaction with each other. They seek to differentiate themselves through different language orientations (monolingualism vs. bilingualism, *camba* vs. *colla* accents), but they share kin relations, work relations, economic relations, common religious and symbolic understandings, common festivals and rituals. They share ways of greeting and referring to each other. They even share intralingual jokes, nicknames and puns. The positioning of Iscamayo as a Spanish-speaking town may be connected to a closer relationship with Quechua-speakers than the more explicitly stated ideologies would suggest.

3.9. Conclusion

Following Irvine and Gal, I suggest that a focus of analysis on the relationship between Spanish and Quechua shift from the naturalized divisions between the two languages to an understanding of their symbiosis, beginning from the way people understand and theorize the differences and similarities between the two languages. I also point out the way in which symbolic interpretations of languages can be multiple and overlapping. In this chapter, I describe the complicated relationship between identification as a language speaker and identification with a social group. Because identification with a social group depends crucially on identification as a language speaker, these categorizations do not rest on a simple

distinction between Spanish and Quechua languages, which can be captured by the terms "monolingual" and "bilingual," or even "Spanish-dominant" or "Quechua-dominant." Instead, they involve idealized versions of Spanish and Quechua, and common ideologies that relate styles of contact influence to identification as a local speaker. These ideologies unite "Spanish-speakers" and "Quechua-speakers." Indeed, my own ideologies (sometimes congruent with local practices and sometimes in contrast to them) inform my identification of speakers and my evaluation of their language competence.

A theory that recognizes only Spanish and Quechua as distinct languages, and contact varieties of each, misses the symbiotic nature of ideologies regarding mixing and purity and the ways in which these ideologies lead speakers to engage in particular types of language use. In addition, it misses the distinctions between regional varieties of Quechua which are linked to social understandings of social groups, characterizing monolingual *runita* as speakers of "pure" Quechua, but as backward, pure, and foreign. In contrast, Quechua speakers from Cochabamba are characterized as easy to understand and similar to "us," even as they are described as outsiders. It may seem patently clear that Spanish and Quechua are two genetically distinct languages. But I believe that this is no more clear, and no less ideological, than the distinctions between "white" and "indigenous" groups in the Andes today (De la Cadena 2000). The Spanish/Quechua dichotomy obscures the social divisions between these two categories, as well as the similarities across them.

Seen from this point of view, Spanish and Quechua are only two separate languages in that people understand them as two different languages. Speakers map out their social-semiotic field through theories of purism and mixing, insider and outsider status. As I argue throughout the dissertation, there is a close relationship between ideas about language and the broader social and semiotic field with which speakers engage.

Chapter 4: Blurring boundaries in the semiotic field

4.1. Orienting to the dissertation

In the previous chapter, I showed that status as a language speaker is related to identification with a social group, and that these social groups are often characterized in terms of migration history. Nevertheless, identification as a Spanish-speaker or a Quechua-speaker does not preclude knowledge of the "other" language. I also show that contact influence in Spanish is a marker of local identity, and that speakers of mixed varieties of Quechua are understood to be more similar to Iscameyeños than speakers of pure varieties. In this chapter, I discuss the systems of meaning in which these language practices are imbedded. I situate these classifications in the context of other types of semiotic modalities, such as dress, performance, politics, work, and navigating the state system. In addition, I further consider the status of individuals who do not fit clearly into social categories or who attempt to shift between categories.

In this dissertation, I characterize highland and lowland, western and eastern, indigenous and mestizo, *colla* and *camba*, and Quechua and Spanish as conceptual opposites that are enacted both through their opposition and through their fusion in the life of the valleys. Throughout this chapter, I discuss these interdependent semiotic fields in terms of a common binary between tradition and modernity. This binary is a dialectic in the sense that tradition and modernity are mutually constituted, interdependent, and defined in opposition to each other; ideas surrounding each pole considered to be functional equivalents in their opposition to the other pole. Modernity is often treated as the unmarked pole; my consultants are less likely to discuss it explicitly, and it is harder to characterize through practice. Like the relationship between Quechua and Spanish, this binary works at multiple recursive levels. However, it exists only through people's efforts to fit lived experience into abstract models; in practice this dialectic is questioned and complicated rather than simply upheld. In this chapter, I show how modernity and tradition are produced through discourse and practice.

In the example below, I demonstrate how modernity and tradition are constituted through their juxtaposition, yet framed as an interaction between past and present, in a dance put on by high school students on dates of civic importance (in this case, Bolivian Independence Day).



In the photo above, a group of high school students put on a performance that represents Bolivia's state symbols. The young woman with her back to the camera, wearing the school uniform of a white smock, holds Bolivia's official flower, the *kantuta*, in yellow, red, and green, the colors of Bolivia. The young man facing the camera represents indigenous Santa Cruz, wearing what can only be described as a leopardskin loincloth. But note the *inti* 'sun' symbol on his head and chest, and the *wara* 'scepter, wand' lying on the floor by the two young women crouching to the right of the photo—both symbols of authority and power in the Inca/colonial symbolic system.

In this presentation, state symbols of Bolivia are layered on the symbols of an indigenous past, which in turn synthesizes symbols or stereotypes of highland and lowland indigeneity. This performance is part of a progression of figures who represent Bolivia's

state symbols. The "barbarism" of the young man's public near-nakedness contrasts to the elaborately costumed dances which follow. Tradition, then, is both performed and enshrined, both framed as past and juxtaposed with the young woman's prim white school uniform and dressy sandals. While the loincloth costume is easily recognizable a performance, the rows of children in their school uniforms are also engaging in a costumed performance of a more everyday sort, as icons of modernity, cleanliness, education, and progress. In the process of producing tradition and modernity, tradition is framed as exotic and unusual, making it easy to recognize. This framing is produced and performed, not inherent in the categories themselves.

The relationship between tradition, modernity, and post-modernity has been the subject of an immense amount of scholarship, most of which is tangential to the point I wish to make in this chapter—that bundles of concepts are organized through a conceptual opposition that associates diverse concepts and makes them functional equivalents. In the following paragraphs, I briefly refer to some central scholarship on tradition and modernity that may be relevant to my work; however, I use this material as grounding for the linguistic analysis that I present in subsequent chapters, rather than engaging in the theoretical debate over these topics.

Early understandings of tradition and modernity, related to evolutionary theories of culture, conceive of tradition as leftovers from a remote past, with progress leading inexorably in a coherent progression towards modernity (Leslie White is one of the scholars most strongly associated with sort of cultural evolutionary theory). This could not be further from what I intend to suggest in this chapter. In the context of Latin America, "tradition" has been understood to mean all things indigenous, rural, and backwards. In this conceptualization, space and time are merged as indicators of "progress" or "backwardness." As García Canclini argues, Latin American states understand themselves to be caught between traditions that have not yet gone and a modernity that has not yet arrived (1995).

García Canclini goes on to argue that the state buys into an ideology that unites modernity with superiority and tradition with inferiority, accepting tradition only insofar as it can be assimilated (and, he implies, robbed of meaning) as a symbol of the state. He discusses tradition and modernity as representing different, yet co-occurring temporalities.

My point of view is fundamentally different. Taking the perspective of individuals rather than the state, I show how people structure their understandings of the raw material

of life into coherent categories, through which complexity gives way to order but subtleties remain. While the categories of tradition and modernity can be understood as a binary, individuals also use symbols of these categories to blend and shade the distinctions between them. Tradition is not only co-opted by hegemonic political forces, it is used to generate rich levels of meaning in the context of personal interaction.

As Gusfield (1967) indicates, although tradition and modernity may be a *conceptual* binary, it is a misleading one when overlaid on practice. Using examples from post-colonial India, Gusfield shows that the categories of tradition and modernity have a more complicated relationship than contemporary scholarship supposed. His argument is oddly relevant to current work. Among other points, Gusfield shows that "old" and "new" elements of culture co-exist easily 'without conflict and even with mutual adaptations' (1967:354), and that this syncretism exists both at the structural and individual level—the same person who sees a doctor for diabetes may see a *curandero* 'ritual healer' for *susto* 'fright.' Gusfield argues against the supposition that tradition and modernity are mutually exclusive of each other; rather, he suggests, they exist in different aspects or dimensions of the same activity. Is it traditional or modern to baptize a new car with factory-produced beer trucked in from the nearest city on the Andean-Catholic holiday of *martes de ch'alla* 'Libation Tuesday/Fat Tuesday'? Gusfield emphasizes the synchronous and symbiotic nature of tradition and modernity, stating that '(t)radition is not something waiting out there, always over one's shoulder. It is rather plucked, created, and shaped to present needs and aspirations in a given historical situation' (1967:358). I would add that this observation applies equally to modernity.

When I use the terms tradition and modernity, I mean them as shorthand for a web of concepts that also include gender, race, religion, migration, politics, and language, among other constructs. That is, tradition is understood to be associated with women, indigenous people and religious practices, rural life, and Quechua or Quechua contact features, in opposition to a modernity that is understood as male, racially unmarked, urban, and oriented towards Spanish. When speakers orient towards one of these complexes of ideas, they are situating themselves in a multidimensional field of meaning. It is for this reason that one can hear comments such as "How can she wear pants when everyone knows that she speaks Quechua?" (Section 4.4.1). Or from another speaker, "All us indians will go and all the autonomistas [a political group associated with the eastern elites] will stay home" (Section

4.3.2). In these types of comments, speakers treat styles of dress and language practices, race and political affiliation as interchangeable; but they are interchangeable only because they are understood to be equivalent in opposition. Anything associated with "tradition" is the opposite of anything associated with "modernity." This equivalence allows recursive processes and oppositions over multiple modalities.

Often this orientation is marked through language; however, it is complementarily expressed in other types of interaction, as I discuss in this chapter. I use this material to situate the rest of the dissertation in the context of a semiotic field that goes far beyond, yet crucially involves, language. When people use Quechua contact features in Spanish, they are orienting to a complex array of ideas and constructs, any one of which (or multiple ones) might be salient in a particular interaction. In this chapter, I introduce a ways in which a variety of semiotic modalities are related to each other, and to treated as functional equivalents within a semiotic field.

4.2. Multimodality: Cracked heels

TRANSCRIPT 4.1

<p>LAS PATAS KJARKAS versión Walter Osinaga¹⁸</p> <p>Cuando salen de su pueblo, Inocentes las imillas. De aquí se van con alforjas, De allá vuelven con mochilas.</p> <p>A marraban sus cabellos Con k'aytu de tres colores, Vuelven chheras y otras chocas, Como león de un circo pobre</p> <p>Ay yay yay vidita mía, Porque diablos son así, Si aquí vos comías t'aco Aura diz que cupesí</p> <p>Usaban sus largas faldas Que tapaban las rodillas</p>	<p>THE CRACKED HEELS as sung by Walter Osinaga</p> <p>When they leave their hometown, The innocent girls, They leave here with woven bags, They return with backpacks.</p> <p>They tied up their hair With tricolored homespun wool They come back frizzed, and some bleached Like the lion at a two-bit circus</p> <p>Ay yay yay my darling, Why the heck are you like this? Here, you ate <i>t'aco</i> Now you say it's <i>cupesí</i></p> <p>They used long skirts That covered their knees</p>
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¹⁸ A YouTube video, available as of 12/2009: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D3z15AbXDzk>

Aura visten minifalda, Se les ve la rabadilla.	Now they wear miniskirts, You can see their rear end.
Por zapatotas agujas Lo cambiaron sus abarcas Se ponen sus medias nylon Pa tapar sus patas kjarkas	For spike-heeled shoes They exchanged their rubber-tire sandals They wear nylons To cover their cracked heels
Ay yay yay vidita mia, Porque diablos son asi, Si aquí vos comías t'aco Aura diz que cupesí	Ay yay yay my darling, Why the heck are you like this? Here, you ate <i>t'aco</i> Now you say it's <i>cupesí</i>
(wheee las patas kjarkas)	(whee the cracked heels!)

The song *La Patas Kjarkas*, performed by the popular group *México Chico*, was played incessantly on the radio and at parties during my years in Bolivia. Sung from the point of view of a young man, the song describes a young woman (or, in the Walter Osinaga version transcribed above, a group of young women) who moves from the countryside to the city. The singer laments the transformation from a modest girl from the country to a woman from the city. But despite attempts at modernization, the young woman is always given away by her *patas kjarkas*, the rough, cracked calluses that afflict many country people from repeated wetting and drying of feet in alkaline waters and over scorching trails.

Before she leaves for the city, the young woman carries an *alforja*, a set of woven bags worn hanging over the back and chest. She ties her hair with tri-colored handspun wool; this is a reference to the preference of country people for *colores chillones* 'screaming [loud] colors.' She wears *abarcas*, rough sandals made of tire and leather, and a long skirt that covered her knees. She used the lexical item *t'aco*, a loan from the Quechua *t'aqu* 'acacia tree.'

In contrast, when she returns, she carries a mass-manufactured backpack. She has permed and bleached her hair, and changed her rough sandals for high heels. Instead of her modest knee-length skirt, she uses a miniskirt that shows her backside. Finally, she uses the Spanish word *cupesí* for the acacia tree.

Apart from its description of symbols of tradition of modernity, what is interesting about this song is the way that shows that there is no unmarked choice; wearing a *mochila* 'backpack' entails taking a social stance just as much as wearing an *alforja* 'woven bag' does. The tendency to see symbols of tradition as marked in relation to symbols of modernity is a

process of social recognition. In this song, the singer takes the opposite point of view, asserting that the "real" or unmarked choice for the young woman would include emblems of tradition. Because this is the opposite of the way that these symbols are interpreted in most spheres of life, this positioning comes across as nostalgia. Finally, the song serves as an example of how social stances can be questioned and contested through essentializing categories, as the singer asserts that the woman in the song is "really" still a girl from the country.

4.3. Modernity and tradition

In this section, I show how Iscamayo presents emblems of its unique "traditional" self using the same tropes mentioned in the song *La Patas Kjarkas* above. Here, as in the dissertation in general, I argue that the opposition between tradition and modernity is a primary meaningful opposition, which spreads through numerous dimensions and which people use in complex recursive ways to position themselves with respect to their interlocutors. However, tradition is presented as a marked category in contrast to modernity, which is naturalized.

I describe a number of events in which community leaders generate representations of Iscamayo as town with respect to different occasions—a visit from an important political figure, the planning of a town festival showcasing local traditions, the installation of a new cell phone tower, a political rally. The question here is not whether these are fundamentally modern or traditional events, but how the town uses the juxtaposition of these elements to position itself—to imagine itself—on these occasions. Through these performances, binaries of modernity and tradition are generated and reinscribed.

4.3.1. Performing tradition

Usually politicians fly from major city to major city, from La Paz to Santa Cruz, from Santa Cruz to Sucre, from Sucre to Cochabamba, from Cochabamba back to La Paz, occasionally to Tarija in the south. Iscamayo? They don't even fly *over* Iscamayo. Iscamayo is a tiny, invisible cog in the great machine of the nation-state of Bolivia. But Evo is different. Evo is the people's president, the defender of the poor, the guardian of the *campesinos* 'peasants.' And Evo needs these mesothermic valleys, halfway between his

traditional stronghold in Cochabamba and the separatists in Santa Cruz, to solidify his political position, which is being eroded by the urban elites in Santa Cruz.

Evo is coming to Iscamayo, or so they say. Nothing is ever certain with a man as important as the president—anything could come up. But there is a possibility that he'll come. The mayor of Iscamayo is a member of the President's party, *Movimiento al Socialismo*, and he has met Evo personally. And Iscamayo must prepare for that slight chance that the President will actually arrive here.

Everyone employed by the municipality has a task. The high school is in charge of decorations. The elementary schools are preparing souvenirs, bags of peeled and cubed white sugarcane to chew on. The town council is in charge of decorations and itinerary. Even my sister-in-law, the head teacher at the municipally-subsidized nursery, is hard at work making sandwiches for a snack. The hospital and the mother's clubs are preparing an enormous lunch.

Some people grumble—why take children out of school to perform menial tasks for the president and his delegation? Isn't it more important to have them sitting in the classroom, learning from their teachers? "Are you coming?" I ask an acquaintance, a successful farmer who opposes the mayor and MAS. "Why should I go out of my way for a bunch of politicians?" he asks. "My crops need me more."

But almost everybody is flying about in the streets, children in their white uniforms, ribbons over the shoulders of the best students. The town council is setting up a float on the high school basketball court. The float is pulled by a tractor, covered with traditional hand-spun and hand-dyed weavings, surrounded by stalks and stalks of sugarcane and banana leaves. There are posters announcing the success of the President's campaign to end illiteracy, funded by the Venezuelan and Cuban governments. These are big and slick and flashy and must have been sent from the city by the president's political party.

The president is supposed to arrive at noon, then at 3 pm. Everyone migrates towards the soccer field, where his helicopter is supposed to land. There are unfamiliar faces, reporters, hovering about. One of them, taking a break from his cell phone, tells me that the last information he received is that the President is planning to be here. The question is on everyone's lips—Will he come? Will he really come?

I join a group of elderly men perched under an acacia tree, then move to the cement bleachers, where I find my people. There's an ambulance and a bunch of pickup trucks

parked on the field. Teachers are trying to keep children in orderly lines on the sidelines, but they're running all over the place. They're handing out miniature Bolivian flags for the little children, and lots of people are carrying hand-lettered signs or flags. There's a big *wiphala*, the flag of the pan-Andean indigenous movement. Everyone's excited—the mayor has sent a pickup truck to bring people in from outlying areas.

It's three pm, it's three-thirty. We're all sweating in the hot sun. A bunch of kids soak themselves under a water spigot. Others climb trees to take advantage of the little breeze that runs through the upper branches. Then we see a speck. "It's the helicopter!" some cry. But it's coming from a different direction than we expected. "It's just a bird," others say. But it's moving too fast, too straight to be a bird. It *is* a helicopter. It's coming closer, and the chopping sound of the blades drowns out the excited cheers from the crowd. As it settles onto the dusty surface of the soccer field, it sends a shower of dust and *kehepos*, tiny blonde thorns, into the crowd. We all bend over and try to shield our children's faces and eyes from these miniature stickers. As the blades slow, the dust storm subsides, and we straighten up, wiping the dirt and sand from our eyes. We see the welcoming delegation move towards the helicopter. There's the mayor, and the members of the town council. Figures hop down from the helicopter, one after another. We're too far away to see details, but we can tell that none of them has the burly figure and black hair of the president. Evo has not come. People shrug and disperse.

The vice-president, García Linera, has come instead. The high school gym is full for the ceremony, but it's not packed—most of the people have gone back to work. After all, their crops need them. It's now mostly teachers and students and mothers with young children, and those people who were trucked in from the countryside and have to wait for the ride back. A parade of dignitaries speaks, and a woman reads from a composition about her literacy class. Andrés, a local musician and high-school history teacher, plays a few of his songs in traditional style on the guitar, and his tiny daughter, dressed in the knee-length skirt, tire sandals, white shirt, and fedora-style hat of the valleys, belts out some *coplas* 'rhyming satirical couplets.'

After the ceremony the visiting dignitaries share some of the food that has been prepared, then leave. A crowd, now quite small, watches them go. The visitors carry the little plastic bags of sugarcane, which I imagine them throwing into the nearest trash can

once they arrive in the city. There are mountains of food left over. They never even touched the sandwiches made by my sister-in-law and the other workers at the daycare.

The same scene is repeated, on a smaller scale, on every civic holiday; there are lines of schoolchildren, a traditional band, dancing children dressed up in "traditional" ethnic costumes (some of which their mothers wear on a daily basis, others existing only in the imagination), the *acta cívica* in the town coliseum. I attend a meeting of the organizational committee for the *Día de la Tradición Iscamayeña* 'Traditional Iscamayo Day,' which is framed as an event oriented towards tourists and relatives from the city. The organizers spend most of the meeting arguing about whether certain foods are traditional or not, bullying the teachers into agreeing to put on a series of traditional dances, discussing the details of the beauty pageant with the mother of last year's winner. In orienting towards tradition, Iscamayeños simultaneously assert that this is an imagined tradition, a performance. Indeed, it is the most self-consciously 'modern' of the people from the town that invent these performances; the widely-traveled mayor, college-educated workers in Town Hall, teachers at the local high school. Those who are farthest from living these practices are those who are most anxious to cast them as "traditions."

At all of these events, the images of tradition are similar to those presented in *Patas Kjarkeas*; the homemade weavings, the brilliant colors, even down to the rough tire sandals on Andrés's little daughter's feet. The children in their white uniforms, the newly-built basketball court, and the tractor are juxtaposed with the hand-spun weavings, the agricultural produce, the peasant hospitality shown through the mountains of food. Then, too, there are elements of modernity that come from outside; the President's helicopter, the prominence of the literacy campaign, the concern to get government grants to provide better housing and infrastructure to the town. Through these performances, tradition and modernity are not just produced, but intertwined and synthesized in the production of local identity.

4.3.2. Modernity looking in

The day after García Linera's visit, there's another event, this one to celebrate the inauguration of the first cell phone tower in Iscamayo. The cell phone company comes from Santa Cruz, and children (out of school once again) line up for backpacks full of gifts. There are free t-shirts and school supplies. Everything is new and plastic. There are no

banana fronds, sugarcane plants, bright weavings spread out; the tractors are out in the fields working, the usual crowd of schoolchildren and teachers and young mothers fills the plaza. My nephew cries because he doesn't get the same gifts as another child the same age, then glows with excitement over a set of colored pencils and a composition book. There's a sound stage set up in the plaza and deafening pop music blares from the speakers. Andrés, the local musician, is invited to perform, but ignored when he shows up. There are no speeches, but young people in trendy city clothes wander around, trying to sell phones. My friends mutter to each other about how expensive the phones are, but they're excited, it's the first time personal phone lines have been available at all in Iscamayo. The rounded, futuristic logo of the telephone company is everywhere, in white, blue, and orange: *Vivir sin fronteras* 'Live without borders.' It's an incongruous motto for a place like Iscamayo, which imagines itself through its relationship to borders, highland and lowland, west and east, European and indigenous, Spanish and Quechua, rich and poor; and for that reason, it's seductive, urban, modern.

But the corporate-sponsored cell phone event is not a community project; the responsibility is on the corporate sponsor. Nobody's worried about looking bad before some sort of wider audience. Nobody boycotts the event for ideological reasons; they simply go to work because that's what they have to do that day. The children are recipients of gifts rather than participants in setting up elaborate staging and enormous luncheons. In contrast to Evo's visit, or the Día de la Tradición, Iscamayo's image is not at stake; this is what the organizers of these events take for granted.

Later that week we hear that the president's going to be in Pasadero, just three hours away, this time for sure. A group that has formed to request federal funding for a housing project, a neighborhood association for a neighborhood that exists only in the imagination, decides to make the trip to present the request to the president personally. It is announced that members who do not make the trip will have to pay a heavy fine. There is some murmuring from people who have to work and from those that are politically unsympathetic to the president. Finally, a wiry man in the back stands up and declares, *Todos los indios van a ir y los autonomistas no* 'All the indians will go and the separatists won't.' There's a big laugh from the group. All the indigenous people, a category that is sometimes coterminous with the poor, are supporters of the president; in contrast, the autonomy movement stands for the rich whites. Here, MAS and Evo are strong among recent Quechua-speaking

immigrants from the west, while the autonomy movement in Santa Cruz is strong among people who cast themselves as Iscamayo natives. These categories, like the intertwined categories of tradition and modernity, are largely defined by orientation towards a set of values; values that are also associated with socioeconomic standing.

But not entirely. I stop to chat with Andrés one day and he points out the irony of the fact that one of the most vocal supporters of the autonomy movement, who has drafted a television advertisement referring to *las bordas del MAS* 'the MAS hordes,' is himself originally from a town just to the west of Iscamayo. Andrés also asserts that the man, despite his enormous wealth and big house in the city, talks like a *colla*. In making this argument, Andrés implicitly asserts that the man's origins and essence somehow trump his socioeconomic standing and political orientation.

Later that month, I go to a political rally for MAS just before the vote that will keep Evo in the presidency or remove him. It is advertised all afternoon on a bullhorn that is driven around town, an effective way to communicate with people who don't listen to the radio or TV. Though it is the mayor's political party, he doesn't attend the *concentración* 'rally.' He needs to walk a delicate line, and these are not his people; they will vote for MAS regardless of the candidate. The crowd there looks gaunt and dark and scarred, overwhelmingly agricultural migrant workers from the western part of the country, most of the women in traditional gathered skirts. I hear lots of conversations in Quechua, which is unusual in the center of town. Some people are shooed off by homeowners wanting to park their cars. Nobody protests, though it's a public sidewalk; they just move away, averting their eyes. I try to make conversation with a woman next to me and she turns around, walks away. It takes an eternity to get the projection equipment set up, then there is a dark and frightening documentary about child workers in the mines, followed by lots of shots of Evo meeting with *campesinos* 'peasants' in working-class neighborhoods.

These ideological stances have implications for politicians at the national level. The province in which Iscamayo is situated was one of the few areas of Santa Cruz that went for the MAS political party when Evo was elected; it is now being inundated with *autonomista* propaganda, often explicitly racist in tone. If people who vote for MAS are poor, indians, and outsiders, while children are switching to Spanish and *real* Iscamayños desire legitimacy and cell phones, Evo has little hope of retaining the votes of the valleys.

4.3.3. Discussion

In these examples, I show how Iscamayo, at the municipal level, produces a local identity and a political stance through contrasts between elements associated with modernity and elements associated with tradition. In welcoming the President of the republic, Iscamayo pulls out all the stops, generating enormous amounts of food and activity. In enticing people from the city to visit and buy products through a celebration of traditional culture, it focuses on food, artisanship, and youthful feminine beauty. On the occasion of the installation of the new cell phone tower and a political rally, Iscamayo responds to this presence passively rather than performing its local identity. In contrasting these four events, there is a clear distinction between events that are oriented towards presenting a version of Iscamayo to outsiders (the President, tourists from the city) and the outside world presenting itself to Iscamayo, whether through cell phone vendors or through a political rally aimed at MAS supporters. Note, too, that the way that Iscamayo responds to these encounters in itself represents a construction of inside and outside, tradition and modernity. Emblems of tradition are used as a performance of traditional identity; emblems of modernity, experienced rather than performed, are constructed as (welcome or unwelcome) incursions from the foreign place that is the outside world. The consequences of these constructions spill into the multiple overlapping categories that make up the two poles and their recursive iterations. Both modernity and tradition are bi- or perhaps multivalent. These examples show that emblems of tradition, characterized as something performed and from the far past, are also used to generate a unique local identity, something that makes Iscamayo as a town unique. In contrast, modernity is treated as unmarked and unremarkable, but it is also something that is foreign and imposed from without. Both tradition and modernity are produced through this calibration of response, this tension between inside(r) and outside(r).

Iscamayo represents itself through colorful depictions of traditional life, which include references to native culture in the form of weavings and Quechua loanwords. But it also participates in nationwide discourses of tradition and modernity, such as the cell phone tower installation and the popular movement in support of Evo.

Iscamayo is all these things. Iscamayo is highland and lowland, west and east, white and *indio*, Spanish and Quechua. It is rich and it is poor. Iscamayo imagines its traditions in terms of hand-manufactured artifacts, original musical compositions, country hospitality, and

the time to sit down and chew your way through a stick of sugarcane. The children are present in their white smocks at every public gathering, reciting poetry and lip-syncing and doing traditional dances, competing in beauty pageants, acting out their parents' hopes for progress and modernity.

4.4. Change and essence

Change doesn't only occur over generations. There's a joke that goes like this: Two Collas (western Bolivian highlanders) are standing on the banks of the river Piraí (a famous river that runs through the city of Santa Cruz in eastern Bolivia). They are told that in order to become Cambas (eastern Bolivian lowlanders) they must swim to the other side of the river. The first Colla jumps in and swims across. When he reaches the other bank, he becomes a Camba. The second Colla jumps in. When nears the other bank, the first guy is waiting for him. Kicking and swearing, he prevents the second guy from getting out of the water, yelling, "Damn you, Colla, go back where you came from!"

The joke is funny because of the persistent pattern of migration and assimilation from the Western bilingual highlands to the Eastern monolingual lowlands. Individuals often make the effort to change their social categories, sometimes through an event as dramatic as a baptism (here, in the river; under other circumstances, in a Protestant church). These attempts seldom go unremarked, often becoming a hot topic in local gossip, as the community rehashes its own notions of what is considered an acceptable range of behavior.

4.4.1. Pollera

One salient visual marker of social identity is *pollera*, the gathered skirt and frilly blouse borrowed from Spanish fashion in the colonial period. Women who wear pollera also wear their hair (or hair extensions) in long braids. The length of a woman's pollera and the style of her hat index regional identities: Cochabambinas wear round white straw hats and polleras just above the knee, Paceñas wear black bowlers and shin-length polleras, women of the eastern valleys wear polleras just below the knee with a black fedora-style hat. Pollera length also correlates with climate; the shortest, raciest polleras of the thinnest material are found in tropical Santa Cruz. The purchase of a pollera is a significant investment and most women own no more than a few, one or two fancy ones for special

occasions and another couple for ordinary workdays. They are also a pain to wash, the heavy fabric and yards of gathered material making a heavy, sodden mass that must be painstakingly hand-scrubbed.

The pollera is closely associated with the traditional complex involving indigeneity, bilingualism, and the performance of ethnicity and belonging through women's dress. The pollera represents a middle ground between the skirt and the hand-woven clothing associated with indigenous groups. However, while wearing the pollera may seem to be a categorical choice, fashion and style are available to encode subtle signals that orient its wearer in the larger semiotic field. Within the spectrum of the pollera there is a wealth of information about place of origin, socioeconomic standing, even taste and refinement. Wearing pollera might be a performance for a young woman for whose mother it is an everyday practice. You can be accused of misrepresenting yourself by wearing or not wearing a pollera, or by using the wrong style of pollera.

Most women begin to wear pollera around the age of puberty, although in isolated rural regions girls may start to wear pollera as young as six to eight years of age. Women who wear pollera are understood to be hard-working, traditional, earthy, and sexual; there is a fascinating array of jokes and stories about the sexual behavior of women who wear pollera. Women from the western urban areas buy fancy factory-produced polleras in the latest styles, often in bright colors and patterns with shiny designs in sequins and glitter; it is a terrible shame for these trend-setters to be caught wearing last year's fashions. Older women from the valleys around Iscamayo sew their own modest polleras from flour sacks and lengths of sensible, long-wearing material in drab colors. The former category of pollera-wearers are known as *cholitas*; the latter are more respectfully identified as *de pollera*.

My friend Lorenza and her sister Modesta, older Quechua-speaking migrants from the west, wear pollera; their bilingual daughters Isabel and Damiana, married to Spanish speakers, do not. An older daughter, Flora, wears pollera, and she explains to me that it "just feels right" to her, just as her sister Isabel tells me that she has never liked pollera, although she wore it at times when she was younger. I hear this from other women, too; wearing pollera is a bodily habit and practice and an outgrowth of a larger identity—women who wear pollera are overwhelmingly women who identify as Quechua speakers, although this is not universally true, especially of the older women from the valleys around Iscamayo. Ideologically, wearing pollera is tightly linked to speaking Quechua.

In contrast to other regions, such as Mexico and Guatemala, in which a woman might wear traditional dress only for special occasions, a woman who wears pollera wears it day in and day out, year round. Occasionally a woman will switch from pollera to straight skirts and pants as an adult; if she does this, she never returns to wearing pollera. The only exceptions to this pattern are the choreographed dances that are held as fundraisers for the schools, when mothers and group members who do not usually wear pollera will borrow one for a performance of a specific dance style associated with the west. Other styles require the use of a *tipoi*, the straight ankle-length dress associated with the eastern lowlands, and unlike pollera, now nearly extinct in daily life. In these cases, these styles of dress are seen as costumes, and people will often exclaim over how lovely (or terrible) a woman who usually wears pants or straight skirts looks in pollera.¹⁹ In these performances, the pollera is included in the group of signs that can be excerpted in the production of a local identity.

It can be very hard for a woman to switch away from pollera. Isabel, whom I describe in Section 3.6, wore pollera when she first came to Iscamayo, as a pre-teen; she soon switched to pants and straight skirts, after being teased at school. Shortly afterwards, her family moved back to their hometown in the west, where all the women and girls wear pollera. Now wearing straight skirts, Isabel was once again mercilessly teased by her schoolmates, who told her that she showed "everything" every time she sat down. When my Iscamayeño friends talked to me about Isabel, they always mentioned how "she was a real little *cholita* when she first came to town," although, they implied, she tries to pretend she is not one now. By identifying Isabel as a *cholita*, they essentialize her as a pollera-wearing outsider, a bilingual from the western highlands, and also tie her to negative stereotypes of *collas*.

Isabel, who now dresses in long, flowing skirts and slacks, doesn't consider herself a *cholita*, but she is proud of speaking Quechua, a language she uses with her mother, sister, and many of her field hands. She is among the handful of people who will go to the trouble of speaking to me in Quechua rather than in Spanish. She also participates in customs and beliefs that others characterize as typical of the western highlands. Isabel was always happy to give me advice on such esoteric topics as how to appease the *Pachamama* 'earth mother

¹⁹ People of all social categories love to see Westerners dress up in pollera, and they will enthusiastically participate in the process of dressing white women up as *cholitas*, with varying degrees of success. I knew one American woman who (speaking Quechua and chewing coca) was regularly able to pass as a *cholita*.

deity' by burning an offering on the correct day of the week and time of day. Isabel was the godmother when her nephew was baptized and his hair was cut for the first time. The haircutting ceremony took place at her house and she ran it with an iron hand, demanding that people contribute money to the haircutting pile several times as the night wore on, and making sure that the money was covered up with confetti to guard against *envidia* 'envy.' There was so much *chicha* 'corn beer' that people were drunk for a week and the boy's father got punched in the eye. Later I overheard an acquaintance commenting that this ceremony was foreign to the way things were done in Iscamayo; she characterized the people as *agresivos, maleducados y malcriados* 'aggressive, rude, and terribly coarse,' saying *no son como nuestra gente* 'they're not like our people.'

Some of the criticisms of Isabel are probably attributable to the fact that she holds on to these beliefs and ceremonies, rather than "modernizing" by eschewing traditions associated with indigeneity, as so many households do; and partly they are also due to envy. Isabel and her husband are young and energetic and willing to work as long as it takes and borrow as much money as they need in order to get ahead. Only in their thirties, they already own land, vehicles, and have built a house—striking accomplishments for a family that has not resorted to emigration to earn money. Calling Isabel a *cholita* is a way of cutting her down to size, implying that she is a person of little importance, and suggesting that no matter how much wealth she is able to accumulate, she will always be a *cholita* on the inside—not a Iscamayaña, even though she moved to Iscamayo as a pre-adolescent.

One of my consultants made these sentiments explicit while criticizing her neighbor, a middle-aged woman by the name of Leocadia. Leocadia, a woman from the western highlands who wore pollera, had moved to Iscamayo a few years before, renting a storefront on the main avenue. She was known for sharp business practices and taking advantage of people whenever possible—I observed her overcharging foreign visitors and local peasant farmers with equal aplomb. It didn't take her long to make enough money to purchase her own property and construct a larger store of her own, a few blocks from the center of town. Leocadia might have high prices, but you could find things at her store that nobody else had, and it was newer and larger and fancier than almost any place in town. I would stop by occasionally, looking for some cable or adaptor that I couldn't find anywhere, and Leocadia would flash me a smile, showing her gold tooth, and then bark orders that sent her

employees and family members scurrying to find an item in the chaotic jumble of goods at the back of the store.

About the time that she moved into her new storefront, Leocadia stopped wearing pollera and started wearing slacks. I hadn't even noticed when her neighbor, Plácida, pointed this out to me, as part of a string of complaints about the store next door. "And how can she wear pants? She looks awful in them, because everyone knows that she's a Quechua speaker, one of those people from [the political party] MAS". Surprised and excited, I clumsily reached for my notebook to write this surprising observation down. Plácida immediately became embarrassed and, glancing at the wall that separated us from Leocadia's house, begged me to stop. She refused to elaborate further.

In the Andes, race and the markers that are closely associated with it, such as language choice and style of clothing, are often tightly linked to socioeconomic status. Plácida interprets Leocadia's switch to pants as a way of disowning her western, Quechua-speaking background and making a move to climb the social ladder from an immigrant to a person who is white and Spanish-speaking and perhaps local, *Iscamayeño*. This move can be interpreted as an illegitimate claim to insider status, and the fact that Plácida rejects the claim illustrates the way that these claims are evaluated and regimented through local gossip.

The change away from pollera is not always so fraught. One day I came across a very old photo of my landlady, Severina, a tough older woman who (unusually for Iscamayo) wears her hair very short and seems to care very little about her appearance beyond basic propriety. In the picture, she is sixteen or seventeen, very tall for her age, wearing her hair in the typical *cholita* style, posing awkwardly with her arms pressed to her sides, and wearing a pollera. I was enormously surprised, and immediately asked her about her style of dress. "Oh, yes," she told me, "I wore pollera until I got married, and then I changed to a skirt."

"But why?" I asked her.

"It just didn't feel right," she answered, and this is the answer that I got from everyone I talked to—wearing pollera either feels like "me," or it doesn't. I don't know whether there were any commentaries in the community when she switched away from pollera; by the time I know her, there were few people who remembered she had ever worn pollera at all.

Severina is one of a pair of siblings who have different language identities; she is a Spanish-speaker, although she learned Quechua as a second language when her husband got

sick and she had to live for an extended period of time in Sucre. Her older sister is fully bilingual in Quechua and Spanish and still wears pollera. Severina attributes this difference to the fact that her father, a Quechua-speaker, died when she was still young but her sister was slightly older. (Her mother spoke only Spanish.) Clearly, though, this parental history does not determine the children's language identification. Positioning oneself as a Quechua speaker and wearing pollera are both choices that are imbedded in social structure; each of these choices is articulated with a series of practices and positioning that add up to a backdrop against which the legitimacy of a person's claims can be evaluated by others.

4.4.2. Naming

Names, especially women's names, can also be a sign of where a person fits into the social jigsaw puzzle. Cholitas and women from the countryside often have flowery names that are taken from the *almanaque*, a yearly almanac which gives, among other information, the names of saints that would be appropriate for a child born on a certain day. Some typical traditional women's names are *Antanasia*, *Apolonia*, *Agripina*, *Basilia*, *Cirila*, *Demetria*, *Erminia*, *Emeliana*, *Fermina*, *Faustina*, *Griselda*, *Gumercinda*, *Hilaria*, *Isidora*, *Julieta*, *Lucrecia*, *Marciana*, *Narcisa*, *Octavina*, *Paulina*, *Quintana*, *Romalda*, *Séptima*, *Teodora*, *Uberlinda*, *Victorina*, *Xenobia*, as opposed to trendy modern names such as *Nayely* and *Jacquelin* and *Yaneth* and *Vicki* and *Nancy*. When I suggested that we should give my daughter the middle name *Isidora* because she was born on the day of Saint Isidro, the patron saint of farmers, Iscamayenos universally twisted up their mouths in an expression of disapproval.

Some friends are joking about a woman they know who changed her name from Juliana to Yaneth, then about a Marciana who became...the speaker struggles to remember the name, and her son jokingly suggests "Faustina," a name that is if anything "worse" (i.e. more closely associated with the traditional complex) than Marciana. Women change their names when they want to modernize themselves, present an updated image; Juliana became Yaneth just before she began to have an extramarital affair; Marciana became Vicki when she moved to the city. Our guide at a museum in Oruro introduces herself as *Gris*, "like the color [grey]," and I am sure that her full name is Griselda. My landlady complains that her name, Severina, is ugly, masculine-sounding, and says she wishes her parents had named her something else.

The collas swimming the river Piraí, Marciana who becomes Vicky, and the protagonist of *Las Patas Kharkeas* all have something in common—desire for change. Though these are phrased in terms of bodily comfort and aesthetics, they also have an unmistakable valence in the tradition-modernity complex, and change is almost always in the direction of “modernity.” Yet people fit into this complex in multiple interlocking and half-conscious, half-felt ways. There is no single magic event, no baptism in the River Piraí, which can transform a person’s positioning from one sign set to the other; at the same time, people are constantly engaging in action and discourse that places them with regard to this complex. More than staking out a set of coordinates, they drift and oscillate over time.

4.5. Discussion

In the hands of those who orient most strongly to modernity, tradition becomes something to be excerpted and performed, as part of Iscamayo's unique local character. Elements that are selected for performance become bracketed, marked, non-modern. This bracketing works in the context of alignment with the modern, urban, Spanish-speaking east, while at the same time creating a contrast with it through the identification of unique local traditions.

Some emblems of tradition, such as horse-powered cane mills and *chicha* ‘corn beer’ processed by mouth, are genuinely relics of the past. Others, however, are very much part of the day-to-day life of many Iscamayo residents: wearing pollera, drinking chicha, speaking Quechua, and participating in rituals such as “marrying” livestock during Carnaval. The construction of tradition as a marked category conflates these categories of tradition and makes a claim that the normal, natural behavior for an Iscamayeño is modern. Ironically, the practice of enshrining “traditional” emblems as part of a uniquely local Iscamayo culture simultaneously produces an image of the normative Iscamayeño as oriented towards modernity and all its associated characteristics.

Yet this is true only at the most gross level. People from Iscamayo use emblems of tradition and modernity to situate themselves in a complex field of meaning where there is no black-and-white choice. Isabel chooses not to wear pollera, but like virtually all Iscamayeños she is proud of her ritual kin relations, as in the case of her nephew and godson, and she proudly speaks Quechua. The mayor prepares for the arrival of the

president, as a member of the party oriented toward the indigenous poor, but he also cozies up to the separatist governor of the Santa Cruz department, positioning himself as a member of the local elite. The Quechua-dominant MAS partisans hold their political rally in the very center of town, and the town hall staff is in charge of the projection, even though their neighbors shoo them off the sidewalk. The young girl comes back from the city wearing nylons, but her rough heels put runs in them.

The construction of tradition and modernity is accomplished at the local level, through processes that are complex, interlocking, recursive, and multidimensional. There is a close parallel between the production of a local identity through links with tradition-as-performance and the use of Quechua contact features to index local identity. Just as the indigenous partisans of MAS are cast as outsiders, the fact that Quechua is spoken in Iscamayo is denied. Just as practices such as weaving and wearing pollera are recast as performance indexing a traditional local identity, Quechua contact features are carefully excerpted to identify a speaker as a local person. Each of these features carries meaning for an audience familiar with the complex geography of local meaning. At the same time, the poles in the binary are not equal; one is always cast as marked and one as unmarked.

In this chapter, I have presented a modernity-tradition dialectic that is produced and enacted in the particular sociohistorical context of Iscamayo. Modernity and tradition form mutually constituted poles that are the reference points for a system of value. At the same time, they are resources for constructing complex webs of meaning around everyday interactions. I describe here a twofold "blurring of boundaries"—blurring of the boundaries between language and other semiotic forms, and blurring of the strong boundaries between tradition and modernity in the very act of producing the dialectic.

My point in this chapter is that a dialectical opposition is produced through multiple modalities and at many levels of discourse. In shifting between levels, the reproduction of the opposition also blurs the clear boundaries that we often perceive around tradition and modernity. The same process is at work in the production of boundaries between Spanish and Quechua. Even as the two languages are held to be distinct, they are excerpted and reproduced in order to perform nested references to the group of concepts in which each of them is involved. These processes can be seen as constructing orientations toward and about groups of features, whether linguistic or otherwise semiotic.

The individuals I describe in this chapter negotiate the semiotic fields of tradition and modernity, finding or claiming a place for themselves and orienting towards one or another of these poles both in long-term social positioning and at the level of particular word choices in particular interactions. These stances are far from fixed; as my discussions of naming and pollera show, they can be modified and contested. In the following chapters, I describe how language acts as an element of placement in and orientation to the field of tradition and modernity as enacted in Iscamayo.

Chapter 5: Semantic convergence features

5.1. Introduction

In Chapter 4, I discussed the way that speakers represent themselves and others by organizing a set of indexical associations which, taken together, form a *semiotic field*, which I describe as a dialectical relationship between concepts associated with tradition and concepts associated with modernity. Beyond existing as a dialectic, however, tradition and modernity are produced through practice and performance. Speakers use these abstract ideas to organize the chaotic raw material of everyday life. In this chapter, I focus on the macroscopic patterns of context-oriented linguistic variation.

In this dissertation, I argue that speakers interpret linguistic indices, in the form of Quechua contact features in Spanish, through their relationship to typical forms of interaction. Each individual interaction becomes part of a model of interaction that serves as the background for subsequent interactions. In order to describe and understand meaning-through-contrast at the level of the individual interaction, it is first important to establish patterns of distribution of contact features which provide the basis for general tendencies of use. In this chapter, I show that there are systematic patterns to the distribution of contact features depending on social context. Much of these patterns can be explained by the ideological link between Quechua and tradition, affect, and informality, in contrast to Spanish and modernity, officialism, and formality, and recursive applications of this opposition. However, a few contact features behave in unexpected ways, and I suggest that in order to explain these differences we must appeal to the sociolinguistics of both Quechua and Spanish.

In order to describe general patterns of distribution of contact features, I distinguish between three recording contexts: meetings, interviews, and conversations. Over these contexts, one can observe a tendency to orient towards the traditional semiotic complex in the process of managing private interpersonal relationships in conversations, versus meetings

in which speakers tend to orient towards a public, modern sphere. Interviews, which I expected to fall somewhere between these two extremes, turned out to be less clear-cut.

5.2. Description of semantic convergence variables

I call the variables that I introduce in this chapter *semantic convergence variables*. These features are Spanish lexical items which are used differently in the area where I work than in modern Spanish in most other regions of the world. In some cases, this difference is very local, extending over an area of only a few miles or a few hundred miles; in other cases, the usage extends over a broad region from southern Colombia to northern Chile and Argentina. The semantic content of the features that I discuss here have roots in Spanish, whether in archaic usage, in an inherent semantic tendency, or in a possible extension of one aspect of normative use. However, they also have clear parallels to Quechua suffixes. Each of these features is linked both to internal Spanish tendencies and to Quechua influence; indeed, there is a growing literature that suggests that these may be the most favorable conditions for the transfer of semantic features (de Granda 2001b; Escobar 2000; Sánchez 2003).

There is general consensus in the literature on Andean Spanish that the semantic and grammatical extensions of these elements are the result of contact-related changes. However, there are a variety of interpretations of the level at which these changes have occurred. Mendoza describes them as 'pragmatic shading' (2008:228),²⁰ while Cerrón Palomino considers them to be 'semantic extension' (2003: 243),²¹ and Escobar describes them as having 'discursive functions' (2000: 135).²² I like Cerrón Palomino's use of the term *semantic extension*, which captures the fact that these words now encode a variety of Quechua-linked meanings that encompass and enlarge upon the normative Spanish usage.

Because the semantic content of convergence features comes from both Spanish and Quechua, not every instance of a feature is clearly related to Quechua contact; in fact, often the use of these features is quite compatible with normative Spanish usage. Indeed, many of the most skilled speakers that I recorded were notable for their ability to use these particles

²⁰ All translations are my own. Original: Matices pragmáticos de énfasis, incitación, o atenuación

²¹ Original: Ampliación semántica

²² Original: Funciones discursivas

in a way that blurred the lines between contact-related and non-contact-related semantic fields; and these lines were already far from distinct. Woolard calls the strategic use of elements that could be associated with either Catalan or Spanish 'bivalency' (1998b), and this term seems to be appropriate to my data as well. For this reason, I found it impractical to separate the more "Spanishy" uses of the features from the more "Quechua-y" uses of the features. In this case, the blunter quantitative analysis turned out to be most effective in showing tendencies of distribution of contact features.

The existing literature on Andean Spanish focuses on static demographic categories rather than on a dynamic discourse environment. The great majority of my data comes from individuals who identify themselves as monolingual speakers of Spanish, and who use contact features as a way of marking shifts in register or discourse context. My intention is to show that speakers use contact features to organize social space, not to imply that speakers' use of contact features is determined by their social categorization. Below, I consider contrasts between the use of contact features in public settings such as community meetings, and in private settings such as conversations. (Please see Chapter 2 and Section 5.3.1 of this chapter for more information on recording settings). The use of contact features to regulate sociolinguistic boundaries in space and time exists in tandem with a set of expectations of well-formed discourse in the settings that I describe.

5.3. Results of statistical analysis: Meetings and conversations

In this section, I discuss the distribution of the contact features described in Section 2.3.1.1 over the speech contexts that I identified. Table 5.1 gives a review of the contact features, a gloss, the p-value, and the chi-square value for each distribution. A low p-value indicates that the distribution of the features over the three contexts is highly unlikely to be random. (See Section 2.3.2.1 on chi-square test; see Appendix C for distribution data).

In the following chart, each variable represents a 1 x 3 table, with the three columns representing number of times the variable appears in each of the three recording contexts. There are two degrees of freedom for all variables (df=2).

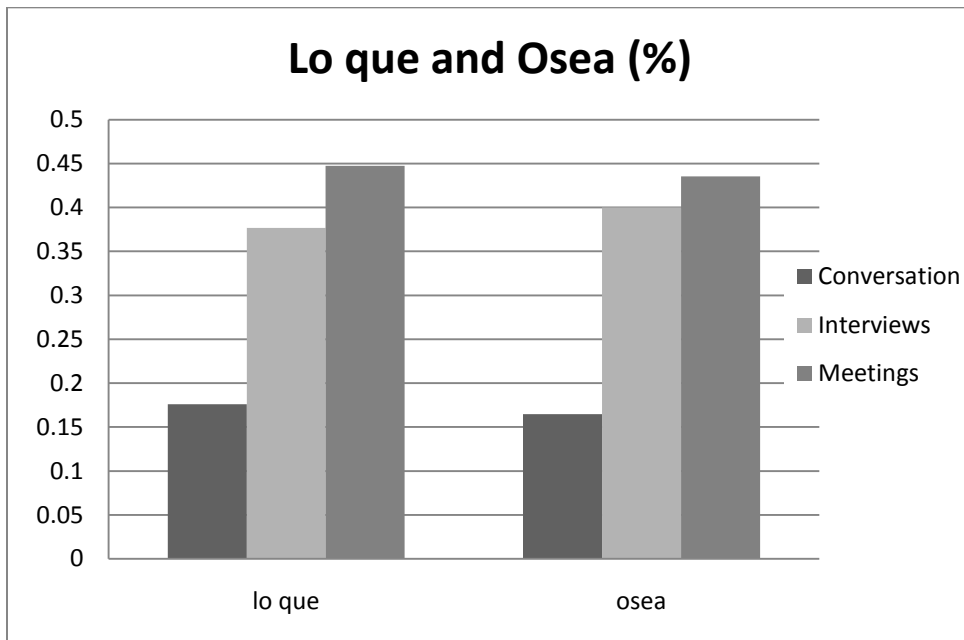
TABLE 5.1

Dizque	reportative	p<0.001	$\chi^2 = 48.700$
Saber	habitual	p<0.001	$\chi^2 = 33.742$
Pues	organize focus	p<0.001	$\chi^2 = 133.311$

Había	mirative (novel/surprising information)	p<0.001	$\chi^2 = 28.563$
Ya	already; passing a threshold	p<0.001	$\chi^2 = 32.727$
Nomás	only, limitative	p<0.001	$\chi^2 = 29.277$
siempre	always, affirmation	p<0.001	$\chi^2 = 32.811$
también	also, parallelism	p=0.006	$\chi^2 = 10.212$
hacer	causative	p=0.07	$\chi^2 = 5.3143$

For context, I give the following charts, which demonstrate the patterns of distribution of non-contact features. The following chart gives the distribution of Spanish oratorical particles *lo que* and *osea*. *Lo que* and *osea* are used frequently in speech that is oriented to formal occasions and the modern semiotic complex, including parodies of highly educated public speech; they have no connection with Quechua. I give the distribution of these particles as examples of speech that is strongly associated with the modern semiotic complex.

FIGURE 5.1: LO QUE AND OSEA



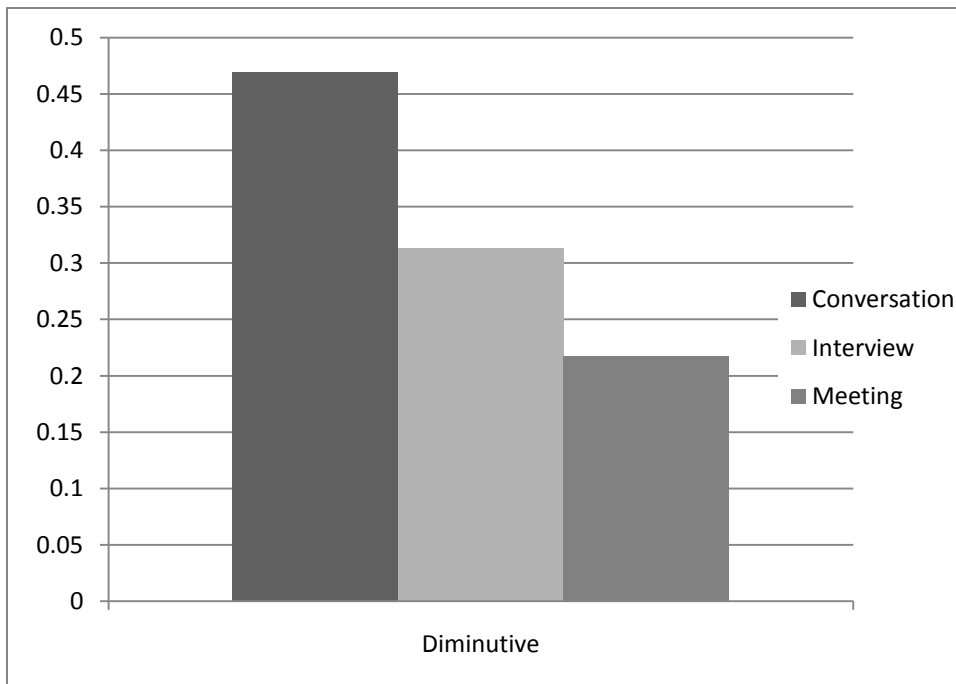
As can be seen here, the distribution patterns of *lo que* and *osea* are very similar to each other, occurring much more in meetings than in conversations.

In contrast, the diminutive is a feature that is used in both Spanish and Quechua. Many scholars have characterized the use of the diminutive as a contact feature because of its frequent use among bilinguals or L2 Spanish speakers. Yet the diminutive is a marker of

private, family-context speech in both Spanish and Quechua, even where contact influences are least likely. Given that Quechua may have a rhetorical or social parallel to Spanish in this respect, one would expect the distribution pattern to be reinforced.

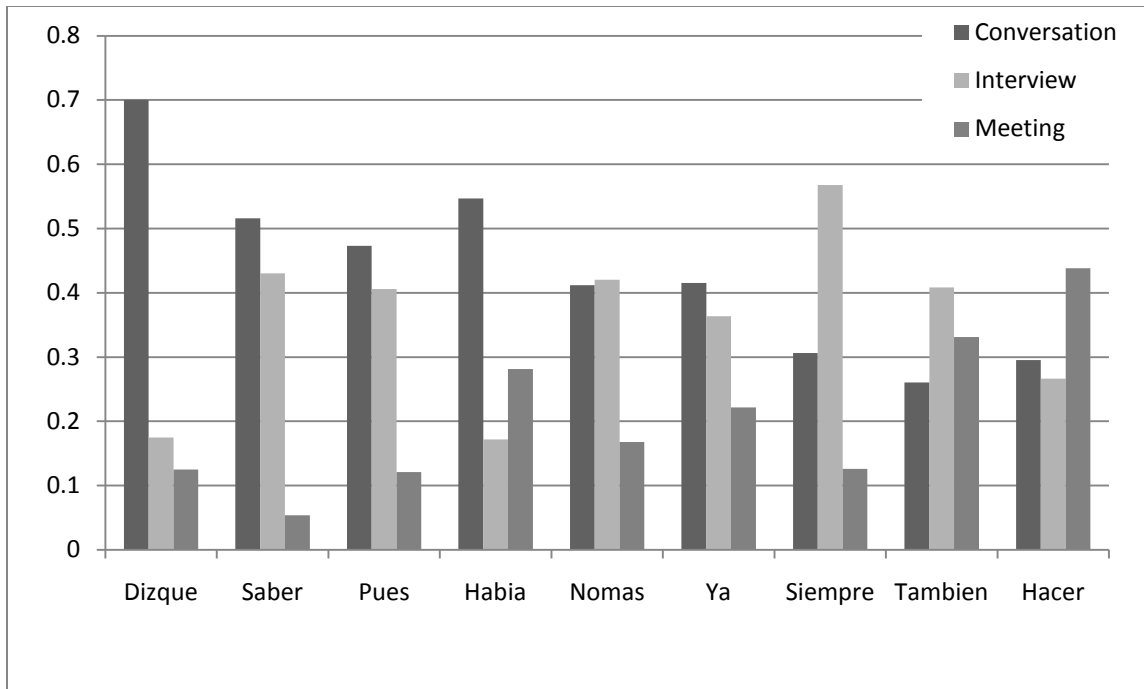
In fact, the diminutive distributes beautifully among these contexts, with 47% occurring in conversations, 31% in interviews, and 22% in meetings.

FIGURE 5.2: DIMINUTIVE



In Figure 5.3, I give the distribution of convergence features over the categories of conversation, interview, and meeting.

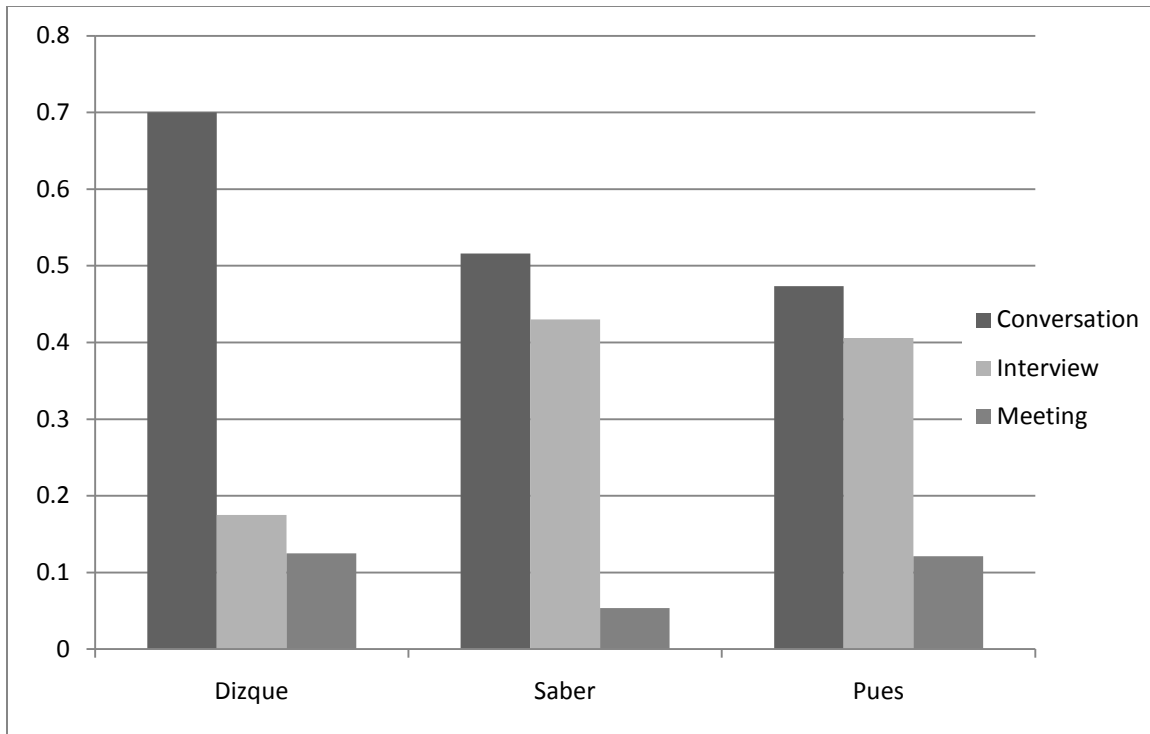
FIGURE 5.3: OVERVIEW



The information presented in this chart represents not raw numbers, but percentages. Each dark gray bar represents the percentage of the feature's total occurrences that are found in conversations. Each light gray bar represents the feature's total occurrences that are found in interviews. Each medium gray bar represents the percentage of the feature's total occurrences that are found in meetings. All findings **except *hacer*** are statistically significant at $p < 0.01$.

I break these features down into further sub-groupings below in order to demonstrate different patterns of distribution among the variables. These features are grouped below:

FIGURE 5.4: DIZQUE-SABER-PUES

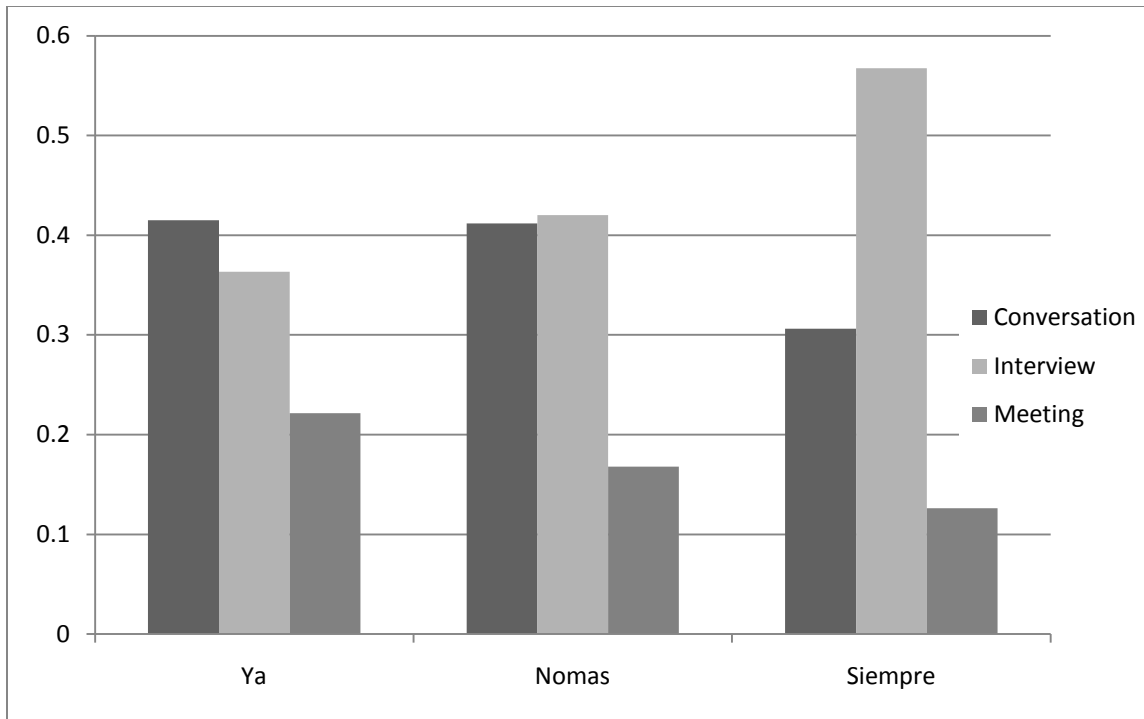


Dizque, *saber*, and *pues* occur very little in meetings as compared to conversations. In interviews, *dizque* patterns with less formal speech, while *saber* and *pues* pattern with more formal speech. The difference in the distribution of these variables over interview contexts probably has to do with the discourse functions of each word; *saber* and *pues* are used to organize discourse and discuss habitual actions, while *dizque* is used in gossip. In interviews, where people try to present themselves as credible sources of information, they are unlikely to want to use a word that is strongly associated with gossip. Through the use of markers such as *saber* and *pues*, on the other hand, they make an effort to produce elegantly structured, elegantly reasoned discourse.

I present these three variables together because their percent incidence in conversation minus their percent incidence in meetings is between 0.35 and 0.58; that is, they are among the variables most likely to occur in conversation as compared to meetings.

$$(.35 < C-M < .58)$$

FIGURE 5.5: YA-NOMÁS-SIEMPRE

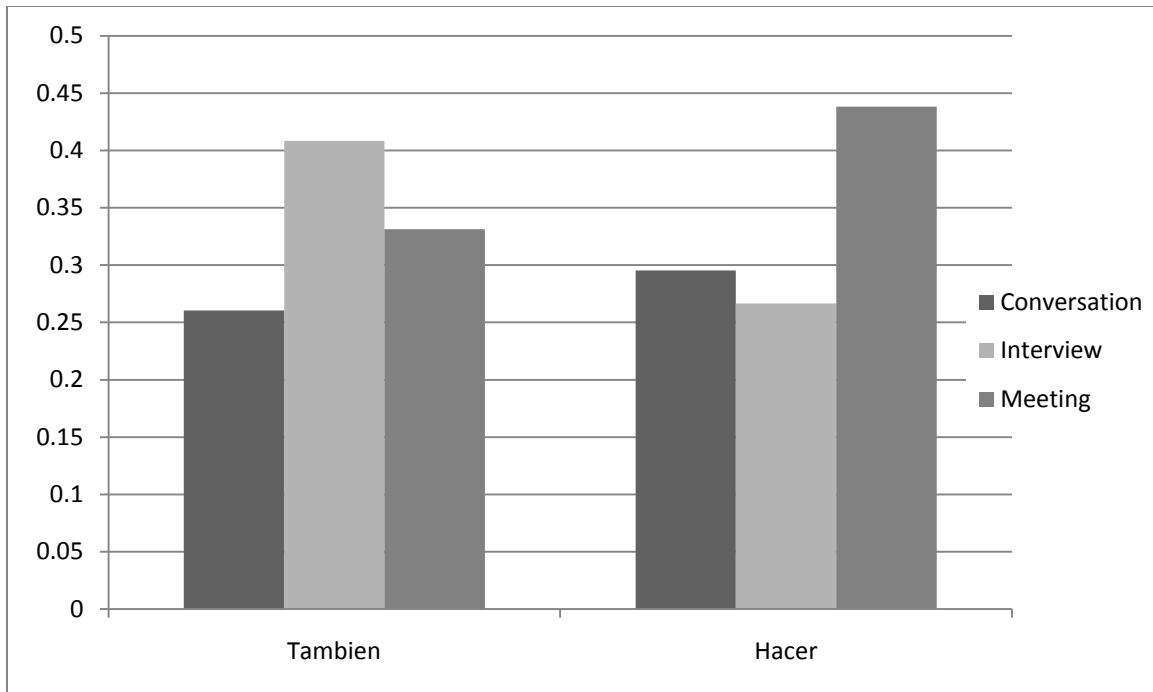


The values for the occurrence of *ya*, *nomás*, and *siempre* in meetings are closer to their occurrence in conversation, but continue to be more frequent in conversation. *Ya* and *nomás* in interviews pattern closely with conversations, but *siempre* appears much more in interviews than in the other two contexts. Once again, I believe this has to do with *siempre*'s function as a stance-taking resource. *Siempre* 'definitely, in all cases' is often used to solidify a person's opinion or position on a topic.

I present these three variables together because their percent incidence in conversation minus their percent incidence in meetings is between 0.18 and 0.25; that is, they are little more likely to occur in conversations than in meetings.

$$(0.18 < C-M < .25)$$

FIGURE 5.6: TAMBIÉN-HACER



However, *también* and *hacer* show a very different pattern—*también* occurs more in interviews and meetings than in conversations. (*Hacer* did not show a statistically significant difference in this context, although qualitatively it seems to appear more in meetings.)

The predicted overall pattern of contact features, in which more contact features occur in conversations, holds for six of the eight of the semantic convergence variables discussed in this chapter. This shows that while most features act as expected, given the ideological relationship between Quechua and Spanish, two features act contrary to expectations. As detailed in Chapter 2, each contact feature counts only once per sentence, so multiple uses of contact features such as *ya* or *dizque*, which are frequently used as a frame around an idea or phrase, are under-represented in this sample. However, *tambien* and *hacer* are not typically used as frames, so methodological reasons cannot account for the underrepresentation of these features.

I present these three variables together because their percent incidence in conversation minus their percent incidence in meetings gives a negative value; that is, they are more likely to appear in meetings than in conversation.

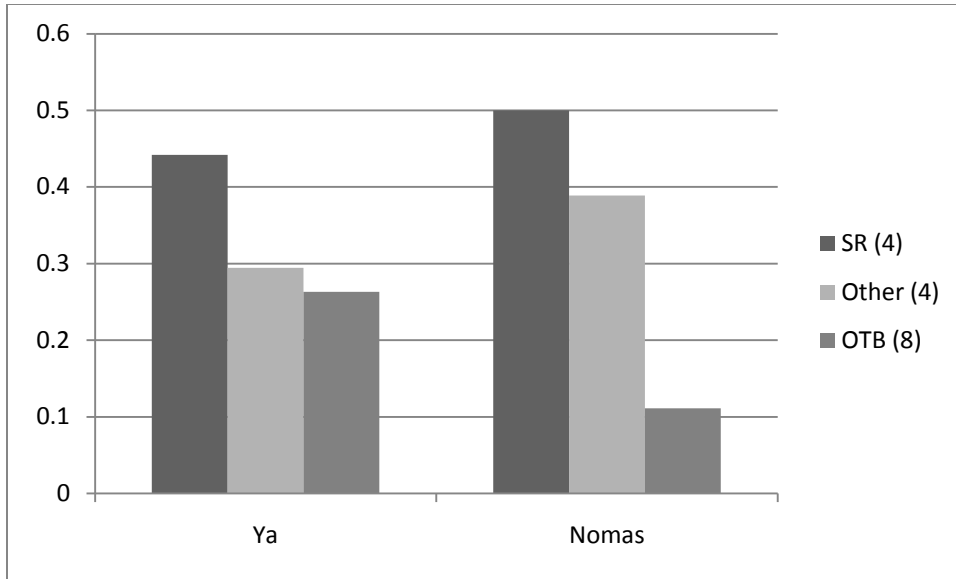
5.3.1. Further discussion: Meetings

Not all meetings are alike. One possible explanation for the tendency of these convergence features to appear in meetings is that the results are skewed by the use of contact features in meetings dominated by rural, uneducated women, such as the mother's club. In order to consider this possibility, I also considered the distribution of some of these features within different types of meetings. Within meetings, the distribution of *ya* was significant at $p < 0.05$ and the distribution of *nomás*, *también*, and *hacer* was significant at $p < 0.01$.

In the following charts, I have divided the total occurrences of these features in meetings among three types of meetings which I observed. The most structured meetings, based on spatial organization and observation of meeting etiquette, with the most accomplished orators, are the OTB meetings. The least regimented meetings, based on the same criteria, are the meetings of the mother's club in Santa Rosa. In between these two extremes are four other meetings. (A more extensive discussion of these recording contexts can be found in Section 2.2.4). Based on factors such as type of participant and styles of turn-taking, I would expect the highest level of contact features in the OTB meetings, the lowest level in the mother's club meetings, and an intermediate level in the assorted meetings.

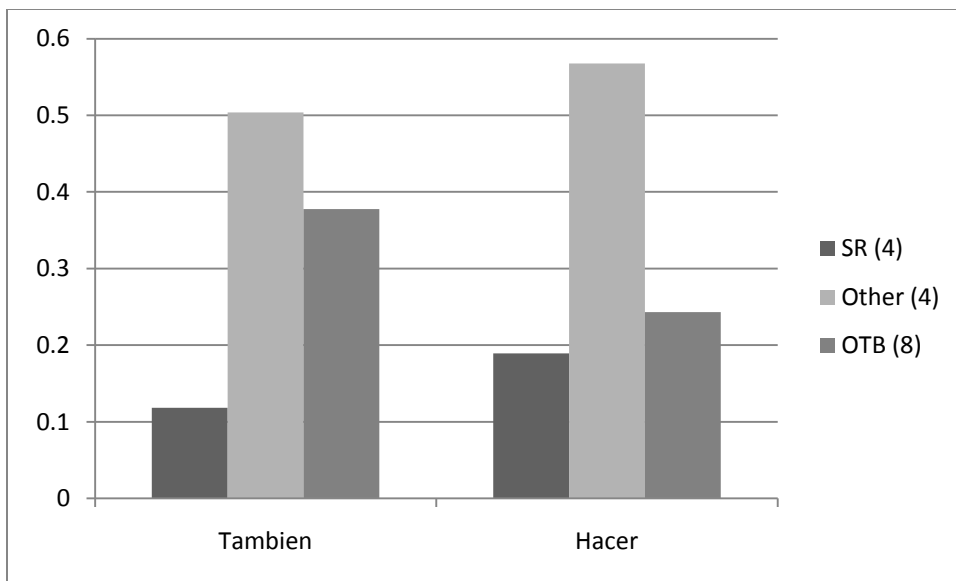
In the following charts, percentages of total occurrences are shown over these three contexts. In order to control for the variation in number of meetings observed (eight OTB meetings versus four mother's club meetings and four assorted meetings), each number of occurrences was divided by the number of meetings observed. The Mother's Club meetings are labeled SR for *Santa Rosa in the figures below*.

FIGURE 5.7: YA-NOMÁS IN MEETINGS



The results for *ya* and *nomás* were as expected. They occur more in conversational contexts (SR=the mother's club, dark gray bar), least in meeting contexts (OTBs, medium gray bar) and somewhere in between in the assorted meetings (light gray bar). These two contact features were among those that also behaved as expected in meeting vs. conversation analysis.

FIGURE 5.8: TAMBIÉN-HACER IN MEETINGS



In contrast, *también* and *hacer* were not among those that behaved as expected in meeting vs. conversation analysis. As can be seen here, *también* and *hacer* occur least in the private context of the Santa Rosa mothers' club meetings; they occur more in the public context of the OTB meetings and have a strikingly high occurrence in the "other" meetings. (Both are significant at $p < 0.01$).

In the case of *hacer*, which had fewer occurrences than the other contact features described in this chapter, it may be the case that a disproportionate number of features were influenced by an single unusual recording context. More than 75% of the occurrences of *hacer* in the "Other" category were in a single meeting—the meeting about kitchen stoves, during which two individuals who had been using their stoves gave testimonials about their efficacy. These two speakers repeatedly used the phrase *hacer cocer* 'to [cause to] cook,' as in Example 26:

(26)

He hecho cocer conserva, osea, lacayote.

(I) CAUSE to-cook preserves that-is squash

I have cooked preserves, that is, squash.

This excerpt is part of a section in which the speaker enumerates the variety of foods that she has cooked in her solar oven. This speech is marked by parallel constructions beginning with *he hecho cocer* 'I [caused-to] cook.' In this sentence, we can see that the speaker also includes rhetorical particles such as the Spanish oratorical *osea* as she presents herself to the meeting. As I remarked earlier, attention to responsibility is an important pragmatic consideration of speakers of this dialect of Spanish, and precision with respect to the agent of cooking is part of careful and correct speech. In other meetings within this category, causative *hacer* also occurs in several contexts in which there is heated or emotional speech by members of other groups.

In OTB meetings, skilled orators use *hacer* to indicate or disclaim responsibility, with the same careful specificity with respect to agents. These uses are often bivalent with normative Spanish, as in the two examples below:

(27)

Tenemos posesión del terreno, y hemos

(We) have possession of the land and (we) have

*We have possession of the land, and we have
gotten a plan approved, [a plan] that is*

hecho *aprobar un plano que esta ya*

CAUSED approve a plan that is YA

already approved by the Town Hall.

aprobado por la Alcaldía,
approved by the Town Hall

(28)

Que se ha prestado a X persona y se
That refl. (it) was lent to X person and refl.

*That it was lent to X person and it was put
up for sale.*

ha hecho negociar.
(it) was CAUSED to be traded

In Example 27, the speaker discusses the accomplishment of having gotten a plan approved [caused-to approve] at Town Hall, an accomplishment for which he and his board are implicitly given credit. The causative indicates that although it was the mayor who ultimately approved the plan, the members of the board of directors were the agents who got it pushed through.

In Example 28, the same grammatical construction is used to the opposite effect. The speaker is discussing the *personería jurídica* 'incorporation papers,' which he and other speakers characterize as the group's identity document. A former board member has been accused of stealing this identity document and trafficking it for personal profit or favors. By using a passive construction in the first part of the sentence, then another passive construction with causative *hacer* in the second part of the sentence, the speaker holds the issue at arms' length—neither taking responsibility for any part of the action nor explicitly attributing it to anyone else, but implicitly making clear that there was an agent who should take the blame. Therefore, it is arguably for discourse reasons that *hacer* appears less in conversation.

For *también*, the patterns are not so clear. There is no single context in which *también* is used repeatedly; it is used by numerous speakers in numerous different contexts. Most of these can be understood as parallelism at some level. In the following example, a local man who is a recent but, I was told, fairly successful master of oratorical style discusses the municipal development plan.

(29)

Después también tenemos la Casa de la Cultura,
Later TAMBIEN we have the House of the Culture

*And then we have the Cultural
Museum, which will be built, so to
speak, right here in Iscamayo.*

que se va a construir también digamos aquí en
which refl. will be build TAMBIEN let's say here in

Iskamayo.
Iskamayo

The repetition of *también* in this excerpt gives the impression of being contrived, as if the speaker is laboring for a correct register of speech. This combines with the unnecessary *digamos* 'so to speak' to give the impression of an affected tone. Based on my analysis of the data and these speaking styles, I believe that *también* is often overused as a poetic or oratorical device by individuals who aim for, but do not quite control, a high oratorical style.

5.3.2. Summary: Semantic convergence variables

I have shown that most semantic convergence contact features are more common in conversational types of discourse than in meeting settings, using a set of Spanish lexical items whose semantic content has converged with the Quechua semantic system, leading to striking parallels between the semantics of local Spanish and the semantics of Quechua.

In Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I showed that Quechua and Quechua contact features are associated with tradition, affect, and informal joking relations, as are local and/or indigenous languages in many parts of the world. Based on these associations and on the general ideologies surrounding Quechua migrants and Quechua speakers, I hypothesized that more Quechua contact features would be found in conversational contexts, and that fewer Quechua features (i.e. a more standard or normative variety of Spanish) would be found in meeting contexts.

Many of the variables that I considered were, indeed, more common in the conversational contexts that I recorded than they were in meeting contexts. However, some features did not follow this pattern. In particular, I have considered the cases of *también* and *hacer*, which consistently occur more in meeting contexts than in conversations. *También* is used to indicate parallelism and to justify or rationalize actions. *Hacer* can be used to distribute responsibility or blame. Given the fact that most features behave according the established ideological pattern, we must look elsewhere to understand the tendency of *también* and *hacer* to occur in meeting contexts.

I suggest that the theoretical concept of enregisterment provides a useful framework for understanding these contrasting patterns. However, in order to understand the patterns of contact features in Spanish, we must also understand the sociolinguistic function of the particles that they are related to in Quechua. Much of the existing literature on Quechua sociolinguistics focuses on Quechua's relationship to Spanish on a large-scale ideological

level, often in relation to national politics and education (e.g. King & Hornberger 2004). Yet the language varieties and language features described under the label "Quechua" are as complex, ideology-laden, geographically varied, and socially stratified as Spanish or any other language. For example, Pfänder examines the effect of Spanish loans on registers of Quechua discourse (2009: 156-75). There is also a wealth of information in Albó 1970, a dissertation that considers the sociolinguistic structure of Cochabamba Quechua, also with respect to Spanish contact influence, but unfortunately, *-pis* (the Quechua analogue to *también*) is not one of the variables selected for analysis in this work.

The materials that I have been able to gather in Quechua are largely (1) oral narratives and conversation among older women and (2) pedagogical materials for literacy or second-language purposes. The first are, of course, informal, private genres of interaction, and the second are highly suspect because of purist tendencies. In the limited material that I have available to me, there does appear to be a tendency for *-pis* to appear when speakers switch to a more formal, modern-oriented style of presentation; however, further analysis is needed on this topic.

5.4. Conclusion: Enregisterment and contact features

In this chapter, I have introduced the semantic convergence contact features that I used in my analysis. In many cases, I have been able to suggest a particular Quechua word or suffix as a source of semantic parallelism. Wherever possible, I have supported these assertions with data from spoken Spanish and spoken Quechua in the community where I work.

In general, Quechua contact features in Spanish, regardless of the patterns of usage of related particles in Quechua, tend to occur more in conversations than in meetings. This tendency can be understood as an example of a process of *enregisterment*. Through the process of enregisterment, certain features are recognized as belonging to the traditional semiotic complex. They then form repertoires of use that are associated with particular contexts and, by extension, actors. It is probably the case that Quechua contact features were first associated with L2 Spanish speakers. These features then gained a second-order indexical linkage with certain activities, such as weaving, cooking, child-raising, agriculture, and family life—contexts in which high densities of Quechua-origin loanwords exist today.

Yet this is not the case for all Quechua contact features. Surprisingly, some Quechua contact features pattern as do Spanish oratorical style markers such as *o sea* and *lo que* rather than along the lines of other contact features. The best example of this pattern is *también*, which is used both as a marker of rhetorical parallelism and to justify actions. This word has a parallel in Quechua suffix *-pis/pas*, which I suggest may be more common in formal discourse than in conversational exchanges in Quechua.

The case of *también* contrasts with the general pattern of enregistered contact features in Spanish. I suggest that this feature, unlike other features considered in this chapter, did *not* become associated with the traditional semiotic field through the process of enregisterment. Rather, I suggest that it may retain Quechua pragmatic content linking it to formal rhetorical strategies such as parallelism.

In making this argument, I take a critical stance on register and enregisterment as theoretical concepts. Registers of language use must be tied to a larger system of meaningful relationships between social-semiotic constructs. I group my recording contexts according to overall tendencies of orientation towards a semiotic field, which I describe in Chapter 4. I have purposefully avoided characterizing the phenomena that I describe in this chapter as "women's talk" or "meeting talk." Rather, I choose to locate it in the context of an opposition between tradition and modernity that informs many aspects of local constructions of meaning and personhood. Quechua and Spanish, and distinct social varieties of each of these languages, are part of this semiotic system. This opposition is available at multiple recursive levels (Irvine & Gal 2000), as I have shown by contrasting not only meetings and conversations, but also examining the breakdown of contact features within different types of meetings (Section 5.3.1 of this chapter).

The concept of enregisterment is a useful one insofar as it helps us to understand the differing patterns of distribution of contact features that I describe in this chapter. Silverstein argues that a register consists of a set of features that work together to mark a given sample of speech as belonging to that register (2003). However, at the next level of analysis, a register itself must be located in the context of a *set* of registers or a meaningful semiotic opposition. Any sample of speech will be situated with relationship to one or many of these patterns; that is, a speech event will to some extent replicate a register and to some extent diverge from it, such that it cites or echoes another register with a distinct set of associations and features.

In this chapter, I have established one set of associations that form a background for speech events, a pattern of distribution of contact features against which individual interactions may stand in contrast. In Chapter 6, I continue this discussion with attention specifically to these individual interactions, using qualitative rather than quantitative analysis. Through these examples, I show that the general patterns of distribution that appear in this chapter, and which might be described as a register or a set of registers, are averages over a large number of individual interactions that, taken together, both replicate and reinforce participants' concepts of acceptable and appropriate speech patterns.

Chapter 6: Borrowed features

6.1. Introduction

In Chapter 5, I examined the statistical distribution of convergence features over three contexts of speech. In this chapter, I take a closer look at the way that individuals use contact features in particular social contexts. Principally, I'll be considering how contact features are tied to a particular part of the semiotic field through the process of enregisterment. In order to do this, I consider how individual speakers use contact features to specific ends.

The features that I discuss in this chapter have no possible historical link to Spanish; they are clearly of Quechua origin. These features tend to be among the most unlikely to appear in meetings, the most firmly associated with the "traditional" semiotic complex. From the scarcity of these features in meeting contexts, I believe that these features are relatively easy for speakers to control. In this chapter I examine only the features that occur regularly enough to form a recognizable pattern in my corpus. Here, in contrast to Chapter 5, I present stretches of speech in social contexts, linking contact features to their use by particular individuals for particular purposes. In particular, I consider instances in which these highly marked features are used in formal contexts such as meetings. How and why do these atypical instances occur?

6.2. Ingressive airflow

The use of ingressive airflow is a highly marked device which indexes affect—especially apprehension and/or empathy. This may occur over a single word, over a stretch of speech, or merely as an audible intake of breath. Practically all the examples of ingressive airflow in my data occur in interviews and conversations; an intake of breath was only audible in a meeting once, at a rural Mother's Club. Ingressive airflow is an extremely common backchannel response used largely by women. In my observations, this feature was

very commonly used by women when speaking Quechua and by Quechua-dominant female speakers in Spanish. Men used it occasionally, but women used it most, especially in conversations in which speakers were working to create affect and empathy. As far as I am aware, ingressive airflow is not a characteristic of Spanish in any other part of the world.

While there are examples of ingressive airflow in fourteen different transcriptions, there are three major occasions during which an individual used ingressive airflow multiple times in the course of a conversation.

In one case, a woman asks me about my experiences hiking in the region, and in particular crossing the rivers (which often flood); later in the conversation, she tells me a story about her sister, who drowned in the river. This excerpt occurs during a kitchen practices interview. The main speaker, Teresa, is someone I didn't know prior to the interview, but she works very hard throughout the conversation to build a friendly relationship with me by sharing personal stories and showing interest in my activities. Teresa was born and raised in the highlands surrounding Iscamayo, but has lived in town for many years with her mother and daughter. She wears a straight skirt and identifies herself as a Spanish-speaker.

TRANSCRIPT 6.1

T (Teresa), A (Anna)

1. T: Ayy, a Usted le encantaba caminar, no?	1. T: Ooh, you loved to walk, didn't you?
2. A: Sii.	2. A: Yees.
3. T: (intake)	3. T: (intake)
4. A: Hasta ahora me gusta pero con la wawa,	4. A: I still like it but with the baby,
5. T: Ya no se puede.	5. T: It's impossible.
6. A: Casi no podemos.	6. A: We can't really.
7. T: Si. (intake)	7. T: Yes. (intake)
8. A: Hemos ido a San Juan este año pero en auto nomás.	8. A: We went to San Juan this year but just in the car.
9. T: En, en auto nomás ya?	9. T: In, just in the car?
10. A: Hm. No, no es lo mismo.	10. A: Uh-huh. It's, it's not the same.
11. T: (laughs) No es lo mismo, no?	11. T: (Laughs) It's not the same, is it?
12. A: No es.	12. A: It's not.
13. T: (intake) Y caminando es más bonito?	13. T: (intake) And walking is nicer?
14. A: Si, yo quería ir, pero mi esposo me ha dicho, apenas pa que sufra la wawa, me ha dicho.	14. A: Yes, I wanted to go, but my husband told me, it's the baby that's going to suffer, he said.
15. T: Siii.	15. T: Yees.

In this excerpt, Teresa follows my conversational topic, responding with short, audible periods of ingressive airflow in Turns 3, 7, and 13. These sound like someone catching their breath, but this response can be glossed as "Yes, I understand and I feel the same way." She also aligns with me by completing sentences (Turn 5) and mirroring my sentence structure (Turn 11), as I mirror hers in Turns 6 and 12, and both of us draw out the vowel in the word *sí*, using downward intonation that indexes sympathy (Turns 2 and 15).

In another case, a woman narrates the story of her husband's near-death encounter in another city, and of her efforts to reach him. Sara, the primary speaker, tries to reach her husband but isn't able to find transportation, while her son Juancito searches for his father in the hospitals of a strange city.

TRANSCRIPT 6.2

S (Sara), A (Anna)

1. S: Asi que, carrerita! (intake)	1. S: So, quick as a wink! (intake)
2. Rapiditos. Y, y, acaso he podido [hacer] llegar? En el mismo nomás de mi imaginación. (intake)	2. Quickly. And, and, do you think I could make it? Still the same as in my imagination. (intake)
3. He llegado a las siete.	3. I arrived at seven.
4. A: Siete.	4. A: Seven.
5. S: Seis de la tarde.	5. S: Six in the evening.
6. "Donde estás, mami?" mi Juancito, "Mami, donde estás?" y, (intake)	6. "Where are you, mami?" my Juancito, "Mami, where are you?" and (intake)
7. "No te preocupes, le he encontrado ya a mi papa," me ha dicho.	7. "Don't worry, I've found my father," he told me.
8. "Y como está?" (intake)	8. "And how is he?" (intake)
9. "Ya está mejor, está con suero, todoo, (intake)	9. "He's better, he's got an IV, everything" (intake)
10. "Ya va a reaccionar mi padre. No te preocupes," me dice,	10. "My father is going to respond. Don't worry," he says.
11. A: Mhm	11. A: Mm-hmm.

In this excerpt, Sara uses ingressive airflow to organize her story and to index her frustration, emotional distress and eventual relief on hearing that her son has found her husband and that he is expected to respond to medical interventions.

Finally, a woman and her husband discuss the delicate political situation and unstable times with me. This conversation happened after a kitchen interview. While I did not know María and her husband Eduardo well, they had gone out of their way to be friendly to me, giving me the gift of a sack of corn and asking after my husband and family. Here, they

discuss walking three or four miles around a road blockade on the way home from the city, halfway through the seven-hour trip.

TRANSCRIPT 6.3

M (María), E (Eduardo), A (Anna)

1. M: Pero hemos caminado de lejooooos!	1. M: But we walked sooooo far!
2. E: Aquí en Pasadero hemos andado lejísimos!	2. E: Here in Pasadero we walked SO far!
3. M: (intake)	3. M: (intake)
4. E: Como aquí a Ranchito!	4. E: Like from here to Ranchito!
5. A: Ba	5. A: Wow
6. M: A la casa de su abuelito del Nolán.	6. M: To Nolán's grandfather's house.
7. A: Ah ha	7. A: Uh-huh
8. M: De aqui así. (intake Ayyyyyyy!) Me dolía estito!	8. M: From here to there. (intake Ayyyyyyy!) All this was hurting! (indicates shoulders)
9. E: Y con, y con los bultos mas! En lo cargado, uno, mieceerda!	9. E: And with, with our baggage too! Loaded down, one, daaaaamn!
10. A: Ayyyy! (laughs)	10. A: Ayyyy! (laughs)
11. M: Mi bulto así era de grande, así!	11. M: My load was this big, like this!
12. A: En Pasadero	12. A: In Pasadero
13. M: Ah ha. Iban pues los carros, así! Uno por uno! Mas era lo que sería carro que gente! Daba miedo ahí. Llegó el micro a las ocho y med-, casi nueve, no, ahí, a Pasadero?	13. M: Uh-huh. The cars went by like this! One by one! It seemed to be more cars than people! It was scary there. The bus came at eight thir-, almost, nine, right, to Pasadero?
14. A: Ah ha	14. A: Uh-huh
15. M: Imagínese Usted que-	15. M: Imagine that-
16. A: De noche	16. A: At night
17. M: Ah ha (intake) Todos con sus linternitas caminando. Me daba miedo a mí. Eh. Pero, que íbamos a hacer? A venirse!	17. M: Uh-huh (intake) Everyone with their little flashlights walking along. I was scared. Eh. But, what were we to do? We had to return!

Here, María uses ingressive airflow in turns to indicate both agreement and mild distress, caused by her long walk with heavy bags in the dark, and the anxiety caused by the political tension and potential of violence—not very long before they told me this story, a group trying to walk around a roadblock was fired on and a man was killed. But at the same time, there is an element of humor to the story—María is a large, fat, middle-aged woman, and although she is undoubtedly tough, she is using this story to make fun of herself. In turns 8 and 11, she uses exaggerated gestures to illustrate the image of her load and its effect

on her body, then, more seriously, asserts that she was genuinely scared in turns 13 and 17, before ending on a positive note, *A venirse!* 'We had to return!'

In these stories, people use ingressive airflow to index sympathy, solidarity, emotional distress, and to add color to a humorous story. Through this and physical devices such as eye contact, physical proximity, posture, and tone of voice, these stories are strongly marked for affect and used to establish or strengthen a relationship with the other participants in the conversation.

6.3. Loanwords of Quechua origin

Loanwords from Quechua are used primarily in conversations. In interviews, they were practically always used by speakers as citation forms, in response to a direct question about Quechua influence in Spanish. Among these loanwords, the stereotypical response was the sentence, *Andá khará la khucha* 'Go feed the sow.'

(30)

<i>Sentence:</i>	<i>Andá</i>	<i>khará</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>khucha</i>
<i>Gloss:</i>	<i>Go</i>	<i>feed</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>sow</i>
<i>Language:</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	Quechua + <i>Sp</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	Quechua + <i>Sp</i>
<i>Root:</i>	<i>andar</i> 'to walk'	qaray 'to feed'	<i>la</i> 'the'	khuchi 'sow'
<i>Inflection:</i>	<i>á</i> '2d sing.'	<i>á vos</i> '2d sing'	<i>fem. def. art.</i>	<i>-a feminine</i>

In Example 30, Quechua loanwords *qaray* 'to feed' and *khuchi* 'pig' are accommodated to Spanish verbal and nominal inflection patterns. Quechua elements are marked in boldface.

The first word is Spanish, but consultants identified the imperative verb form of the *vos* '2nd person singular (familiar/denigrating)' conjugation, *andá*, with the accent on the last syllable, as Quechua influence.²³ The verb *kharar*, with an aspirated *k^h*, comes from Quechua *qaray* (*q* becomes *k^h* in loanwords for Spanish speakers).²⁴ However, the Quechua verbal ending *-y* is removed and the verb root is conjugated as a Spanish verb (again, in imperative *vos* form; the infinitive would have the Spanish *-r* ending rather than Quechua *-y*). Finally,

²³ In Bolivia as in most of Latin America the use of *vos* indicates extreme familiarity and/or contempt. I'm not sure why people think this is Quechua-related, although in parts of Latin America (e.g. Guatemala) the *vos* person form was used, as recently as the 1980s, as a derogatory form of address for indigenous people.

²⁴ In this variety of Spanish many speakers have phonemic distinctions between aspirated stops and non-aspirated stops, as I explain in Section 2.3.1.2 of the Methodology chapter.

the noun *la kbucha* (with Spanish feminine definite article *la*) is an example of double-borrowing; the Spanish *cochino* was borrowed into Quechua as *kbuchi*, then re-inserted into Spanish as *kbuchi*. This word can be modified for grammatical gender to designate a sow, *kbuch-a*.

Loanwords also occurred regularly in three meetings. Two meetings involved food (one of the prototypical "traditional" activities or contexts; linked to women). One of these meetings was dedicated to the discussion of a solar cooker. In the other, participants were discussing traditional foods and activities for a festival in which "traditional Iscamayo" was showcased.

TRANSCRIPT 6.4

M (Maribel), F (Francisco), D (Dina)

1. M: Pero eso le preparan con ese del chancho.	1. M: But they prepare that with the thingy of the pig.
2. F: Ahí también hacemos	2. F: Over there we do it too.
3. M: Como se llama eso?	3. M: What do you call that thing?
4. D: De esa khara de chancho	4. D: With the pork rind .
5. M: Hm	5. M: M-hm.
6. D: Khara de chancho, no ve?	6. D: Pork rind , right?
7. M: Un khara de chancho	7. M: A pork rind .
8. D: Hm, lo preparan ahí	8. D: M-hm, they make it there.

In this segment from the meeting, Maribel and Dina discuss a traditional food, the cooked skin of a pig, which is known to Spanish speakers throughout Bolivia as *khara* or *k'ara* (from Quechua *q'ara* 'skin'). In this segment, as in many other instances in the recording, speakers ostentatiously feign ignorance of local names and foods, despite the fact that it is their job to put on a festival showcasing traditional foods and dances of Iscamayo. The game seems to be to show that one is enthusiastic about, but at the same time removed from, the traditional, which is to say lower-class, aspects of life in Iscamayo; notice that in Turn 2, Francisco agrees that "we make that" but uses the deictic "over there," placing himself in some other place, while in Turn 8 Dina says that "they," not "we" make this food. In Maribel's case, this might be excused; she is from the northeastern lowland area of Bolivia, where Quechua contact is much less prominent. Dina supplies her with the word she is looking for, *esa khara* 'that pork rind (fem.)', but Maribel mistakes the gender, calling it *un khara de chancho* 'a pork rind (masc.)' rather than following Dina's lead in giving it feminine gender marking. (Meanwhile, I was wondering if, when faced with a typical

restaurant menu advertising *lebara de chancho* 'pork rind' and *cb'ankea de gallina* 'chicken drumstick soup,' with *mocochinchi* 'peach seed nectar' (borrowed elements underlined), these individuals would display as much confusion as they were able to summon up at this meeting).

A second meeting was barely a meeting at all; the mother's club had gathered to clear a section of scrub that was slated to be their *lote* 'lot' in a new neighborhood, but while they waited for the educated professional in charge of the area to show them the boundaries of their area, they sat and chatted in the scarce shade and thorns of the *monte* 'bush, uncultivated land.'

As I detail in 2.2.4.1, these women were all on friendly terms with another; none was wealthy or educated; and some were identified as Quechua speakers. In fact, this is the only occasion in any of my transcripts in which Quechua was spoken spontaneously.

TRANSCRIPT 6.5

L (Lidia), E (Eusebia), X (Other speakers)

1. L: Aunque sea atrás pero he llegado, Buenas tardes!	1. L: Even though I'm behind, at least I made it, Good afternoon!
2. E: Con wawita pero.	2. E: With your baby though.
3. L: Con wawa .	3. L: With my baby .
4. X: Cuando has fabricado? Mieeeer-!	4. X: When did you make it [the baby]? Daaaaaang!
5. (laughter)	5. (laughter)
6. X: Hace rato. Hace rato dice	6. X: A while ago. A while ago, she says.
7. E: En delante así lo veía yo a la Sonia, libre como wawita se cargaba en su na , en su puerta de ella. Que tiene en su espalda? Si wawita tiene, le decía yo.	7. E: A little while ago I saw Sonia, exactly like a baby she was carrying in her thingy , in her door. What does she have on her back? But she's got a baby , I said.
8. X: Elay, ya nomás	8. X: See, already
9. X: Ya nomás la wawita lo ha botado.	9. X: Already she threw out that baby .

In Transcript 6.5, Lidia arrives late to the meeting, which hasn't really started yet, anyway. The women tease her, asking if the bundle she's carrying on her back is a baby. In turn 7, Eusebia tells about seeing another woman and thinking she had a baby on her back, despite knowing that she is not expecting. Other audience members joke about how fast a baby can be produced (turn 4, 8, 9). This transcript is a good example of the internal variation within meeting contexts; while meetings are *ideologically* a public, formal space, in practice they are textured by many different types of speech, especially at the margins of the event.

In contrast to Transcript 6.4, the repeated use of the loanword *wawita* 'baby+diminutive' is not the focus of attention; the loanword *na*, a Quechua placeholder meaning 'um, thingy,' also makes an appearance in Turn 7. The women, some of whom are Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, use multiple other contact features, such as the calque *en delante*, lit. 'in ahead,' meaning 'a little earlier' (Turn 7); semantic convergence features *ya* and *nomás* (Turns 8, 9), the *lo* clitic (Turn 9), and the intensifier *libre* lit. 'free,' meaning 'awfully, terribly,' which is used especially frequently by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in both languages. The local word *elay* 'thus, so,' which is not used in other parts of Bolivia and is an especially strong indicator of "traditional" tropes, also makes an appearance. The topic of conversation—pregnancy and childbearing—is of special interest to women, and the treatment of the topic is both joking and crude, e.g. Turn 9, in which the speaker refers to birth as "throwing out" a baby.

Finally, I present an example of a woman who uses a Quechua loanword in an audible interjection at an OTB meeting.

TRANSCRIPT 6.6

W (*Walter*), *AM* (*Audience members*)

1. W: las plantas con un certificado de, de nacimiento, <<>>, cada persona tiene que recibir la planta y firmar un,	1. W: ...the plants with a birth certificate, (unintel), each person that receives the plant signs a,
2. AM3: Agua..	2. AM3: Water...
3. W: un certificado, ya? haciéndose responsable de esa plantita, y, y de un tiempo igual va a, va a tener su premio también, que lo crie bien <<>>	3. W: a certificate, OK? that they will be responsible for the plant, and at a certain time, they'll be given a prize too, if they raise it well. (unintel).
4. AM4: ..se k'ajlla...	4. AM4: And if it splits?
5. AM5: Si se muere...?	5. AM5: And if it dies?
6. W: Entonces, eso. Entonces ese programa nos está dando la CRE.	6. W: So, that's it. That's the program that the electric cooperative is giving us.

The principal speaker is discussing a town beautification project, which gives trees to individuals who wish to plant them on the street by their house. As he states that recipients will be rewarded for caring for the plant well, audience members begin to rustle and mumble with possible objections (Turns 2, 4, 5). A woman interjects, in a stage whisper, *Y si se k'ajlla?* 'And if it splits down the heart?' (Turn 4) while a nearby friend echoes, *Y si se muere?* 'And if it dies?'

The main speaker, Walter, pays no attention to these interruptions, despite the fact that they are plainly audible. The concern that these audience members present is a real one—if they are required to sign for the responsibility of raising a plant, what happens if they aren't able to raise it well?²⁵ However, by using a Quechua loanword *k'ajilla* 'split down the middle' the speaker marks her stance as clowning around, not to be taken seriously. When my husband listened to this recording commented that the women were "making fun of" the principal speaker.

Even though these interjections and conversations occur on the periphery of the meeting and are not formally recognized, they are very much a part of the meeting genre. Speakers manipulate their speech, using loanwords and other contact features, in order to insert a little humor and entertainment into the meeting, as well as to express legitimate concerns that they are reluctant to state on the record. This is another example of the way that speech contexts are textured by multiple registers, although they are ideologically associated with a particular genre of speech.

Speakers use loanwords to make joking or off-record contributions to a meeting context, to perform a close, intimate relationship through teasing and jokes, and to define "traditional Iscamayo" through food, but they also feign ignorance of loanwords when situating themselves in a class hierarchy.

6.4. Aspirates and ejectives

Aspirates and ejectives follow a pattern similar to that described in Section 6.3. In many cases, they are used on Quechua loanwords, although some are inserted into Spanish words for emphasis, joking, or affect. They are not, however, restricted to loanwords; people sometimes use heavy aspiration to mark a word or segment of discourse as something not to be taken seriously, or something emotion-laden, as in anger or ridicule. Heavy aspiration is also used to parody foreign accents, especially American accents. Many Quechua-origin toponyms, which I do not count as loanwords, are conventionally pronounced with an aspirate/ejective. I say "aspirate/ejective" because Spanish speakers use these interchangeably; the loanword *kbala* 'naked from the waist up,' from Quechua *q'ala* or

²⁵ This attitude toward consent forms made my informed consent process difficult to manage.

q'ara 'skin',²⁶ may be realized as *k^hala*, *k'ala*, or even *kʔala*. Quechua has separate ejective, aspirated, and modal consonant phonemes, but Spanish speakers use a dual, not a triple distinction, in which aspirates/ejectives are opposed to modal consonants (e.g. *palta* 'avocado' vs. *p^halta/p'alta* 'flattened, oval'; *tapa* 'lid' vs. *t^hapa/t'apa* 'nest'; *kara* 'face' (orthographically *cara*) vs. *k^hara/k'ara* 'pig skin').²⁷ Many speakers use ejectives rather than aspirates to mark increased anger or emotion, but do not have a phonemic distinction between these sounds.

Aspirates and ejectives occur most commonly, but not exclusively, on loanwords, which in turn are used most in conversational contexts. (See 2.3.1.2 for more information on this feature.) In the following segment, several women of an extended family are gathered outside their house, while some knit or weave and others delouse a child's hair. Loanwords are highlighted.

TRANSCRIPT 6.7

I (Ilena), J (Justina), V (Verónica)

1. I: Ya lo voy a arreglar bien entonces estos p'iticitos voy a lavarle.	1. I: I'm going to fix it up nice so those cut-off little ones I'm going to wash.
2. J: Y los botones	2. J: And the buttons.
3. I: Ah, botones p' hay que comprar, no, de ese mismo color?	3. I: Ah, we have to buy buttons, don't we, of the same color?
4. J: Ha	4. J: Yeah
5. I: Cuanto son y de ahí?	5. I: How many are there, now?
6. (counting)	6. (counting)
7. J: Seis, no? Cinco, seis, no?	7. J: Six, right? Five, six, right?
8. V: Cinco	8. V: Five
9. I: Cinco nomas. O muy lejos le habré hecho?	9. I: Just five. Or maybe I've left too much room?
10. J: No, está bien.	10. J: No, it's all right.
11. V: Se lo voy a empezar? O ya se están yendo?	11. V: Should I start it for you? Or are you leaving soon?
12. J: Que cosa? Ah, el otro?	12. J: What? Oh, the other one?
13. V: Haa	13. V: Yeah
14. J: Quiero calendario. También me voy a ir. Ya que vos no podis hacerlo	14. J: I want a calendar. I'm leaving too, since you can't do it.

²⁶ Quechua does not have /l/-/r/ distinction. Spanish-speakers use *kbara* to refer to pork skin, and *kbala* to refer to someone not wearing a shirt.

²⁷ A local teacher of Quechua in the schools commented that monolingual Spanish-speaking children had difficulty distinguishing aspirated consonants from ejectives, but not aspirates/ejectives from unmarked consonants. This fits with my observations and native speakers' intuitions; there are some words that are conventionally pronounced with an aspirate or an ejective, but there is no phonemic difference between the two for Spanish speakers--rather, ejectives and strong ejective articulations index increased affect.

15. V: Se lo traigo. Se lo haré. Tal vez acabará. Se lo haré, pues.	15. V: I'll bring it. I'll do it. Maybe she'll finish. I'll do it, anyway.
16. J: Los mas filitos y que sean llusk'itos, que no sean...	16. J: The sharpest ones and make them smooth, not...
17. I: Escogele, pues, están toditos están ahí.	17. I: Pick it out then, everything's right there.
18. J: Ese, escito hay que afirmarle bien, ese esta mas—cuáles otros estan bien.	18. J: The, that little thing has to be well fastened, and that one too—which others are fine?
19. I: [los de] las lanas	19. I: [the ones from] the wool
20. J: Ese lo he afilado. A ver su tornillito elay. Este es lo que no deja correr.	20. J: That one I've sharpened. Look, there's its little screw. That's what isn't letting it run.
21. I: Ah, ese k'aytu	21. I: Oh, that wool.

In the course of discussing the wool and the various pieces of weaving or knitting that they are working on, the speakers use the Quechua loanwords *p'iticitos* 'broken-off little ones,' from Quechua *p'itiy* 'to break off' and the Spanish diminutive suffix; *llusk'itos* 'smooth little ones' from Quechua *llusk'a* 'smooth, slippery' and the Spanish diminutive suffix; and *k'aytu* 'homespun wool' from Quechua *q'aytu* 'spun wool.' In other parts of the ten-minute transcribed section, they also use *chhilas* 'little ones' from Quechua *chhila* 'very small,' *wawita* 'child, baby' from Quechua *wawa* 'baby' and the diminutive, and *phujtida* 'curled up or bent over,' probably from Quechua *p'uketuy* 'to make a concave shape' and the Spanish adjectival ending *-ido/a*. It is in connection with loanwords that ejective and aspirate endings are most common.

In Transcript 6.8, however, a speaker uses aspiration to add emphasis to a Spanish word. The speaker, a bilingual man in his 70s, interpreted the interview context as an opportunity to tell me his life story. Here, he tells of living with his uncle and aunt in the city when he was a young man, and how the uncle wasted his money on excessive drinking.

TRANSCRIPT 6.8

V (*Victorino*), A (*Anna*)

1. V: Yo no tengo pena porque tanto yo cuando vivía una temporada en Oruro con el,	1. V: I don't feel bad because all the time when I lived with him in Oruro,
2. A: Ah-ha	2. A: Uh-huh
3. V: Les decía alla, a el y a su mujer, Por que toman cada domingo? Llegaba el domingo, shegurito que tenían que irse a chupar pues.	3. V: When I was there I said to him, to him and his wife, Why do you drink every Sunday? When Sunday came around, they were sure to go drinking.

4. A: Ah-ha, ah-ha	4. A: Uh-huh, uh-huh
5. V: Al final me dije, que tienes que ver vos, me dijeron	5. V: Finally I said [to myself], what do you care, they said to me.

Here, the speaker uses a protracted *s* and heavy aspiration on *segurito* 'sure to' to add emphasis, indicating that it was a foregone conclusion that every Sunday the characters in his story would go out to fritter their money away on alcohol. While Quechua uses aspiration in phonemic contrasts between modal, aspirated, and ejective stops, in Spanish aspiration does not mark a phonemic contrast, and therefore can be generalized to other kinds of sounds.

This usage of aspiration, while not directly linked to a Quechua loanword, is a product of the general association of Quechua with affect and emotion.

Aspirates and ejectives rarely occur in meetings, but there is an episode in which the secretary of an OTB organization is reading a formal letter of invitation which includes a long list of neighborhood names. The speaker hesitates when he reaches one item on the list.

TRANSCRIPT 6.9

D (David)

1. D: “Convocatoria. El Gobierno Municipal de Iscamayo, Direccion de SalUsted, ... e, respecto Programa de Chagas, y la Pastoral Social Caritas, convoca a Presidentes de OTB, responsables populares de salud, responsables ti, de la comunidad de Santa Rosa, Las Paltas, La Pajcha, Tunal, Monteblanco, Caraparí, San Jose de, ... de ... de Tarija le han puesto ahi,	1. D: Invitation. The Municipal Government of Iscamayo, Department of Health, ..., um, with respect to the Chagas Program, and the Social Outreach Caritas, hereby convenes OTB presidents, public health representatives, leaders of, of the communities of Santa Rosa, Las Paltas, La Pajcha, Tunal, Monteblanco, Caraparí, San José de... de.... de Tarija they put down here.
2. Audience member: De la T'ajra	2. Audience member: De la T'ajra
3. (laughs)	3. (general laugh)

San Jose de la...de Tarija le han puesto aqui. 'San Jose of -Tarija they put down here.' There is a laugh from the audience and several people pipe up knowingly, *De la T'ajra*. *San Jose de la T'ajra* is the name that is used for a new neighborhood has sprung up on the edges of town. A *t'ajra* (Quechua *t'akra*) is an infertile or rocky piece of land, the name by which the area was known in the years before it was densely settled (as a result of the massive dam-irrigation project of the early 2000s). This area is inhabited mostly by new immigrants from the highlands, and I was frequently directed there when people heard that I wanted to meet

Quechua speakers. The humor that arises in this situation is also due to incongruence: the incongruence of a highly-educated letter-writer being unable to grasp the local word *t'ajra*, which does not conform to standard Spanish orthographic norms recognized by the letter-writer, an upper-class, educated person from the city; and a word that is marked with an ejective, which is not appropriately used in the meeting context, much less in a flowery written genre such as the one quoted here.

Speakers use aspirate and ejective marking to index intimacy and affect, whether in a relaxed family context or to add color and emotion to a story. It is incongruous in a written genre, so much so that a letter-writer substitutes the place name *Tarija* for the "foreign-sounding" *T'ajra*; this gets a knowing laugh from the audience.

So far, we have seen a consistent pattern. Whether they take the form of a suprasegmental marker such as ingressive airflow, lexical borrowings, or phonological marking, contact features are consistently associated with conversational situations. When they appear in meetings, they are incongruous, linked to activities that are framed as "traditional," or used for jokes and clowning around.

6.5. Falsetto voice

Albó (1970: 128-29) describes the use of falsetto in Quechua as a device which is used by *yat'iri* 'natural healers, medicine men' during ritual, along with an admixture of Quechua, Spanish, and even Latin. He remarks that falsetto is centrally used by women for communication with the dead, but that it is also used by men and on less ceremonious occasions, such as 'when expressing inner sorrow' (1970: 129). The use of falsetto is very common during stylized melodic weeping; Albó notes that 'all cases [of melodic weeping] that I witnessed involved Q[uechua]-speakers and Q[uechua] was used, even in the case of bilingual pueblo women' (ibid).

In contrast to the contact features described above, the use of falsetto voice in Spanish mirrors a Quechua genre of lament and accusation (perhaps best documented in song and performance; see Harvey 1994: 59; Solomon 1994). Although it did not occur commonly enough in my data to reach statistical significance using the chi-square test, falsetto voice was used only by men, and six of eight instances took place in meetings (the other two were in interviews). The speakers were all older men, in their sixties and seventies,

farmers and merchants who dressed simply and spoke in a dignified style, and who had held positions of responsibility in community organizations. Here I excerpt the event in which falsetto voice was used most. The meeting has been called in order to ensure community support for the municipal development plan (made every five years). The principal speaker, Don Dionisio, questions the validity of participating in such meetings, giving examples of how the municipal government has failed to carry out its promises over and over again, and emphasizing his own experience and disillusionment with the political goal of *participación popular* 'popular participation.' In Transcript 6.10, falsetto voice is highlighted and a high phonetic register marked with boldface.

TRANSCRIPT 6.10

D (Dionisio), B (Benito)

<p>1. D: Hemos puesto el contraparte, imagínense. Así que por esa manera, nosotros somos desmoralizados porque a nuestro querer que va a luchar por eso, no hay, no hay nin-, ninguna ayuda. Puramente garganta, y listo. Y si llega un fondo, se, desaparece de ahí, de lo que llega a la Alcaldía, se hizo nada.</p>	<p>1. D: We've put in our counterpart, imagine that. So for that reason, we are demoralized because to our desire to work towards that [progress], there isn't, there isn't an-, any help. Just greed [throat], and that's all. And if a fund arrives, it, disappears somewhere, because it goes to Town Hall, and turns into nothing.</p>
<p>2. B: Quién se lo comerá</p>	<p>2. B: Who eats it up?</p>
<p>3. D: Ni, ni una calle ha <<visto>> Usted? En Iscamayo hay una calle principal, una avenida que esta por lo menos mm? ripiado, este, asfaltado? Cuantas veces tiene <<ya de eso>></p>	<p>3. D: Did, did you [formal] see even one street? In Iscamayo, is there a main street, an avenue that is at least, mm, graveled, that is, paved? How many times <<has it happened>>?</p>
<p>4. (whisper) No hay nada. Nosotros quisierámos esta carretera hace tanta tierra para el pueblo, esta avenida quisierámos que se, que se asfalte. Con cemento. Como no con todo <<>> pero no hay! Se desaparece. Los compadres, los, los tios de la Alcaldía se lo llevan, y nosotros nos quedamos en lo mismo. Huuuta, nos reunimos</p>	<p>4. (whisper) There's nothing. We wish that this highway that makes so much dust in the town, this avenue we wish that it would be paved. With cement. Maybe not everything but <<indistinct>> but there's nothing! It disappears. The compadres, the uncles [GOBs] in the Town Hall take it away, and we stay just the same. Shuuuucks, we go to meetings,</p>
<p>5. B: No hay nada</p>	<p>5. B: There's nothing.</p>

Don Dionisio punctuates his lament with changes of voice, including whisper (Turn 4) and falsetto (highlighted). He uses sophisticated oratorical technique, including fancy vocabulary (*desmoralizados* 'demoralized,' Turn 1), parallelism (*No hay nada* 'there is nothing,'

Turns 1, 4, 5), and rhetorical questions (Turn 3), and at one point lapses into a kind of sob (just before falsetto in Turn 4). In addition to falsetto, he also incorporates a stress shift in the word *quisierámos* (turn 4) to indicate strong desire, and he is echoed by another participant in the meeting (Turns 2 and 5). These strategies are intended to communicate something about Don Dionisio as a person—that he is just, simple, straightforward, honest; and something about the affect with which he charges this piece—that he feels disillusioned, cynical, and betrayed by the leaders of the municipal government. Don Dionisio contrasts his own stance with *los compadres, los tíos de la alcaldía*—the good-ol'-boy network—and concludes by cynically mocking his own participation in meetings such as the one we sit in.

There is nothing funny about this lament. There were no giggles or whispers from the audience. On the contrary, there were nods and murmurs of agreement. The person leading the workshop, an outsider from the city of Cochabamba, responded gravely to this speech before encouraging the audience to believe that this time, things would be different; that the thing to do was to look to the future, not the past.

Here we see once again the discourses of progress and modernity juxtaposed with tradition and history. But the use of the falsetto contact feature is used as a perfectly appropriate device for the meeting context. Its use is not incongruous or comical. Rather, it is taken as a measure of earnestness and sincerity.

Falsetto is a contact feature *par excellence*. While falsetto voice is used in many cultures, the particular deployment of falsetto as a lament clearly derives from Quechua. A Spanish speaker from another part of the world, while recognizing this device as a measure of affect, would not have access to the way that the use of falsetto voice links this text to a genre of complaint and lament.

Sicoli (2010) discusses the use of falsetto voice among Zapotec speakers as a way of indexing social stances. He suggests that the use of falsetto voice to index deference, making a person symbolically small, may be an areal feature of Mesoamerican languages. The function of falsetto voice that I describe here, as an expression of inner sorrow, is not clearly related to the usage that Sicoli describes. However, it presents an interesting parallel to Sicoli's data in terms of the gradient functions of suprasegmental linguistic features, which may be used by speakers to index speaker stances. Sicoli suggests that his data 'show how prosody and voice qualities as contextualizing layers of speech can undergo process of enregisterment or formalization in which they become iconic of social roles and situations'

(2010 ms:40). Like Sicoli, in my data I find that falsetto voice is used as an enregistered feature that serves to contextualize speech, in this case to express inner sorrow.

6.6. Summary

In this section, I have described four contact features from Quechua: ingressive airflow, loanwords, aspirated and ejective consonants, and the use of falsetto voice. These features are highly marked for affect and linked to the semiotic complex of "tradition," and the first three are used almost exclusively in situations in which speakers orient to this semiotic complex. However, the fourth feature, falsetto voice, behaves differently. While most "traditional" contact variables are heavily used by women and in women's activities, falsetto voice is used by men in high-flown oratorical contexts. Falsetto voice retains Quechua indices, which mark the speech as (1) formal or ritualistic; (2) a genre of lament and inner sorrow; and (3) sincere.

In this set of data, I have presented specific instances of speech with details about speakers and speech contexts. Yet there is a clear parallel to the semantic convergence variables which I described in Chapter 5, for which I described general statistical tendencies. For both this set of contact features and semantic convergence variables, most features followed the expected pattern: They occurred most in conversational contexts, and least in meetings.

The exceptions to this trend are of particular interest. In Chapter 5, we saw that *también* and, to some extent, *hacer* were used in meeting contexts. Now, once again, we see that falsetto voice does not follow the expected pattern. Despite its tight links to a Quechua genre, falsetto is used almost exclusively in meetings and almost exclusively by men. Not by especially wealthy or educated men; but by men who are respected in their community, and have held positions of responsibility in which oratorical skill was a necessity.

These two sets of data demonstrate that, while some contact features undergo enregisterment through a linkage to a Quechua semiotic complex that includes informality, joking, and a "traditional" way of life, other features are associated with formal contexts of speech, probably through their Quechua pragmatic and genre associations. When a feature is associated ideologically with Quechua and the traditional semiotic field, it is considered inappropriate to formal, public contexts; while forms associated with the modern semiotic

field, despite their Quechua origins, are valued and imitated as a sign of oratorical proficiency.

It is useful to think of these features within the framework of enregisterment, as developed by Agha and Silverstein. Most Quechua contact features have, through historical and synchronic processes, developed associations with traditional activities (such as weaving and agriculture) and categories of persons associated with tradition (indigenous, female, rural). This is certainly the case for ingressive airflow, loanwords, and the use of aspirate or ejective marking. As demonstrated in the examples above, these features are available for a range of uses, from the stereotypical (as markers of a performance of traditional Iscamayo, Transcript 6.4) to affective marking (in the case of the emotional personal narrative (Transcript 6.2). These features are viewed as incongruous when they appear in a meeting context (Transcript 6.9), but can also be used to make off-record commentary (Transcript 6.6).

Falsetto voice, on the other hand, has not been bundled with this group of enregistered features. It is used by older men as a way of asserting emotion and sincerity during community meetings. As such, it retains a link to Quechua pragmatic usage, which links it to ritualistic, formal speech and genres of lament. Since it is not recognized as a contact feature, it does not participate in the general patterns of use for other contact features which are recognized as such. Recognition, then, plays a key role in determining the distribution of contact features.

Chapter 7: Social groups and patterns of language use

7.1. Figure and ground

In the previous chapters, I showed how boundaries between social groups and language users are articulated (Chapter 3), then how categories simultaneously participate in a binary relationship and are part of a complex field of meaning (Chapter 4). In Chapters 5 and 6, I showed that this relationship organizes the distribution of contact features, but that the distribution of features does not follow automatically from their historical associations with Spanish or Quechua.

In this chapter, I discuss the way that individual speakers' use of contact features is interpreted differently depending on expectations of their usual manner of speech. In the context of Iscamayo, as in any part of the world, there is no single template of speech into which features "fit"; likewise, there is no single meaning associated with the use of contact features, outside their use by particular individuals who are associated with particular social groups.

I began this chapter with the intention of giving an inventory of the different kinds of speakers and their associated patterns of contact features that are found in the social landscape of Iscamayo. Even more than differentiation based on patterns of contact features, however, what emerged from the data were different patterns of *interpretation* of contact features based on affiliation with social groups. For this reason, this chapter is tightly linked to Chapter 3, in which I discuss the way that boundaries between social and linguistic groups are formed.

In this chapter, I demonstrate that all speakers are able to shift between different speech varieties, but that the interpretation of the contact features they use depends on the "type of person" they are understood to be. In Chapters 8 and 9, I go on to describe the way that speakers develop personal styles of switching between speech contexts, which allow them to position themselves with great subtlety in the constellation of social groups.

A contact feature's meaning depends not only on the history and associations related to that *feature*, as I describe in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, but also on the history and positioning of the *speaker* who uses that feature. This history and positioning consist of at least two essential elements—the long-term social stance associated with that speaker, often characterized under the rubric of identity; and a moment-to-moment positioning by the speaker towards events, discourses, and/or interlocutors, which can be characterized under the rubric of stance. Throughout the dissertation, I suggest that the meaning of contact features lies in the relationship between individual interactions and social structures; here, I suggest that the relationship between stance and identity is also linked in much the same way.

The concept of *identity*, while it has deep and almost inescapable roots in the discipline, has come to be understood as a problematic one for anthropologists and other social scientists. Brubaker & Cooper (2000) argue that the concept of identity is so deeply ambiguous that it becomes completely meaningless. They discuss a contradiction between "strong" understandings of identity, which characterize identity as a permanent characteristic of a person or a group of people, and "weak" understandings of identity, which are characterized as multiple, fluctuating, fragmented, and do on. Brubaker & Cooper also criticize the conflation of the *analytical* concept of identity, as used by scholars, and the *practices* that lead to popular conceptions of identity categories outside of academic study. One way around this dilemma, they suggest, is to approach the concept in terms of a process of *identification* rather than identity as such.

The framing of identity as a process is taken up by Bucholtz & Hall (2005). Bucholtz & Hall argue that identity is emergent from interaction, and that social and cultural interaction leads to a construction of identity, rather than identity determining these modes of interaction. They suggest that the construction of identity is both agentic and imposed by external forces. Bucholtz & Hall also discuss literature that claims that identity is a form of "stance accretion" (2005:596), suggesting that stances such as forcefulness or uncertainty are linked to the performance of identity categories such as gender. In this discussion, they claim that 'features become tied to styles and hence to identity through habitual practice' (2005:597).

The concept of stance comes from a different set of literature, more concerned with discourse analysis than with social theory. While Englebretson characterizes stance as

fundamentally organized around subjectivity, evaluation, and interaction (2007: 20), I refer to DuBois's characterization of stance as a triangle organized around the relation between speaker, utterance, and audience (2007). A triangle, perhaps, is overly simplistic; to DuBois's framework it is necessary to add the complexity that results from Goffman's concept of participation framework (Goffman 1979; Irvine 1996), recognizing the multiple and layered potential of each of these categories.

What I find valuable in Bucholtz & Hall's work is the suggestion that stance and identity are the accretion of interactions; that is, stance-taking, or orienting to the complex field surrounding interaction and proposition, evolves into an expectation or a template of the way that a person's interaction may be expected to occur. When certain acts, inevitably, act against this template, they are understood by contrast to create a meaningful reference to or orientation towards an opposing idea.

Agha makes a distinction between "enregistered identities," which he suggests are connected to stereotypical figures, and "emergent identities," which he describes as occurring in particular interactions. Through this distinction, he identifies essentially the same relationship between identities and stances that I describe above (2007: 233-77). What, then, is the relationship between enregistered and emergent identities? Agha suggests that the difference between these types of identities rests in their contextualization—emergent identities are read through context, while enregistered identities can be excerpted and divorced from context, functioning as portable figures or stereotypes. Agha's work draws extensively on Silverstein's concept of indexical order.

Silverstein suggests that indexical meaning is created through a series of recursive relationships, through which meanings are excerpted and reinterpreted. Each successive iteration of indexicality leads to a new meaning with a new level of interpretation. Silverstein summarizes his argument by stating that 'macro-sociological cultural categories of identity, being manifested micro-sociologically ("in co[n]text") as indexical categories, are to be seen as dialectically constituted somewhere between indexical n-th- and n+1st-order value-giving schemata of categorization, wherever we encounter them' (2003: 227). People interpret interactions with respect to a wide variety of potential models, encompassing various orders of social categories, individuals, and contexts. The way that people pick out (or play on) the multiple aspects of models that are available to them can be accessed through a recursive framework such as the one that Silverstein proposes.

As Bucholtz & Hall argue, I believe that a person is constructed as a member of a group through process that involves the accretion of a series of interactions. That is, people can be "recognized" as members of a group through a set of salient signs, or "emblems" as Agha describes them, but these signs are often contradictory, and may even have different interpretations depending on the existing characterization of an individual and their stance at any given moment. That is, both speakers and signs are interpreted based on their context. In this chapter, I describe how group identification influences the interpretation of Quechua contact features.

7.2. Relating enregisterment to social groups

Studies of enregisterment have emphasized its historical nature. For example, Agha's study of Received Pronunciation (2007: 190-228) relies on historical documents and investigation to describe the enregisterment of this prestige variety of English. Likewise, Johnstone's work shows a rapid shift from ethnic and social markers to a recognizable variety of "Pittsburghese" that is codified and commercialized on t-shirts and is marketed both to locals and to tourists. While Agha and Johnstone work on diachronic processes, in this data I describe synchronic variation in contact features over social contexts. Through this approach, I describe a field in which Quechua contact features are tightly integrated, and in which speakers take advantage of the full semiotic potential of these features through complex modes of interaction. In doing so, I hope to move the discussion of register away from stereotypes that are in some way removed from "the rest of language" and towards an integrated understanding of the way that contexts and speakers are constructed, using bottom-up analysis.

While many of the Iscamayo's residents recognize and use contact features as markers of a distinct local identity, constant waves of migration produce a long-term language contact situation in which social groups not only have different language abilities and histories, but also are understood to orient differently towards features associated with the traditional complex. Thus, Quechua-dominant immigrants are understood to use contact features because of interference from a first-language base. In contrast, Spanish-dominant speakers from the countryside use many of the same features, but these are interpreted as markers of rurality or a traditional identity. Younger, more urban speakers

may use these features under certain situations to orient towards these traditional rural identities, while very educated and adept speakers use select features in isolation to particular social purposes.

In this chapter as in the rest of the dissertation, I view the concept of register as a union of registers, located in a semiotic field and existing at the level of accrued discourse over time. In this chapter, I suggest that interpretation of register marking may be different for different speakers or groups of speakers. I show that the meaning of contact features as indices is flexible and dependent on speaker, audience and context. In this chapter, I aim to depict not just one register, but register formations that grow out of diverse language practices and multiple levels of interaction. In doing so, I show that contact features have more than one interpretation depending on what sort of speech the person who uses a feature is expected to produce.

7.3. Groups of people

In Chapter 3, I discussed the relationship between social and linguistic group identification in the Iscamayo area. Briefly, I introduced distinctions between (1) recent, upwardly mobile, Quechua-dominant immigrants from the western highlands and valleys, *collas*; (2) older migrants from the local rural highlands, *alteños*; and (3) a practically nonexistent but discursively important group known as *legítimos Iscamayebños*. In addition, there is (4) a small group of multilingual, highly educated, relatively wealthy teachers/merchants, most of whom come from *altiplano* areas of Bolivia and are bilingual if not trilingual speakers of Quechua, Spanish, and sometimes Aymara. In this chapter, I will discuss (1) Collas; (2) *alteños*; (3) *legítimos Iscamayebños* and (4) *profesores*. To represent *legítimos Iscamayebños* I discuss two local politicians, one of whom is widely recognized as a true *legítimo Iscamayebño* and the other of whom positions herself as an *alteña*; this positioning results in different audience uptakes of the contact features used by each speaker.

I describe the different indexical relationships of Quechua contact features to these groups—L2 Spanish speakers, local Spanish-dominant highlanders, legitimate Iscamayebños, and highly educated bilinguals. However, Quechua contact features are also used strategically by individuals from each of these groups to index concepts such as solidarity, tradition, events in the past, affect, and an insider viewpoint.

7.3.1. Outsiders: *Collas*

In this section, I discuss three speakers who were described to me as *collas*. This term, often meant to be unflattering, indicates that the speakers are immigrants from the western highlands, nearly always framed as Quechua-dominant bilinguals (see Section 3.6 for more information on this topic). As I describe below, these three speakers have very different levels of Spanish fluency.

Lorenza learned Spanish as an adult, after moving with her husband and young children to Iscamayo. She fits the stereotype of a *colla*: she comes from the western highlands of the Cochabamba region, wears *pollera*, speaks primarily Quechua, and works with her husband in agriculture. Her husband is a fluent bilingual who uses primarily Quechua in the home. Beatriz immigrated from the *altiplano* with her husband, a highly-educated bilingual teacher, and she runs a store on the main street. (Beatriz's husband is described in Section 7.3.4.2.) Most of her social networks are with Quechua speakers, and although her Spanish is fluent, she has notable L2 influence, especially in vowels and prosody. Like Doña Lorenza, she wears *pollera*, but as a wealthy woman of the *altiplano* region, the style and cut of her clothes is noticeably different. Emilia is a competent bilingual from the Cochabamba valleys who speaks Spanish with her husband and children; she does not wear *pollera*, but rather the cheap pants and skirts of women who are described as *de falda* 'straight skirt-wearers.' I don't perceive Emilia to have a different accent than other Iscamayo Spanish speakers, but my consultants described her to me as having a *colla* accent.

7.3.1.1. Lorenza

Unlike other migrants from the highlands, Doña Lorenza enjoys speaking Spanish and maintains relationships with Spanish speakers as well as Quechua speakers. She also went out of her way to befriend me, visiting my house, cheerfully participating in my projects, and demonstrating extraordinary curiosity, warmth, and intelligence.

Doña Lorenza has massive morphological interference in Spanish, especially in the following areas: (1) grammatical and natural gender categories (2) number, pronouns, and address forms, and (3) verb conjugation. She also consistently uses phonological features which mark her as an L1 Quechua speaker—in particular, the use of *w* for *v*, the φ^w variation

of *f*, and variable vowel height. Despite the fact that Spanish speakers use all of these features *occasionally*, Doña Lorenza is seen as an unskilled speaker because she uses these features *frequently*—indeed, overwhelmingly—and with no particular sociolinguistic or contextual pattern. There is no one single feature that marks her as a Quechua speaker. Rather, it is the combination and frequency of these features that does so. My consultants characterized Lorenza as a poor speaker of Spanish, and when they imitated her they picked up especially on the gender variability, person-verb mismatches, and vowel height.

Doña Lorenza uses practically every semantic convergence feature in this ten-minute segment, and uses them largely as native Spanish speakers do: *también, dizque, pues, siempre, nomás, ya, saber*. Her speech also contains widespread phonological contact features—she uses stress shift on the lexical item *vibóra* 'snake' (normatively *vibora*) uses a strong voiceless bilabial fricative (φ^w) pronunciation of *f*, and lowers some vowels, especially in names (hypercorrection). She has frequent interference from the Quechua three-vowel system, and always uses φ^w for the *f* phoneme and *w* for the *v* phoneme.

There is noticeable morphological second-language influence present in Doña Lorenza's Spanish. Indeed, Doña Lorenza alone accounts for the majority of morphological contact features that are in my data (Lorenza was the least fluent Spanish-speaker among my consultants). Doña Lorenza levels verb paradigms, using the forms *entendo, entenden* instead of *entiendo, entienden*, and *vienendo* for *viniendo*. Leveling irregularity in verb paradigms, such as the diphthongization in these verbs, is a common L2 phenomenon. Because Quechua does not have a distinction between /e/ and /i/ in these contexts, it is probably also evidence of phonological influence from the Quechua three-vowel system. Lorenza uses the feminine article *la* regardless of gender, grammatical or natural; this occurs in (normatively masculine) place names such as *la Omereque* and *la Cochabamba*, and even in such common words as *la apellido* 'last name' (I've also heard her refer to her son with the feminine *la Tomás* 'Thomas (f),' though not in this recording). She uses both *Quechuista* and *Quechuisto* 'Quechua-speaker' with no clear grammatical or natural gender pattern. She over-generalizes *estar* 'to be (stative)' to almost all sentences with any kind of a continuative property, while under-conjugating main verbs—*Yo con Quechua hablo* 'I speak using Quechua,' normatively *hablo* for the first person singular. She also uses *estar* 'to be' with conjugated verbs, as in *más feos se está hablan* for 'they speak more ugly' and *mas está habladoras son* 'they are more malicious-gossips.' In normative Spanish, *estar* is used only with the participle form of the

verb, as in *están hablando* 'they are talking.' Doña Lorenza uses a hodgepodge of pronouns and address forms, mixing the respectful second-person pronoun, *Usted*, with the intimate *-s* morpheme, or the familiar *vos* pronoun with the respectful verb form, and switching male and female pronouns. Her number agreement is also highly inconsistent.

A second important point is that Doña Lorenza uses discourse markers, that is, semantic convergence-type contact features, *practically identically* to native Spanish speakers. Her speech can be hard to understand because of its chaos of gender, number, verbs, and so on. But her use of semantic convergence features is completely transparent. While Lorenza's Spanish morphosyntax is characterized by Spanish-speakers as non-standard, there is little difference in her use of convergence features and that of native Spanish speakers. This may be an indication that convergence features, as they have developed to this historical moment, form intuitive parallels with Quechua for second-language speakers; on the other hand, it may only indicate that these features are easily learned (though, impressionistically speaking, this does not seem to be the case for Europeans and Americans who come to Iscamayo).

7.3.1.2. Beatriz

Beatriz is a merchant. She runs a store on the main road, alongside many similar stores, several of which are also run by highly-educated, relatively wealthy bi- or multi-lingual schoolteachers. She speaks good Spanish, but it seems to be laborious for her, and she has the tell-tale high pitch of an L1 Quechua-speaking woman.²⁸ For me, the most notable L2 feature of Beatriz's Spanish is her vowel quality—although she consistently makes a distinction between high and low vowels, her low vowels are higher than the usual Spanish targets. In addition, as can be seen in Transcript 7.1 below, her grammatical constructions are fairly simple. She misses an article before *papel* 'paper') and she has penultimate stress on the word *último* (as opposed to normative antepenultimate *último*). The repetition of *cuatro cuatro cuatro* 'four [by] four [by] four [by] four' would also be much more natural-sounding in Quechua than in Spanish.

²⁸ I don't know why so many Quechua-speaking women speak in this high (phonetic) register, but it can be one of the most telling signs of an L2 Spanish speaker. Even Doña Lorenza, who has an unusually low-pitched voice in Quechua, sounds shrill when she speaks Spanish.

TRANSCRIPT 7.1

B (Beatriz), F (Froilán)

<p>1. B: La palabra, de esa parte yo le he preguntado aquí mas al último ahorita, la, all, a Doña Mariela le he preguntado no ve? Si no vamos a presentar papel cuanto va a ser interés? Un punto mas va a ser más interés, nos dijo, si o no, a ver? Y están escuchando Uds. Yo he preguntado. Y además en Santa Rosa, no estan sacando con papel. Entre ellos se han garantizando, cuatro cuatro cuatro cuatro.</p>	<p>1. B: May I have the floor. On this front, I recently asked um, Doña Mariela, I asked her, right? If we're not going to present paper how much will [the] interest be? It will be one point more, she said, yes or no, right? And you are hearing me now. I have asked. And besides in Santa Rosa, they're not getting [loans] with papers. They're guaranteeing among themselves, four four four four.</p>
<p>2. F: Pero señora, si vamos a presentar el plano,</p>	<p>2. F: But ma'am, if we're going to present the design,</p>
<p>3. B: Si, por eso</p>	<p>3. B: Right, exactly.</p>
<p>4. F: Ya está aprobado por el consejo, la directiva nos va a balar</p>	<p>4. F: It's already approved by the council, the officers will [?]</p>
<p>5. B: Claro</p>	<p>5. B: Of course.</p>

Beatriz speaks up in a meeting after her husband, the president of the meeting, comes under heavy fire from audience members regarding the difficulties in the plan for the members of the meeting to get loans for the construction of their houses. In Iscamayo as in much of the Andes, community offices are often ostensibly held by men, but it is tacitly understood that the job involves the combined efforts of a married couple. Beatriz speaks using proper meeting etiquette, but her sentence construction is choppy and she phrases her first several sentences as questions. An audience member responds, somewhat patronizingly, calling her *señora* 'ma'am' and patiently reviewing aspects of the deal with her. Beatriz responds defensively in Turns 3 and 5, saying "Right, exactly," and "Of course," in response to the insinuation that she does not adequately understand what's going on. As the wife of the leader of this group, it is unlikely that she is unaware of the subtleties of the matter under discussion.

It is unusual for Quechua-dominant bilingual women to speak up in meetings. Beatriz was motivated to do so by a series of highly charged attacks on her husband. In Transcript 7.1, her contributions are framed as ill-informed and irrelevant; that is, inappropriate to the meeting setting, at least in part because of her lack of skill in Spanish oratory, as manifested through the contact features that are noted in her speech.

7.3.1.3. Emilia

Emilia comes from the rural western highlands. She has lived in Iscamayo for most of her life—since she was married, as a young woman (she is now in her sixties). Her husband is a Spanish-speaking farmer; they use Spanish in the home, and their grown children are all monolingual Spanish speakers. I don't know at what age Emilia learned Spanish, although she has commented that she grew up speaking Quechua. Her stories show that her father was a bilingual and a person of importance in the community, a landowner with plenty of cattle and an abundance of kin and ritual kin relationships.

Emilia was consistently identified as a *colla*, a person from the west, by people from Iscamayo. Although this evaluation may have something to do with the way she talks, it is also a way of expressing antipathy related to petty rivalries with her neighbors. Emilia owns a business selling chicken; her husband is a local farmer. In a separate conversation with a neighbor of Emilia's, the neighbor complained that Emilia's business selling chickens attracted vermin to the area around the house. The neighbor explained that she complained directly to Emilia, and Emilia responded by saying, "If you're so envious of me, then you can support me." The neighbor's interlocutor responded, *Colla es pues* 'It's that she's a Colla.' Through this comment, Emilia's (allegedly) rude and unneighborly behavior is linked to her status as a bilingual from the highlands of Cochabamba.

While Emilia's Spanish is fluent and easily understandable, she consistently uses enregistered features such as the φ^w realization of *f*, and her realization of vowels is irregular—sometimes she raises *o* and *e*, and sometime she hypercorrects, lowering *i* and *u* (but these changes occurred in only five sentences over the ten minutes of conversation with her that I transcribed). Once or twice, she misses gender marking, referring to *esas borrachos* 'those (fem.) drunks (masc.)' and *una nomás se ha casado* 'only one (fem.) has married,' using the feminine form of 'one' to refer to her son.

In Transcript 7.2 below, Emilia employs high density of enregistered features. She is describing how her father, as ritual godparent to a young married couple, resolved disputes between his *abijados* 'godchildren.' Vowel raising or lowering in Turns 1 and 2 is underlined and marked with boldface.

TRANSCRIPT 7.2

E (Emilia), A (Anna)

<p>1. E: Nosotros sabíamos, como wawas éramos, una pelea se hacía para ahijados carajo. Venieron a quejarse. Como este, este, padrinos, ese es. Yaaa, y le daban con un chicote ellos. A quien que tenía culpa lee wasqueaban ahí. Hacían arrodillar-</p> <p>2. “Arrodillense ahí! Perdonese de su mujer! Tiene que perdonar de su mujer, porque ha pegado!” Y así que le perdonaban; ya, primerito tienen que darlo wasca! (laughs) (la)</p> <p>3. Wasca le daban, y despues ya hacía perdonar, le hacía abuenar ahí, mi papa, de ahí tiene que haber, lo que sea, aunque sea mote con queso, como a nosotros no nos faltabamos nada, nos faltaba, la este, vacas alla</p> <p>4. A: ah-ha</p> <p>5. E: Y queso cada uno, una bola ponía sobre el mote, de ahí tiene que hacer comer el uno al otro, al otro asi. Eso era</p> <p>6. N: Eso era seguro una forma de</p> <p>7. E: Abuenarse, claro!</p> <p>8. N: Reconciliación! (chuckles)</p>	<p>1. E: We used to, since we were just children, there was a fight between godchildren by golly. They came to complain. How this, this, the godparents, that's it. Yaaa, and they hit him with a whip. Whoever was at fault they whipped him there. They made them kneel-</p> <p>2. "Kneel here! Beg forgiveness of your wife! You must ask forgiveness of your wife, because [you] hit [her]!" And so they forgave each other; yes, but first they had to be whipped!</p> <p>3. They whipped them, and then they were made to forgive each other, they made up to each other there, my father, then there had to be, whatever, even if just corn with cheese, since we never lacked for anything, we lacked, this, cows out there,</p> <p>4. A: Uh-huh</p> <p>5. E: And cheese, he put a ball of cheese over the corn, and they had to feed each other, like that. That was the way it was done.</p> <p>6. N: That must have been a form of,</p> <p>7. E: Making up, of course!</p> <p>8. N: Reconciliation! (chuckles)</p>
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In Transcript 7.2, Emilia both narrates and quotes her father, dealing with the errant godchildren. She uses loanwords from Quechua such as *waska* 'whip, rope' (Turn 1, 2), *mote* 'boiled corn' (Quechua *mut'i*; Turn 3) and *wawa* 'child, baby' (Turn 1). She uses unusual constructions for Spanish—while she begins with the reflexive *se* in *Perdonese de su mujer* 'Beg forgiveness of your wife,' the reflexive disappears in the next sentence, *Tiene que perdonar de su mujer* 'You must ask forgiveness of your wife,' and also omits a clitic where one would ordinarily have occurred, *porque ha pegado!* 'because [you] hit [her]!' (Turn 2). She also uses the semantic convergence *hacer* causative extensively in this excerpt (Turns 1, 3, 5, each with a different agent). Likewise, her vowel height (underlined and in boldface) is inconsistent—first raised, then lowered, throughout this reported dialogue, part of which is reproduced here.

(This feature is gradient, and I marked only those instances that were clearly higher or lower than normal Spanish targets.) Because this feature is so sociolinguistically salient, and such a strong index of Quechua speakers, even a few incidences are highly significant, and speakers pick up on them quickly.

Emilia's use of contact features in this transcript sets the stage for an emergent $n+1$ indexical order. There is ambiguity in this story between Emilia's own language abilities and her father's probable language abilities. In telling this story, Emilia paints a vivid picture of her childhood, including animating her father's voice as she quotes him speaking to his godchildren. Are the contact features reflecting Emilia's own Quechua-language background? Or are they a strategy for depicting something about a past that is tied to the rural highlands and Quechua-dominant speakers, especially in the context of the godparent-godchild relationship that she describes?

Turns 7 and 8 are also interesting with respect to the use of contact features. Emilia uses the word *abuenarse* 'to make up, to make good,' from the Spanish root *buen-* 'good.' This word is fairly common in Latin American Spanish, but is not recognized by the DRAE (*Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*), a dictionary that tends to be highly normative. There is a cluster of Quechua words for reconciliation: *allitupanakuy*, *allipanakuy*, *allinyanakapuy*, *allinyay*, all around the root *alli-* 'good,' usually translated into Spanish as *bueno* 'good,' and many involve the reflexive verb construction *-ku*, which parallels the Spanish *-se* in *abuenarse*. Emilia's husband (N) jumps in, explaining to me that this was a form of *reconciliación* 'reconciliation,' a relatively high-flown vocabulary term. In doing so, he constructs himself as a more educated, elegant speaker than his wife.

7.3.1.4. Summary

People who are identified as *collas* are expected to have L1 Quechua interference. There is a close relationship between classification as a language speaker and evaluation of a person's social worth or appropriate sphere of influence. In comments about these speakers' language abilities, they are characterized as poor Spanish speakers, but also as people who are ignorant of important aspects of political discussions and inconsiderate neighbors. It is true that there are some aspects of these speakers' Spanish that do not appear in the speech

of native Spanish speakers; for example, the heavy morphological influence of Lorenza, and the person and gender inaccuracies of Emilia.

In this section, I have described three individuals who are identified as *collas* in the community. These speakers have different histories, circles of interaction, and Spanish-language abilities. Though they are differently framed by their interlocutors, they are all characterized as Quechua-dominant speakers, even though Emilia's daily interactions are almost all in Spanish, Beatriz interacts daily with Spanish-speaking customers, and Anasta maintains friendships with Spanish-speakers. Emilia uses a high density of contact features when she discusses events from her childhood, voicing her father.

A common characterization of the speech of Quechua speakers is that it is *atravesado* 'crossed,' in the sense that logs laid across a stream are crossed at right angles to the main flow of water. I have always supposed that this term makes some literal reference to word order, but the DRAE gives two alternate definitions for this term that are of interest; it can also mean 'having bad intentions or a bad character' or, in the Andes, 'mulatto or mestizo.' My husband politely glossed the word for me as 'someone who has learned Spanish when they're already grown, who speaks Quechua as a first language.'

In the following sections, many of the same features that I identify in the speech of people who were identified to me as *collas* appear in the speech of Spanish-dominant speakers.

7.3.2. Insiders: *Alteños*

In this section, I describe behavior that links contact features to ideas about rurality, tradition, and appropriate ways of speaking in a variety of contexts. In these examples, I show that some speakers vary their use of contact features in order to construct a particular topic or framing of the conversation. The speakers in these excerpts are all older women, who differ little from the speakers in Section 7.3.1 in most respects; once again, there is an interaction between categorization as a language speaker and categorization as a member of a social group.

7.3.2.1. Antonia

Antonia, a woman in her eighties, lives just outside of town, across the river. She dresses in the traditional hand-sewn *pollera* and black fedora-style hat of the valleys. She learned Spanish as a first language in her family home, but was raised by a Quechua-speaking aunt after being orphaned as a pre-adolescent. She understands Quechua and can speak it when necessary, but says that she does not speak it well, and she speaks exclusively Spanish with her family members. While Antonia's close associates know that she is a Spanish-speaker, people who have seen her about town or know her only casually sometimes expressed surprise to me that she does not consider herself a Quechua speaker. I surmise this has to do with her strong identification with the traditional complex in other aspects of her person, such as her dress and her longtime residence in an area that is considered isolated from Iscamayo. In addition, her heavy use of contact features could lead to this conclusion.

Antonia uses enregistered phonological features including *f*->*ϕ*" and *v/w* alternation. She often uses penultimate stress marking, more frequently than other speakers I have recorded. As can be seen in Transcript 7.3, she also uses semantic convergence variables such as *pues*, *también* and *deciabámos* (Turn 1), and she uses the contraction *ande* (Spanish *adónde*) in Turn 7, where normative Spanish would have *dónde*. In Turn 5 she preposes the subject, Marciana. All these features are linked to the traditional semiotic field through enregisterment.

TRANSCRIPT 7.3

A (Antonia), J (Juana), G1 (Gerardo)

1. A: Dirá pues, ella también, "Tu tía es," le deciabámos al finado Germán, que es, el Gabriel.	1. A: She must be saying, too, "She's your aunt," we used to say to the deceased Germán, I mean Gabriel.
2. J: Ha a, ha a.	2. J: Mm-hmm, mm-hmm.
3. A: "Qué va a ser mi tía pues. Qué le voy a decir tía yo. Si yo soy mas grande, ella que me esté diciendo tío a mí."	3. A: "I don't believe she's my aunt. I won't say aunt to her. If I'm bigger, she should be saying uncle to me."
4. G1 & J: (laughing)	4. G1 & J: (laughing)
5. A: La Marciana era esa.	5. A: That was Marciana.
6. J: Nunca mas se ha sabido esa mujer, no? Otra que no quiere parientes es.	6. J: We've never heard anything else about that woman, have we? She's another one that doesn't want relatives.
7. A: Ande ha dicho que esta? Ha hecho estudiar, en la,	7. A: Where did they say she is? She studied, in the,

8. G1: No, ha,	8. G1: No, she-
9. A: en Belén.	9. A: In Belén.

As discussed in Section 4.4.2, the signs that index a person as lower-class or "country" and open them to rude treatment and discrimination extend to practically everything about a person, including their name. In Transcript 7.4, the speakers continue talking about Marciana, a distant relative who has moved to the city. Juana opens a discussion of name-changing.

TRANSCRIPT 7.4

J (Juana), A (Antonia), N (Nolán)

1. J: No dizque se llama Marciana ahora, no? Que dizque que se llama?	1. J: (Say-that) she's not called Marciana now, right? What do they (say-that) she's called?
2. A: Que se-	2. A: That she-
3. N: F(φ w)austina se llama ella.	3. N: She's called F(φ w)austina.
4. A: F(φ w)austina?	4. A: F(φ w)austina?
5. J: No es Faust-, Que dice que se llama? Vi-cki, no se que dice, ha cambiado de nombre! Ya no es Juliana. No, la Juliana, la Juliana es la que se ha cambiado de nombre. La Marciana creo que sigue nomas con ese nombre.	5. J: It's not Faust- What is she called? Vi-cki, I don't know what (they-say), she changed her name! She's not Juliana anymore. No, Juliana, Juliana's the one who changed her name. I think Marciana still has the same name.

In this segment, Antonia's daughter, Juana, ridicules people who try to change their names as a sign of being modern people, making fun of Juliana's transformation into Vicki (a very trendy, almost teeny-bopper kind of name). Nolás, Antonia's adult grandson and Juana's son, jokes that the woman changed her name to Faustina, a name which is even more indexical of old-time country ways than her original name, Marciana. To add color to the joke and emphasize the name's country-ness, he pronounces *Faustina* with the φ^w variant. In Turn 4, Antonia, who uses this variant consistently, misses *both* the indexical linkage of the name Faustina to the traditional semiotic complex and the iconic φ^w feature; in short, she doesn't get the joke.

For Antonia, a speaker in her seventies who is strongly oriented to the traditional semiotic complex, using the φ^w variant is not an index of anything. Her grandson, in his early thirties, makes a joke through the use of the φ^w variant of *f* only on the very old-timey name,

Faustina, to index the traditional semiotic complex. In doing so, he creates an indexical layer that his mother, but not his grandmother, recognizes and responds to.

7.3.2.2. Braulia

Braulia is in her seventies, and she lives in the town of Iscamayo, close to her children. However, she continues to own land in the high rural regions surrounding town. Until the year of my fieldwork, when she bowed to pressure from her children and decided she was too old, she used to walk the six to eight hours to visit her *estancia* on a regular basis. Braulia wears pants and skirts, not *pollera*, and she is a native speaker of Spanish. She says she does not speak or understand much Quechua. Her nephew, who was participating in this conversation, suggested that I record it. Braulia uses enregistered features such as the φ variant of *f* on a regular basis, as in Transcript 7.5 about her (lack of) schooling.

TRANSCRIPT 7.5

B (Braulia), A (Anna)

<p>1. B: De habilidad era. Igual era yo p.' Con el. Los únicos éramos los dos que sabíamos mascito de eso. De eso la Catoco una vez haya ido él, le dijo, "Por que no ha puesto a la escuela? Así como yo elay no he aprendido, hace falta." De esa manera le haya, le haya venido [...] un añito nos ha puesto a la escuela. Despues otro año ya no ha querido.</p> <p>2. A: Esos años pues las mujeres no iban, no?</p> <p>3. B: No. "Pa que va a servir?" me dijo. "Pa que, en que les va a servir el estudio? No va a servir de nada," nos dijo. Y tanto hace falta. Es como si uno fuera ciego, no? (intake) A mí me da pena y rabia me hace que, que tanto a ver no hemos aprendido. Yo era, de habilidad era.</p>	<p>1. B: He was good at it. I was, too. As good as him. We were the only two that were any good at it. About that Catoco once when he went, she said, "Why didn't you put [her] in school?" Look at me, I never learned, it's necessary." That's how, he came [...] and he put us in primary school for just one year. Then the next year he wouldn't.</p> <p>2. A: In those years girls didn't go, did they?</p> <p>3. B: No. "What good does it do?" he told me. "For what, what is studying going to do for you? It won't do anything," he told us. And it's so necessary. It's as if one were blind, isn't it? (intake) It makes me so sad and it makes me angry that, that there was so much we never learned. I was, I was good at it.</p>
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Throughout the transcription, as on the words *falta* and *fuera* in this segment (Turns 1 and 3, in boldface), Braulia uses the φ variant of *f*. Notice that she also uses ingressive airflow to complement her expression of anger and regret that she was never allowed to go to school (Turn 3).

In Transcript 7.6, Braulia begins to tell a story about shepherding her parents' sheep in when she was young (this is typically a job for a pre-adolescent child). She describes her frustration when the vultures came in to steal her lambs.

TRANSCRIPT 7.6

B (Braulia), A (Anna), N (Nolán)

1. B: La última lomita donde yo salía a cuidar las owejas arriiiba, una loma era, ahí el, el witre me quitaba los corderos.	1. B: The very last ridge where I would come out to take care of the sheep up hiiiiigh, there was a ridge, the, the vulture would take the lambs from me.
2. A: (laughs)	2. A: (laughs)
3. B: Cuidando	3. B: Shepherding
4. N: El condor se come los corderos.	4. N: The condor eats the lambs.
5. B: Eese condor grande que es,	5. B: That's it, the big condor.

In the sentence reproduced here, she uses *w* for *owejas* [*owejas*] (*normatively* [oβexas]) 'sheep,' as well as for *witre* [Spanish *buitre*] 'vulture' (in boldface). This is an especially interesting choice, because the Quechua loanword *sucha* 'vulture' is in common use in this area. I think that using the Spanish word indexes her Spanish-language family background, while using the Quechua phonology indexes the "traditional" activity and setting. In a following turn, her great-nephew substitutes the word *condor*,²⁹ which she picks up and uses for the rest of the conversation.

However, the *v/w* alternation, unlike the φ^w , is relatively uncommon for Braulia. Indeed, later in the same transcript (not reproduced here) she uses the normative allophone of /v/, [β], in *oveja* 'sheep.' These linguistic features contribute to the way that Braulia frames her description of this particular activity, with its strong associations with her past and with the traditional activity of shepherding.

The following segment, which I reproduce here, also includes abundant enregistered features, such as the Quechua-origin loanword *mark'a* '[held in] one's arms' (Turn 3) and the *-abámos* verb form (Turn 9). In addition, Braulia uses *ya* (Turn 3, 5), causative *hacer* (Turn 3), and singular mass noun *harto oveja* (Turn 3, 7) in this segment of discourse.

²⁹ A condor, of course, is not the same animal as a vulture; the speaker goes on to describe the enormous size of these birds, justifying this word choice.

TRANSCRIPT 7.7

B (*Braulia*), A (*Anna*)

<p>1. B: De mi delante se lo alzaba. El corderito, en su pata lo alzaba y lo llevaba. Balaaaando</p> <p>2. A: (laughs)</p> <p>3. B: iba en su patita así un trecho, de ahí lo largaba al suelo, ya se moría el cordero. Ya yo alzaba, ya no servía ya. Pa que ande. Tenía que llevar en mi mark'a, a la casa hacia llevar. Mi mama me pegaba, p' me decía, por qué no,, si las ovejas eran haarto, desparramadas, p' uno por alla arriba, uno no va a estar en seguida, amontone y amontone!</p> <p>4. A: Mhm</p> <p>5. B: Hasta que corríamos enton' no había, estaba leeejos ya, corría, hasta eso el condor venía ya. Ya me quitaba. Grave he sufrido ahí, cuidándoles a esas ovejas. Tanto.</p> <p>6. A: Hartos eran [entonces]</p> <p>7. B: Haarto eran. De ahí nos hemos venido, vendido toditas las ovejas. El patrón nos ha vaqueado, de ahí, el patrón era de todo ese terreno ahí. Nos vaqueó el patron. "Vayanse a otro lado," nos ha dicho.</p> <p>8. A: Por que?</p> <p>9. B: Es que ya teníamos oveja harto, ganado teniabámos; se molestó de eso. Se molestó de eso.</p>	<p>1. B: Right in front of me he would pick it up. The lamb, with his foot he would pick it up and take it away. Baaaaa-ing.</p> <p>2. A: (laughs)</p> <p>3. B: He would have it in his foot like that a little ways, then he would drop it to the ground, the lamb would be ready to die. When I picked it up, it was no good anymore. To walk. I had to carry it in my arms, I would have it taken to the house. My mother hit me, she said, why didn't you,, but there were so many sheep, spread all over the place, one way up there, one can't be right behind, herding and herding!</p> <p>4. A: Mm-hmm.</p> <p>5. B: By the time we ran up they were gone, they were far away, I would run, by then the condor would come. He would take them away. I suffered awfully there, taking care of those sheep. So many.</p> <p>6. A: There were lots [then]</p> <p>7. B: There were looooots. Then we came this way, sold all the sheep. The landowner ran us off, from there, the owner of all that land up there. The landowner ran us off. "Go somewhere else," he told us.</p> <p>8. A: Why?</p> <p>9. B: It's that we had too many sheep, we had cattle; he got angry about that. He got angry about that.</p>
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Braulia uses some enregistered features, such as the φ^w , consistently in her speech. Others, such as the *v/w* change, she uses selectively. In Transcript 7.7, we can observe that Braulia uses increased semantic, morphological, and phonological enregistered features when talking about traditional activities in the past. In Braulia's speech, like Emilia's, there is an emergent higher-level indexicality that draws on linguistic features to evoke characteristics of her past in the rural countryside.

7.3.2.3. Prima

Prima is a fairly wealthy woman in her sixties, who wears a straight skirt (not a *pollera*) and lives in the center of town. Like many women of her age, she was raised in the local rural highlands and moved to Iscamayo as an adult; her husband is a successful farmer who owns valuable farmland near town. Prima uses a lot of contact features in her speech, and I was surprised to learn that she knows no Quechua at all. She uses [ɸ^w] variant of /f/ and stress shift quite regularly in relaxed speech, but she is extremely linguistically self-conscious, and notably resistant to being recorded. I was able to obtain two recordings through polite coercion because of a personal relationship with her; but the atmosphere was not especially relaxed. In the first interview, which she gave together with her husband, it was difficult to draw her out; in the second, she sighed and protested, wondering what the NGO wanted to ask all these questions for. In Transcript 7.8, taken from my language ideologies interview, she is on her best linguistic behavior, talking about her hope that her children would study English. (N, in Turn 11, is her husband.)

TRANSCRIPT 7.8

P (Prima), A (Anna), N (Nicolás, Prima's husband)

1. P: En cambio yo harto he deseado que mi hija antes entre a estudiar ingles.	1. P: On the other hand , I always wished that my daughter would study English.
2. A: Mhm	2. A: Mm-hmm
3. P: Tambien, Nelly, Nestor, y asi como que , allá. Si hay, no ve, para llevar, puro ingles, no ve?	3. P: Also, Nelly, Nestor, and so on , over there. There is, isn't there, to study, just English, right?
4. A: Hay	4. A: There is.
5. P: Hay, pues, pa salir y, de, profesora de ingles están, no ve?	5. P: There is, to graduate and, be an English teacher they're there, right?
6. A: Si, si, si. Hay eso.	6. A: Yes, yes, yes. There is that.
7. P: Y, ellos, no han tenido interes. Igual el Henry. Ha hecho dos, tres meses, parece, ingles,	7. P: And they, weren't interested. Henry was the same. He did two, three months, I think, of English,
8. A: Mhm	8. A: Mm-hmm
9. P: Y de ahí lo ha dejado también . Porque ya también , no podía alcanzar, si,	9. P: And then he stopped too . Because at that point, he couldn't [afford], and,
10. A: M, si.	10. A: Mm, yes.
11. N: M	11. N: M
12. P: Yy, lo ha dejado asi. Y, es bien es saber [el in]. De los dos.	12. P: Aand, so he just stopped. And, it's good to know [En-]. Both.
13. A: A ha	13. A: Uh-huh
14. P: Entender.	14. P: To understand.

In Transcript 7.8, Prima uses formal-sounding phrases such as *en cambio* 'on the other hand' and *así como que* 'on the other hand' (Turns 1, 3); she also uses *también* twice in Turn 9; as noted in Chapter 5, this contact feature is used and over-used when speakers are trying to establish a formal register. Prima is clearly monitoring her speech; she is fairly dysfluent, she corrects herself in Turn 12, and phrases her statements as questions in Turns 3 and 5. In the first line, Prima's *e* vowel is slightly raised (boldface and underlined), but there are no other phonological or morphological contact features in this segment. Later in the conversation she asks me, *Usted va a pasar clases allí, a su idioma de Usted, o no?* 'Will you [formal] be teaching classes innnn, in your [formal] language, or not?' The use of the formal person *Usted*, which she rarely used with me in more casual settings, is one more sign of a formal style of speech; she draws attention to this by using the explicit pronoun twice in this short sentence. She certainly doesn't need to use the formal pronoun with me, a much younger woman and a renter in her house; rather, by doing so, she is casting herself as a polite and educated person in an effort to live up to the interview context (as discussed in Section 2.2.4).

Prima is a rural speaker, but she varies her use of enregistered features to fit different situations. For example, in Transcript 7.9 below, she makes suggestions about how to improve the cooking stove that she obtained from an NGO.

TRANSCRIPT 7.9

P (Prima), A (Anna)

1. P: Y yo decía, Anita, sabís que decía?	1. P: I was thinking, Anita, you know what I was thinking?
2. A: Mhm	2. A: Uh-huh?
3. P: Que si no hubiera tenido el ladrillo, fuera solamente el fierro,	3. P: What if it didn't have the brick, if it were just the metal [ring].
4. A: Mhm	4. A: Uh-huh
5. P: Eso mas bien quería yo Anna decir. Que tenga solamente ese fierro, y tenía las patitas, que no tenga el ladrillo para que, tenga más campito adentro! Si asicito es el campito!	5. P: That's what I was thinking, instead, Anna. That it should just have the metal [ring], and the feet, and not the brick so that it, has more space inside! It's this tiny, that space!
6. A: Mm, ya ya ya ya.	6. A: Mm, yeah, yeah, yeah.
7. P: No ve? Mientras más campito, más ponimos leñita y más bracea, más calda va.	7. P: Right? When there's more space, we put more wood and it burns better, it heats more.

I am playing the role of a representative of the NGO, running through a cooking-practices questionnaire with her. In Transcript 7.9, she responds to the question, "How

could the stove be improved?" Although Prima has a number of serious complaints about the stoves, she is worried that direct criticisms might be offensive or place me in a difficult position. She invokes our close relationship through an intimate address form [the *vos* conjugation of the verb *sabís*, the diminutive *Anita*] and through a pronounced φ^w in the words *fuera* and *fierro* (in boldface, Turns 3 and 5). She uses the raised-vowel form of *sabés* [*sabís*] 'you know' and *ponemos* [*ponimos*] 'we know' (Turns 1 and 7, in boldface). She also uses negative politeness strategies, focusing on the fact that it's "just me" that is giving this advice, using subjunctive verb forms in Turn 3, and a proliferation of diminutives (*patitas* 'little feet,' Turn 5; *campito* 'little space,' Turn 5, 6; and *leñita* 'little sticks,' Turn 7).

In the first Transcript 7.8 above, Prima sounds uncomfortable and dysfluent as she strives to reproduce a register she doesn't really control. One of the notable effects of this effort is the way she suppresses enregistered features. In Transcript 7.9, on the other hand, she sounds quite at home, using enregistered features dexterously to maintain a polite and friendly relationship while giving constructive criticism. Prima uses these features to index a close personal relationship, one that for her is rooted in tradition and in traditional values of respect and politeness.

7.3.2.4. Summary

In this section, I've described the way that three speakers use enregistered features to mark traditional activities, voice speakers from the past, and manage a polite, intimate register in contrast to a formal one. These speakers are all older women, much like the speakers described in 7.3.1. Their use of contact features is somewhat different from the speakers in 7.3.1; for example, there are very few examples of morphological contact influence. However, they use contact features in similar ways; Antonia, like Lorenza, seems to be unaware of the indexical value that the phonological contact features that she produces have for other listeners; Braulia, like Emilia, uses contact features in order to invoke a time and an activity in the rural past. The major difference is in the uptake, or anticipated uptake from the audience; while Emilia is characterized as a poor speaker and a poor neighbor in part because of her use of contact features, Prima uses contact features in order to construct a polite relationship. While Beatriz is framed as a person who has no business speaking in a meeting, Braulia is attentively listened to by her nephew.

In the case of these speakers, unlike the Quechua speakers described in Section 7.3.1, contact features become reinterpreted as enregistered features or indices of a traditional orientation. They are not linked with a lack of ability or a lack of neighborliness; quite the reverse. Rather, they are used by speakers and understood by their interlocutors to index the complex that includes rural life, women's sphere, traditional crafts and occupations. The meaning(s) attached to these features is not pre-determined, but rather comes out of contrast with typical patterns of use for particular speakers and groups.

7.3.3. Higher indexical orders: Local politicians

In this section, I describe how highly able speakers, recognized as *conocidos* 'known,' use contact features strategically. These speakers, like those described above, vary their use of contact features in order to reference a common notion of tradition, local identity, and solidarity with the masses. Both these speakers use contact features selectively, and both are community representatives with extensive experience speaking in meeting contexts. Despite their commonalities, however, their use of contact features is evaluated differently by their audiences as a result of their group membership.

7.3.3.1. Marina

Marina is a member of the city council, a position which requires considerable skill in political maneuvering, politics, budgeting, and a host of other areas (discussed further in Chapter 8). However, she also lives just outside the main town; her husband is a farmer, and her family frequently returns to their land in the *alto* 'highlands,' sometimes for extended periods of time. In interviews and conversation, she consistently positioned herself as an outsider to politics, emphasizing that she never graduated from high school, and aligning herself with the "traditional" groups: poor people, farmers, people from rural areas, women. Marina is a native Spanish-speaker, although she attended an *internado* 'boarding school' with mostly Quechua-speaking classmates (these boarding schools are typically for impoverished rural students who live too far from a school to attend as day students). She says she understands some Quechua but does not speak it.

When I asked Marina if it was necessary to control an oratorical style to serve on the council, she answered, "Maybe so, but I never have." Despite this protest, she does vary her

use of contact features, whether in accordance with a context of speech such as an interview, or to align herself with the groups mentioned in the previous paragraph.

In Transcript 7.10, she comments on the differences between *cambas* 'eastern monolingual lowlanders' and *collas* 'western bilingual highlanders.' The setting is informal; I have dropped by Marina's house on a late afternoon and she has agreed to answer some questions. Nevertheless, I am using a printed interview script and the recorder is prominently placed. Most of the questions focus on her professional experience and development.

TRANSCRIPT 7.10

M (Marina), A (Anna)

<p>1. M: Porque los, cambas tienen cabalito para el día, tienen que tener.</p> <p>2. A: Mhm</p> <p>3. M: Mientras los collas en cambio, es, pues, a ellos les gusta trabajar, y ahorrarse y tener algo pues, no ve? Trabajar, pues. Y los cambas-en cuanto no tengan <i>nada</i> . Están siguen feliz.</p> <p>4. A: Cuando estabamos por alla, nos decíann,, tal vez no acabamos nuestros platos, nos decían, “Acabátelo, porque tal vez mañana no va a haber,” nos decían.</p> <p>5. M: Ves? Y los collas no tienen esa mentalidad ellos. Trabajan y quieren tener, y. Porque en, hasta en la ciudad de Santa Cruz se ve, los que son grandes comerciantes y todo?</p> <p>6. A: Hm</p> <p>7. M: Son de allá! Son los collas.</p> <p>8. A: Hm</p> <p>9. M: No son los cambas.</p>	<p>1. M: Because the, cambas have exactly what they need for that day, they have to have.</p> <p>2. A: Mm-hmm.</p> <p>3. M: But collas on the other hand, it's, well, they like to work and save and have something, right? To work. And the cambas—even when they don't have anything. They're still happy.</p> <p>4. A: When we were there, they told uss, maybe we didn't finish our plates, they said, "Finish it up, because tomorrow there might not be any," they said.</p> <p>5. M: You see? And collas don't have that mentality. They work and they want to have something, and. Because in, even in the city of Santa Cruz you see, the people who are big businessmen and everything?</p> <p>6. A: Mm-hm</p> <p>7. M : They're from over there! They're collas.</p> <p>8. A: Hmm.</p> <p>9. M: They're not cambas.</p>
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In Transcript 7.10, Marina uses educated constructions such as *mientras...en cambio* 'but...on the other hand' (Turn 3) and *mentalidad* 'mentality' (Turn 5) with ease. In the course of the ten-minute segment, she never uses a single enregistered phonological feature.

However, Marina is able to use enregistered features when appropriate. In a different recording of the Santa Rosa Mother's Club, during an increasingly noisy debate over the name of a driver who might take the group on an excursion, she and several other women use \varnothing^m when suggesting that the person in question is named *Fede García*. The other participants seemed to find this perfectly ordinary and acceptable.

In Turn 3 of Transcript 7.10, Marina uses the construction *están siguen felíz* 'they're still happy,' using two conjugated verbs. This normatively ungrammatical use of two conjugated verbs, usually *sigue está* 'continues to be,' is closely linked with bilinguals: *collas* and immigrants from the western highlands.³⁰ In the next few lines, Marina repeatedly criticizes *cambas* for being lazy, shameless, and malicious, while praising *collas* for being reserved and hard-working. She tells me that if I were to make a survey, I would find that virtually all of the residents of the town come from the west rather than the east, because eastern *cambas* can't take the hard work of agriculture. By using *están siguen felíz*, Marina links herself grammatically with this group, just as she aligns herself with them pragmatically through the content of her discourse.

Marina is quite capable of using elegant vocabulary and educated-sounding constructions that would be appropriate in a meeting. She chooses to portray herself as a woman of the people, strategically employing contact features to buttress her political and social stances. In using these features, Marina draws on contact features as indices of bilinguals as a social group, accessing a second level of indexicality to position herself as an ally of *collas* 'western bilingual highlanders.'

7.3.3.2. Esteban and Stress shifts

In this section, I describe how a speaker who ordinarily orients toward the modern semiotic complex attempts unsuccessfully to use a feature that is associated with the traditional semiotic complex.

In my data, only Spanish speakers use stress shift on first-person plural forms of *-er/-ir* verbs: *ibámos* (*íbamos*) 'we went,' *quisierámos* (*quisiéramos*) 'we would like,' *estuvierámos* (*estuviéramos*) 'we would have been,' *conociámos* (*conocíamos*) 'we knew,' *queriámos*

³⁰ I heard my Quechua-dominant friends using this form, but when I used it, Spanish-speakers told me I was speaking ungrammatically.

(queríamos) 'we wanted,' *erámos* (éramos) 'we were' (see also 2.3.1.3). Unusually, I even have one very young (preteen) speaker using this type of form. Given the general tendencies of the verbal paradigm in Spanish, it makes sense that speakers would have a tendency to regularize stress shift; but it happens very few times, in comparison to the number of first-person plural forms that occur in the data. In all cases, speakers use the stress shift variant either to highlight longing or desire, or to mark something from the long-ago times, from past experiences and traditions.

All of these characteristics are ones that we have seen repeatedly in the use of contact features and other linguistic forms associated with the traditional complex. However, sometimes these features can be used infelicitously. In the following example, a young, highly educated, Spanish-speaking *legítimo Iscamayeño* 'legitimate person from Iscamayo' (as described in Chapter 3) attempts to use stress shift to build solidarity through a rousing oratorical performance before a group and it falls flat.

TRANSCRIPT 7.11

E (*Esteban*), F (*Froilán*)

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. E: E, sí, yo creo que para terminar esta tema y no estar en polémica, uno de los bondades nuestro grupo que tenemos, los que estamos trabajando como dijo Don Froilán, es que somos bien unidos. 2. Todo reglamentamos por falta de <<cuota cuotas>>. Así funciona. 3. (increasing audience noise) 4. Si no estuvierámos unidos nosotros, cuantas veces las personas que <<>> hecho propietarios, nos hubieran estropeado, nos hubieran cerrado? 5. Ya estamos construyendo pero. Nosotros hemos sido firme en la directiva <<hemos dado>> la reunion, es mucha la propuesta, no se puede perjudicar, a una, a esta organización es solidario! 6. La gente necesita, no pueden Uds. imponer o <<hincar>> , pero la gente nos ha entendido que no nos van a perjudicar! Sea quien sea dueño! La bondad es que somos unidos! Y adelante vamos a salir! Como dice Don Froilán, no nos vamos a dejar 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. E: Um, okay, I think that to finish this topic and not have controversy, one of the strengths that our group has, those of us who are working, as Don Froilán said, is that we are united. 2. We all regulate because of lack of [payment plan?] That's how it works. 3. (increasing audience noise) 4. If we weren't united, how many times would the people who <<>> the landowners, would they have ruined us, would they have shut us down? 5. But we're already building. We officers have been firm, <<we've had>> meetings, the goal is great, but you can't mess with a, this organization is <i>solidario</i> [all for one and one for all]! 6. The people have needs, you can't impose or <<>>, but the people have understood that we will not be messed with! No matter who the property owner is! The virtue is that we are united! And we will overcome! As Don Froilán says, we wil not be left-
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7. F: Y Uds. ... espantar <i>farna!</i>	7. F: And you...to scare <i>farna!</i> [?]
8. (laughter)	8. (laughter)
9. <Profe C tries to talk, people totally talk over him, the rest is completely unintelligible.>>	9. <Profe C tries to talk, people totally talk over him, the rest is completely unintelligible.>>

Esteban is the young but politically ambitious brother of the mayor, an agronomist by profession and educated in the city. In this segment, Esteban trots out a variety of tired clichés—"the people are united" (Turns 1, 4, 6) "we shall overcome" (Turn 6) "the goal is great" (Turn 5). He uses a hackneyed oratorical structure that begins with problems or issues (Turn 2), builds through rhetorical questions (Turn 3), and ends with exclamations about the power of the people to overcome oppression (Turn 5).

This speech comes at the end of a long and contentious meeting. But rather than serving to rouse the group, it turns into a joke (which certainly dispels tension, but is not at all what Esteban intends!). People are clearly not listening, and the noise of people laughing and talking starts to rise, as noted after Turn 2. In the end, Esteban is cut off by a mocking remark from the very person he invoked in Turn 1, a highly respected valley farmer.

In this segment, we see Esteban making an effort to use populist discourse, of a type that is widely and effectively employed by community leaders throughout Latin America. One feature that Esteban employs as part of this effort is the stress shift on *Si no estuvierámos unidos* 'If we were not united' (normatively *Si no estuviéramos unidos*). This indexical association depends both on the feature as a first-level index of populist discourse and as a second-level index of the kind of person that Esteban claims to be. However, he does not have the wherewithal to pull it off felicitously—instead, he becomes the butt of a joke. The stress shift, like other features of the discourse, is meant to index a man of the people. Esteban, on the other hand, is a member of the native-born upper classes, an individual who has strongly aligned himself with the modern complex in other arenas, such as his education, his spouse, the home he lives in, and his political and professional activities. The use of the enregistered features to an audience of people who are *not* considered his peers in most social circumstances leads them to evaluate him as laughably fake.

7.3.3.3. Summary

In this section, I have described how highly able Spanish speakers with a wide register range use contact features selectively in order to position themselves with respect to social groups. While overall, the registers of their performances are formal, they utilize certain elements of the group of enregistered contact features in order to claim that they have solidarity with the masses. The relatively isolated use of contact features described in this section marks them as second-order features that *refer* to a group or a genre's linguistic patterns in order to *characterize* the speaker. Speakers are not only indexing a local identity; they are also claiming something about their own essence and personal identities. As is evident from the case of Esteban, these claims are open to contestation from the audience of these discourses.

The difference between success and failure is a matter not only of the current interactional dynamic, but of the history of interactional dynamics, the orientation that has been built up over numerous interactions and through expectations of how individuals and how people in the group they are identified with will behave. Because Marina has consistently aligned herself with the traditional complex (discussed further in Chapter 8), her use of enregistered features is consonant with this alignment. Esteban, on the other hand, has consistently aligned herself with the modern semiotic complex, through his education, his complexion, his clothes, his job, his relationship with his family, who he greets on the street. His foray into contact features as a part of populist rhetoric is evaluated as a failure.

7.3.4. Multivalent indices: *Profesores*

In Section 7.3.3, I discussed how speakers use enregistered features in order to orient towards stances of local authenticity, involving discussions of migration and outsider/insider status. In this section, I describe two long-time Iscamayo residents, proud bi- and trilinguals, who use contact features as multivalent indicators. These indicators have multiple simultaneous functions, which the speakers use to establish a social stance with respect to their audiences.

7.3.4.1. Quispe

In Transcript 7.12, I am interviewing a trilingual teacher outside his store, while his wife sits nearby, listening. Profe Quispe³¹ speaks Aymara at home with his wife, Quechua with other friends, and Spanish at school and in business interactions. I did not know Profe Quispe or his wife well before this interview, but because of his educational standing he was willing to take on the expert stance understood to be required for the interview.

In Transcript 7.12 below, I've asked Profe Quispe how he would characterize the way people speak in Iscamayo, and in his answer, he has rhetorically turned the conversation to a contrast between east and west, urban and rural, moving beyond language to physical characteristics—and, later, behavior and discipline. Here, between service encounters, he discusses complexion, asserting that people from the highlands ("interior") are darker than people from the eastern areas.

TRANSCRIPT 7.12

Q(Quispe), A (Anna), S (Quispe's wife)

1. Q: Y por otro lado se les caracteriza porque la gente de aqui son mas blancones, y la gente del interior somos mas morenos.	1. Q: And on the other hand they can be characterized because the people from here are whiter, and (we) the people from the interior are darker.
2. A: Mm...(laughing)	2. A: Mm...(laughing)
3. Q: (laughing)	3. Q: (laughing)
4. A: Pero Usted no es muy moreno.	4. A: But you're not very dark.
5. Q: Yo soy feo carita de barro como Atahuallpa.	5. Q: I'm an ugly mud-face like Atahuallpa.
6. A: (laughing) Lo que dice!	6. A: (laughing) The things you say!
7. G & S: (laughing)	7. G&S: (laughing)
8. S: Lo que dic-!	8. S: What he sa-!
9. (laughter)	9. (laughter)
10. Q: Ayy...se va reir la...	10. Q: Ayy...she's going to laugh...
11. A: Y yo, que será pues?	11. A: And what about me?
12. Q: Puuucha, Usted es simpática como una virgen!	12. Q: Daaarn, you are beautiful like a virgin [saint]!
13. A: No pues!	13. A: [No way!]
14. G & S: (laughing)	14. G&S: (laughing)
15. Kid: Profe, tiene chanchito?	15. Kid: Profe [teacher], do you have any pig?
16. Q: No hay, papito.	16. Q: No, little guy.
17. Kid: Se ha acabaw.	17. Kid: It's all gone.

³¹ Profe Quispe, a middle-aged man, is one of the few individuals conventionally referred to by his last name in Iscamayo. This indicates a high level of respect and is ordinarily reserved for elderly men.

18. Q: Hah	18. Q: Yeah
19. A: Otros dicen...color del gusano ese	19. A: Others say...the color of that worm.
20. Q: Como khuru	20. Q: Like the khuru worm.
21. A: El gusano blanco.	21. A: The white worm.
22. Teen: Profe, vendame chinelas?	22. Teen: Profe [teacher], can you sell me some flip-flops?
23. Q: Allá nomás	23. Q: Right over there.
24. Teen: Así de la misma de Usted yo quiero.	24. Teen: I want just the same ones that you have.
25. Q: Adentro hay.	25. Q: There's some inside.
26. S: (laugh) Que manera de...	26. S: (laughs) What a ...
27. Teen: Más chiquito nomás.	27. Teen: Just a little smaller
28. S: (laughing) Que no fuera que..	28. S: (laughing) As if it weren't...
29. Teen: Treinta y seis.	29. Teen: Thirty-six.

In this interaction, the use of phonological and lexical contact features is key to establishing a more relaxed setting which is marked not only by the topic and by our laughter but also by increased participation by Quispe's wife. Shortly after this exchange, she offered me a peach from a basket of fruit she was peeling, a friendly overture. Yet by the use of *Atahualpa*, a historical figure, Quispe also positions himself as an educated person by making learned allusions that I seldom heard from other Iscamayños. Notice, too, that Quispe does not compare himself to just any indigenous person on the street, but to the last ruler of the Incas, even as he compares me to a Catholic saint. In doing so, Quispe engages in some complex multivalent social work. He flatters me and elevates himself through his comparison of me to the Virgin Mary and of himself to Inca royalty. He distances himself from me by emphasizing the contrast in our complexions, and therefore, our racial/ethnic categorization (note the pronoun 'we' in Turn 1), while at the same time positioning himself as an educated person who would conceivably have something of interest to say in response to a foreign university student's interview.

Profe Quispe begins by saying that "we" –people from the highlands—are darker. In response to my comment that he is doesn't have a very dark complexion, he makes the self-deprecating remark *Yo soy feo carita de barro como Atahualpa* 'I'm an ugly mud-face like Atahualpa.'³²

³² Atahualpa was the Inca leader whose internecine war weakened the Inca Empire at the time of Spanish conquest.

This is an example of the use of contact features to carve out a different social space in the midst of a relatively formal interview, showing that highly competent individuals such as Profe Quispe use contact features to change frames from a formal interview to something more conversational, just as he shifts his attention in Turns 15-18 and 22-29 to attend (or, more accurately, to deflect) customers.

However, Profe Quispe does more than shift frames in this interaction; he positions himself as a phenotypically dark, indigenous person from the highlands, and simultaneously as an educated person who can make learned allusions. The remark is both a joke and not a joke. This type of playful (and yet serious) conversation is marked by the use of contact features, as described above; when I slip up, using a Spanish circumlocution for the loanword *kburu*, Profe Quispe is quick to supply the correct joking response for me. The use of contact features indicates that the remark is not to be taken seriously, at the same time that it makes a serious contribution to discourse.

Profe Quispe contextualizes his joke phonetically by marking the word *feo* with a slightly nonstandard *f* and a slightly raised *o*,³³ morphologically by using the diminutive *carita* 'face+dim.' and lexically by using the word *Atabuallpa* (see footnote 32). At this deadpan remark, his wife and I burst out laughing, and she half-repeats my Turn 6 in Turn 8. Up to this point Quispe's wife has not participated verbally in the conversation, although she is sitting close by and listening attentively. After this remark, in turns 14, 26, and 28, she laughs out loud and makes a few remarks, as the interview frame is interrupted by Profe Quispe's joke in Turns 5 and 12 and my visible embarrassment at being told that I am 'beautiful like a virgin.' I defend myself in Turn 19, referring to myself as 'the white worm,' a mild taunt commonly aimed at white foreigners. Profe Quispe quickly supplies me with the correct Quechua loanword, *kburu*.³⁴

7.3.4.2. Silvio

Silvio is another highly-educated *profesor* 'teacher' originally from the highland region. An able bilingual, he is teacher and director at one of the local schools. He is also an

³³ It's interesting that here these features can act as if they were gradient, not categorical; see Sicoli 2007.

³⁴ The *kburu* is a rather disgusting, fat, white grub that is a widespread potato pest -- I think it is known in English as the larva of the Andean potato weevil.

accomplished orator, and tends to dominate meetings with long speeches. He was a board member of not one, but two neighborhood associations during the year of my fieldwork, and also held an administrative office within the school district. In meetings, Silvio usually speaks in a sophisticated and relaxed oratorical style with few phonological or morphological contact features. The only consistent contact feature that I noticed in his speech was the tendency to raise vowels in confusing adjacent-syllable cases such as *pesimista* 'pessimist[ic]' > *pisimista* (this isn't restricted to bilinguals; monolingual Spanish speakers from this area do it, too, especially when they're trying out fancy, somewhat unfamiliar words).

In one meeting, however, Silvio was challenged by his own *vocal*, a minor office-holder in charge of notifications, who accuses him of delaying and failing to carry out his duties. The vocal was young and fairly inarticulate; Silvio had demolished him on a previous occasion by pointing out his failure to follow correct procedure and protocol in lodging his complaint. However, at this point, the vocal's complaint (which he has elaborated on after it was read from the *libro de actas* 'minutes' for the minutes of the previous meeting) is picked up by one of Silvio's main opponents, a young *autonomista*³⁵ named Raúl. Raúl and all his family are politically active in the autonomy movement. On several previous occasions, Silvio has pointedly mentioned the inconsistency of being part of his organization, which has been formed in order to request a housing project from the current government, while being a fervent *autonomista*, a member of a movement working to undermine said government. Silvio also likes to respond to Raúl by pointing out his relative youth and inexperience, on one occasion referring to him as *don señor joven Raúl* 'Sir Mr. Master [lit. "youth"] Raúl.'

TRANSCRIPT 7.13

S (Silvio)

1. S: Yo no puedo dedicarme [absoluta]mente, parece que no, no me dejo entender, o ,, no se.	1. S: I can't dedicate myself entirely, it seems I don't, I don't make myself understood, or ,, I don't know.
2. Yo trabajo y mi trabajo casi no permite. No, no permite, curro yo peligro de sancion, abandonar e, mi trabajo. Porque hay que viajar a Santa Cruz, hay que hacer.	2. I work and my work nearly doesn't let me. It, won't allow it, I run the risk of censure, of abandoning, um, my job. Because I have to travel to Santa Cruz, there are things to do.
3. Y parece que de acuerdo a lo que hemos hecho, no? Tal vez sera el apoderado	3. And it seems to be in line with what we've done, doesn't it? Maybe the

³⁵ The autonomistas are advocates of regional economic autonomy, and as such are aligned with Santa Cruz elites and anti-Evo/anti-MAS.

<p>otro que tenga tiempo tal vez podría ser. No? Porque de lo contrario, yo soy el que tengo que firmar. No?</p> <p>4. Entonces me toca viajar a mi, o algo así. Entonces, en ese sentido, n-, un poco, n-, no tan facil, la, no? hacer estas tareas, para, de acuerdo al trabajo que yo tengo.</p> <p>5. Pero, [al contrario] si no estuviera, yo voy, cualquier día, y dispongo. Me dedicaría a eso. Pero no es algo así.</p> <p>6. Yo quisiera que me entiendan, bueno, Uds. beneficiarios, que no quiere, no van a entender, bueno, no se.</p> <p>7. Entonces, eso.</p>	<p>person with power of attorney should be someone else who has more time. Right? But if not, then I'm the one who has to sign. Right?</p> <p>4. So I have to travel, or something. So, in this sense, n-, a little, n-, it's not so easy, the, right? to do the work, for, in accordance with the job that I have.</p> <p>5. But, [if things were different], if I didn't, I [would] go, any day, and make myself available. I would dedicate myself to this. But it's not like that.</p> <p>6. I would like you to understand me, well, ladies and gentlemen, beneficiaries, [if there are some that] don't want to, that are not going to understand, well, I don't know.</p> <p>7. So, that is that.</p>
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Here, Silvio again begins his argument by criticizing his opponent, commenting, *E, yo respeto a las personas, no somos de, de a misma altura. No? Conozco, e, he estudiado, conozco como se debe manejar, conozco parte de normas* 'Um, I respect people, [but] we are not of the same stature. I know, um, I have studied, I know how this should be managed, I know the rules.' In a lengthy reply, he once again criticizes his opponents for failing to understand the rules of meeting organization, for hastiness and impatience, for (youthful) lack of respect. Then he begins to elaborate the reasons why the process has been long and difficult, highlighting the difficulties that have already been overcome. Finally, he reminds everyone of his other commitments and of the time that he has already dedicated to this organization. Implicitly, he is reminding them that, even if he has failed, none of them is volunteering to lead the organization. He states, *No, no permite, curro yo peligro de sancion, abandonar, e, mi trabajo*. 'It's, [my work] won't allow it, I run the risk of censure, of abandoning, um, my job' (Turn 2). In Transcript 7.13—highly unusually for this speaker—he raises the first vowel of the verb *correr* 'to run,' making it /kuro/ rather than the normative /koro/. In later sentences, he raises a vowel in another common word, *istuviera* (cf. *estuviera* 'if I were,' Turn 5) and also uses the \varnothing realization of *f* in the word *facil* 'easy' (Turn 4; contrast this with the normative realization of the same phrase in Turn 5). Silvio's voice is raised in a high, uneven pitch, giving the impression that he is emotionally moved.

What is Silvio doing in this segment? Consciously or unconsciously, he is selecting a few key contact features to insert into his discourse, while maintaining an overall formal register of speech. These features, as we have seen above, are usually present in the speech of L2 Spanish speakers, especially those with fairly low Spanish proficiency—not highly educated bilinguals like Silvio. However, these features are also present in the speech of highly proficient or monolingual Spanish speakers who wish to build empathy, indicate affect, or evoke an intimate relationship, as we have seen above. Silvio picks only a few, highly salient moments to insert these contact variants into his speech.

What Silvio is doing, by the use of these few enregistered features, is delivering a complex, multivalent message: (1) That he himself is a highlander, a Quechua speaker, and (unlike his young opponent, Raúl) affiliated with the political party of indigenous western highlanders. In this, he aligns himself with his audience, most of whom are poor, new immigrants, and Quechua speakers. (2) That he is a highly educated and highly able Spanish speaker, a person who knows the ropes and knows the rules, as he says explicitly in this paragraph (again, in contrast to his opponents) (3) That he has dedicated his personal time and commitment to the group, and that he is emotionally invested in the group and its outcome.

7.3.5. Summary

In these two examples, Don Silvio and Profe Quispe use phonetic and lexical contact features to position themselves in the social world. In Quispe's case, this interaction serves as a frame shift (and is followed by laughter), moving the interaction to a more familiar footing and moving beyond the air of uncomfortable formality that was often palpable in interviews. At the same time, it is a serious move that establishes him as an educated person who is on equal footing with me as an interlocutor. Silvio, on the other hand, uses contact features in the context of an elegantly structured discourse in order to align himself with his audience of landless workers. In contrast to the use of language by the bilinguals described in Section 7.3.1, the use of contact features is spare; these features are being used in a highly abstract way. Silvio and Quispe each use contact features in order to reference themselves and place themselves within the social sphere of Iscamayo, Bolivia, and (given my participation in these interactions) the world.

7.4. Conclusion

Enregistered features, including contact features, do not have a single meaning. Contact features are linked to a variety of indexical meanings dependent on a number of variables. They may be understood in terms of language ability; they may invoke a traditional semiotic complex that extends to types of people; they may represent a (sometimes idealized) type of lifestyle; they may be used to produce specific discourse contexts; or they may mark more ephemeral types of reference and relationships. They may participate in multiple and overlapping functions at once. Context is key to the interpretation of these features.

Identifying people with groups is a strategy that people use in organizing a social universe. However, as I show in this chapter, these groups also obscure a great deal of individual variation between speakers. Group identification—identity—affects the way that contact features are perceived by other participants. Likewise, this perception leads to varying interpretations of the stances being assumed by speakers. Not all speakers share the same criteria for recognizing and evaluating enregistered features; rather, speech is circulated and filtered through multiple interpretations, and perhaps even with multiple intentions.

In Section 7.3.1 I discussed Lorenza, Beatriz, and Emilia, who other consultants identify as *collas*. Lorenza uses an unusually high frequency of morphological variations on normative Spanish, and has variable gender marking, person marking, and pluralization. Beatriz's use of contact features is more systematic than that of Lorenza, but she has differences in vowel quality, uses simple grammatical constructions, and occasionally drops articles and reflexives. As a result of these differences, Beatriz is treated as a person who has no business speaking up in a meeting. Finally, Emilia's language use seems to be quite similar to the use of Spanish-dominant speakers, including the use of enregistered features to invoke a traditional past, but her categorization as a *colla* is also linked to her unaccommodating stance to her neighbor. Despite the disparity in their linguistic abilities, all three of these speakers are evaluated negatively on the basis of a combination of their use of contact features and other attributes linked to the social group they are identified with.

In Section 7.3.2 I discussed Antonia, Braulia, and Prima as representatives of the *valluno* social group. Antonia uses many of the same features that were discussed in the speech of Quechua-dominant speakers. Her grandson uses \varnothing^w as an index of old-

fashionedness, but she does not seem to recognize his joke. Braulia has a number of enregistered features, but systematically varies her use of them in describing a rural episode from her youth in Transcript 7.6. Finally, Prima uses the φ^w variant of *f* and stress shift, and she also uses raised vowels in *-er/-ir* verbs to index solidarity. She varies her use of enregistered features according to conversational context. For many younger people in the community, these speakers embody a link between contact features and the traditional semiotic complex, which also involves discussions of traditional occupations such as herding and the production of dense and polite social networks.

In Section 7.3.3 I discussed Marina and Esteban, local politicians who control multiple registers of speech. Despite the fact that Marina controls a formal register, she selectively employs marked enregistered features such as the φ^w of *f* and the construction *sigue está* (or in her case, *está sigue*) to index her political and social positioning. Esteban's example, on the other hand, demonstrates that some speakers do not control the social resources necessary to employ enregistered features such as stress shift strategically. The critical difference between Marina and Esteban (in this context, at least!) is a contrast in their long-term social positioning.

In Section 7.3.4.1 Quispe shows how speakers use highly metapragmatically charged contact features as indices to navigate a framework of ethnicity, education, and a personal relationship with his interlocutor. Silvio, a highly educated speaker who controls a very formal style of oratory with few contact features, chooses to use the φ^w variant of *f* and two raised vowels in a specific context in order to index his own political positioning as a person who can claim the sympathy of a landless and indigenous audience.

There are no hard and fast lines; everyone from Lorenza to Esteban uses enregistered features, and many of them are used by multiple individuals/groups. But when Lorenza uses stress shift, it means something different than when Esteban uses it, because of the type of person that it's coming from. For Lorenza, Beatríz, or Antonia, enregistered features are understood to be part of the way they speak. For Emilia, Braulia, or Prima, enregistered features are used to align certain stretches of discourse with ideas about tradition and politeness. Silvio and Marina have the social resources to use these features as political tactics, but when Esteban tries to do so he is understood to be hypocritical or insincere. Finally, Quispe uses higher-order indexicality to situate himself as an educated speaker of indigenous languages.

Contact features, acting as part of a system or pattern of enregistered features, don't have a single indexical meaning; rather, their meaning is built through contrast to or congruence with the *expected* forms of speech for a speaker. These expected forms of speech are related to a listener's personal experience with the speaker over time, as well as their conceptions of the types of speech that members of certain groups engage in. For example, we see that members of all groups use the [ɸ^w] variant of /f/; Anasta, a speaker with heavy contact influence, uses it; Emilia, a Quechua-dominant but fluent speaker uses it; Antonia, a Spanish-dominant speaker who orients strongly to the traditional complex, uses it; Braulia, a Spanish-dominant speaker who uses contact features selectively to invoke old-time practices, uses it; Prima, a Spanish-dominant speaker who uses contact features to invoke a close personal relationship, uses it; Marina, an able local politician who positions herself with rural women, uses it; Silvio, a highly educated bilingual, uses it to align himself with his audience. The key factor in interpreting these features is contrast with a speaker's established linguistic patterns and positioning.

A crucial question that emerges here is the interaction between audience expectations and speaker intentions, or intentions attributed to the speaker. It is patently clear that adept speakers such as Silvio, Marina, and Quispe have a great deal of control over the enregistered features they use. Conversely, it is tempting to say that speakers who display a higher degree of contact influence have no control over their use of contact features. I'm not sure if this is true or not; however, it does seem true that their audiences do not *expect* them to have a great deal of control. Indeed, they are discouraged from speaking in formal contexts such as meetings as a direct result of the type of speech they use. Therefore, while either Lorenza and Marina might use the penultimately stressed *vibóra* 'snake' to denote a snakelike person, they would be interpreted differently by their audiences (or interpreted differently by different audiences)—Lorenza doesn't know any better, while Marina is making a conscious decision that has consequences both for herself as speaker and for the person she describes. These types of perceptions feed into assessments of speakers as genuine or disingenuous; Esteban, an educated professional and the only *legítimo Iscamayéño* of the group, sounds artificial when using a contact feature in a meeting context.

I was usually praised for speaking like a local person by using contact features in my Spanish. For a while, though, I tried using a feature that my *comadre*, a *colla*, used—the use of two conjugated verbs in the phrase *sigue está* 'continues to be,' the same feature that Marina

uses in 7.3.3.1. When I used this phrase around my Spanish-dominant Isamayeño friends and associates, they universally reprimanded me and told me I was speaking ungrammatically. This feature, because it's associated with outsiders from the bilingual western highlands, is considered ungrammatical or unacceptable *for a person like me*.³⁶ Certainly no one ever told my comadre, a perfectly fluent bilingual, but positioned as a Quechua-dominant speaker, that she was speaking ungrammatically.³⁷

The meaning of contact features as indices varies depending on who speaks them and in what context. However, these categorizations are dependent on a wide variety of social actions. Speech is performed and understood in a wide variety of ways that are not deterministically related to categories such as age, gender, or even status as a language speaker. These variations can be understood only in relation to both group identification and orientation towards particular discourse contexts, as speakers order the raw material of language into abstract systems of interpretation.

As Chen (2008a; 2008b) points out for Hong Kong, different groups of speakers have different styles of code-switching. Here, I wish to suggest that there are also different ways of *recognizing* contact features based on the group classification of a speaker. In doing so, I locate the production of meaning in a relationship between a particular interactions and group identification that is produced over time.

Clearly, these expectations depend on the point of view and expectations of the listener as well as the speaker, both in terms of their expectations of an individual and their expectations based on other interactions with members of the group that the individual is understood to fit in with. These groups themselves, however, are in no way deterministic, simple or clear; rather, as I discuss in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, they are part of a complicated social space that is created through contrast rather than essence. Particular aspects, or multiple aspects, of this social space can be picked out through the use of enregistered features. In this chapter, as in the rest of the dissertation, I have my own

³⁶ And what kind of a person am I? A foreigner as opposed to a Bolivian, a Spanish-speaker as opposed to a Quechua-speaker, a speaker of Valley Spanish as opposed to a speaker from La Paz? Someone with dense networks among working-class speakers as opposed to the upper-class? A woman as opposed to a man? Any or all of these identifications can be foregrounded or backgrounded through the use of enregistered linguistic features, along with other contextual indices.

³⁷ They may have *thought* this; it is also probable that schoolteachers tell children that this construction is normatively ungrammatical. However, these claims are ideological in nature, as demonstrated by the fact that a very able Spanish-speaker such as Marina uses this construction.

layered points of view as I evaluate sociolinguistic features: that of an English-speaking academic with my own indoctrination and ideologies regarding languages; that of the social group with which I am most familiar, the Spanish-speaking, working-class Iscamayeños, most of whom are migrants or the children of migrants from the local highlands. For a Quechua speaker, or perhaps even a *legítimo Iscamayéño*, the perception might be quite different.

In the next chapter, I move on to discuss individual positioning through the use of enregistered features through a comparison and contrast of the concept of register with the concept of style.

Chapter 8: Style and the semiotic field

8.1. Introduction

Over the course of the dissertation, I have shown how group and language boundaries are formed through ideological processes (Chapter 3), and how language features are conceptualized as participating in an overarching structure of contrast between two dialectical poles that I characterize broadly as the "traditional" complex and the "modern" complex (Chapter 4). Groups of concepts within each of these poles are treated as if they were equivalent, while any member of a given group is treated as if it were the functional opposite of any member of the opposing group. In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I show that contact features are theorized through and subsumed under this opposition, but that the analytical category of "contact feature" is not isomorphic with the categories of practice that organize the use of features associated with "tradition" and features associated with "modernity." In the previous chapter, Chapter 7, I discussed how contact features form meaning through comparison with a pattern of expected use for particular speakers in the context of their group identification. Through this discussion, I showed that contact features, like other linguistic indices, are deictics whose meaning depends on the context of their utterance.

In this chapter, I demonstrate that speakers use patterns of enregistered features to create a personal style of discourse, which acts as a background to their use of enregistered features in any particular interaction, and as a subtext to their propositional stances. To do so, I take a closer look at individual differences between two speakers who belong to the same demographic categories and social groups. Through an analysis of their linguistic use over different contexts of speech, it emerges that these speakers have different patterns of use of contact features. Through this data, I show that patterns of contact features are not only related to social groups; they are also related to individual positioning.

8.2. Classes of enregistered features

In this analysis, I divide enregistered features into two classes that are explained in Section 2.3.1 of the Methodology chapter: semantic convergence features and phonological features/loanwords. While the phonological features that I discuss here and loanwords appear to be easily manipulated at a conscious level for native Spanish speakers—speakers regularly use recursively as icons of the traditional semiotic complex—speakers do not typically use semantic convergence features in this way. Convergence features tend to be difficult for speakers to identify as contact features, and do not typically appear as stereotypes in parodies of rural or traditional styles of speech. Convergence features are seldom used in isolation; rather, they are part of a system of use that marks *contextual* characteristics, not speakers. Convergence features are used by virtually every individual in the recordings I made; however, speakers who demonstrate that they are adept at switching registers use them much less in formal contexts of speech such as meetings.

Phonological features and loanwords tend to be strong markers of an orientation towards a traditional semiotic complex, whether through habitual positioning or through orientation in a particular interaction. These features also seem to be easy for most speakers to recognize and control, easily available to speakers as linguistic stereotypes, and are used to consciously mark oneself as orienting towards a rural or traditional identity.

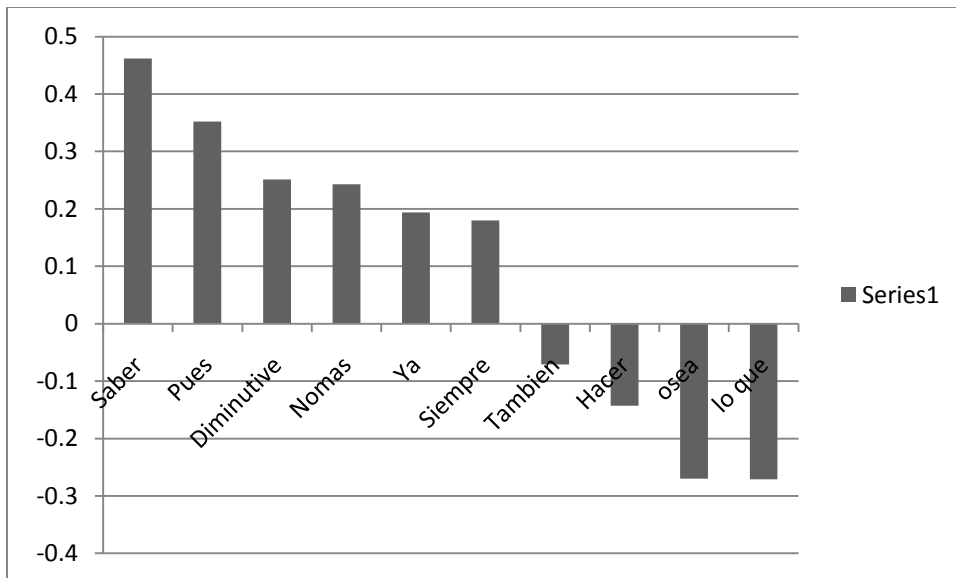
The distinctions between these two classes of variable also makes reference to *orders of indexicality*, discussed in Chapter 7. While phonological features are available to speakers at multiple levels of recursivity, convergence features are not used in this way. Convergence features do mark concepts and speakers; but they are not available at the symbolic level in the way that phonological features and loanwords seem to be. In other words, convergence features work only at the first level of indexicality; phonological features and loanwords work at both n and $n+1$ orders of indexicality.

The features follow below. Figure 8.1 illustrates the distribution of features over contexts of speech, with features above the x axis being more frequent in conversation than in meetings. I also include non-contact features *lo que* and *o sea* to show patterns for features that are enregistered as part of the modern semiotic complex.

SEMANTIC CONVERGENCE FEATURES:

- Saber
- Pues
- Diminutive
- Nomás
- Ya
- Siempre
- También
- Hacer
- Osea
- Lo que

FIGURE 8.1: SEMANTIC CONVERGENCE FEATURES



This chart illustrates the likelihood that features will occur in conversations, contexts in which people tend to orient to ideas of tradition and intimacy (represented by a positive values), versus the likelihood that they will occur in meetings, contexts in which people tend to orient a formal, modern ideas (represented by negative values). The chart is ordered based on the difference between the distribution of features over meetings and conversations. That is, if 64% of occurrences of *pues* are in conversations, versus 17% in meetings, then *pues* receives an index of 0.47. The actual indices from Chapter 5 appear in Appendix C.

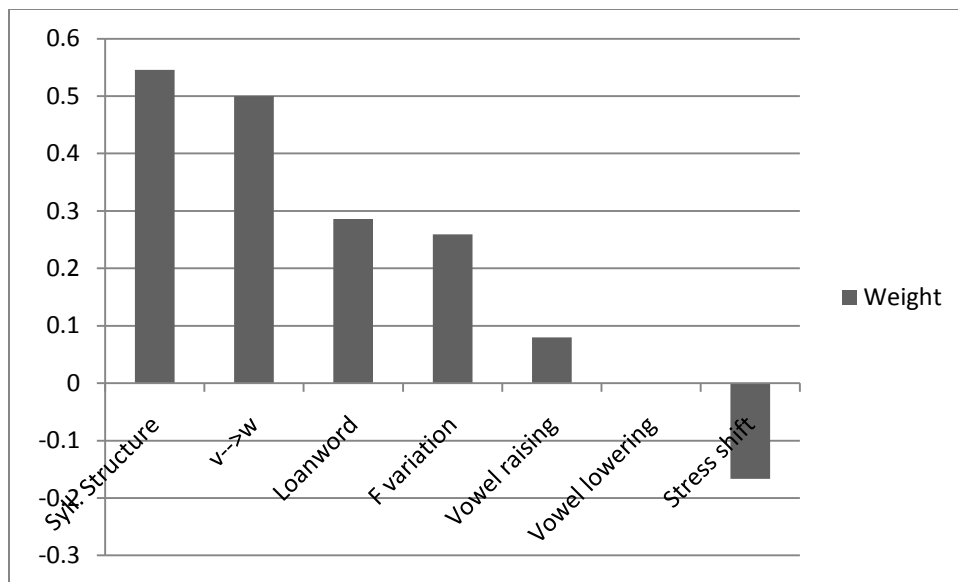
The following chart gives the values for the phonological features. However, since these features tend to be easily manipulated, in addition to being less frequent, in general,

than the convergence features, the chart is less useful as a general guideline. Speakers use these features selectively in formal contexts as well as in informal ones, so the major difference is not in incidence of contact features but in their place within a system of use that includes multiple enregistered variables. Notice that vowel lowering, a marker of linguistic insecurity, is exactly as likely to occur in meetings as in conversations; and stress shift is actually more likely to occur in meetings, despite or perhaps because of its associations with the traditional complex (see 7.3.3.2).

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

- Loanwords
- Stress shift
- Vowel raising
- Syllable structure
- /f/ variation

FIGURE 8.2: PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES/LOANWORDS



Like Figure 8.1, this chart is ordered based on the difference between the distribution of features over meetings and conversations.

In the data that I discuss below, one speaker uses few convergence features but strategically uses a few highly marked phonological features as part of her social positioning. Another speaker does the opposite: she uses virtually no phonological features, but lots of convergence features. I suggest that these contrasting styles of speech—indeed, contrasting

styles of contrast—can be understood as a stylistic strategy, working to create an individual's social persona.

8.3. Data

In this chapter, most of my data comes from interview contexts because the level of formality and type of interaction expected was unclear for the participants; this was one of the reasons that I had difficulty recruiting interviewees (see Section 2.2.4.3). Interviewees resolved this ambiguity in a number of ways, and their orientation towards the interaction often crossed or tread on the line between formal contexts and relaxed conversation. Because I focused on a single individual or pair of individuals who took an authoritative position in interviews, speakers took more than usual care to in constructing themselves as social actors and staking out their personal stances. For this reason, in some ways these interactions were more personally revealing than my recordings of conversations or meetings.

8.4. Contact features as style

In this section, I describe the use of contact features to index social personae through style. These styles are built through patterns of language use, as well as non-linguistic practices. Here, I rely on transcripts from the two "accomplishment" interviews I conducted with two women who hold local political office. In the interviews, both Marina and Patricia construct themselves as humble, local people; yet their contrasting distribution of contact features provides a subtext to their positioning.

Both interviews took place in the home of the interviewee. I consider both Patricia and Marina to be close personal friends, and we spend time talking together on a regular basis. Therefore, Patricia and Marina were quite comfortable with me and the recorder, and I have a good feel for the varieties of speech that the two women typically use. However, these interviews were different from our casual conversations: I kept the recorder visible and guided the interview through a series of questions, consulting a piece of paper which I held in my hand. Since interviews are not a well established genre of interaction, Patricia and Marina were free to construe the interaction however they liked. Both seemed to opt for a middle ground between typical meeting patterns and typical conversational patterns.

Marina and Patricia are both members of the town council, an official elected body that works with the mayor to solicit and distribute government funds and development projects, as well as making and administering municipal policy. The seats on the town council are allotted based on the percentage of votes that a political party receives in the local elections; each party draws up a list during their campaign, and if they gather a sufficient number of votes, they are allotted a certain number of seats on the council. While political parties do have fierce and loyal adherents, in a town the size of Iscamayo, a trusted individual may also be counted on to draw votes of personal support. Council seats are good for five years, and are salaried positions (although I was told that the salaries amount to no more than a pittance, and most council members continue to work in other capacities). Apart from the president, one member is responsible for education, one for health, another for sports and culture, another for agriculture.

Marina and Patricia both come from the satellite town of Santa Rosa, a cluster of about one hundred households just three kilometers from the main town of Iscamayo. There is a mild rivalry between the two populations, and people from Santa Rosa tend to be regarded as hicks by people from Iscamayo. (It's also held that Santa Rosa throws better parties and that their residents are more socially active and community-oriented. I chose to live in Santa Rosa during my Peace Corps service and thus had a dense network there.) Both Marina and Patricia began their political trajectories in community- and church-related organizations in Santa Rosa. They are of roughly the same age, although Patricia's children are a decade older than Marina's. Both women are well-regarded in the community and have large extended families and networks of friends and supporters. However, they face different economic conditions. Marina's husband, like most families in Santa Rosa, is a sharecropper, and their family is enmeshed in the agricultural cycle of harvest and debt; Patricia owns and runs the only gas station in Iscamayo, and her husband operates a long-distance bus and owns a share in the lucrative local transportation cooperative.

Here, I quote segments from the two interviews at length; these are discussed below.

TRANSCRIPT 8.1

Patricia (P); Anna (A)

1. P: No hay requisitos, Anita, para entrar al consejo.	1. P: There aren't any qualifications, Anna, to be on the town council.
2. A: No hay?	2. A: There aren't?
3. P: No hay. Yo, mirá, he sidooo, he sido,	3. P: There aren't. I, look, I've been, I've

<p>no ve, ex-presidenta de club de madres, presidenta dell, la asociación de mujeres, he sido presidenta de las OTBs, claro, que cuando uno está en reuniones y nos eligen, pues, no ve, para ser representante de ese barrio, de esa, [comunidad]</p> <p>4. A: Pero debe ser por alguna razón.</p> <p>5. P: Mmmm, bueno, o sea, cuando yo he dentrado he dentrado a ser líder desde mis dieciseis años.</p> <p>6. A: Vaaaya.</p> <p>7. P: Desde mis dieciseis años he entrado a ser líder, e, cuando yo he tenido al Federico, e, de dieciseis años he tenido a mi hijo, y me he venido, asistía aquí al club de madres. De aquí arriba, y, bueno pues, no, la, ya, tanto venir aquí arriba, ya, decidí organizar una, un club de madres en Santa Rosa, porque erámos hartas mujeres que veníamos de abajo aquí arriba al club.</p> <p>8. A: Mhm</p> <p>9. P: Y veníamos, mm, veníamos, pues era a las dos de entrar aqui al club de madres,</p> <p>10. A: Mhm</p> <p>11. P: Y teníamos que ir a dejar la comida, o las otras mujeres iban a dejar la comida rápido para sus maridos, y volvían, bañar a sus hijos, y venir aquí al club de madres. Y es, y llegar aquí a la una y media. Erámos, los p-, las primeras en llegar aqui. Con nuestras wawas cargadas en espalda, antes no había auto, nada,</p> <p>12. A: Hm</p> <p>13. P: Para venirse a pie de abajo.</p> <p>14. A: (intake)</p> <p>15. P: Y en semejante sol!</p> <p>16. A: Claro</p>	<p>been, right, ex-president of the Mother's Club, president of the, women's association, I've been an OTB president, of course, when one is in meetings and we're chosen, well, right, to be that neighborhood's representative, that, [community]</p> <p>4. A: But it must be for some reason.</p> <p>5. P: Mmm, well, that is, when I entered I've entered as a leader since I was sixteen.</p> <p>6. A: Wooooow.</p> <p>7. G Since I was sixteen I've entered as a leader, um, when I had Federico, um, I had my son when I was sixteen, and I came [up here], I attended the mother's club. [The club] up here [in Iscamayo] and, well, I, it, so, so many times coming up here, well, I decided to organize a, a mother's club in Santa Rosa, because there were tons of women who all came up here [to Iscamayo] to the club.</p> <p>8. A: Mhm</p> <p>9. P: And we came, mm, we came, well we had to be here at two to come to the mother's club.</p> <p>10. A: Mhm</p> <p>11. P: And we had to go leave food, or the other women went to leave food quickly for their husbands, and came back, bathed their children, and came here to the mother's club. And it's, and arrived here at one thirty. We were the f-, the first to arrive here. With our babies on our backs, before there weren't any cars, nothing.</p> <p>12. A: Hm</p> <p>13. P: To come on foot from down there,</p> <p>14. A: [intake]</p> <p>15. P: And in such sun!</p> <p>16. A: Of course.</p>
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In Transcript 8.1, Patricia sets out her reasons for deciding to become a community leader, describing her role in establishing an independent Mother's Club in the satellite town of Santa Rosa. She emphasizes that the women from Santa Rosa were *cumplidas* 'responsible,'

explaining that they had to walk miles in the midday sun with children on their backs, rearranging their daily schedules and chores in order to arrive at the meeting on time. Patricia positions herself as a defender of these women through her decision to request a separate club in Santa Rosa.

In Transcript 8.2, Miriam stakes out a similar stance as protector of the poor, characterizing herself as someone who likes to help people.

TRANSCRIPT 8.2

Marina (M); Anna (A)

<p>1. A: Entonces cuénteme como, cómo le han elegido de, de consejal? Y cómo ha aceptado Usted?</p> <p>2. M: Yo, pues, casi no quería aceptar. Aquí me vinieron, a pedir, digamos, la comunidad, la, unas cuantas personas de la comunidad, me pidieron.</p> <p>3. A: Mhm</p> <p>4. M: Yy, yo no quería casi porque yo no se, digamos, yo ni siquiera bachiller soy, y, que voy a hacer si no sé nada, les dije. Ah, sólo vas a estar en la lista, si, me dijo. Para rellenar la lista. Bueno, para rellenar, yo dije, como siempre yo sabía, era presidenta del club de madres, y, en todo eso, estoy en la junta escolar, yo sabía [unintel]. A mí me gusta, digamos, ayudar a la gente, hacer algo, que tengan algo, me gusta. Por eso me animé a entrar a la lista.</p> <p>5. A: Hm</p> <p>6. M: Ellos me dijeron, en la lista, vamos a alzar, y tienen que rellenar, y tienen que haber tantas personas, y tienen que haber mujeres, no se puede puros hombres.</p> <p>7. A: Claro</p> <p>8. M: Así yo acepte estar en la lista. Paso un tiempo, ya, me dijeron, p,' no hay mas opción, que tienes que entrar. Yo no quería, casi no me animaba, porque no se, p.' De ahí, pues, ya después, a probarle. Que no voy a poder siempre. Voy a aprobar un año siquiera, después de ahí,, no [unintel] de ahí había sido</p>	<p>1. A: So tell me how, how you were chosen as, as a council member? And how is it that you accepted?</p> <p>2. M: I, well, I really didn't want to accept. They came here to ask, you know, the community, the, a few people from the community, they asked me.</p> <p>3. A: Mm-hmm.</p> <p>4. M: Aand, I really didn't want to because I don't know how, you know, I'm not even a high school graduate, and what can I do if I don't know anything? I told them. Oh, you'll just be on the list, [he] said. To fill out the list. Okay, to fill it out, I said, since I was always, I was president of the Mother's Club, and all that, I'm on the school board, I was accustomed to [...]. I like it, you know, helping people, doing something, so they have something, I like that. So that's why I agreed to be on the list.</p> <p>5. A: Hmm</p> <p>6. M: They said, on the list, we're going to campaign, and they have to fill it out, and there have to be so many people, and there have to be women, you can't have just men.</p> <p>7. A: Of course.</p> <p>8. M: So I agreed to be on the list. Some time went by, then, they told me, well, there's no other option, you have to take office. I didn't want to, I really didn't want to accept, because I just don't know how [am not accustomed]. Then, well, later on, I tried it out. Why wouldn't I be able to? I'll try for just a year, and then,,</p>
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<p>obligatorio de estar en [las reuniones...unintel] renuncio, y. Ya aprobé un año y después, no lo hallé tan difícil también,, claro que no sería tan preparada, para eso, pero, porque a mí me gusta ayudar a la gente, que haiga proyecto, que venga la comunidad, que venga a la gente, la gente del campo especialmente, Y eso me gusto y por eso sigo hasta,. (laughs) Sigo ya cuantos años ya.</p> <p>9. A: (laughs)</p> <p>10. M: Pero a mí me da pena, [si] yo le, le dejo, a otros, no, no les preocupa nada, que les importa. Llegue, cualquier cosa llegue, les vale.</p> <p>11. A: Mhm</p> <p>12. M: Y si uno no está, pues, pidiendo, pidiendo, pidiendo, no hay nada.</p> <p>13. A: Ustedes harto han pedido.</p> <p>14. M: Si, pedimos una cosa, otra cosa, que haiga algo, que llegue a las comunidades. Que llegue a la gente del campo.</p> <p>15. A: Mm</p> <p>16. M: [unintel] tambien. Esos otros que son ricos, les vale, pues, llegue, no llegue. Tienen ellos qué,, Porque siempre, en cuanto sea una miseria, que llegue a las comunidades, o a la gente pobre, es algo, pues, a uno. Les ayuda.</p> <p>17. A: Hm.</p> <p>18. M: Aunque sea un poquito, pues.</p>	<p>but [unintel] it turned out to be obligatory to be in the [meetings....unintel] (if) I quit, and. I tried it for a year and then, I didn't find it so difficult, naturally I wasn't well-prepared, for that, but, because I like to help people, getting [development] projects, to come to the community, to come to the people, especially the people from the rural areas. And I like that and for that reason I kept on up to, (laughs) I've kept at it for how many years now.</p> <p>9. A: (laughs)</p> <p>10. M: But I feel bad, [if] I , if I leave it, to others, they don't, they don't care about it at all, it doesn't matter to them. If anything comes, it comes, what do they care?</p> <p>11. A: Mmhmm.</p> <p>12. M: And if one doesn't go around asking, asking, asking, there isn't anything.</p> <p>13. A: You [plural] have asked for a lot.</p> <p>14. M: Yes, we ask for one thing, another thing, so that there is something, that gets to the communities. That gets to the people from the rural areas.</p> <p>15. A: Mmm.</p> <p>16. M: [unintel] too. Those others that are rich, they don't care, whether it comes or doesn't come. They have their own, Because no matter, even when it's a pittance, that arrives to the communities, or to the poor people, it's something, for one. It helps them.</p> <p>17. A: Hmm</p> <p>18. M: Even if it's just a little bit.</p>
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In Transcript 8.1 and Transcript 8.2, I interviewed both Marina and Patricia about their path to political office. Both Marina and Patricia stressed their own humble roots. When I asked if there were any requisites for being on the town council, both responded in the negative. Later in the interview, Marina admitted that she does not hold a high school diploma; Patricia mentioned that she earned her high school equivalency more than a decade after dropping out of school to have her first child, when, as president of the most important neighborhood association (OTB) in town, she was already an established political

figure. Both Marina and Patricia stressed the importance of their long history of positions of authority in mother's clubs and neighborhood associations in their explanation of how they were nominated for municipal office (Patricia Turn 3, Marina Turn 4). Both framed their acceptance of the position as giving in to a demand or a felt need in the community, not as personal ambition (Patricia beginning at Turn 7, Marina beginning at Turn 2). Marina in particular emphasized her unwillingness to accept the position, stating that she agreed to be on the ballot only because she was told that women must be among the candidates. When I asked whether it was necessary to control a particular style of speech to be on the town council, Patricia again responded in the negative, emphasizing the importance of being able to handle people, being a leader and knowing how to hear out both parties in a dispute. To this question, Marina responded "There might be, but I don't control it" (not in the part of Transcript 8.2 excerpted here). She went on to describe her shame, resistance, and embarrassment when she was required to give *discursos* 'speeches' in school.

In their discussions, both Patricia and Marina emphasized their experiences as uneducated women coming from a liminal area rather than the center, describing their moral alignment with hard work, responsibility to the home, participation in mother's clubs, and community solidarity. Through these discussions, they both positioned themselves as firmly oriented towards the traditional semiotic complex. In their stories, both positioned themselves as residents of Santa Rosa, although Patricia has lived in Iscamayo for years. Both asserted that they remained in their positions of authority despite personal sacrifice in order to represent the poor and disenfranchised. In addition, Marina drew attention to her own personal feelings of humility, shame, inarticulateness, and reluctance to stand out in public, all stances that are consonant with a traditional system of women's value. Through these statements, both Patricia and Marina rejected the "modern" value system's emphasis on wealth and education in the construction of power. Both women, but especially Marina, positioned themselves as traditional women in contrast to modern, ambitious politicians.

However, there were slight differences. I asked both Patricia and Marina about the tensions between *cambas* 'easterners' and *collas* 'westerners.' Marina responded that 'we'—all the people from Santa Rosa—are basically from the west, and characterized *collas* favorably as hard-working and reliable, people who get ahead in life. In contrast, she characterized *cambas* as being lazy and unreliable. Marina enacted this position both propositionally and linguistically, as I discuss in Section 7.3.3.1. Patricia, unlike Marina, did not align herself with

collas; although she noted that she herself had been born in the province of Cochabamba, she centered herself in the Iscamayo valley,³⁸ where she had been brought up, though deictics. As described in Chapter 4, this means that she is not claiming to be a *legítima Iscamayeña* 'native-born person from Iscamayo,' but it does mean that she has a claim to being a *Iskamayeña* by upbringing. Patricia stated that people from Iscamayo are a mix of eastern and western, *camba* and *colla*, again positioning herself as a *Iskamayeña*. Patricia made the negative assertion that people from Iscamayo's sister town across the provincial border with Cochabamba were *más lisas para hablar*, literally 'smoother speaking,' meaning that they use more curse words or, more idiomatically, that they have dirty mouths. When asked about the negative valence associated with the term *colla*, Patricia came up with an ethnic slur, *keharapanzas* (lit. 'naked belly,' a blend of Quechua loanword *q'ara* 'skin' and Spanish *panza* 'stomach'), although she declined to explain it to me.

Marina, on the other hand, recognized but rejected the negative valence of the term *colla*, using this as an opportunity to criticize *cambas* for their ethnic pride and racist discourses. She invoked positive stereotypes of *collas* as hardworking, reserved, and polite, contrasting them with *cambas*, whom she characterized as lazy, shameless, and egotistical.

Both Marina and Patricia clearly situate their motivations for taking political office in "the good of the people" and "the requests/demands of the people". Yet they walk a delicate line between portraying themselves as part of their constituency and somehow separated from the 'poor people'—poverty being a quality that is associated with *collas*, westerners, highlanders, and indigenous people. Patricia does this through the specific example of having to walk from Santa Rosa to Iscamayo in the cruel midday sun, but makes clear that while the other women had to carry lunch to their husbands (a typical duty of a farmer's wife), that was not one of her responsibilities (Turn 11). She also points out that she had her son when she was sixteen, indicating that she had to take on family responsibilities from a very young age, but balances this with the fact that she has been a community leader since that age (Turn 7).

Marina goes into a lot of detail about her own feelings of inadequacy, but ultimately (and a little defiantly) concludes, "Why *wouldn't* I be able to do it?" (Turn 8, mid-paragraph). A little later, she remarks that although she wasn't well-prepared, she really didn't find the

³⁸ In this case "Iskamayo" is probably meant to refer to both the town of Iscamayo and to the town of Santa Rosa; local rivalries are eclipsed by national social divisions.

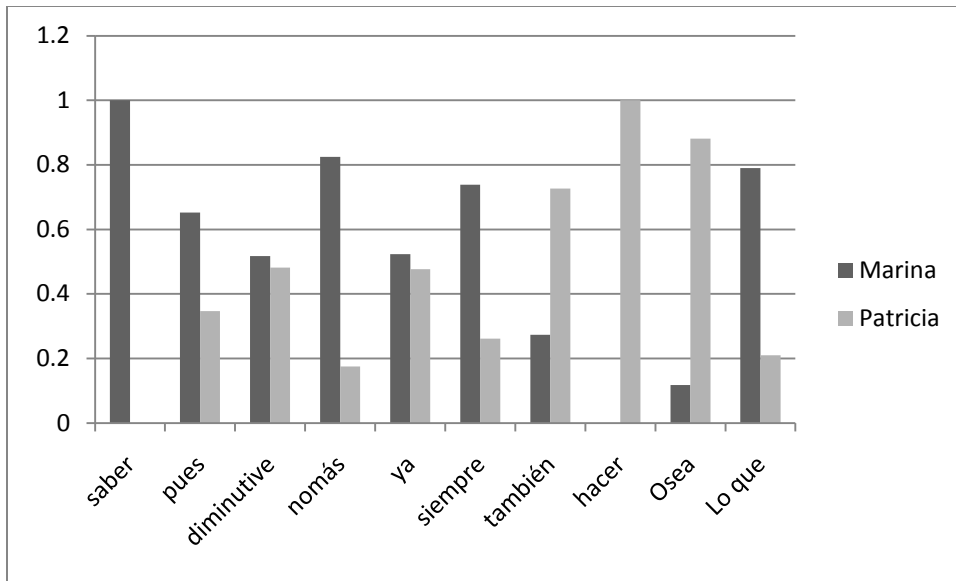
job all that hard, and again this mild arrogance reads as a contestation of generally negative expectations regarding her own qualifications for the job (also in Turn 8). She juxtaposes her lack of professional qualifications with her understanding of what it means to be poor, in contrast to rich people who couldn't care less (Turns 10, 16). But when she talks about poor people and rural people, she seems ambivalent about her own classification with respect to that group; while she explicitly contrasts herself with rich people who are indifferent to whether aid arrives or not, she talks about poor people from rural areas in the third person, except in line 16, where she uses the generic 'to one,' obliquely implying her own experience with or membership in the group of people who receive government and international aid.

8.4.1. Patterns of distribution of enregistered features

In this section, I examine Marina's and Patricia's use of enregistered features in the interviews that they granted to me. The numbers on which the following charts are based are available in Appendix E. Unlike the analysis presented in previous chapters, these numbers represent *only* Marina's and Patricia's speech, and not that of other participants in the recording context.

Despite their similar social stances, Marina's and Patricia's linguistic strategies are quite different, as can be seen in the graphs below. The features in Figure 8.3 are organized from left to right, with features on the left highly likely to occur in conversations and features on the right highly likely to occur in meetings. Referring back to Figure 8.1, one would expect a speaker orienting towards a traditional semiotic complex to have a high concentration of features on the left and a speaker orienting towards a modern semiotic complex to have a high concentration of features on the right. In the following chart, Marina is represented by the left-hand dark gray bars and Patricia is represented by the right-hand light gray bars.

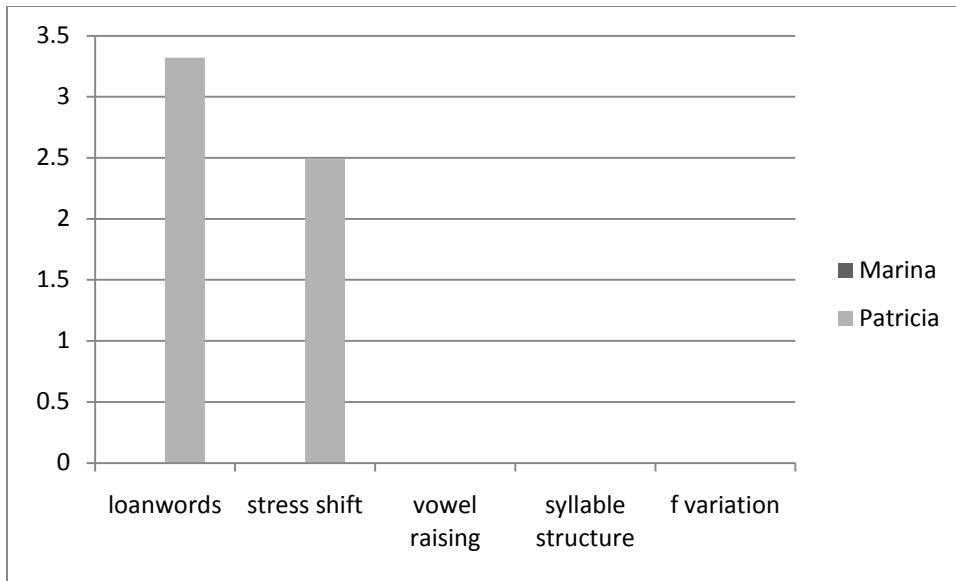
FIGURE 8.3: MARINA AND PATRICIA / CONVERGENCE FEATURES



In this chart, it is clear that Marina has a tendency to produce more traditional-complex features on the left, and Patricia has a tendency to produce more modern-complex features on the right. This is in keeping with their general self-presentation as speakers in the previous section, in which I discussed Patricia's general antipathy towards *collas* 'western bilingual highlanders' and her self-positioning as outside of the class of poor people. In contrast, Marina characterizes herself as a member of this group, and expresses solidarity with *collas*. These stances crosscut categories of tradition and modernity, western and eastern, *colla* and *camba*, Quechua and Spanish because, as I describe in Chapter 4, these groups of concepts form functional equivalents organized around two opposing poles.

The following chart gives Marina and Patricia's performance with the phonological features that tend to be strong markers of a traditional semiotic complex. These are not ordered because the results are categorical; Marina uses none of the features and Patricia uses two of them, loanwords and stress shift, multiple times.

FIGURE 8.4: MARINA AND PATRICIA / PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES



There is a contradiction in these patterns of use of contact features. One would expect Marina, a speaker who uses a higher degree of convergence features that are associated with the traditional complex, to also use more phonological features that are associated with the traditional complex. Instead, the pattern is reversed. Marina, the speaker that uses more traditional-complex convergence features, suppresses phonological features; Patricia, the speaker that uses more modern-complex convergence features, uses phonological features. Since these features tend to be easy for speakers to control, especially for speakers as able as are Marina and Patricia, I presume this is a deliberate choice.

These differences between Patricia's and Marina's speech patterns may be easiest to understand by appealing to the socioeconomic differences between Marina and Patricia. Patricia is a wealthy and established woman. While I was interviewing her, she mentioned that she had received fourteen invitations to the high school graduation—an indication that she has provided or is expected to provide financial or social support to about a quarter of the graduating class. While she explicitly positions herself as an outsider to the upper classes, she nevertheless chooses to use a style of speech that resembles formal and educated speech varieties, indexing her social positioning through selective use of linguistic stereotypes such as the use of loanwords (line 11) and stress shift on verbs (line 7).

Marina, on the other hand, talks a lot about her own insecurity regarding her political and educational qualifications, and her reluctance to take on the job. She uses a speech style

that implicitly places her outside the group of wealthy, educated individuals who usually hold the type of position that she holds. However, she avoids the use of highly marked contact features that would overtly tie her to the traditional semiotic complex. Marina, unlike Patricia, *does* depend on sharecropping for her livelihood; she is not a wealthy woman; and she has never moved to the urban center of Iscamayo, either literally or psychologically, despite her position on the council. While Patricia bolsters the authenticity of her populist social stance through highly marked features, Marina is closer to the socioeconomic level of the people she represents, and on the contrary, needs to suppress those features in order to be taken seriously as a politician.

When, on impulse, I asked Marina whether she wanted to return to politics after her term was up, she replied,

TRANSCRIPT 8.3

M (Marina)

<p>M: Después que cumpla, solamente me gustaría, así estar en el club de madres, animar anque sea para algún proyecto, estar apoyando en eso, me gusta apoyar, que hay la [...] que llegue. Que llegue a la gente. Eso nomás.</p>	<p>M: After I finish, I would only like, just to be in the Mother's Club, perhaps to encourage people to participate in some project, to support in that, I like to provide support, so that the [...] that arrives. So that it arrives to the people. That's all.</p>
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Here, in contrast to the general tendencies of the interview, Marina uses a highly marked phonological simplification of *aunque* 'even if, perhaps' (in boldface), reducing the /aw/ diphthong to /a/. This monophthongization is associated with the traditional semiotic complex. Through the use of this phonological feature, Marina changes her orientation from public to private, imagining a future in which she will no longer be a public figure.

8.5. Discussion

Both the speakers in this chapter are highly skilled speakers who, in my observations and recordings of them over numerous speech contexts, revealed their control over a variety of registers of speech, from the most regimented to the most relaxed. Both were treated by their interlocutors as having the social resources to successfully claim these various speech styles.

The contrast that I describe between the use of convergence features and the use of phonological features is part of a strategy that reveals social positioning through styles of language use. Marina and Patricia each produce a similar propositional stance: that they in politics because they are protectors of the poor and defenders of the oppressed. They reveal subtleties of positioning through their language use that result in different interactional stances with respect to their relationship with the category of poor and oppressed people.

Marina tends to use the convergence features that are related to the traditional semiotic complex. Through this usage, she positions herself as a *member* of the group of individuals who may not have the social resources to control educated, modern varieties of speech. However, she avoids the use of features that are stereotypically, and most strongly, related to this group. I suggest that she does this because, having strongly identified herself with marginalized groups, there is a danger that she will not be taken seriously as a politician and a professional; her use of phonological features might be seen as evidence of a lack of competence rather than a communicative strategy.

Angela, on the other hand, tends to use enregistered features that are related to the modern semiotic complex. Through this usage, she positions herself as a member of the educated, modern group of individuals. This is in keeping with her socioeconomic status as a wealthy individual in town. However, there dangers to this positioning; the danger for her is that she will be seen as being disconnected from the people that she represents. Angela uses highly salient phonological features because she wishes to emphasize that she is *allied* with marginalized groups, but not a member of those groups.

Each of these women produces an effect of positioning through contrast in their use of contact features. This positioning is revealed in a personal style of managing the resources of the speaker's repertoire.

8.5.1. Awareness and transparency

Lurking throughout this discussion is the question of awareness of speakers in using features. Relying in part on the features' availability for recursive use, I suggest that phonological features are easier for speakers to manipulate than convergence features. This suggestion seems to go against Silverstein (1981), in which Silverstein suggests that features become metapragmatically transparent, or more available to explicit commentary and

manipulation in proportion to three qualities which he terms their *unavoidable referentiality*, *continuous segmentability*, and their *relative presuppositional quality* vis a vis the context of use (1981: 5). Unavoidable referentiality means that the features are referential rather than functional, that is, they refer to easily characterizable entities or actions in the world. Continuous segmentability means that they can stand alone as independent units; Silverstein gives the example of the progressive tense "was VERB-ing" as an element that is not segmentable, through it clearly forms a unit. Finally, relative presupposition refers to the relationship of the feature to the form it references; that is, by calling someone "sir" I construct a certain type of relationship with them, while by calling someone "him" I presuppose that there exists a male individual who is not my immediate interlocutor. Silverstein suggests that it is easier to talk about features that presuppose existence rather than create a relationship.

With the exception of loanwords, which should be highly recognizable by Silverstein's criteria, and in fact are, my data do not follow this pattern. None of the features are unavoidably referential, but the convergence features are more referential than the phonological features, at least in that they have a dictionary definition with which they can be associated. All the features that I discuss are continuously segmentable, although the phonological features are segmentable at a higher level of abstraction than the convergence features. Arguably, syllable structure and stress shift, both highly recognizable features, are related to word structure as a whole rather than constituting an element in and of themselves; these features, then, should be less recognizable rather than more recognizable according to Silverstein. Finally, none of the features but the diminutive can be discussed in terms of presupposition. Silverstein suggests that features such as the diminutive, like the Wasco-Wishram augmentative-neutral-diminutive system he discusses, should be relatively difficult to discuss. This prediction is upheld for the diminutive.

Loanwords, the only features which fit all of Silverstein's criteria, are in fact highly recognizable, and speakers find these to be easy to identify and available to explicit discussion. Silverstein speaks not only of metapragmatic transparency in terms native speakers' ability to *discuss*, but also ability to *manipulate* the use of these forms. In my data, it is very clear that virtually all speakers are able to manipulate the phonological forms, which are highly and explicitly indexically linked to the traditional semiotic complex. Indeed, I would suggest this is precisely why they are less frequent. The linkage of the convergence features to the traditional semiotic complex is also systematic but is more subtle, and not all

speakers who could and did manipulate their use of the phonological features were able to control their use of the convergence features, as I discuss at greater length in Section 9.3. Silverstein's definition of metapragmatic transparency does not seem to me to capture the differences between these classes of features in a satisfactory way.

Marina and Patricia's use of convergence features set the background for their "essential" personality; a classification which they contextualized and modified through their use of phonological features. My interlocutors found it hard to place what exactly made some speakers good and others bad; here, perhaps with Silverstein, I would suggest that it is the *systematicity* of use that made it hard to pin down. In contrast, phonological features are very salient and easy to control; they are often excerpted and used recursively to provide a marked contrast to a general, more formal pattern of speech. An able speaker is one who is able to control the "background color" of the interaction through the appropriate use or elision of convergence features, and use phonological features for effect and contrast. An unskilled speaker often can control the phonological features, but cannot create the right conditions for contrast because they cannot manipulate the convergence features.

Chapter 9: Styles of register-switching

9.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I showed that two individuals who appear to be very similar demographically nevertheless use different patterns of contact features as part of the formation of an individual persona, or style. Despite their surface similarities, each speaker develops a personal style through the use of contrasting patterns of enregistered features.

In this chapter, I build on this result, using a similar methodology to examine two individuals across two different situations. Though each of these women seems to avoid or feel uncomfortable in formal speech contexts, each of them demonstrates an ability to modify her speech depending on the context of the interaction. While the contextual variation can be understood as register-shifting, each individual also has her own style of speech, which includes not a general pattern of speech but also the way she shifts under different social contexts. Through this discussion, I demonstrate that register and style are complementary constructs in the analysis of the use of contact features. In this chapter, as in Chapter 8, I divide contact features into convergence features and phonological features/loanwords.

Ball (2004) discusses the use of dialect features in order to index in-group vs. out-group relationships between speakers. In this article, Ball argues that 'dialect [is] a variety in a repertoire whose primary function is microcontextually socioindexical' (2004:5). In developing this argument, Ball shows that bidialectal speakers of Kansai dialect and Tokyo standard use their linguistic repertoires as tools to construct types of social relationships. In doing so, Ball explicitly follows Blom & Gumperz (2000[1972]) in looking at how codes are used to construct, not just to reflect, context.

In this dissertation, I use contact features to show how this microsocial positioning is embedded in macrosocial organization. In doing so, I'd like to take Ball's term 'repertoires of registers' and reorient it somewhat. Dialects, as Ball suggests, can be elements in a repertoire of registers; so can distinctive patterns of use of contact features, the material

which I use in this dissertation. In this chapter, I demonstrate that once a person establishes a repertoire of registers, they also establish a personal style of switching between these registers, a style that can be consistent over many individual interactions, and which feeds into characterizations of that person as a *type* of person.

In this section, I describe two individuals who, like Marina and Patricia in Chapter 8, use different patterns of distributions of contact features. I show how these two individuals, who share a similar background and social classification, each use different patterns of contact features to index shifts in speech context, resulting in different styles of contextual switching. I use these examples to demonstrate how both style and register can be used to characterize patterns of use of contact features.

9.2. Prima

Prima is about sixty years old and has four adult children, all enrolled in the university or university graduates. She is of *alteña* 'rural highland' background, and regularly returns to the highlands for seasonal crop sowing and harvest. Her husband is a successful farmer who owns valuable land close to the center of town, and their home, which is built of cement with finished floors and walls, is located on a desirable lot near the center of town. In addition, Prima owns a vacant lot a little further from the center, where she raises chickens for family consumption. Prima wears a straight skirt, not pollera, and neither speaks nor understands Quechua, although her older sister wears pollera. She is very reluctant to attend meetings and several times commented to me that she was not the meeting "type".

I first introduced Prima in Section 7.3.2.3. I showed that in a more formal interview context, she used formal-sounding Spanish constructions and few enregistered contact features, addressing me as *Usted* 'you [formal],' while in a less formal interview context, she used more highly salient enregistered phonological features, such as vowel raising, the φ ' variant of *f*, and numerous diminutives, addressing me as *vos* 'you [highly informal].' I also noted that Prima seemed uncomfortable, dysfluent, and appeared to be monitoring her speech in the more formal context, while in the more casual context she acted much more at ease.

In this section, I give a little more detail on Prima and on the interview contexts. Then I use qualitative and quantitative analysis to compare her use of contact features in the ten-minute transcriptions from each of the interviews. Here, as in Chapter 8, I consider *only* Prima's speech, not that of other speakers who participate during the recordings.

During the language ideologies interview that I conducted with Prima and her husband, we all sat around her kitchen table. I sat across from them, with the recorder and a printed list of questions before me. The interview lasted for about thirty minutes. The couple seemed polite but uncomfortable. For example, when I asked whether they ever had to talk to someone that didn't speak Spanish, they initially said "no," and later returned to the question, correcting their previous answer and indicating that yes, they sometimes employed agricultural workers who were monolingual Quechua speakers. As was typical of interviews with couples, Prima and Nicolás often interrupted each other or completed the others' sentences. My family was present in our rented room, which was divided from the kitchen by a half wall, and my husband participated once in the recording when I asked him a direct question.

During the kitchen interview, I sat on a low stool facing Prima in her patio (at this point, I was no longer her tenant). Once again, I held the recorder and a list of printed questions and the interview lasted about thirty minutes. Prima was cooperative but seemed bored and a bit hostile, asking suspiciously "what do they want to ask all these questions for?" and sighing at intervals. However, her speech was much more fluent and unguarded than during the language ideologies interview. My husband was present, replacing some worn-out parts of Prima's stove, and for the first part of my interview my mother-in-law was also present, watching my baby daughter. Both my husband and my mother-in-law participated in the recording, both through side conversations and when asked direct questions by Prima. This type of interaction is more typical of conversational contexts than of highly structured ones such as formal interviews.

I exerted pressure on Prima and her husband to complete the language ideologies interview through my direct connection with her; in other words, through our personal relationship. I told her that I wanted to ask her some questions about language use and typical ways of speaking in Iscamayo. The topic was one that she seemed to associate specifically with education, an area in which she claims to have little knowledge or expertise;

I doubt that she would have participated in the interview at all if her husband had not been there with her.

Prima understood that while I was the author of the questions in the language ideologies interview, the kitchen practices interview was a task I carried out for an NGO from the city. Many of my interviewees noted that they preferred the *kboncha* 'open cooking fire' (from Quechua *q'uncha*) because firewood was free of charge, although it took a great deal of time and effort to collect. Others noted that they preferred the taste of food cooked over an open fire. Prima was exceptional among the households that I interviewed because she often bought wood rather than collecting it herself. This indicates that the use of the *kboncha* was not an economic necessity for her, but a lifestyle preference. Indeed, she owned a rather beautiful and no doubt expensive gas stove which she used mainly to heat water for tea to go with breakfast and dinner. This choice is a question of taste (Bourdieu 1979); the literal taste of the food, which cooks differently over a wood fire, but also the habit of economizing gas, seemed to be deeply ingrained among most of the families that I interviewed.

Yet, again unusually among the kitchen practices interviewees, Prima responded in the affirmative when I asked if she would consider switching entirely to gas, stating:

(31)

[Me]³⁹ *animaría*
mas fácil menos sucio sería pues,
mas uno se tiza con el fuego también.

I would be willing,
it would be easier and less dirty,
one gets all sooty with the fire, you see.

The only people in town who use gas exclusively are relatively wealthy households in which women as well as men work in professional fields: teachers, doctors, nurses, secretaries, municipal employees, veterinarians, agronomists. Prima's claim that she would be willing to use only gas, and her justification relating to ease and cleanliness, are part of her positioning as a relatively privileged and modern family, a positioning that is perhaps best demonstrated by Prima's four children with professional degrees and white-collar jobs in the city. Yet Prima *could* use all gas, and she does not choose to do so; it goes against her own self-positioning as an unpretentious woman from the country.

³⁹ In local Spanish, *animar* 'encourage' is used transitively and reflexive *animarse* 'to gain the motivation/desire to participate' is used intransitively. In the recording, I hear *animaría*, without the reflexive *me*, but this doesn't sound right to me; I suspect the *me* is inaudible or it's a speech error.

Below, I give excerpts from each of the two interviews. In the following transcript, diminutives are underlined.

TRANSCRIPT 9.1

Prima Kitchen interview: P (Prima), A (Anna), M (Mother-in-law)

<p>1. A: Y Usted sabe comprar leña, o...?</p> <p>2. P: Sé comprar.</p> <p>3. A: Ah, ya. Cuanto, cuantooo,</p> <p>4. P: El khepecito, asi, un poquito me cobran diez pesos, quince pesos, el ahorita de doña Patricia también aquelcito me he comprado.</p> <p>5. A: Ah, ya</p> <p>6. P: Diez pesos.</p> <p>7. A: Y cada semana sabe comprar?</p> <p>8. P: Si trayen, me compro, p,' como no trayen, no [...]</p> <p>9. A: Ah ya. Un k'epicito para cada [semana]?</p> <p>10. P: Un k'epicito si.</p> <p>11. A: Ya</p> <p>12. P: Me compro ya yo me voy a trayer, tambien.</p> <p>13. A: Ya. Yy, antes, ee, compraba mas harto? O lo mismo nomas?</p> <p>14. P: Igual nomas.</p> <p>15. A: Yaa</p> <p>16. P: A veces compramos y nos traimos también p.'</p> <p>17. A: Ya. Y, tiene algun beneficio? Esta cocinita,, que tiene? M, digamos, para compararlo con la khoncha?Cuál es mejor?</p> <p>18. P: Casi a mi yo le hallo la cocinita estita en cuando es muy chiquitita pa, escito tiene de malo que es chiquitita pa poner la leña.</p> <p>19. A: Ya.</p> <p>20. P: Quiere leñita rectita</p> <p>21. M: Ha a</p> <p>22. P: Y si no, no entra.</p> <p>23. M: No (laughing) Eso tiene de malo.</p> <p>24. P: Yo digo, mas grandecito hubiera sido su,</p>	<p>1. A: And do you [habitual] buy firewood, or...?</p> <p>2. P: I [habitual] buy firewood.</p> <p>3. A: Okay. How much, hooow,</p> <p>4. P: The bundle, like this, they charge me ten pesos, fifteen pesos for a little bit, see just a moment ago I bought that little bundle from Doña Patricia.</p> <p>5. A: Okay.</p> <p>6. P: Ten pesos.</p> <p>7. A: And do you buy every week?</p> <p>8. P: If they bring it, I buy it, if they don't bring it, [...] don't.</p> <p>9. A: Okay. One bundle for every [week]?</p> <p>10. P: Yep, one bundle.</p> <p>11. A: Okay</p> <p>12. P: I buy and I also bring wood.</p> <p>13. A: Okay. Aaand, before, um, did you buy more? Or just the same?</p> <p>14. P: Just the same.</p> <p>15. A: Okaay.</p> <p>16. P: Sometimes we buy and sometimes we bring our own.</p> <p>17. A: Okay. And does it have any benefits? This stove, you have? Um, let's say, compared with the open fire? Which is better?</p> <p>18. P: For me, really, I find this little stove to be very small for, that's the bad thing it's small for firewood,</p> <p>19. A: Okay.</p> <p>20. P: It wants straight little sticks.</p> <p>21. M: Uh-huh</p> <p>22. P: And if not, it doesn't go in.</p> <p>23. M: No (laughing) That's the bad part</p> <p>24. P: I say, if the little ... had been bigger,</p>
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In the kitchen practices interview above, Prima uses highly marked contact features such as the loanword *kebepecito/ke'epicito*, from Quechua *q'ipi* 'bundle' and the Spanish diminutive (Turn 9). (I also use the loanword *keboncha*, from Quechua *q'uncha* in Turn 17, to distinguish between the traditional open cooking fire and the NGO's stove.) Following my lead, Prima uses the habitual *saber* (Turn 2), and modified syllable structure on the verb *traer* >> *trayer* in Turns 8 and 12. As noted in Section 7.3.2.3, she uses a very high concentration of diminutives—four in Turn 4, five in Turn 18.

Transcript 9.2 comes from the language ideologies interview.

TRANSCRIPT 9.2: PRIMA LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES INTERVIEW

P (Prima), A (Anna), N (Nicolás, P's husband)

1. A: M, y, y, que, que idiomas enseñan en las escuelas, pues, aquí? En el colegio, digamos?	1. A: Um, and, and, what, what languages do they teach in the schools, here? In high school, for example?
2. P: Ahhh, no se, lo que mas, cuando estaban mis hijas de mi, me lo enseñaban,,, la Quechua.	2. P: Ahh, I don't know, mostly, when my daughters were [studying], they taught them,,, Quechua.
3. A: Ah, si?	3. A: Oh, really?
4. P: Si. La Quechua. Despues también , la profesora Merida enseñaba, este, que era la profesora Merida, profesora de Quechua y,	4. P: Yes. Quechua. Then later, Professor Mérida taught, um, that was Professor Mérida, Quechua teacher and,
5. N: Inglés.	5. N: English.
6. P: Inglés.	6. P: English.
7. A: Ah, también?	7. A: Oh, also?
8. N: ah. Ah.	8. N: Uh-huh.
9. P: Ingles tammén , ella, han pasado mis hijos, pasaban siempre, ingles.	9. P: English also , she, my children studied it, they studied English.
10. A: Mhm. Mhm.	10. A: Mm-hmm. Mm-hmm.
11. N: Mhm.	11. N: Mm-hmm.
12. P: Sabe mi Nancy, si, algunas palabras, la Elsa igual.	12. P: My Nancy knows, she does, some words, and Elsa too.
13. A: Sabe ella?	13. A: She does?
14. P: Porque ellas también han estudiado inglés pues.	14. P: Because they also studied English.
15. A: Ah ha	15. A: Uh-huh.
16. P: Lo pasaban, no ve, clases de inglés.	16. P: They had, right, English classes.
17. A: Ah ha, ah ha.	17. A: Uh-huh, uh-huh.
18. P: Igual, mis hijos, toditos, Walter también , iban.	18. P: Just the same, my children, all of them, Walter too , they all went.
19. N: Claro	19. N: Of course.
20. P: Pero tambien ellos, pero asi entienden así poco, así	20. P: But then they, but they understand very little,
21. N: Poquuuuuito será.	21. N: Veeeeeery little, I'm sure.

22. A: Mhm, mhm. 23. N: M	22. A: Uh-huh, uh-huh 23. N: Hm.
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In the language ideologies interview, I ask what languages are taught in schools and Prima and her husband mention Quechua and English. The conversation quickly turns to a discussion of Prima's aspirations for her children's education, and she points out that all her children went to English classes (Turns 9, 12, 13, 16, 18). In this section of the interview, she is focused on her upwardly-mobile children and their educational qualifications. She uses very few enregistered contact features, but uses *también* in Turns 4, 9, 14, 18, and 20. As we saw in Chapter 5, this feature tends to appear most in formal contexts. Yet in Line 9 she uses the variant *tammén*, assimilating the *b* to the preceding *m*, a process which is strongly linked to the traditional semiotic complex. Prima also uses the feminine definite article for *la Quechua*, instead of the normative masculine *el Quechua*, likely to be a hypercorrection.

Like Marina in Chapter 8, Prima's use of contact features shows a delicate balance between positioning herself as a modern and progressive person, and a genuine, modest, traditional woman. Over the two interview contexts, Prima establishes different stances with respect to me and the subject matter. In the language ideologies interview, she is stiff and formal; in the kitchen ideologies interview, she is relaxed and intimate.

9.3. Juana

Juana is in her early fifties and has six children ranging from elementary-school age to early thirties. Juana and Prima are next-door neighbors and are both originally from the highlands surrounding Iscamayo. Juana, like Prima, wears a straight skirt rather than a *pollera*.

Unlike Prima, Juana occupies a precarious social position. She is a single mother with school-age children, after several cases of abandonment and a recent acrimonious separation from her common-law husband;⁴⁰ the house where she lives, but which she does not own, is a crumbling, ancient adobe construction with unfinished walls and floors; and only one of her three adult children has obtained a university degree, primarily through the sponsorship of a relative in the city.

⁴⁰ The blame for these events is universally placed on the woman.

At the same time, Juana maintains a dense network of social connections in the area, treating families from the surrounding rural areas with respect and affection, regardless of their social or economic circumstances. People characterize Juana favorably as friendly, kind, and generous, as well as hard-working and unpretentious. Juana is well-known in town as a hard worker and a dependable person in a pinch. She frequently works for other Iscamayo matrons, taking care of their children, washing clothes, assisting with food preparation for large social events. Her encyclopedic knowledge of Iscamayo was an inestimable resource for me.

In Transcript 9.3, Juana facilitates conversation during a recording session that has not been going well. Juana had participated in numerous recording sessions with me and was completely at ease with the recorder. She frequently accompanied me to interviews or helped me to make new contacts. In this case, as in the past, she applied the social grease necessary to move the wheels of the conversation. From that point on, the recording went well, as the three women gossiped about their families and neighbors. Juana performed this role for me on numerous occasions, and she participates in seven of the recordings I made, more than any other speaker—despite the fact that she was never the principal participant in any setting.

Although there are a group of participants in this recording, Juana emerges as the principal speaker, and the analysis below is based only on her speech. Although I had numerous recordings of Juana in conversation, this transcript was chosen on the basis of its similarity (in terms of words uttered by Juana in the course of the transcribed section of the recording) to the meeting transcript, Transcript 9.4.

TRANSCRIPT 9.3: JUANA CONVERSATION

J (Juana), C (Cristina), PC (Cristina's adult daughter)

<p>1. C: Verdad. [...la comadre] ayyy! [...] la pobre tanto se haya enflaquecido, dice pues. Y, viene ella y me saluda a mi. Y la otra paso parece, o iba por allacito, y “Y quién es, pues?” le digo yo, y “Ayyy! Comadre, ya no le conoce?” me dice, y “Pero no le conozco, quién es pues?” y de atrás también peor. “La Benita,” me dice pues. “Baa,” le digo. [...]</p>	<p>1. C: It's true. [...my comadre] Ayyy! [...] Poor thing, she got so thin, I hear. And, she comes and greets me. And someone else went by, it seems, or was near by. And "Who is that?" I say, and "Ayyy! Comadre, don't you know her anymore?" she asks me, and "But I don't know her, who is that?" and from behind, even worse. "It's Benita," she says to me.</p>
<p>2. J: Si peor estaba. Peor era. Ya no podía ni pararse ya.</p>	<p>2. J: She used to be worse. She was worse. She couldn't even walk anymore.</p>
<p>3. C: Baa</p>	<p>3. C: Ahhh</p>

<p>4. J: Sus brazitos estaban bien delgaditos. Huesito nomas ya.</p> <p>5. C: Eso!</p> <p>6. J: Ya me tenía, a mí me tenía preocupada ya. Pedía auxilio a los hermanos, ninguno! (laughs)</p> <p>7. C: (laughs)</p> <p>8. J: Se animaba. Hasta que vino una vez su comadre, “Vamos para alla,” le dijo, “Alla se va a, hay un doctor bueno,” le dijo,</p> <p>9. C: Ya</p> <p>10. J: “Vamos,” le he dicho, nos fuimos pues. Hemos ido, lo hemos hecho [...] hasta donde el doctor. Si no podía ni dormir pues</p> <p>11. C: ah, no podía</p> <p>12. PC: Qué no va a doler pues.</p> <p>13. J: Ha. Y, esa noche se ha dormido. Tranquila se ha dormido.</p> <p>14. C: Bahhh</p> <p>15. J: Al otro día, otra vez le hemos llevado. Y igual ha, se ha mejorado.</p> <p>16. C: Se ha mejorado con eso.</p> <p>17. J: Mejoró. Si. Las rodillas no sienten.</p> <p>18. C: Claaaro, pues. Si duele feo.</p> <p>19. J: Al mes,</p> <p>20. C: A mí me duelen mis rodillas igual</p> <p>21. J: De ahí le han dado algunas recetas, al mes hemos vuelto vuelta.</p> <p>22. C: Ahh</p> <p>23. J: De ahí hemos vuelto el, el diez de diciembre, del diez de diciembre, al diez de enero hemos vuelto, hemos tardado un día y medio, y no hemos vuelto más.</p> <p>24. C: Ahh</p> <p>25. J: Le dió otra receta, y nos dijo que podíamos [...]lo [...para comprarle la receta...]</p>	<p>4. J: Her arms were sooo thin. Just skin and bone.</p> <p>5. C: That's it!</p> <p>6. J: She had me, she had me worried. I asked my siblings for help, nobody! (laughs)</p> <p>7. C: (laughs)</p> <p>8. J: was willing. Until one time her <i>comadre</i> came once, "Let's go over there," she said. "There's a, there's a good doctor there," she said,</p> <p>9. C: Uh-huh</p> <p>10. J: "Let's go, I told her, and we went. We went, we had [her...] to where the doctor was. She couldn't even sleep.</p> <p>11. C: Ah, she couldn't</p> <p>12. PC: Of course it's going to hurt</p> <p>13. J: Yeah. And, that night she slept. She slept peacefully.</p> <p>14. C: Woow</p> <p>15. J: And the next day, we took her again. And she improved again.</p> <p>16. C: She improved with that.</p> <p>17. J: She improved. Yes. Her knees don't hurt.</p> <p>18. C: Of cooourse. It hurts awfully.</p> <p>19. J: In a month,</p> <p>20. C: My knees hurt just like that.</p> <p>21. J: Then they gave her some prescriptions, and in a month we returned again.</p> <p>22. C: Ahh</p> <p>23. J: Then we returned the, the tenth of December, and from the tenth of December, the tenth of January we returned, we stayed a day and a half, and then we didn't go back any more.</p> <p>24. C: Ahh</p> <p>25. J: They gave her another prescription, and they said we could [...] it [...to buy her the prescription...]</p>
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In Transcript 9.3, Juana discusses her mother's health with Cristina. Cristina is a woman of her mother's generation and her mother's ritual kinswoman, and in describing the suffering of a loved one, Juana is discussing an emotional topic. Juana uses *ya* (Turns 2, 4,

6), causative *hacer*, and *pues* (Turn 10) in Transcript 9.3, but despite the context, her use of contact features is fairly subtle. She uses no phonological features at all in Transcript 9.3.

In Transcript 9.4, Juana helps me out again. I have organized a meeting for individuals who are interested in obtaining a stove from the NGO described in Section 2.2.4.3. The stove is no longer heavily subsidized, and represents a significant investment for most community members. A few prospective buyers have gathered and I have invited several individuals who already own stoves to speak about their benefits.

Juana was present at several of the meetings which I recorded as part of my corpus, but aside from the meeting discussed below, she never made a single public comment (though she often whispered with her friends and relatives sitting nearby).⁴¹ In the meeting discussed here, Juana had to make a public presentation about her experience with the stove. She was visibly nervous and her voice shook as she began to speak. However, the meeting was small, and several of the people present were well-known to Juana. In particular, one elderly man gave verbal feedback regularly after her turns, creating a more casual, intimate, dialogic context.

Very few of the people who attended this meeting were regular meeting-goers, nor were they of the class of people that tend to speak at meetings. Rather than speak on-record, they whispered among themselves and carried on side conversations with other audience members. As I mentioned earlier, the families who tend to cook on wood are not the usual meeting crowd of wealthy and educated families.

TRANSCRIPT 9.4: JUANA MEETING

J (Juana), F (Froilán), N (Nolán)

<p>1. J: Ahí nomás lo deja, se va donde Usted quiera, sólo hay que cuidar que le da el sol nomás. Si da la vuelta ahí atraás, si, ahí siempre, si está pa este lado, pa este lado lo vuelve. Se da la vueltita nomás. Nada más.</p>	<p>1. J: You just leave it there, you go wherever you want, you just have to take care that the sun hits it. If the sun turns around behind, there, if it's on that side, you turn it to that side. You just give it a little turn. Nothing else.</p>
<p>2. F: Baa</p>	<p>2. F: Ahhhh</p>
<p>3. J: Que le dé el sol. Después, no, como dice Anita no pide gas, no pide leña, nada, Usted después ya saca su,</p>	<p>3. J: So the sun hits it. Apart from that, it, like Anna says, it doesn't want gas, it doesn't want firewood, nothing, you just pull out your,</p>

⁴¹ Juana is a much more active participant in the Iscamayo mother's club meetings, but I was unable to record these because of the poor acoustics, multiple speakers, and overlapping turns.

4. F: Comida	4. F: Food
5. J: olla y sirve nomas, ahí, comer.	5. J: pot and you serve it, there, and eat.
6. F: Cuelece bien [...]	6. F: It cooks well [...]
7. J: Si en caso de arroz, por ejemplo, Usted cocina su arroz allá, si Usted está apurado, tiene que ir a alguna parte, agarra, lo cocina, el arroz está cociendo, ya, medio secando, un rato [...] le pone ahí.	7. J: In the case of rice, for example, you cook your rice there, if you're in a hurry, you have to go somewhere, you pick up, the stove, the rice is cooking, it's, starting to dry up, you put it there [...] a minute.
8. F: Ahh	8. F: Ahhh
9. J: Aunque no esté en el sol. Aunque no le ponga [la puerta].	9. J: Even if it's not in the sun. Even if you don't put [the glass door down].
10. F: Ahh	10. F: Ahhh
11. J: Lo tapa, y se va.	11. J: You cover it, and you leave.
12. F: Baaa	12. F: Ahhh
13. J: Vuelve, y Usted sirve nomás su arroz, y ya está cocidito. No se quema tampoco.	13. J: You come back, and you just serve your rice, it's already cooked. It doesn't burn, either.
14. F: Vaya	14. F: Wow
15. J: Esa es la ventaja que tiene. Y si Usted cocina, y temprano, o sea, que le toque ir a alguna parte, tiene que	15. J: That's the advantage it has. And if you cook, and early, that is, if you have to go somewhere, you have to
16. AMe: Madrugar	16. AJ: Leave early [lit. 'with the dawn']
17. J: Si, madrugar, Usted tiene que, volver a comer a las doce. Agarra, saca su olla, y lo pone ahí. Vuelve, esa [olla] está [calientita]. No se enfríe. Es como, si,	17. J: Yes, leave early, you have to, come back to eat at midday. You pick up, you pull out your pot, and you put it there. When you return, that [pot] is [hot]. It doesn't get cold. It's like, as if,
18. N: Como conservadora?	18. R: Like a cooler?
19. J: Conservadora. Así es.	19. J: Like a cooler. That's right.
20. F: Mm	20. F: Hmm
21. J: Es bien. Yo veo que es biensísimo. Para mi es bien.	21. J: It's good. I think it's excellent. For me, it's fine.

In Transcript 9.4, Juana addresses her audience as *Usted* (second person singular, formal). As can be seen in this transcript, she gets frequent verbal responses from Froilán, an older man from the surrounding rural area. She uses the diminutive three times, characterizing the stove (at this point, she is talking about a solar oven) as an object of affection—later, she refers to it as *ella* 'she.'

Although she is not usually a main speaker at these community meetings, Juana understands that a certain style of speech is required in the meeting context, and she strives to conform to meeting conventions. Her turns are a great deal longer in the meeting than in the conversation in Transcript 9.3; though she takes fewer turns in the meeting, the numbers

of words in the ten-minute segment are virtually identical. Although it does not appear in this section of the transcript, in the meeting, unlike the conversation, she waits for formal acknowledgement that she has the floor before she begins to speak.

As was the case for Prima, Juana is very much more at ease in the less formal conversation than she is in the meeting. In the following section, I discuss the relationship of Juana's and Prima's use of contact features to the construction of these speakers' stances with respect to the speech event and their interlocutors.

9.4. Patterns of distribution of enregistered features

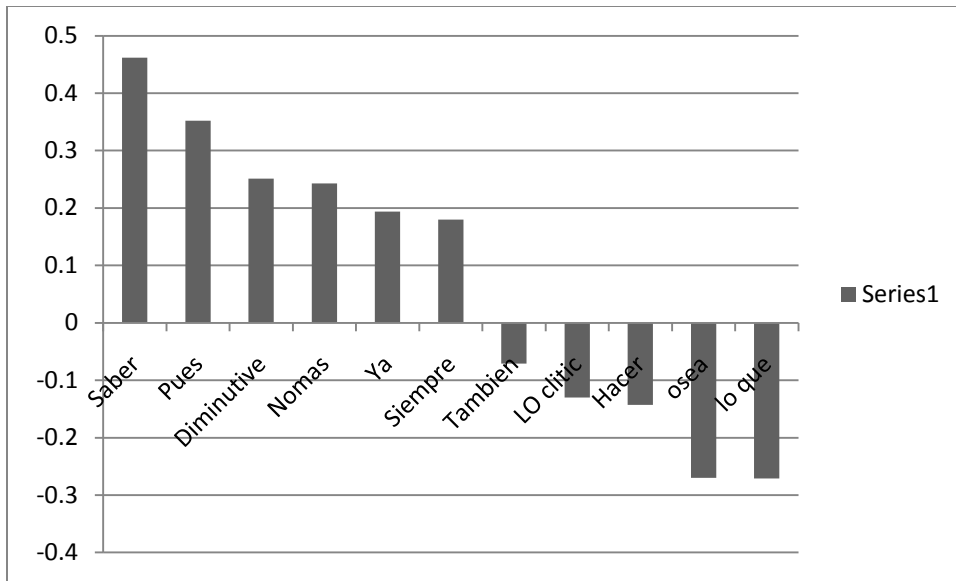
In this section, as in the previous chapter, I move from a qualitative explication of Prima's and Juana's linguistic performance to an analysis of their distribution of contact features. However, in contrast to the previous chapter, here I examine the features not in one context, but in two. For each of the women, one interaction can be classified as a less formal, more conversational type of interaction, and the other as a more formal, more regimented type of interaction.

In this section, I begin with a discussion of the women's patterns of use of convergence features, and then move on to a discussion of their patterns of use of phonological features. Finally, I discuss the results in general terms.

9.4.1. Convergence features

I discuss the way that Prima and Juana use convergence features over two contexts of speech. This data follows the organization in the previous chapter. For reference, I reproduce here the charts that give overall frequencies of distribution of contact features.

FIGURE 9.1: CONVERGENCE FEATURES

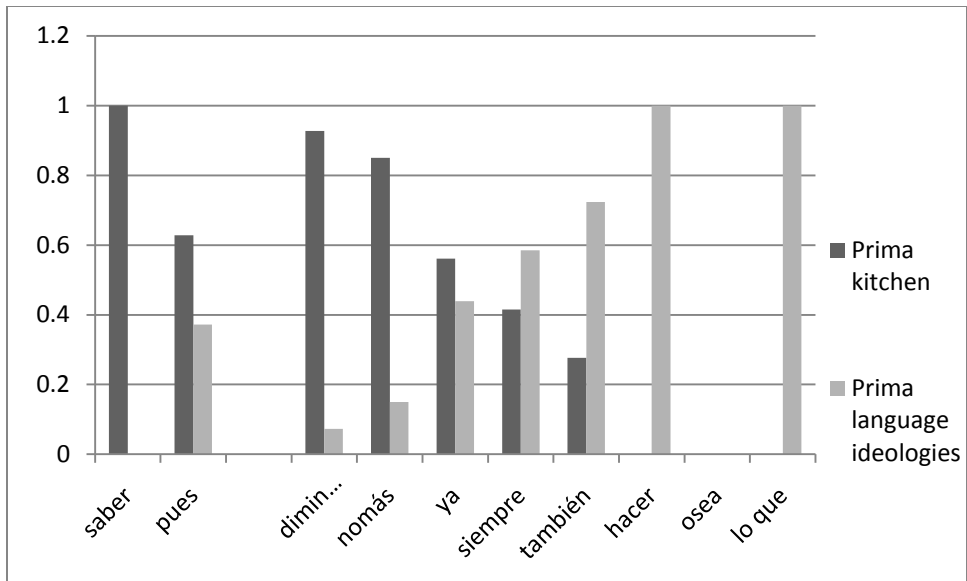


The graph above gives the overall distribution of contact features over contexts of speech. The features on the left appear more frequently in conversations than in meetings; the higher the value above the x axis, the more likely the features are to appear in conversations. For the features on the right, the reverse is true; they appear more frequently in meetings than in conversation, and the lower the value below the x axis, the more likely they are to appear in meetings. The numbers behind these calculations are in Appendix E.

The figure below gives Prima's language use in the less formal interaction, the kitchen interview, in contrast to the more formal interaction, the language ideologies interview. The dark gray bars on the left of each pair are from the less formal kitchen interview; the light gray bars on the right of each pair are from the more formal language ideologies interview.

Prima monitors her use of convergence features in the language ideologies interview; in the kitchen interview, she is looser, less formal, more relaxed, and she uses a very high density of contact features; at the same time, these are mixed with formal poetic strategies such as parallelism, as described in Example 31 above.

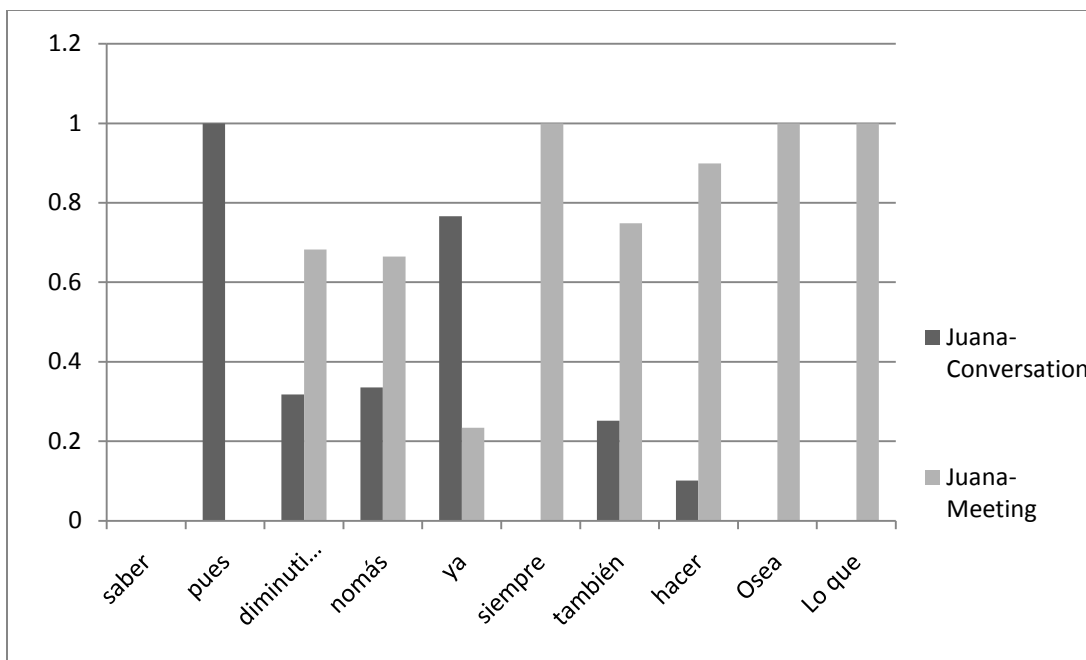
FIGURE 9.2: PRIMA KITCHEN VS. PRIMA LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES



One would expect to see more traditional-complex features (on the left side of the graph) in the kitchen interview (represented by dark gray bars), and more modern-complex features (on the right side of the graph) in the language ideologies interview (represented by light gray bars). That is, the overall patterns of speech for the corpus lead us to expect more dark gray bars on the left and more light gray bars on the right. The fact that this is the case indicates that Prima is reproducing the general speech patterns of the community over these two contexts. The calculations that went into this graph are in Appendix E.

Secondly, we can examine Juana's patterns of shifting across the two settings. As in the previous graph, the dark gray bars on the left of each pair are from the less formal conversation; the light gray bars on the right of each pair are from the more formal meeting.

FIGURE 9.3: JUANA CONVERSATION VS. JUANA MEETING



One would expect to see more traditional-complex features (on the left side of the graph) in the conversation (represented by dark gray bars), and more modern-complex features (on the right side of the graph) in the meeting (represented by light gray bars) on the right side of the graph. That is, the overall patterns of speech for the corpus lead us to expect more dark gray bars on the left, gradually decreasing, and more light gray bars on the right, gradually increasing. The fact that this is not really the case indicates that Juana is not reproducing the general speech patterns of the community over these two contexts. The calculations that went into this graph are in Appendix E.

In Figure 9.2, it is clear that Prima follows the patterns of distribution of contact features that are described in Chapter 5, the same patterns that distinguish Patricia's speech from Marina's. Her patterns of use switch near where the general tendencies break, in the neighborhood of *siempre*—that is, features preceding *siempre* appear more where she is relaxed and informal, and features following *siempre* appear more when she is self-conscious and formal, like the distribution patterns between meetings and conversation described in Chapter 5. She doesn't use the formal Spanish *osea* and uses *lo que* only once.

While Prima conforms to the general patterns of distribution across the corpus for convergence features, Juana does not. From Figure 9.3, we can see that like Prima, Juana

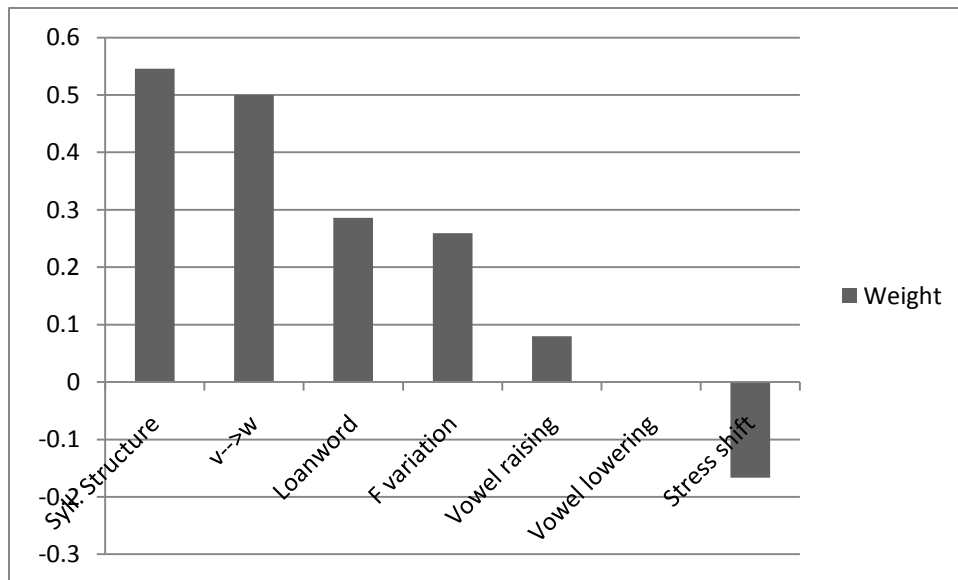
modifies her linguistic performance depending on social context. In the formal meeting context, she tends to use more of the structures that are marked for formality. She also clearly avoids *pues* and *ya* in these contexts. However, she does not seem to have Prima's ability to consistently suppress semantic convergence features that tend to be more common in informal contexts, such as *nomás* and *the diminutive*.

9.4.2. Phonological features

In the following section, I discuss Prima's and Juana's use of phonological features in the contexts of speech that are examined above. Phonological features are highly salient for speakers, and are used in Marina's and Patricia's speech to form a contrast with their patterns of convergence features (Chapter 8). In Chapter 8, I suggest that phonological features are more easily manipulated than convergence features.

As a reminder, I reproduce the chart showing the distribution of phonological features.

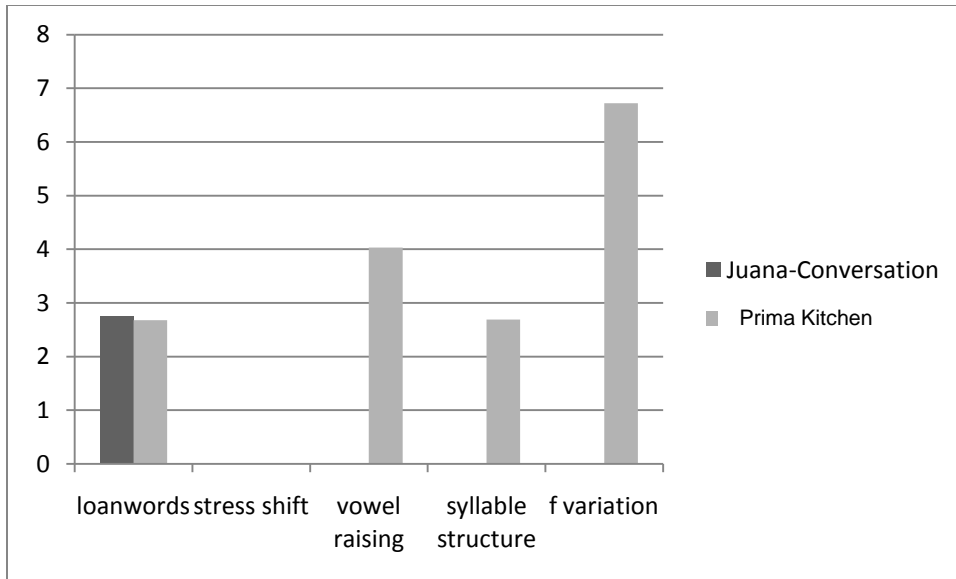
FIGURE 9.4: PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES



In the following figures, I give the distribution of phonological features for Prima and for Juana. These are organized into two graphs, the first comparing Juana and Prima in their informal contexts, with are conversation and kitchen interview, respectively. In Figure 9.5 below, it is clear that Prima is using phonological features more than Juana, although

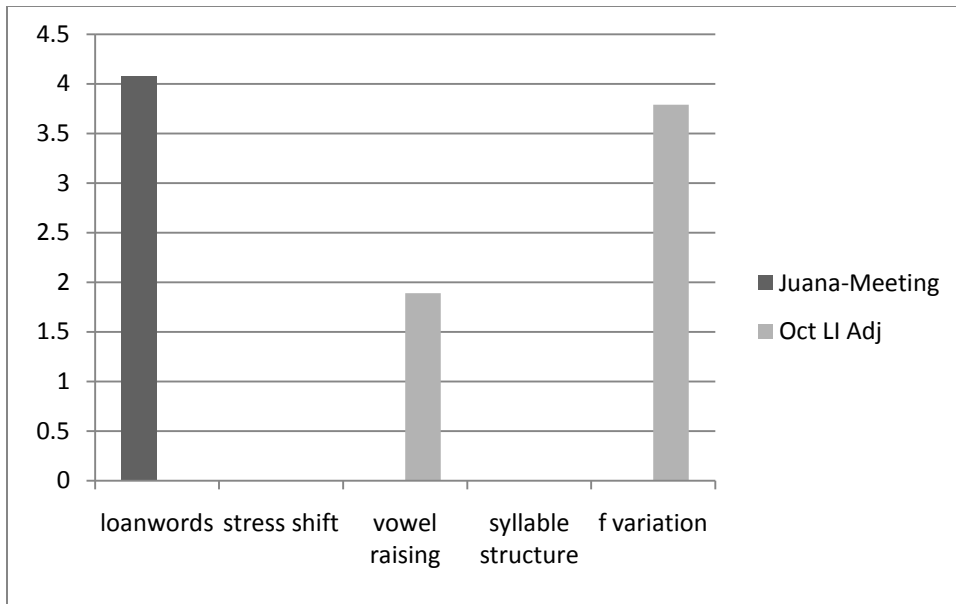
their use of loanwords is very similar. The numbers behind this graph can be found in Appendix E.

FIGURE 9.5: INFORMAL INTERACTIONS



In Figure 9.6 below, I give Juana and Prima's use of phonological features and loanwords in the formal interactions, which are a meeting and a language ideologies interview, respectively. In this graph, we see that Prima continues to use phonological features in the more formal interaction, although not exactly the same features that appear in the previous graph. The numbers can be found in Appendix E.

FIGURE 9.6: FORMAL INTERACTIONS



Prima uses phonological features and loanwords in both formal and informal interactions. In contrast, Juana practically *never* uses phonological features. The only features she uses are loanwords; in the conversation, she uses *su aka del pollo* 'chicken dung,' where *aka* is a Quechua loanword with a strong phonetic similarity to Spanish *caca* 'crap'; and in the same conversation she uses *como a su wawa lo alzaba* 'he lifted her as if she were his child' in a highly emotional section from a story about her mother's illness, where *wawa* is a Quechua loanword meaning 'baby'. In the meeting, all three instances of loanwords are *mote*, from Quechua *mut'i* 'boiled corn'; there is really no alternative locution available for discussing this dish. That is, the loanwords that she uses in the conversation are a stylistic choice, but in the meeting, apart from the decision to mention or elide the fact that she cooks boiled corn, *mote* probably is not a stylistic choice.

In these transcripts and in other situations in which I observed her speech, Juana demonstrated a clear ability to use loanwords to index social stances. However, Juana *never* uses the marked phonological features that appear in Prima's speech.

9.5. Discussion

Juana and Prima have different patterns of use of contact features. While Prima conforms closely to the general patterns of use of convergence features, she uses relatively

high densities of phonological features in both formal and informal types of interactions. Juana, on the other hand, does not seem to follow the general patterns of use for convergence features, but she never (or virtually never) uses phonological features.

These tendencies are relatively consistent for Prima and Juana over the two contexts described above. While each woman varies her use of contact features to mark register distinctions, they do so in different ways. Prima uses a relatively high density of phonological features in both settings, but controls her use of convergence features to mark the more formal, education-oriented interview. Juana uses loanwords for stylistic effect in conversation, but unlike Prima, never uses phonological features in any context. Yet Juana does not follow the general patterns of distribution for convergence features.

What accounts for these differences? The women are not very far apart in age, and both come from the countryside, although Prima grew up more isolated from the central town than did Juana. Both women express discomfort with speaking in formal types of situations. I suggest that the differences in speech patterns do not have to do with the women's backgrounds, but rather have something to do with their self-positioning within the field of social identities in Iscamayo.

As I suggest in the previous chapter, phonological features tend to be fairly easy for speakers to control and have strong associations with the traditional semiotic complex for Spanish-speakers. Octavina's use of phonological features is a strong index of her orientation towards this complex. However, her use of convergence features reveals that she controls a more formal, modern-oriented register through her use of these patterns. Juana, on the other hand, does not show strong evidence of controlling a register of speech appropriate for a formal context. As such, she either cannot afford to or does not need to highlight her orientation to a traditional semiotic context.

While Prima is open about her *alteña* 'highland' roots, Juana tries to downplay hers, noting that she has been living in the town of Iscamayo since she was a young woman. She attends the Iscamayo Mother's Club, which is primarily comprised of an exclusive clique of wealthy older women from *legítimo Iscamayeño* 'native-born Iscamayeño' families. She is openly hostile to recent immigrants from the west, and frequently makes intolerant comments about westerners, *collas*, and Quechua speakers.

Juana's linguistic stance is in line with her social positioning. Unlike Prima, who is stable socially and economically, Juana avoids contact features that overtly index the

complex of tradition, rurality, poverty, and femaleness. At the same time, she manipulates her use of loanwords to index a solidary stance when she associates with individuals who, like herself, come from a highland background.

Juana and Prima both use contact features to index register shifts. However, their styles of contact features are different, in accordance with their social stances. Like Patricia from Chapter 8, Prima occupies a fairly stable socioeconomic position, and both Patricia and Prima tend to use enregistered features that are strong markers of traditional orientation. However, Prima's features are phonetic and morphological, and make a strong statement about her personal identity and background. Patricia, on the other hand, uses widely stereotyped features that are available to practically anybody in the community because of their wide circulation. Her use of these features constitutes a second-level order of indexicality, a claim to sympathy without a personal identification with the category of "traditional women."

What Prima and Patricia have in common is their ability to act with relative social impunity. In contrast, Marina (also from Chapter 8) and Juana occupy more precarious places on the socioeconomic ladder. Marina claims to have little control of a formal register, and Juana does not conform to formal meeting standards of speech in terms of semantic convergence features. In contrast to Prima and Patricia, Marina and Juana tend to avoid the use of widely stereotyped phonological and lexical features.

9.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that speakers use different patterns of contact features over social contexts in order to stake out social stances. Dividing contact features into two general categories, I have shown that speakers stake out meaningful social territory through contrasting patterns of use of contact features. In the last chapter, I showed that patterns of distribution of contact features can be used to present an individual style; in this chapter, I showed that these styles can be performed through the way that people switch (or stay the same) over varying social contexts.

Through these examples, I have show that register, in the sense of linguistic strategies that generate context, can be used in tandem with the concept of style, in the sense

of linguistic strategies that generate personae. Both register and style are necessary in the discussion of the way that my speakers move through social groups and contexts.

The speakers in my data enact social stances through a variety of means. They make explicit claims; they use contrasting patterns of contact features; they wear particular kinds of clothes and display discomfort or embarrassment in unfamiliar situations. In this dissertation, I show that contact features are enregistered in a larger semiotic system, and that they are interpreted with reference to this system. In the course of the dissertation, I have demonstrated that models of typical interaction can be described for situations (chapters 5 and 6), for groups (chapter 7), and for individuals (chapter 8). In this chapter, I have shown that style and register are complementary concepts; using contrasting patterns of contact features, individuals produce a personal style of language use over varying speech contexts.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1. How are contact features distributed and why?

The distribution of contact features over social contexts is determined by the way they fit into meaningful patterns that are associated with ideas about language and social structure. These patterns go beyond language, but language provides a unique potential for replication, reflection, and transformation of these structures. I suggest that information about the way that contact features are distributed over social contexts can give us insight into the reasons that contact features that are transferred between, and ultimately incorporated in languages.

In this dissertation, I argue that the meaning of contact features is produced through systems of contrast. Contact features are interpreted in relationship to templates that are associated with speakers and interactions, and which operate at multiple recursive levels. The category of "contact feature" itself is not sufficient to explain the way that features are used by speakers. Instead, it is necessary to start from a field of social meaning in which contact features participate, just as other linguistic and non-linguistic features do. Eckert (2008) argues that the value of linguistic indices depends on the context of an utterance. This context forms a background to which speakers refer in their use and interpretation of contact features.

10.2. Theoretical framework

The literature on language contact has a tendency to divide studies that examine language contact features within a single language, in the form of loanwords and grammatical structures, from studies that examine alternation between languages in the form of bilingualism or code-switching. Myers-Scotton, for example, proposes a strict typology to distinguish between borrowing and switching (2002). The tendency to treat contact varieties

of language separately from research in bilingualism has led to an unfortunate gap in research on variation within a "single" language in the language contact literature.

In this dissertation, I move beyond this distinction, treating Quechua-influenced Spanish as a repertoire of linguistic varieties that are (at least partially) distinguished by patterns of contact features. In doing so, I point to the blurriness of the line between contact varieties of language and bilingualism. This is especially true in situations such as the one I describe, in which multiple varieties of Spanish and Quechua co-exist in a close relationship. Mixed varieties of Spanish are understood by speakers to be iconic of local identity, and speakers of mixed varieties of Quechua are characterized as similar to local Spanish speakers, as I detail in Section 3.8. "Pure" varieties of each language, on the other hand, are characterized as educated, but also foreign and opaque. These language ideologies both reflect and reproduce the historically close relationship between Spanish-speakers and Quechua-speakers in rural areas of Bolivia.

Iscamayo positions itself as a Spanish-speaking town, and the focus of this dissertation has been on varieties of Spanish as they are spoken and understood in this community. However, Spanish and Quechua (and speakers of these languages) share a much closer relationship than has commonly been described in the literature on languages of the Andes. While not quite a mixed language such as the *Media Lengua* that Muysken describes in Ecuador (1997), Quechua elements are widely used by Spanish-speakers (and vice versa) in constructing speech situations and in positioning themselves as social actors. This is possible precisely because of the ideological associations speakers hold for Quechua and Spanish.

In this dissertation, I establish that the distribution of contact features varies across contexts of speech in this variety of Spanish. In most cases, contact features occur more frequently in conversations, contexts of speech that are typically intimate and informal, in contrast to meetings, contexts of speech that are often formal and dominated by speakers who use an oratorical style. However, contact features are also used selectively by speakers in establishing a social persona or stance.

In order to explain this pattern, I found myself obligated to examine what the categories of "contact feature" and "context of speech" really mean to speakers. As I describe in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, not all contact features follow the general pattern of distribution, in which they are used more in conversations than in meetings. Features such

as *también* (Chapter 5) and the use of falsetto voice (Chapter 6) occur most in meetings and by men in the role of community leaders. Unlike other contact features, they do not seem to be associated with the traditional semiotic complex (Chapter 4) which I describe as being related to Quechua and the use of Quechua contact features in Spanish.

I turn to Agha's concept of *enregisterment* to describe the contrast between these features and other kinds of contact features (2005; 2007). Most contact features have become associated with a particular repertoire of speech that is linked to the traditional semiotic complex. However, I suggest that *también* and falsetto voice retain their Quechua pragmatic content, which links them to ritual, parallelism, and formal types of discourse. In doing so, I suggest that "contact feature" as an analytic category is not sufficient to describe the way that these features are deployed in language use. Rather, contact features are part of a system of linguistic features that are associated with different parts of a semiotic field through the process of enregisterment.

Agha uses the term *register* to identify named varieties of speech as if they were separate from "the rest" of language. I argue that varieties of language must be defined in contrast to each other and embedded in a larger semiotic field, as part of a system of social differentiation (Irvine 2001). Theories of speech contexts such as those elaborated by Halliday (1984; 1994), Biber (1994; 1995), and Joos (1961) place differentiation within a semiotic system at the center of their theory of register. However, they dedicate themselves to classification of types of speech without giving a mechanism for the way that speakers excerpt and recontextualize linguistic indices. For example, speakers use the φ realization of *f* as a habitual way of speaking, as a way of setting the scene for stories about traditional ways of life, in parody, and to characterize themselves as having a connection to a particular audience (Chapter 7). In contrast, Agha's framework builds on Silverstein's concept of *indexical order*, which provides a theoretical framework to explain the recursive character of linguistic indices. This theory allows for the flexibility, creativity, and multiplicity of meaning that characterizes language in use.

In much of the work on register, there is slippage between patterns of indices that characterize particular types of interactions, and actual speech contexts, which are textured through reference to various types of interactions. I propose that *register* and *speech context* are actually different, but overlapping entities. Register is characterized as an orientation toward a particular part of the semiotic field, expressed through patterns of linguistic indices (in the

form of enregistered features), and speech contexts are made up of different combinations of orientations towards this field, constructed by speakers in particular interactions.

Both events and speakers are *always* textured by reference to diverse parts of the semiotic field; therefore, they can drift or change over time, and no matter how events and speakers are categorized, they may contain blurring, transition, and hybridity. For example, over the course of a three-hour meeting, the event moves from private conversations among people in the audience, to the formal beginning of the meeting, when roll is called and the minutes from the last meeting are read. Often people whisper or throw in comments throughout this regimented part of the performance. Then the attention of the gathering moves on to the items on the agenda, which are presented or discussed or expounded, depending on who is speaking and how the audience reacts. By the end of the meeting people have begun to creep out, and sometimes only a few people stay to the last. These individuals engage in a more conversational type of interaction, during which important decisions are nonetheless likely to be made. This commonplace, if not explicitly acknowledged, structure to meetings allows for transitions through different types of interaction within the overall "meeting" structure.

One way of approaching this idea is to think of speech as a mosaic, in which each chip represents a speaker's turn, and the color indicates the style of speech. The overall impression of the mosaic—a given speech context—is given by the size and shape of the chips, as well as by their color. A language might have four or five sharply distinguished and explicitly metapragmatically theorized registers, or colors; or it might have a blend of colors. However, any language will have socially stratified variation and contrast. For the sake of simplicity, for my data, let's pick two colors and call them red (traditional) and green (modern). The majority of the turns contributing to a "traditional" speech event are in red, consisting of markers of orientation toward tradition such as enregistered contact features. The frame of the event is conversational—speakers sit in relaxed positions, in a close cluster, not in rows; their gestures and their conversational turns overlap. As they quote other speakers or refer to other speech contexts, flecks of green creep into the mosaic. One speaker gets excited and begins a diatribe, orienting more and more towards modernity. Other speakers begin to respond in the same way. The mosaic begins to turn a greener red, and then it turns from being a red mosaic with flecks of green to a green mosaic with flecks of red.

What I wish to illustrate with this metaphor is the fact that even when a certain context is marked as belonging to a certain register of speech, micro-level turns can refer to, or even contain elements from other styles or registers of speech. Through a process of conversational drift, a context can transform itself from one register to another, as in the example above. Shifts from more a more traditionally-oriented register to a more modern orientation, as I describe above, are perhaps less common than the gradual decay of a formal, modern register over the course of a long meeting.

The extent to which speakers segregate their registers depends on their established habits and, to some extent, ideologies regarding 'pure' speech (although it's also true that there may be strong beliefs about purism which are not carried out in practice). In my experience, meetings are often characterized *overall* by a fairly formal style of speech, which is largely controlled by the principal speakers at the front of the room--in keeping with an orientation towards modernity. However, audience members--often one or two individuals in particular--spice it up by adding frequent interjections in a colloquial style (regular accents of red in a field of green, to follow the metaphor). A speech context which is composed of only one color would be excruciatingly boring.

Likewise, individuals use contrasting patterns of enregistered features to develop individual stances and personae, as I describe in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9. Speakers position themselves with respect to audience and speech context through the use of contrasting patterns of enregistered features. Any speaker has a typical way of speaking in a certain context, a tendency to which actual instances of his or her speech can be compared. However, these general tendencies are not deterministic; speakers play on these expectations as much as they conform to them. Actual instances of speech are textured by reference to diverse parts of the semiotic field, and to different speech contexts and roles.

Silverstein characterizes the creation of meaning as a dialectic between *presupposition* and *entailment*. He describes presupposition as a sign's 'appropriateness-to' a particular context of use, and entailment as its 'effectiveness-in' a particular context (2003: 195-96). That is, the relationship of sign to context is a function of the mutually constitutive relationship between the way that signs reflect context and the way that signs create context.

I suggest that templates of use constitute a third node in this relationship, a sort of superstructure that individuals build up from their experience of contexts and speakers and which functions both as a background against which each new instance of a sign is

interpreted, and a corpus to which each new instance of a sign is added. Patterns of indices in use pick out relevant models for types of context, speaker, and category. In doing so, I draw on literature from speech perception (Johnson 1997; Pierrehumbert 2001) and social theory (Bourdieu 1972; Sahlins 1985).

10.3. Developing models of use

Research in code-switching shows us a tension between the bottom-up production of meaning through individual interactions and the top-down production of meaning through social structure. The question of models of use brings us back to code-switching in the language contact literature for theories of what codes, or in this case repertoires of speech, "mean."

Gumperz suggests that languages encode social structures of power and privilege, leading him to distinguish between *we-codes* and *they-codes* (1982). Auer, on the other hand, locates the meaning of repertoires of contact in the details of an interaction itself (1984; 1992). Myers-Scotton suggests that the significance of code choice rests on contrast with models of interaction, which she identifies as markedness contrasts (1997).

Like Myers-Scotton, I suggest that meaning is formed through contrasts between established patterns of speech and individual instances of these patterns. However, I suggest that established patterns of speech are built up, not through typologies, but through lived experience, an accretion of individual interactions that become models for typical types of speech and types of speakers. This suggestion draws the exemplar theory of speech perception (Johnson 1997), which suggests that we build exemplars from our actual experiences of speech and speakers. Every new instance of speech is compared against our recorded experiences, and used to inform future interpretations of new instances of speech.

In suggesting that models of typical interaction are built up through individual instances of interaction, I also bring together social theories of structure and practice. In the relationship between structure and practice there is a top-down/bottom-up tension like the one found in the code-switching literature. Sahlins argues that transformation of social systems is achieved through replication; that each replication necessarily contains both the potential for change and the necessity of being rooted in history (1985). In doing so, Sahlins implies that individuals act only within the confines of social structure. Bourdieu (1972)

suggests that structure is built up through practice, through repeated bodily actions (including speech!) that gradually form a *habitus*, an accumulation of practice that places an individual within a social universe.

Importantly, however, I view structure as something that interactions *refer to*, not something they are *determined by*, much in the sense that improvisation in music refers to, but is not determined by an underlying structure. In response to Bourdieu, Ortner suggests that the habitus can be changed and transformed over time, and especially in encounters between individuals with different understandings of social structure; Mahmood (2005) adds that it can be formed, not only blindly, but also through conscious intention. In my data, the creative and self-referential use of language must be accounted for, and they cannot be understood without appealing to a recursive interpretive framework that uses templates of use as raw material for use in interaction.

10.4. Directions for future research

One issue I do not speak to in this dissertation is the way that templates are built up, and what happens when people with different expectations (or different systems of symbolic interpretation) encounter each other. A likely direction for future research is a closer look at the processes of transition, which I touch on briefly in this dissertation (Section 4.4). What happens when people—adults in particular—begin to reposition themselves with respect to social categories? How are these repositionings recognized, contested, or accepted?

One way of approaching this question would involve working with migrants, both immigrants to and emigrants from Iscamayo, as they accommodate to new linguistic norms and sets of ideas. To begin with, there is a neighborhood of Iscamayeños—both those who never come back and those who move between the two places—in the urban lowland city of Santa Cruz, where the production of what characterizes an Iscamayeño is also likely to be quite different.

How do national and international migrants adapt to their comings and goings from Iscamayo? With the weak world economy in 2008, many Iscamayeños who had spent years in Europe and the US were preparing to return to Bolivia. Two brothers I know emigrated to Spain. The older brother quickly assimilated to Spanish linguistic style, while the younger brother continued to use Bolivian speech patterns and circulate in the Bolivian migrant

community. Today, the younger brother has returned to Bolivia and has no plans to return to Europe; friends tell me that the older brother will probably never come back to Bolivia. It's easy to see these stances in retrospect as *fait accompli*. But how are they produced through daily practice?

A third potential direction for future research involves complementing the information I've presented in this dissertation about Spanish-speakers with information about Quechua-speakers. I've only just started to enter in the Quechua-speaking community in Iscamayo and I'm interested to see what kinds of ideas this group has about Quechua and Spanish, and speakers of each, which are probably quite different than what I've reported here. A particularly interesting interaction is between Quechua-speakers from Cochabamba and Quechua-speakers from Sucre, or Quechua-speakers from urban areas and Quechua-speakers from rural areas, as they come together in Spanish-dominant Iscamayo.

A final direction for further work would be to examine the linguistic and other social practices around the decision to wear or discontinue wearing the *pollera*, a highly visible sign of positioning with respect to social categories. Although linguistic features represent a less visible, more incremental method of positioning, people use contact features, recognize them, and contest them over the same semiotic field as they use to interpret cues such as wearing the *pollera*. Often, using the *pollera* is associated with language choice—bilingualism or monolingual Spanish—and I'm particularly interested in pairs of sisters who make different choices in linguistic positioning and in styles of dress.

10.5. Contact and contrast

In this dissertation, I have asked how contact features are distributed over speech contexts. This question leads inevitably to the question of *why* they distribute as they do, which leads in turn to a third question: What do contact features mean to speakers?

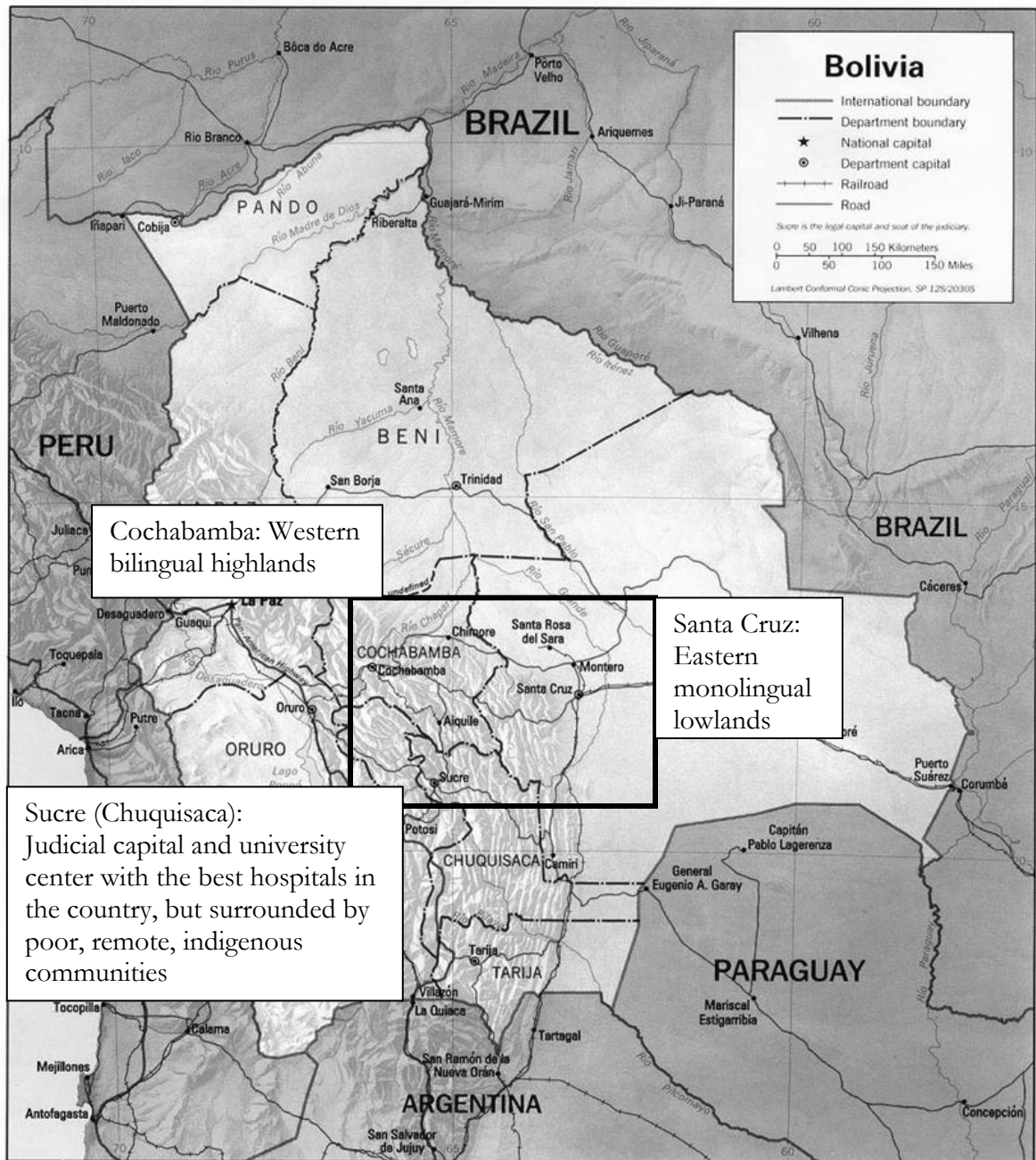
Through an analysis of the use of contact features by real speakers in real speech situations, I have argued that the meaning of contact features is not fixed. Rather, it is accomplished through comparison to, and in contrast with, patterns of speech, which are linked to ideas about speech contexts, groups of speakers and even individual speakers. I have argued that contact features participate in a semiotic field of modernity and tradition through the process of *enregisterment*. I show that contact features are indices and also

deictics, in the sense that their meaning varies depending on the person they are spoken by and the situation they are spoken in.

Speakers deal with a sometimes chaotic world by imposing structure on it. The underlying structure to interactions—a structure that might have various manifestations—is a template against which speakers set their actual performance. They produce and recognize stances through sophisticated manipulation of patterns of contact features. The meaning of contact features is produced through contrast with expected models of interaction, where each feature, utterance, gesture participates in the construction of a particular type of speech event.

It's for this reason that the meaning of contact features must be approached through social analysis. Contact features gain meaning through participation in a semiotic field, where they have a valence towards tradition or modernity as a result of the process of enregisterment—an ongoing process that is replicated or reinterpreted in every interaction. The semiotic field imbues contact features with the potential for meaningful reference. These associations, in turn, lead speakers to use the features in ways that both determine and respond to their distribution over speech contexts.

Appendix A: Map



Iscamayo is located roughly in the center of the triangle described by these three cities.

Appendix B: Contact features

*The features that appear in the dissertation are marked with * asterisks.*

Aspirated & ejective consonants *

1. Vowel raising (/i/, /u/) *
2. Vowel lowering (/e/, /o/) *
3. Fixed penultimate stress *
4. Use of falsetto pitch *
5. Ingressive air flow (women only) *
6. Use of possessive -y
7. Loanwords *
8. Mirative interpretation of past perfect *
9. Habitual saber 'to know' *
10. tense (present for past)
11. Jay affirmative or question: 'huh' or 'uh-huh'
12. iʔ discourse marker
13. Palatalizations of /s/ before HF vowel
14. /f/ as bilabial fricative (or w/ rounding) *
15. Preposing: (S)OV, Adv-V, Adj-N, etc.
16. Double possessives
17. Use of lots of diminutives *
18. Reduplication
19. Emphatic redundancy (bajando abajo, subiendo arriba, mas antes)
20. Causative hacer 'to do, to make' *
21. Calques: 'en alla', 'con mi mama con mi papa'
22. Diz(que) *
23. Nomás calque (cf. Quechua -lla) *
24. Siempre calque (cf. Quechua -puni) *

25. Parallelism
26. Consonant cluster simplification
27. Diphthong simplification *
28. Devoicing (esp. in clusters)
29. Different ways of handling subjunctives, or avoidance of subj. constructions
30. Nonstandard gender (nouns) *
31. Nonstandard number (nouns) *
32. Nonstandard clitic agreement
33. Nonstandard person agreement *
34. Regularizing verb conjugations *
35. -abámos 'used to' *
36. Emphatic 'lo'
37. Other: Specify
 - a. pues *
 - b. siempre *
 - c. nomas *
 - d. ya *
 - e. huuta
 - f. elay

Appendix C: Features and frequencies

	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Conversation</i>	<i>Interview</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>P</i>
<i>Diminutive</i>	772	Not contact	362	242	168	0.000
<i>Pues</i>	636	Sem Conv	301	258	77	0.000
<i>Ya</i>	542	Sem Conv	225	197	120	0.000
<i>Tambien</i>	311	Sem Conv	81	127	103	0.006
<i>Nomas</i>	238	Sem Conv	98	100	40	0.000
<i>Loanword</i>	168	Borrowed	81	54	33	0.000
<i>Habia</i>	128	Sem Conv	70	22	36	0.000
<i>Siempre</i>	111	Sem Conv	34	63	14	0.000
<i>Hacer</i>	105	Sem Conv	31	28	46	0.070
<i>Saber</i>	93	Sem Conv	48	40	5	0.000
<i>Aspirate/ ejective</i>	80	Borrowed	35	31	14	0.009
<i>Disque</i>	80	Sem Conv	56	14	10	0.000
<i>Intake</i>	65	Borrowed	36	28	1	0.000
<i>F variation</i>	27	Not contact	11	12	4	0.121
<i>Vowel raising</i>	25	Phon	9	9	7	0.850
<i>Vowel lowering</i>	12	Phon	4	4	4	1.000
<i>Stress shift</i>	12	Phon	2	6	4	0.368
<i>Syll. Structure</i>	11	Phon	7	3	1	0.078
<i>Falsetto</i>	8	Borrowed	1	1	6	0.040
<i>v->w</i>	2	Phon	1	1	0	0.600

Appendix D: Loanwords

Loanword	Quechua	Spanish	Translation
<i>chbero</i>	<i>ch'iru</i> 'curly'	<i>rizado</i> 'curly'	Curly-haired
<i>thusuda</i>	<i>t'usu</i> 'lower leg, calf'	<i>-da</i> 'adjectival ending'	Big-calved
<i>chaskañawicita</i>	<i>chaska</i> 'star' <i>ñawi</i> 'eye'	<i>-cita</i> 'diminutive (f)'	Having long, curled eyelashes
<i>ñata</i>	<i>ñatu</i> 'broad-nosed'	<i>-a</i> 'feminine ending'	Small-nosed female
<i>markba</i>	<i>marq'a</i> 'arms'	<i>brazos</i> 'arms'	Arms
<i>kebepi</i> or <i>k'epe</i>	<i>q'ipi</i> 'load carried on the back'	<i>cargo</i> 'load'	Load carried on the back
<i>thantakbatero</i>	<i>thanta</i> 'old' <i>qbatu</i> 'market'	<i>-ero</i> 'person suffix'	Peddler
<i>thiluda</i>	<i>rutucha</i> 'hair-cutting'	<i>-da</i> 'nominalizer'	First hair cutting
<i>iwacha</i>	<i>iwacha</i>		Animal still in the womb
<i>en su encima</i> LOC + 3d poss + over	<i>pay-pata-n-pi</i> 3d person-over-3d poss-LOC	<i>encima de</i> over + PREP	On top of
<i>no seas malito</i> NEG + to be (2nd person subj) + mean	<i>ama hina kay-chu</i> NEG + thus +to be-NEG	<i>por favor</i> please	Don't be mean/Please (supplication)
<i>en delantito</i> in front of +DIM	Future is in front of the body	<i>hace ratito</i> A while ago+DIM	A moment ago
<i>thapa</i> nest	<i>thapa</i> nest	<i>nido</i> 'nest'	Nest
<i>kbora</i> / <i>k'ora</i> weed	<i>qura</i> / <i>q'ura</i> 'weed'	<i>maleza</i> 'weed'	Weed
<i>thamir</i>	<i>thamiy</i> 'break up soil'	<i>-r</i> 'infinitive ending'	to break up soil
<i>k'aytu</i>	<i>q'aytu</i> 'yarn'	<i>lana</i> 'wool, yarn' (only for acrylic in local Spanish)	homespun yarn
<i>awanero</i>	<i>awana</i> 'loom' <i>away</i> 'weave' <i>-na</i> 'nominalizer'	<i>tejer</i> 'to weave, knit' <i>-ero</i> 'nominalizer'	Loom
<i>muk'u</i>	<i>muk'u</i> 'chewed or ground corn for corn beer'		chewed or ground corn for corn beer
<i>ch'allar</i>	<i>ch'allay</i> 'make a ritual offering'	<i>-r</i> 'infinitive ending'	make a ritual offering

<i>Thaco</i>	<i>t'aqu</i> 'acacia'	<i>cupesí</i> 'acacia'	Acacia
<i>wajcha</i>	<i>wakcha</i> 'orphan'	<i>huérfano</i> 'orphan'	orphan
<i>p'itu</i>			Penis
<i>k'ajllu</i>	<i>k'aqllu</i> 'long, narrow opening; vagina'		long, narrow opening; vagina
<i>lap'o</i>	'a blow or slap'		blow or slap
<i>lak'ar</i>	'to plaster or throw with a smacking sound'	<i>-r</i> 'infinitive ending'	plaster with a smacking sound
<i>ch'eti</i>	<i>ch'iti</i> 'small, child(like)'		child (male)

Appendix E: Numbers for Chapters 8 and 9

Conversation % - Meeting

TABLE 1

Saber	0.462
Pues	0.352
Diminutive	0.251
Nomas	0.243
Ya	0.194
Siempre	0.18
Tambien	-0.071
LO clitic	-0.13
Hacer	-0.143
osea	-0.27
lo que	-0.271

TABLE 2

	<i>Turns</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>words per turn</i>
<i>Marina (interview)</i>	63	1281	20.33333
<i>Patricia (interview)</i>	57	1204	21.12281

Comparison of Marina and Patricia

by percentage of total word incidence in the two interviews
using adjusted word count

RAW NUMBERS

TABLE 3: CONVERGENCE FEATURES

	<i>Marina</i>	<i>Patricia</i>
<i>saber</i>	3	0
<i>pues</i>	12	6
<i>diminutive</i>	8	7
<i>nomás</i>	5	1
<i>ya</i>	14	12
<i>siempre</i>	6	2
<i>también</i>	2	5
<i>hacer</i>	0	1
<i>Osea</i>	1	7
<i>Lo que</i>	4	1

TABLE 4: PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

	<i>Marina</i>	<i>Patricia</i>
<i>loanwords</i>	0	4
<i>stress shift</i>	0	3
<i>vowel raising</i>	0	0
<i>syllable structure</i>	0	0
<i>f variation</i>	0	0

ADJUSTED NUMBERS (=RAW NUMBERS/WORD COUNT * 1000)

TABLE 5: CONVERGENCE FEATURES

	<i>Marina</i>	<i>Patricia</i>
<i>saber</i>	2.34	0.00
<i>pues</i>	9.37	4.98
<i>diminutive</i>	6.25	5.81
<i>nomás</i>	3.90	0.83
<i>ya</i>	10.93	9.97
<i>siempre</i>	4.68	1.66
<i>también</i>	1.56	4.15
<i>hacer</i>	0.00	0.83
<i>Osea</i>	0.78	5.81
<i>Lo que</i>	3.12	0.83

TABLE 6: PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

	<i>Marina</i>	<i>Patricia</i>
<i>loanwords</i>	0	3.32
<i>stress shift</i>	0	2.49
<i>vowel raising</i>	0	0
<i>syllable structure</i>	0	0
<i>f variation</i>	0	0

TABLE 7: PRIMA

	<i>turns</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>words/ turn</i>
<i>kitchen</i>	99	744	7.52
<i>LI</i>	73	528	7.23

RAW NUMBERS

TABLE 8: CONVERGENCE FEATURES

	<i>Prima Kitchen</i>	<i>Prima LI</i>
<i>saber</i>	2	0
<i>pues</i>	19	8
<i>diminutive</i>	18	1
<i>nomás</i>	8	1
<i>ya</i>	9	5
<i>siempre</i>	2	2
<i>también</i>	7	13
<i>hacer</i>	0	4
<i>osea</i>	0	0
<i>lo que</i>	0	1

TABLE 9: PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES.

	<i>Prima Kitchen</i>	<i>Prima LI</i>
<i>loanwords</i>	2	0
<i>stress shift</i>	0	0
<i>vowel raising</i>	3	1
<i>syllable structure</i>	2	0
<i>f variation</i>	5	2

ADJUSTED NUMBERS (= RAW NUMBERS/WORD COUNT * 1000)

TABLE 10: CONVERGENCE FEATURES

	<i>Oct Kit Adj</i>	<i>Oct LI Adj</i>
<i>saber</i>	2.69	0.00
<i>pues</i>	25.54	15.15
<i>diminutive</i>	24.19	1.89
<i>nomás</i>	10.75	1.89
<i>ya</i>	12.10	9.47
<i>siempre</i>	2.69	3.79
<i>también</i>	9.41	24.62
<i>hacer</i>	0.00	7.58
<i>osea</i>	0.00	0.00
<i>lo que</i>	0.00	1.89

TABLE 11: LOW-FREQUENCY FEATURES

	<i>Oct Kit Adj</i>	<i>Oct LI Adj</i>
<i>loanwords</i>	2.68	0.00
<i>stress shift</i>	0.00	0.00
<i>vowel raising</i>	4.03	1.89
<i>syllable structure</i>	2.69	0.00
<i>f variation</i>	6.72	3.79

TABLE 12

<i>Juana</i>			
	<i>turns</i>	<i>words</i>	<i>words/turn</i>
<i>conversation</i>	79	728	9.22
<i>meeting</i>	46	735	15.98

RAW NUMBERS

TABLE 13: CONVERGENCE FEATURES

<i>Juana</i>		
	<i>Conversation</i>	<i>Meeting</i>
<i>saber</i>	0	0
<i>pues</i>	8	0
<i>diminutive</i>	6	13
<i>nomás</i>	2	4
<i>ya</i>	13	4
<i>siempre</i>	0	1
<i>también</i>	1	3
<i>hacer</i>	1	9
<i>Osea</i>	0	3
<i>Lo que</i>	0	1

TABLE 14: PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

<i>Juana</i>		
	<i>Conversation</i>	<i>Meeting</i>
<i>loanwords</i>	2	3
<i>stress shift</i>	0	0
<i>vowel raising</i>	0	0
<i>syllable structure</i>	0	0
<i>f variation</i>	0	0

ADJUSTED NUMBERS (= RAW NUMBERS/WORD COUNT * 1000)

TABLE 15: CONVERGENCE FEATURES

<i>Juana</i>		
	<i>Conversation</i>	<i>Meeting</i>
<i>saber</i>	0	0
<i>pues</i>	10.99	0
<i>diminutive</i>	8.24	17.69
<i>nomás</i>	2.75	5.44
<i>ya</i>	17.86	5.44
<i>siempre</i>	0	1.36
<i>también</i>	1.37	4.08
<i>hacer</i>	1.37	12.24
<i>Osea</i>	0	4.08
<i>Lo que</i>	0	1.36

TABLE 16: PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

<i>Juana</i>		
	<i>Conversation</i>	<i>Meeting</i>
<i>loanwords</i>	2.75	4.08
<i>stress shift</i>	0	0
<i>vowel raising</i>	0	0
<i>syllable structure</i>	0	0
<i>f variation</i>	0	0

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