The language left at Ticlio: Social and cultural perspectives on Quechua loss in Lima, Peru.

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ABSTRACT

The language left at Ticlio: Social and cultural perspectives on Quechua loss in Lima, Peru.

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The thesis concerns language maintenance and language shift in Lima. It takes as its starting point the virtual invisibility of the Quechua language in Lima, despite the very sizeable numbers of Andean migrant speakers living there, and the almost universal failure of transmission of the language to the first generation of children born in the capital. The study attempts to identify and describe the major sociolinguistic, social and cultural factors which militate against maintenance of Quechua, and to show how these are experienced at the individual level as direct pressures to abandon the language in favour of Spanish.

Language shift in Peru is characterised as a consequence of macro-level societal processes involving wealth, power and oppression. However, it is noted that these processes are not in themselves the direct causes of shift. Rather, there exists a layer of intervening variables or mediating factors which, themselves deriving from the external processes, in turn act upon communities and individuals to produce changes in linguistic behaviour. They include: speakers' attitudes to dialects of Quechua other than their own; the associations of Quechua with old age, poverty and backwardness, and simultaneously (and perhaps paradoxically) with the past glories of the Inca empire; the historical connection between the Spanish language and education; and the real or desired self-image of the Andean migrant as modern, progressive and industrious.

It is argued, however, that those migrants to Lima undergoing language shift do not tend in general to regard themselves as victims of cultural oppression. It is suggested that shift to Spanish may be viewed by its subjects as an "act of identity" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) - a positive and empowering element of the transformation of the self. It is therefore concluded that while it is broadly legitimate to see the loss of Quechua as a capitulation to dominant social and linguistic norms, to see it solely in these terms is to underestimate the complexity and dynamism of migrant culture in Lima, and to deny the capacity of migrants to make meaningful decisions about their own lives.

Preface and acknowledgements

The subject matter of this thesis reflects an interest in language use and attitudes which developed over the course of several years' teaching and lecturing in languages and applied linguistics in South America, Southeast Asia and Europe. Its specific genesis, though, is more personal still. When I first visited Lima in the mid-1980s, I was invited to the house of Ana Neyra, who was then a friend, and whom I later married. I was fascinated to discover that Ana's mother and grandmother were native speakers of Quechua, from Pausa in Ayacucho. Knowing little at that time about patterns of language use in Peru, I asked - naively, as it turned out - how much Quechua Ana and her brothers and sisters spoke. The incredulous laughter which this question provoked alerted me to the fact that something very distinctive and interesting was happening within the families of Quechua-speaking migrants to Lima. Over the next few years I continued to ask questions about Quechua and about the way in which language is viewed by modern *limeños*: finally I set myself the task of attempting to explain how and why a vigorous and proud language should to all intents and purposes vanish from one generation to the next. This thesis is the result of that investigation.

A project of this kind relies by its nature on the help and interest of very many people. The warmest thanks are due to all the Peruvians who invited me into their homes and shared their thoughts and experiences with me: in particular, Carmen Galarza Churampi and her family, in Villa El Salvador and in Santa Cruz de Pacte; Rosa Castilla de Neyra and the other *pausinos* of Lima; Marco Escudero and his brothers; and the people of La Merced, Punta Negra, for their extraordinary hospitality and openness to someone who was effectively a complete stranger. Scores of other Peruvians contributed in a more anonymous way to the present work, often going far out of their way to do so. I have tried to represent their experience as they recounted it to me, and hope that they will not disagree too strongly with my conclusions.

Special acknowledgement must go to Paola Escudero of the Universidad Católica, an able and indefatigable research assistant whose skill with people, linguistic knowledge and cultural insight were at all times invaluable.

Much support and critical feedback came from the staff and students of the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Liverpool. Of these, Dr Rosaleen Howard-Malverde, who supervised this thesis, deserves special thanks, not least for her patience. I am grateful, too, to the following people who commented at various stages on my work or helped in other ways: Dr Valdi Astvaldsson, Dr Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, Dr Lindsay Farmer, Dr Juan Carlos Godenzzi, Ñilda Guillén, Roberto Hidalgo, Ana Marr, Gino and Patty Neyra, Dr Mike Reynolds and Dr Utta von Gleich.

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Prologue

The invisible language

1 "*¡Viva Pausa!*": Villa Santiago, 28 July

28 July is the anniversary of Peruvian independence, an occasion marked by nationwide celebrations and a two-day holiday. For the people of Pausa, in the province of Paucar del Sara Sara in southern Ayacucho, this is occasion for a double celebration. The *patrón* of their village is Santiago (popularly known as San Santiago), whose day falls on 25 July. By long tradition, the religious and secular ceremonies associated with the saint's day are combined with those of the national day, and 28 July hence becomes a date of extraordinary significance. In Pausa itself the day is celebrated with the customary Andean drinking, dancing and music; there are also speeches by local dignitaries, a mass, a parade, and the bearing of San Santiago's effigy around the square. The formal speeches tend to be made in Spanish; however, many *pausinos* are fully bilingual, and much of the informal conversation is in Quechua. Quechua is still the mother tongue of most of the adult community, and even of many of the young, though increasingly the younger people, according to the account of recent migrants, prefer to use Spanish amongst themselves.

For the community of *pausinos* resident in Lima, the day is likewise the most important of the year. Large-scale migration to Lima from Pausa has been going on since the 1950s, and the community in the capital has become increasingly dispersed, in terms both of geographical proximity and of socio-economic grouping. There are *pausinos* living all over Lima, from middle-class districts to *pueblos jóvenes*, and while close family groups tend to maintain regular contact, the wider community comes together only for the 28 July celebrations.

The event takes place at Villa Santiago, the headquarters of the Club Pausino; it is a semi-rural enclosure set amongst half-built streets on the outskirts of Chorrillos, consisting of a few brick buildings and a large expanse of scrubby grass and trees. On 28 July a marquee is erected and seats for several hundred people laid out. People begin arriving from early morning onwards, each paying the equivalent of around US$2 for entrance and being presented with a *capillo* bearing a picture of San Santiago, to be pinned to the lapel. The ceremonies proper begin with a *misa de campaña* in the marquee; as this finishes the national anthem is sung, and the effigy of San Santiago - identical to that kept in the church of Pausa[1] - is paraded around the grounds, and all present endeavour to touch it, in order to ensure the continuing protection of

[1] Cf Skar's (1994:113-119) discussion of the symbolic import, in terms of self-identification with the home village, of a statue of Santa Rosa de Lima provided for the village of Matapuquio by *matapuqueños* resident in the capital.

the apostle during the coming year. The effigy is then placed next to the makeshift altar, and the *alférez* of the year's celebrations and his family have the honour of standing in front of it and paying homage with the rhythmic waving from side to side of large Peruvian flags.

Meanwhile two competing bands play the tunes known as *huaynos*, in the melancholy style of the southern Andes, and the drink flows. Groups of family and friends cluster together, old acquaintanceships are renewed and relatives greeted, news and gossip is exchanged about the affairs of Pausa and of the *colonia* in Lima. As the afternoon goes on there is dancing, and people take it in turns to perform a *huayno* with the national flags as others look on and applaud. There is a tendency to separate into generational and gender-specific groups; the older men stand together and pass around bottles of beer and spirits; the older women sit apart to talk and eat; the younger, Lima-born generations, also separate off. And so the celebration continues, well into the night. If Quechua is to be spoken in Lima, one might reasonably expect it to be spoken in gatherings of this kind. And yet on the two occasions that I attended the 28 July function at Villa Santiago as a participant observer, in 1995 and 1996, I never heard a single unsolicited word of Quechua. Why should this be?

The context is worth examining in detail. First, it should be made quite clear that there were numerous speech events in which it might appear to the outsider that Quechua *could* potentially have been selected. Within the traditional framework of participant, topic and setting (Hymes 1974) which has sometimes been thought to be crucial in ethnographic explanations of style-or code-shifting, the use of Quechua at several points during the day would have been quite explicable and unremarkable.[2] At the very least, an observer with linguistic training but little familiarity with the Lima context might have expected to hear some limited code-switching or code-mixing, whether for stylistic, symbolic or metaphorical purposes; indeed, the oddest phenomenon for such an observer would surely be, as in Conan Doyle's strange case of the dog that did not bark in the night, the very absence of Quechua.

Participants

On asking an elderly man what proportion of those present spoke Quechua, I received the reply "*toditos*". This was clearly an exaggeration; random questioning of other people present revealed that many did not speak Quechua. However, non-speakers tended to divide rather neatly into two groups - those younger people born in Lima, and those from other parts of the

[2]This traditional model has of course been criticised as inadequate (see e.g. McConvell 1988).The present study will show that it indeed fails to capture the deeper factors affecting code choice.

country who had married someone from Pausa. One could not therefore claim that Quechua was the natural code of the entire event; obviously this would have excluded many of those present. But the way that the social groupings developed as the day progressed meant that in very many of these groupings the use of Quechua would have been perfectly possible as far as the linguistic competence of the participants was concerned. As has already been noted, the younger people tended to gather in their own conversational groups, roughly either of teenagers or of those aged around 20-30. While there was no natural grouping of non-*pausinos*, there were very definite groupings of all-*pausinos*, often of similar age and in some way related. Hence at one point, for example, I noted two stable groups of elderly men, all from Pausa, all (I was informed) native speakers of Quechua; and another stable group of women, of similar age and background, and likewise native speakers.

A distinct participant/topic sub-group formed around don Jacinto, a highly respected cultural figure in *pausino* circles and beyond. Now elderly and in frail health, he was a member in the 1950s and 1960s of the influential folk group La Lira Pausina, which spearheaded a new wave of Andean music. Don Jacinto's reminiscences of José María Arguedas and other national figures whom he knew well, and his acerbic commentaries on the state of modern Andean music, invariably draw an admiring crowd of older *pausinos*. Don Jacinto is a fluent speaker of Quechua, a virulent defender of the language and culture (and La Lira Pausina were noted for their symbolic mixing of Quechua and Spanish in song: see Montoya 1987:34), and yet even in this group I heard no Quechua spoken.

Domain and topic

Once the mass and formal speeches were over the event belonged very much to the domain of an informal social gathering; more, the very nature of the event meant that the kind of language and behaviour expected was intimate, relaxed, affectionate. Choice of a consciously "high" code or register at any point after the speeches would have been quite clearly inappropriate; the language of solidarity was expected.

Obviously over the course of a long day a wide range of topics would be covered. Having said this, it should be borne in mind that the primary attraction of the event, for many of those present, was the opportunity to catch up on news from Pausa, to talk about Pausa and to relive shared experiences and pool memories of Pausa. All other things being equal one might therefore have expected a certain amount of - at the very least - topic-controlled code-switching, when for example the participants were recalling past events which transpired via the medium of Quechua. In some cases even distinct utterances were recalled. That such an utterance be repeated in the

original language would constitute a prime example of metaphorical shifting (Gumperz 1982); and yet it did not happen.

In some cases this is easily explained by the nature of the original event. I overheard one reminiscence about the kind of things that used to be said by a Spanish teacher-nun in Pausa; clearly both her nationality and the educational context would suggest that the original utterances were in Spanish. However, I also heard a story of a childhood escapade which ended up in a scolding administered by a grandmother; this was explicitly signalled as having taken place via Quechua (the format used was along the lines of "*en su quechuita me dijo...*"). All present had known the woman in question; most were in some degree related to her; quite probably all had heard the story before or had even been involved in the event; and yet the reminiscence entailed a rendering of her words into Spanish.

Setting

The social setting of the event has been described; it might also be added that even the physical setting should perhaps have been conducive to the use of Quechua. The high walls and barbed wire around the enclosure are a tangible line of demarcation. Inside is a pocket of Pausa, symbolised by the physical presence of the effigy of San Santiago - which for the rest of the year will be kept in the house of the sponsor of next year's gathering; outside is Lima, which whether conceived of as hostile or as supportive, can still - on this day of all days - be marked off as different. Villa Santiago represents a safe space, in which to be from Pausa, to be from Ayacucho, is a source of pride and fellow-feeling. In the selection of *alféreces* for the following year's event, guaranteeing continuity of community, in the music and the drinking, in the touching of San Santiago, the annual rituals of the homeland are played out minutely, replicated and re-experienced in the capital. The provincial identity of the *pausinos* is re-confirmed and celebrated, new additions to the group (new babies, new spouses, recent migrants) are introduced into it, and all this takes place in a defined and demarcated space. All present are further symbolically linked by the *capillo* pinned on the lapel, and united in the responses which follow the singing of the national anthem at the close of the mass:

¡Viva el Perú!

¡Viva!

¡Viva Ayacucho!

¡Viva!

¡Viva Pausa!

¡Viva!

The setting, then, is quite consciously designed to create a feeling of internal unity and - to at least some extent, and while not forgetting that 28 July belongs also to the republic as a whole - external separation. It would seem that all the physical and sociocultural elements that may help generate such a feeling are present: music, dances, food and drink, the effigy and *capillos*, the semi-explicit appeals for allegiance to the native soil, the ceremony of choosing sponsors and the year's officials for the association. Indeed, all the elements are present except, perhaps, one: nobody speaks the language they first learned in Pausa.

2 *Respondents' explanations*

When I enquired at random of some of those present (mainly Quechua speakers themselves) why it might be that Quechua was not spoken in this context, the answers I received tended to fall into one of two categories. One type of answer could be characterised as referring roughly to the notion of domain (see chapter 2), and constitutes in essence nothing more than a restating of the proposition entailed in the question, as in the following examples:

[1] Acá no pues, no se habla el quechua acá...

[2] El quechua se habla en la sierra nomás...

[3] No, aquí hablamos castellano nomás, puro castellano...

Such answers are of a type that became frustratingly familiar over the course of the fieldwork for the present study. In part it is a stock reply to a foreigner who might be assumed to be unacquainted with the linguistic and sociolinguistic realities of Peru; in this sense, while it appears relatively unhelpful and uninformative, it is not intended to be so. (A discussion of the rather problematic nature of fieldwork of this kind follows in the section on methodology below). However, I was confident in the context of Villa Santiago that I was *not* in general perceived merely as an uninformed outsider (again, the justification for this is laid out in the methodology section); hence my assumption is that this kind of answer was, to the speakers concerned, satisfactory and complete in itself. That is, that for such an informant it is enough to state in answer to the question "why is Quechua not spoken here?" that here one speaks Spanish instead.

More reflective respondents tended to answer my query in terms of prestige. Hence such replies as:

[4] La gente ya tiene vergüenza, pues, ¿no?

and - perhaps -

[5] No, ya nadie quiere hablar su quechua ya.

Again, this type of answer became wearily familiar; and while it at least attempts to offer some kind of rational explanation for the public absence of the language, it does not in reality go very much further than the first, domain- or context-bound justification. For one thing, it does not begin to explain why, given that so many other trappings of Andean culture were being manifested with obvious pride, language should not be among them.

It might be noted that there was in reality a third category of respondent: those who simply had no idea how to answer the question and typically produced laments such as

[6] ¡Ay, sí! ¿Por qué será que nadie habla, no? ¡Qué pena tan grande!

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this kind of reply is that, in several cases at least, the speaker had fairly obviously never given the question much thought, and was surprised to have it brought to their attention. That is to say: if we dare generalise from this case - it is in fact far from being a wild generalisation - for a good number of bilingual migrants, to be asked why they do not speak Quechua in the capital is rather disconcerting. It is analogous to asking a Frenchman in Paris why he speaks French; something so much part of the normal order of things that it defies immediate explanation.

Chapter One

Introduction

Part One

Scope of the research and theoretical framework

1 Background and research aims

The present study is a contribution to the discipline of sociolinguistics, and within this, to that of the sociology of language. It takes as its subject language maintenance and language shift (LMLS) amongst Quechua-speaking migrants in Lima; however, it should be pointed out immediately that it is not in any sense a traditional LMLS survey, nor a formal survey of language attitudes. Indeed, in both methodology and objectives it more closely resembles an ethnographic or anthropological study of communities. It is in essence an attempt for the case of Lima to respond to Fishman's (e.g. 1972a) longstanding challenge for the sociolinguistic discipline: that of not only detailing the course and rate of language shift, but identifying the social and psychological processes underlying it, and understanding how these processes are experienced at the micro-level as pressures towards shift.

A substantial study of Quechua-Spanish language shift in Lima undertaken by a researcher in human geography (Myers 1973) answered, with an abundance of detail, what is perhaps Fishman's most enduring question: "Who speaks what language to whom, and when?" (Fishman 1965). However, it made little or no attempt to explain *why* people make the language choices they do, except at the most basic level of analysing topic, setting, interlocutor and so on, or to integrate the question of language shift into a wider characterisation of Peruvian society. For the purposes of the present study, three questions were formulated which, it was hoped, when taken together would provide insight into sociolinguistic behaviour in Lima and generate sufficient predictive power to answer a fourth.

The research questions to be addressed were the following:

1 *What public and private domains (or niches) exist for Quechua in Lima?*

2 *What are the attitudes and experiences underlying language shift?*

3 *What role does language play in the construction of individual, ethnic and national identity in urban Peru?*

4 *What possibilities exist for a resurgence or revitalisation of Quechua in Lima?*

While it is doubtless somewhat clichéd to say so, all the questions are interrelated, and especially [2] and [3], which together go to the heart of how and why Quechua speakers in Lima "become" Spanish speakers. Each question is here reviewed in turn, with a brief discussion of its background and rationale. The chief aim of this study is to attempt to integrate the disparate strands of the process of language shift in Lima - historical, sociological, linguistic, psychological, political and so on; hence the academic convention of a discrete literature review is here broken with, beyond the introductory theoretical discussion below, and further references to the literature are incorporated into the body of the text.

1 *What public and private niches still exist for Quechua in Lima?*

The wording of research question [1] reflects the reality of the virtual invisibility of Quechua in Lima, remarked upon in the preface. The use of "niches" alongside the more usual "domains" is suggested by von Gleich (personal communication, 1995) on the grounds that it better captures the extreme paucity and fragility of Quechua-permitting contexts in the capital - no more than islets in a sea of Spanish, for which "domain" is often, perhaps, too substantial a term. To investigate, as here, the extent to which Quechua is maintained in Lima, whether at the level of individual, family or community, is to be continually struck by the extent to which it is lost. While "traditional" LMLS studies (of the kind, presumably, which Fishman had in mind when he extended his challenge in the 1970s) seek to show the rate of shift in a community, in Lima this is hardly an issue. It can be stated with some confidence that there are virtually no monolingual speakers of Quechua in the capital (only some recent arrivals fall into this category, and some involuntary migrants, of whom more will be said later), and that children born in Lima do not as a rule acquire any functional competence in the "ethnic" language (von Gleich 1994b, 1995). In some urban areas outside Lima, a similar pattern is emerging. Gugenberger (1994) for Arequipa, and von Gleich & Wölck (1994) for suburban Ayacucho observe children of Quechua-speaking parents receiving primary socialisation only through Spanish .

Paulston (1994) is probably being only realistic in stating that "most ethnic minority groups within a nation, given access and incentive, do shift language"; however, she goes on to note that "they will vary in their degree of ethnic maintenance and their *rate* of shift" (Paulston 1994:15; emphasis in original). And in fact, as already noted, one of the most striking features of the Lima situation is the rate of shift. Elsewhere in the world it has been shown that in communities undergoing language shift a timespan of from three to five generations for complete shift is not untypical (see e.g. Wölck 1991 for Quechua in the Andean region; Li 1994 for Chinese in the UK; Fishman [ed] 1966 for the US; Appel & Muysken 1987 for a general characterisation of intergenerational shift). Shift is typically faster in migrant than in settled communities. Milroy & Muysken (1995) describe migrant bilingualism thus:

> Characteristically, it spans three generations, the oldest speakers sometimes being monolingual in the community language, the economically active generation being to varying degrees bilingual but with greatly differing levels of competence in the host language, while children born in the host community may sometimes be virtually monolingual in the host language.
>
> (Milroy & Muysken 1995:2)

The situation in Lima, whilst falling, just, within the parameters of this general description, quite clearly lies at its very limits. Monolingual speakers of Quechua, except in communities of refugees or *desplazados* (see part 2 of this chapter) are to all intents and purposes unheard-of.[3] Complete shift occurs, typically, within one generation of the Quechua-speaking migrant arriving in the capital, with virtually any child born in Lima being unable (or perhaps unwilling - this crucial question is discussed at length in the text) to use Quechua in any functional way. As will be seen, this pattern is so well established that the breakdown of intergenerational transmission amongst migrant families can be predicted more or less regardless of factors which might be supposed to favour maintenance (or at least retard shift in some degree). Such factors might include the presence of Quechua-speaking grandparents; both parents being native speakers; strong family loyalty to the ethnolinguistic heritage; frequent visits back to the *tierra*, and so on. In this, the situation bears comparison with that of languages in the last stage before extinction (Dorian 1981, Pye 1992, Dressler 1982).

The intention behind the first research question was not, it should be emphasised, simply to quantify and record niches of language maintenance, an exercise which is essentially descriptive rather than explanatory. Rather, it was hoped that an analysis of these niches would yield some clues as to why and how certain elements of Quechua manage to survive in the face of generalised shift to Spanish, which would in turn help answer the remaining questions. That is to say, it was hypothesised that their very scarcity was proportional to their significance in the explanation of language shift. This is important because research carried out in the 1960s and 70s, including that of Lobo (1982), Myers (1973) and Adams (1976) appeared to suggest that Quechua could and would be maintained *in a generalised way* amongst migrants to the coastal cities of Peru. Myers (whose fieldwork was carried out in 1969-1970) was upbeat about the maintenance of the language, actually perceiving an *increase* in the use and intergenerational transmission of Quechua:

> [T]he economically and socially successful cholo[4] migrant, who uses Quechua as well as Spanish, is increasingly common. The result is

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[3]Utta von Gleich (1995) reports that she was unable to find a monolingual Quechua speaker in Lima. Her assistants finally located one living 40km south of the city.

[4]The word *cholo* in Peru carries a wealth of meaning and not a little ambiguity (see e.g. Cosamalón 1993b); here it is used in its most basic sense of an Andean Indian who has to some extent become assimilated to coastal or *mestizo*

that the children of migrants, once shielded from Quechua, are encouraged to learn at least to understand it, hearing more of it from their newly arrived relatives, from their bilingual parents and neighbors, and even on the radio. The extent to which Quechua is being maintained indicates that a modified Quechua culture has grown up in the... capital city.

(Myers 1973:166)

Even more startling, to contemporary observers, is her assertion that: "Unless they want to, highland migrants need not even learn Spanish" (Myers 1973:54). This was not, perhaps, an unreasonable assessment at the time; after all, reinforcement of minority languages amongst migrant groups by dint of the arrival of large numbers of further migrants has often been assumed to be a factor in language maintenance (Lewis 1979). Many more migrants have arrived since then; and yet one cannot imagine such a judgement being made in the 1990s. Certainly it is not now in general the case (if it truly ever was) that Lima-born children are encouraged to - or are keen to - learn to understand the language of their parents and grandparents. Indeed, acknowledgement of the loss of the language with the first Lima-born generation (or even over the lifetime of the migrant generation), and its marginalisation from everyday life in the capital, now form part of conventional discourse - much of it regretful - in Peru, despite the efforts of some *quechuistas* to identify and cultivate some small areas of maintenance (see e.g. Zúñiga 1996). Rojas Pérez's (1996) article, eloquently lamenting this loss, is a reasonably representative example of such discourse:

Tal ha sido nuestra herencia. Muchos la hemos cuidado y muchos también hemos querido desprendernos de ella o guardarla en el baúl de los olvidos, porque ha dejado de ser la lengua del poder. ¿Pero cómo renunciar a lo mejor que se ha tenido? ¿A la dulce palabra que vigilaba nuestros sueños cuando niños y acompañaba nuestras ilusiones cuando jóvenes? ¿A la tierna presencia de los abuelos? Y, sin embargo, sí se puede...

(Rojas Pérez 1996:48)[5]

It is of course true that a "modified Quechua culture" has established itself in the capital and in other urban, coastal areas - the so-called *cultura chicha* is one manifestation of it - and its development has attracted much attention, mainly sociological, both in Peru and abroad: amongst very many others might be cited the works of Golte & Adams (1987), Degregori et al (1986), Portocarrero (ed) (1993), Hurtado Suárez (1995), Altamirano (1984, 1985)

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culture.

[5]The various associations of the language in the minds of its speakers are discussed at length in chapter 5. It is worth pointing out at once, though, that Rojas Pérez's elegy, while dwelling on the warmth and intimacy of Quechua, simultaneously contrives to link the language to powerlessness, to childhood and the past, and to old people. As will be seen, these bundles of associations appear to be central to the process of language loss.

and Franco (1991). This urban-Andean culture is being formed within a process of far-reaching social change, one which Méndez (1996:200) calls, perhaps with a touch of hyperbole but fundamentally correctly, "an unstoppable process of cultural fusion and integration... that would seem to signal the birth of a new nation". For the purposes of the present investigation, however, the most salient feature of this process is that, whilst allowing certain manifestations of Andean culture, it appears to discourage, even exclude, the use of the Quechua language. The context and social meaning of situations in which the language *does* occur therefore take on prime importance.

2 *What are the attitudes and experiences underlying language shift?*

The language of the "new nation", then, or at least that part of it which is urban, is, emphatically, Spanish. As was noted in the preface, large-scale LS is such an accepted fact of life in Lima that many speakers give it barely a conscious thought. This is perhaps unsurprising. It has long been recognised that, regardless of the emotional (that is, attitudinal-affective) value that a language may have for its speakers, where it is perceived as functionally moribund or is stigmatised by the wider society, these speakers will often tend to encourage their children to learn the "correct" language (Grosjean 1982:123). This sociolinguistic pragmatism, based on a clearsighted understanding of which language in a society is associated with social status, societal rewards, education and material progress, is noted time and again in the literature (see in particular Edwards 1985). It is identified as central to the process of LS in situations as different as those of, for example, Irish (Macnamara 1971), Moroccan Berber (Bentahila & Davies 1992) and Koyukon Athabaskan in Alaska (Kwachka 1992). It is of course especially relevant to the case of migrants (see e.g. Fishman et al 1985); and Quechua speakers in Lima are at once both migrants and a minority language group within their own nation.

We should be reminded, of course, that the study of language and culture is largely a middle-class pursuit, and that the subjects of such study themselves very often have a more limited, personal and pragmatic attitude to such questions. Williamson & van Eerde (1980) note that it seems to be a universal in the field of "minority" languages that the middle classes, who no longer use the language in day-to-day communication, are keenest to see it maintained. The point is made, too, by Fishman, who observes that "...the segments of the population among which language consciousness, language interest and language-related groupness-perceptions are likely to be in evidence are normally quite small and elitist in nature" (Fishman 1972a:108). This is not merely an academic observation: it is a central feature in the abandonment of ethnic languages. Working-class or rural speakers who suspect that they are to be used as living museum-pieces, keeping a functionally useless or socially stigmatised code alive essentially to salve the consciences of those who have gone on to richer linguistic (and hence economic) pastures, are apt to

redouble their efforts to shift and to view middle-class language campaigners with suspicion or hostility (see e.g. Painter 1983 for Aymara, Hornberger 1987 for Quechua, Macnamara 1971 for Irish).

This said, it is not enough merely to state that Quechua is abandoned because it is stigmatised, or because Spanish offers an improvement in life chances. Demonstrably, not all stigmatised languages simply give up the ghost (see Ryan 1979 on the reasons for maintenance of "low-prestige" language varieties, and the extensive discussions in Fishman e.g. 1972a, 1972b; and cf Gal 1989:349). Equally, there is no immediately obvious reason why Quechua should not be acquired alongside Spanish in Lima, perhaps as a "home" language as opposed to a "school" one, in much the same way that it is in many parts of the Andes (Hornberger 1987, 1988; von Gleich & Wölck 1994), or that, say, Japanese is amongst the Peruvian *nisei* (the Peru-born children of first generation Japanese immigrants). It cannot simply be assumed that social subordination leads to negative socio-psychological language attitudes, and that these lead to shift (Dressler 1982).

Rather, it should be borne in mind that "reasons" for language shift such as societal stigmatisation, the power of the dominant language group, lack of economic opportunity and so on, are in a sense abstractions: they are macro-level influences that *may* result in language shift (Fasold 1984, Fishman 1972a, Sasse 1990, Appel & Muysken 1987). A key aim of the present study is to document - where possible, through the testimony of migrants and their children themselves - how these influences are experienced at the individual or micro-level as pressures affecting language choice. As Appel & Muysken (1987:32-33) comment, knowledge of the factors which govern language shift and maintenance "...does not guarantee insight into the process of language shift, since people bring this about in their daily speech, and it is on this level that explanations for shift must be found." A similar point is made by Woolard (1989). It will be argued in due course that this is indeed correct: that there are a number of intermediary factors or intervening variables which govern LS in Lima, forming the link between macro-level processes of power and domination and micro-level experience of language choice and use. This is considered further in the theoretical framework outlined below; it forms the basis of why research question [2] is formulated in terms of individual speakers' experiences and attitudes rather than in terms of societal structures. Such a formulation, it was hoped, would allow language shift to be analysed and explained in the most concrete of terms.

3 *What role does language play in the construction of individual, ethnic and national identity in urban Peru?*

Apart from the rate of shift, extraordinary if not unique, there are other factors which make the loss of Quechua in Lima a fruitful field for study. A major one is that, while Quechua is certainly a minority language, and an oppressed one (these terms are discussed further below), it is not

marginalised in Peru in the way that, say, North American Indian languages like Choctaw and Cherokee are marginalised in the USA. Quite apart from its - for the time being - secure base of speakers in the Andean region of Peru and beyond (López et al 1984, Albó 1979), it holds an emblematic place in Peruvian culture as the language of the Inca empire, historically a touchstone of national pride and identity: it is popularly supposed, almost universally, to have originated in imperial Cusco. Official and élite discourse (e.g. that of school textbooks, broadsheet newspapers, "cultural" television programming, the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua and so on) accords it the loftiest of places within the hierarchy of symbols of *peruanidad*, and encourages pride in it. And indeed, for all that the stigmatisation of the language is a reality, it is rather rare to hear this expressed in overt terms (cf the situation of Irish as described by, e.g. Romaine 1995:317-318 and Edwards 1984, 1994). Even the most urbanised of Peruvians know, or believe they know, a good deal about Quechua, and the vast majority would claim to wish to see it maintained (again, the parallel with Irish is a conspicuous one). A major objective of the present study, then, and the one addressed by research question [3], is to attempt to disentangle symbol from reality, and to show how and why this supposedly prized cultural inheritance is suppressed and rejected at the level of actual linguistic behaviour.

Parallel to the question of how Quechua functions as an emblem of national identity goes that of how language helps construct individual identity (or, to approach the same issue from a slightly different angle, in what way language *shift* might *affect* individual identity). It is sometimes supposed, by liberal Western linguists as much as by the Peruvian linguist *engagé*, first, that loss of the mother tongue brings with it a certain sociocultural disorientation[6] - Gugenberger (1994) speaks of the "identidad quebrada" of Quechua-speaking migrants to Arequipa - and second, that this loss represents in essence a capitulation to the dominant *criollo* culture (see e.g. von Gleich 1994a, 1994b; Ojeda y Ojeda 1992). It is of course indisputable that migration brings with it profound changes in the individual (see for example the histories and testimonies collected by Matos Mar 1986, Skar 1994, Degregori et al 1986). Some of these changes are potentially traumatic, and not least a change in habitual language use. It is, nevertheless, far from clear that migrants invariably view their experience, including the experience of language shift, in negative terms. Taking as a starting point the axiom that "social and cultural phenomena can be understood only if they are studied from the viewpoint of the participants, that is, as they appear to those who are actively involved in them" (Smolicz 1992:281), research question [3] was formulated in an effort to discover what speaking Spanish, or speaking Quechua, signified to the migrants and their families themselves in terms of their own identity and self-image.

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[6]Commentators on bilingual situations in many parts of the world have in fact assumed this to be the case. See Appel & Muysken (1987:113).

4 *What possibilities exist for a resurgence or revitalisation of Quechua in Lima?*

It was hoped that, if substantial and convincing answers could be found to research questions [1], [2] and [3], together they would yield a picture of language shift in Lima that would have not only descriptive validity but explanatory and predictive capacity. Question [4] was therefore viewed not so much as a separate line of enquiry in its own right, as a superordinate research problem which could best be addressed through analysis of the data collected in the course of the rest of the study and the theoretical conclusions thereby arrived at. This was chiefly due, of course, to the necessarily abstract nature of the proposition: simply to ask informants whether they thought that Quechua could be revitalised in Lima would be an exercise of extremely limited value.

It is no longer generally supposed - if indeed it was ever *generally* supposed - that ethnic minorities automatically value ethnocultural and linguistic maintenance (see in particular Fishman et al 1985). Likewise, even where certain ethnic cultural markers are valued and maintained, language may not be one of these (Smolicz 1992). However, the continuing potential for maintenance (or revitalisation, if linguistic attrition has reached that point) must be acknowledged even where it may appear that the question has long since been settled. The dominance of Spanish in Peru is, for the moment, undisputed. But language shift does not correlate automatically with the power, be it economic, social, cultural or whatever, of one group in relation to another. Perceived linguistic domination, or oppression, may result in active resistance, a possibility remarked upon explicitly by the Linguistic Minorities Project (1985):

> In a situation of dominant-subordinate relations, minority speakers' perceptions of the dominant definition of the status of their minority language can have a powerful influence on their own evaluation of its worth. This reactive assessment may lead to a heightened sense of its lower status... Alternatively the reaction may be one of rejecting the dominant view, involving conscious statements of pride in the language or its associated culture, and of collective action to resist its loss.
>
> (LMP 1985:107)

Awareness of linguistic hegemony must hence always be tempered by the parallel awareness that "...linguistic norms can be apprehended, accepted, resisted and subverted by individual actors" (Cameron 1990:88; and cf Ng & Bradac 1993; the question of resistance is further considered below). This applies as much to inter-language as to intra-language variation. Quechua, though undoubtedly under considerable pressure, also possesses considerable adaptive mechanisms (Cerrón-Palomino 1991), and even in Lima cannot be said to be entirely moribund. While research question [4] then, was not

formulated in the expectation that a revitalisation of the language would be readily identifiable in Lima - there was certainly no hypothesis of this kind - it was intended to allow for such a possibility, now or in the future.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Quechua as an "oppressed language"

The characterisation made of Peruvian language shift throughout this study rests on the assumption that to speak Quechua is not simply to speak a "minority", "low-prestige" or "indigenous" language, but something more than any of these, and in some ways experientially different. It will be argued that Xavier Albó's suggestion of the term "oppressed languages" for Quechua and Aymara (Albó 1979), echoed by e.g. Mannheim (1984), is both apt and helpful.

In part the term is necessary because the alternatives are inadequate or misleading. In much sociolinguistic discourse "minority" has been reinterpreted to such an extent that it is in many contexts used interchangeably with terms such as "subordinate" (i.e. in terms of power or prestige). London's Linguistic Minorities Project, for example, states firmly that: "Languages are only 'minority languages' because they are perceived as such by the dominant majority" (LMP 1985:106. Very much the same assertion is made by Romaine 1995:323). While one readily acknowledges the point being made here, it would nevertheless seem reasonable to argue that perceptions have nothing to do with it; languages are minority languages because their speakers are - in London, say - in a numerical minority. Attempting to reconcile the very dissimilar concepts of relative numbers of speakers and relative prestige, Allardt (1984) notes that "the quality of being a minority is... a variable thing. Some language minorities are, so to speak, *more* of a minority than others. *Ils sont plus minorisés*" (Allardt 1984:203). Elegant and true though it may be, this observation would have been unnecessary had the meaning of "minority" language been retained in its original, quantitative sense (as in the German *Minderheitssprache*). Even then, a minority can only be such in relation to another group, raising the essentially political question of what state, polity or community is being taken as the "base" one (a point made by Edwards 1992:39 with relation to French in Quebec). To speak of "minority languages" is hence to bring into play rather ambivalent and ideologically-loaded notions; at best, it risks confusion.

It is similarly inadequate to characterise certain languages as "low-prestige" or "low-status" codes. As Fishman (1972a:98) is careful to stress, "language prestige is not a unit trait or tag that can be associated with a given language under all circumstances". As different social contexts require different language behaviour, so a nominally low-status code may effectively be the required, status-conferring code for particular circumstances - especially, we might suspect, where these circumstances pertain more to maintenance of

ethnocultural "groupness", familial solidarity and so on, than to the structures of the wider society. The supposedly "high" code may certainly be mocked and disparaged (Hill & Hill 1986 for Mexico, Harvey 1987, 1991 for Peru). Guaraní is an enduring example of an ostensibly "low" code (in terms of the classic, perhaps rather static model of diglossia) which can be appropriate, even required, for situations which would require "high" Spanish in the Andean countries (Stark 1983, Rubin 1968, 1972). Quechua itself may be regarded as a desirable "high" code by speakers of other South American languages (Heath & Laprade 1982, Howard-Malverde 1995). Crucially, Quechua has immense symbolic value for the nation at large: the question is why this prestige does not as a rule extend to its speakers.

To qualify Quechua and Aymara as "indigenous" or "native" languages, meanwhile, is to disregard the long history in the Andean region of language shift. spread and loss, whether this be through warfare, commerce, population movement or any of the other possible means of language dissemination (see inter alia Mannheim 1991, Torero 1974, Cerrón-Palomino 1989b). Apart from anything else, many Quechua speakers became so only because of Spanish colonial language policy: Torero's blunt assessment is that the Inca *koine* was "una de las armas más útiles para la conquista" (1974:181) and "instrumento para la destrucción del mundo andino" (1974:159). Indeed, to cleave in the face of all the evidence to the contrary to what might be called the traditional/ romantic view of Quechua as the "language of the Incas", originating in Cusco, is to adopt a position which owes nothing to historical sociolinguistic fact and everything to a long-established ideological discourse of social power. This discourse, represented in Cusco today primarily by the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, is well treated by such as Godenzzi (1992), Niño-Murcia (1997) and Itier (1992b, 1992c) .

Albó (1979), then, rightly rejecting the alternative labels discussed above, chooses to characterise Quechua and Aymara as "oppressed languages". He argues that this term succeeds not only in describing the position they hold in society as a whole and as at present constituted, but also in recalling the historical processes and economic and cultural forces that have led to that position. It is worthy of note that the term implicitly allows the possibility of resistance through language choice and, importantly, the potential of the language to realise prestige functions. The nature of the relationship between socio-political oppression and linguistic oppression in Peru is now considered.

2.2 The origins and nature of linguistic oppression

The course of language spread in the Andes, both before and after the Spanish conquest, has been described and analysed in some detail (see inter alia Mannheim 1991, von Gleich 1994a, Cerrón-Palomino 1987b, Rojas 1980, Hardman de Bautista 1985, Torero 1974, 1984, Heath & Laprade 1982). For the purposes of the present study, the analysis of pre-conquest patterns of language use is only relevant insofar as it represents a scholarly discourse

against which may be measured the claims of the *quechuista* élite and the beliefs of ordinary speakers; the fact that Quechua is perceived as having been the "language of the Incas" has considerable import in symbolic terms. However, it is of course the conquest which forms the basis of the Quechua-Spanish relationship which is considered here.

For Escobar et al (1975) the essence of the Spanish conquest of the Andes was the creation of a dual culture in which the divide between rulers and ruled was absolute: political, social, economic and cultural power passed so abruptly and completely to the speakers of one language, leaving so entirely powerless the speakers of the other (or others), that social relationships could be predictably and consistently replicated in language. Hence a set of stark oppositions developed:

> Castellano igual lengua del sector dominante y quechua lengua del sector sojuzgado... La primera es la lengua de las ciudades y la otra de las áreas rurales... La lengua del patrón y la lengua del siervo, la del aprendizaje formal y la de la adquisición informal, la de la comunicación amplia y la de la comunicación restringida; la del sector instruido del país y la del sector con mayor indice de analfebetismo...
>
> (Escobar et al 1975:53)

This is a view from around the time of Velasco; the policies carried out by his and subsequent governments, generations of *mestizaje*, growing bilingualism and rapid social and economic change mean that the picture is today perhaps no longer quite so clearcut. Von Gleich & Wölck (1994) chart some of the changing attitudes to Spanish and Quechua in Ayacucho from the 1960s onwards, noting that bilingualism tended to become more stable during the 1970s (though it should perhaps be noted in passing that some observers see bilingual situations where one language is oppressed as inherently unstable and always threatening to the survival of the latter).[7]

And yet the dual culture hypothesis retains a good deal of explanatory power. Much bilingualism did of course develop in the Andes. However, it is worthy of note that: "unlike in most situations of conquest where the conquered group is more bilingual than the dominant group, the reverse is the case in the Peruvian Andes" (van den Berghe & Primov 1977:4). Bilingualism was - and to some extent still is - more the province of urban *mestizos* and the

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[7]See e.g. Wardhaugh (1987) and cf Gardner-Chloros (1995:86). It is important, though, not to lose sight of the possibility for retrenchment or reversal as social changes occur. Edwards commented in 1983 that (in Tunisia) "[t]here is... the danger that French-Arabic bilingualism in the long term favours French; this is a familiar argument around the world, wherever bilingualism is seen to be an unstable and impermanent way-station on the road to language replacement" (1983:229). The principle holds good; yet it would be very much more risky now to assume that Arabic is in danger from French in such situations - quite the opposite, one might argue. As Edwards himself has pointed out in his recent (1994) work, French is now endangered in countries where a relatively short while ago this would have been unthinkable. (And this can be confirmed by simple observation in, for example, much of Indochina, including even Cambodia).

provincial petite bourgeoisie than of Indian peasants; and hence while to speak Quechua does not in itself constitute a mark of low status, to be monolingual in Quechua most certainly does. Even though today there is greater bilingualism at the *campesino* level (due for example to increased mobility and communications, greater access to education, and so on), the effects of the historical model of the dual culture persist in the form of a particular sociocultural *Weltanschauung* based on a thoroughgoing racial and cultural determinism. Manrique (1995), attempting to understand the atrocities committed by some of the soldiers who were sent to the *zonas de emergencia* in the 1980s, notes that one way in which the soldiers rationalised what they did was to use the analogy - to them a natural one - of American actions in Vietnam. As he acutely remarks, this is to perceive oneself in the role of an occupying presence in a *foreign* country. Ideological justifications are unnecessary - differences of ethnicity and culture were in themselves sufficient to de-humanise the inhabitants of the *sierra*. Manrique is surely right to comment that, while the guerrilla war allowed these sentiments to surface freely, they were not created by it but are a product of Peruvian society and history.[8]

Albó (1979) suggests that the dual culture model of post-conquest cohabitation has its ideal, or most extreme, manifestation in the phenomenon of dual monolingualism. While for practical purposes there was always a (relatively small) number of bilingual individuals, this is essentially the system which existed throughout the colonial period in Peru. Growing bilingualism and increasing social and geographic mobility mean that in many areas it has ceased to be the case; but - crucially - the historical process itself has fixed Quechua, along with its speakers, into an inferior position. In such a situation, for the monolingual speaker at least, "the oppressed language becomes in turn oppressive" (Albó 1979:313). Where Spanish is the code of the powerful class, and simultaneously the code of access to the powerful class (that is, of education and consequent social mobility), Quechua not only marks out the one who is oppressed, but acts as an effective block to escaping from that oppression (Albó 1979, López et al 1984). Where gaining status is a possibility (for the bilingual, say) the route to it lies not through overcoming the stigmatisation of the language and its associated culture, but only through abandoning them. Even then, there is no guarantee of social advancement: if language shift is a necessary criterion for upward mobility, it is far from being a sufficient one (Mannheim 1984, 1991).

Hence language in the Andes becomes inextricably linked to socioeconomic status. It might be argued that in modern Peru Quechua has become simply the language of the lowest and most exploited social class in a single national,

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[8]Elite (and some popular) discourse in Peru affects a curious blindness to the problem of endemic racism in the country. An editorial in *El Comercio* on 11/10/95 made the extraordinary assertion that: "Felizmente, en nuestro país, los prejuicios raciales han ido en franco retroceso y en los tiempos más recientes bien podría afirmarse que - con la excepción de unos mínimos sectores recalcitrantes - es fenómeno casi totalmente superado...". This editorial was connected to the reporting of the OJ Simpson murder trial in the USA; and indeed, the very term *racismo* is often understood by Peruvians to refer primarily to white-black relations in the United States.

capitalist society: Albó (1979) claims that this is the natural outcome of "dual culture" development, and that it is a process which is well under way. The shift from ethnic to class-based terms of reference may also be seen in popular terminology. De Vries (1988:92) observes: "los términos 'criollo', 'mestizo' e 'indio' originalmente indicaban características étnicas. En este momento se los utiliza como indicadores de clase social y proveniencia cultural". This is so, and it would certainly seem to suggest that the process Albó identifies is taking place: the interrelation of ethnic and socioeconomic categories is suggested, too, in the widespread Andean perception, noted by López et al (1984:29) that "la riqueza emblanquece y la pobreza indianiza". It need hardly be added that a parallel "rule", linguistic as opposed to economic, could be constructed for Spanish and Quechua.

In either case, in the sense that Quechua is identified both by its own speakers and in the nation at large as the code of a dominated sector of society, carrying with it strong and unmistakeable ethnic and class indicators, it is the language of an oppressed people. It should be noted, too, that as Quechua is not the language of an élite in any other country, there is no reflected social prestige or access to international élite discourse to be gained from speaking it - unlike the English used by South African blacks or the Portuguese of East Timor. While Spanish is no longer necessarily a signifier of power (Mannheim 1991), Quechua is virtually always a signifier of powerlessness. It is, in Hornberger's (1988:22) words, "both the easily identifiable trait of lower status and the vehicle of oppression". Indeed, even where the Quechua speaker acquires the dominant code, he or she may be stigmatised because of the presence of first language interference or - cruelly - hypercorrection (Cerrón-Palomino 1989a, Albó 1974, Mannheim 1991). So profound is the identification of Quechua with the dominated and Spanish with the dominant that the very cultural signs of *mestizo*-ness (westernised clothes, "national" food and drink, occupation in the non-agricultural sector and so on) may be viewed as somehow inextricable from language competence. A Quechua-speaking monolingual interviewed by the Cornell Methodology Project investigators in the Callejón de Huaylas in the 1950s commented:

> I don't like these clothes I'm wearing now because when we wear clothes like that we don't learn how to speak Spanish... With trousers, coat, vest, shirt and a straw hat, a person is better class [*más decente*] and knows how to speak Spanish.
>
> (Stein 1985:289)

Of course, most Quechua speakers do not assume a causal link between donning Western-style clothes and acquiring Spanish. But there is a clear expectation that a person who does one will do the other (Stein 1985, Escobar et al 1975, Paulston 1992), thereby in addition passing from one socioeconomic level to another and from one perceived cultural group to another. This is the legacy of the "dual culture" factor in Peruvian history, and of the modern class system which overlays it. Albó (1979:313) refers to

language as potentially both "social distinguisher and maintainer of the system". It is the absolute identification of Quechua with the dominated, and the absolute impossibility of altering this while the power structure of Peru remains as it is, that render Quechua an oppressed language.

2.3 Features of oppressed languages

Not all oppressed languages are prey to the process of shift to another language: most, however, are. Oppressed languages - rather than simply "minority" ones - tend to display certain common features, both external and internal. The former might include social stigmatisation. restricted and/or reduced functions and/or domains, restricted life chances for speakers, growing one-way bilingualism and subsequent identity conflict. The latter, as language shift begins to take effect, might include lexical decay and increased borrowing, stylistic shrinkage, morphophonological simplification and/or rule-loss, syntactic shrinkage and calque. (For Quechua, see e.g. Wölck 1973, Albó 1974, 1979, Cerrón-Palomino 1989a. For a more general description of the potential effects on languages of a powerful competitor, see e.g. Dressler & Wodak-Leodolter 1977, Sasse 1990, Denison 1977, Wardhaugh 1987).

While the internal linguistic features of Quechua are almost everywhere under pressure from Spanish (see Muysken 1979 for a particularly striking Ecuadorean example), the traffic is not all one-way: certainly there is much evidence of the influence of Quechua in Andean Spanish, especially in its syntax, and some in standard Peruvian Spanish. Cerrón-Palomino (1989a) details some of this influence and goes so far as to qualify it as the "venganza" of Quechua on Spanish (1989a:169). He goes on to describe the changing patterns of linguistic behaviour as "convergencia" (rather than, say, shift or $L_1 > L_2$ interference). Wölck (1973:138-9), equally, speaks of Spanish/Quechua "fusion". However, it is beyond dispute that the traffic is, in fact, mostly one-way: the unequal relationship between the languages and their speakers is reflected both in the extent to which each influences the other, and in the social, cultural and psychological effects of this influence.

As far as what might be called the internal political features of Quechua are concerned, in Peru the picture is one of fragmentation. While several attempts have been made to standardise the alphabet, grammar and lexicon, no standard (or even regionally-varied set of standards) has yet been generally accepted and employed (Cerrón-Palomino 1991, Wölck 1991, de Vries 1988:121-122). In part this is doubtless due to the diversity of dialects extant in Peru (see chapter 5, part 1); but in part, too, to the virtual absence of an all-encompassing Quechua-speaking group identity of the kind to be found in Ecuador or, to some extent, Bolivia.

The most important feature of an oppressed language, in terms of the aims of the present study, is a sociolinguistic one. There is, even in monolingual communities, a keen awareness of the low status of the language in the eyes

of outsiders, quite often internalised, with potential psychological effects that have not yet been fully studied. This consciousness of stigmatisation may be translated into linguistic behaviour and attitudes (for example, where the education of children is concerned); this is one way in which covert psychological features of the language shift process are realised in the observable sociolinguistic features to be discussed. The description and analysis of the way in which the two relate, indeed, form a key element of this work.

2.4 Mechanisms of language shift

The direct cause of language shift can be stated quite simply. As Denison (1977:22) says of language death, it is "social and psychological: parents cease transmitting the language to their offspring". In terms of domain theory, the withering away of domains proceeds so far that "there is nothing left for [the language] appropriately to be used about" (Denison 1977:21). The questions to be answered, of course, are why this should happen, and how it happens. As has been noted above, while language shift is invariably rooted in external factors (Sasse 1990), it is not the case that these wider processes - social, economic, demographic and so on - in and of themselves bring about linguistic change. Indeed, if this *were* the case, then predicting language shift would be a rather simpler matter than it in fact is. In effect, then, the challenge facing the student of language shift is the same as that facing anyone who seeks to understand the way in which linguistic norms in general become established, namely "... to find productive ways of linking abstractions like power, or gender ideology, to individual speakers' day-to-day experience of such forces in and through language" (Walters 1996:515; and cf Cameron 1990, 1995).

One potentially productive course is to seek a set of intervening variables or mediating factors which, themselves deriving from the external processes, in turn act upon communities and individuals to produce changes in linguistic behaviour. These variables might consist of such things as, for example, the relation between language and social status; the societally-constructed associations which a language holds (both for its speakers and for the wider society); the role of the education system; marriage conventions and social networks, and so on (see e.g. Appel & Muysken 1987:38). For some of those who view language as an essentially political matter, and language change as deriving from (and helping construct) processes of power and conflict, a fundamental intermediate factor is that of language ideology (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994). By this is meant the body of received attitudes and beliefs that are held about languages and their speakers (and indeed, at the intra-language level, about dialects or varieties and their speakers); it is argued that these are ideologised, in the sense that they do not spring from observation or reside in inherent qualities, but are generated by social forces. Where relations between social groups are characterised by oppression and domination, these ideologised attitudes form the mechanism by which the

macro-level phenomena of social and economic power, gender, ethnicity and so on are translated into day-to-day oppression of the language of the dominated group, revealed in individual utterances and code choices.

The notion of language ideology is not just an abstract one: it has concrete manifestations in linguistic behaviour. It may reveal itself, for example, in an over-generalising or over-extension of one's own sociolinguistic context to other or even all contexts. Lindgren's (1984) Finnish-speaking informants in Norway addressed visiting Finnish children in Norwegian, having formed the impression from their own language shift experience that Finnish was always an inappropriate language to use with children. Walters (1996) notes that Tunisians tend to expect all educated adults to speak good French, whatever their background, and that his Tunisian students distrusted his qualifications as an English teacher because his French was not of a good standard. At any level, linguistic behaviour is sensitive to prevailing ideology, and choice of code (or variety, or register) is therefore conditioned not solely by "external" factors such as topic, setting and so on, but by "...an understanding of speakers' attitudes to the different varieties of their own repertoires, and their perceptions of their interlocutors' perception of them as individuals" (LMP 1985:117).

Language ideology may be internalised by the dominated. Bourdieu (1991) finds useful the concept of *misrecognition*: he claims that ordinary speakers, failing to recognise that the primacy of the legitimated variety (*langue légitime*) does no more than reflect the dominance of the social group that speaks it, come to acknowledge this variety as better - more valuable, more authentic, more powerful, or whatever it may be - than their own. Allied to this is the notion of capital within a linguistic marketplace; certain varieties have more societal value than others, and in this sense the ability to produce well-formed utterances is unconnected to the capacity to produce utterances *which will be listened to* (Bourdieu 1991:55). Bourdieu's theory of symbolic marketplaces and symbolic capital is further discussed in chapter 2.

While many sociolinguists have found Bourdieu's basic thesis a productive one, it has not been, and cannot be, accepted uncritically. Bourdieu typically shows only limited awareness of the complexity and potential for conflict inherent in the process of establishing, maintaining and transmitting the *langue légitime*, rather taking it as given that powerful groups have attained hegemony for their variety, and that grammarians, academicians, priests and schoolteachers wield unquestioned authority.[9] It is therefore important to recognise the contribution made by sociolinguists such as Gal (1988, 1989), Woolard (1985), Fairclough (1989), Friedrich (1989) and Harvey (1987), amongst others, to the reworking and development of the theory of language

[9]This might, perhaps, have been the case in France more than in other European countries. Indeed, Bourdieu's entire schema appears to rest on the sole - and rather particular - example of language policy in France since the First Republic.

and symbolic power in order to give much greater weight to the potential for resistance to, and rejection of, linguistic hegemony.

What all these commentators have in common is an insistence that linguistic norms are always open to challenge (and cf Taylor 1990); this applies not only to intra-language variety, but also to the distribution of codes within a society. Speakers may manipulate the linguistic symbols of power, reject or invert them (as Harvey 1987 notes for the case of Quechua in Ocongate). Moreover, while Bourdieu seems to think in terms of a single, unified and clearly-bounded linguistic marketplace, the reality is surely more complex and more fragmentary than this: different kinds and sources of power operate in different marketplaces, and codes may thus have varying values according to context (Woolard 1985, Heller 1995). Fairclough, who supports to some extent Bourdieu's view of language and symbolic power (see for example Fairclough 1989:95), nevertheless rightly emphasises that "...resistance and change are not only possible but continuously happening" (1989:4). Such resistance may be discernible even where the linguistic arbiters, supported by physical state power, and with all the resources of a centralised bureaucracy at their disposal, have made determined, overt and conscious efforts to manipulate usage. Buchowski et al (1994) describe the way in which the eastern European revolutionaries of 1989 reclaimed the "original" meanings of such words as "liberty" and "democracy": meanings which had withstood decades of conscious effort on the part of the authorities to replace them by the "official" meanings.

While Bourdieu allows the "assertion of linguistic counter-legitimacy" (1991:98), this is a marginal activity, indulged in by the excluded. He can hardly countenance such widespread, and ultimately overt, resistance to the politicians, teachers and lexicographers as that which obtained in eastern Europe; worse, such work throws doubt on the very notion that accommodation to norms can be inferred from the language that people use. Thus Woolard (1985:741) argues that "...it is logically possible that standard linguistic practices may accompany or conceal resistant consciousness, as a form of accommodation to coercion rather than the complicity essential to the notion of cultural hegemony". She goes on to remark that "authority and hegemony cannot be mechanically read out from institutional dominance" (1985:743). Quite so; and the findings of Buchowski et al bear this out entirely. But Bourdieu is insistent that the "consecrated arbiters of legitimate usage" (1991:63) have achieved hegemony and acceptance for their variety, seemingly on the grounds that they hold positions of institutional power and proclaim that they are indispensable. Like Kafka's gatekeeper of the Law, these gatekeepers of the language present such a stern aspect that their real power remains - by Bourdieu, at least - untested. It will be argued here that, while language ideology in Peru characterises demotic Quechua (as opposed to the "language of the Incas") as backward and anti-modern, such a characterisation is not accepted uncritically by speakers themselves. Rather, there is a strong and consistent feeling that Quechua is unfairly treated by the state and its schools (see in particular chapter 3), and that Quechua is

representative of the nation in a way that Spanish cannot be. Such resistance to linguistic hegemony, while unfocussed, is nonetheless real.

This is not to say that language ideology is ineffective. A key theoretical assumption underpinning this study is that the role of language ideology as an intermediate factor in language shift is a crucial one, with real and identifiable applications to the case of Quechua in Lima. One might take as an example the assertion, most often made by middle- and upper-class Spanish speakers, but echoed too by some native Quechua speakers, that Quechua is not a language, but a dialect. When asked to explain or enlarge upon this, typically, the respondent will fall silent or volunteer an equally ideologised assertion, such as that only a language can be written, and Quechua is not written. These, plainly, are social judgements masquerading as linguistic information; language ideology writ large. Hence a major objective of the present research is to identify those beliefs and attitudes towards language which seem to be important to speakers in Lima and, most importantly, to attempt to show how they affect the process of language shift at the level of the individual speaker.

It is accepted, then, that linguistic change is linked to wider social relations, and that in Peru these relations have often been characterised by inequality and oppression. However, it will be argued that to analyse the extraordinarily rapid language shift in Lima *solely* in terms of misrecognition, of oppression, of cultural attrition or of internalisation of a hostile ideology, would be to adopt a partial (and itself ideological) view of a process involving highly complex and often contradictory currents. The sociolinguists referred to above quite rightly lay heavy emphasis on the omnipresent possibility of resistance to linguistic domination. While this is of course most easily thought of (in situations of language contact) as taking the form of efforts at language maintenance or reversing language shift (Fishman 1991, 1992), it also entails the possibility that individuals and communities may appropriate the dominant language for their own purposes (cf Harvey 1987): note that Cameron (1990:88; above) speaks not only of rejection and resistance per se but of norms being "apprehended, accepted... subverted".

Such a form of resistance should not, in the case of Lima at least, be overstated. There is little evidence that Quechua-speaking migrants deliberately acquire Spanish in order to turn it back on their perceived oppressors. There will be presented here, however, a good deal of evidence to suggest that despite the natural regret felt at the loss of Quechua and resentment at the low status accorded the language by the wider society, these speakers and their children like speaking Spanish; that they feel empowered by it; that they do not consider speaking Spanish a capitulation to the *criollos*; and that they consider it the most appropriate code for themselves as people who are ambitious, forward-looking and modern. These feelings are doubtless filtered through the lens of ideology, but they are no less real for that. In constructing a theoretical model of social power and linguistic norms, it is important not to let the very real experiences and

opinions of speakers be devalued mechanically to the status of errors of recognition.

This may lead us to consider alternative theoretical approaches to the whole question of language choice, whether expressed at the communal-societal level of widespread language shift, or at the micro-level of code choice and code switching within individual speech events. It might be said that the models discussed above treat code choice as essentially a reflection of power relations in society. Some other equally productive models, though, view language primarily as a resource at the disposal of the individual and the speech community, a means by which identity and self-image can be constructed and expressed. Thus Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1982, 1985) characterise language choices as "acts of identity". Drawing on the example of linguistic behaviour in multilingual and multicultural Caribbean societies, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller suggest that speakers may select from the varieties available to them to signal their orientation towards their interlocutor and, importantly, to symbolise within a given interaction (or at a given stage in the interaction) the social identity which they wish to project. In speech communities which typically have access to several codes or varieties, each associated to at least some extent with a different group culture or historical source, simply to speak is to make a statement about the social identity one is placing in the foreground at a particular moment. In choosing a variety (or mixture of varieties) the speaker "is seeking to reinforce his models of the world, and hopes for acts of solidarity from those with whom he wishes to identify" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985:181).

This concept is built upon, and given a more specifically individualistic emphasis, by Johnstone & Bean (1997), who suggest that:

> Speakers' linguistic choices express one or more self-images... Self-images may partly coincide with images of one or more groups, as speakers express identification with others; but self-images also reflect individuals' senses of themselves as different from others.
>
> (Johnstone & Bean 1997:223)

One would naturally address with caution any theory of language choice which appeared to assume that individual linguistic behaviour had no relation to societal norms, and these no relation to societal power structures (though in fact Johnstone & Bean are far from claiming this); perhaps more pertinently, the intensely individualistic orientation of Johnstone & Bean's Texas informants might not be generalisable to other cultural environments. However, as Walters (1996) remarks, the notion of self-image as a fundamental factor in language choice might be seen as a bridge between those models of language choice which proceed from the starting point of individual identity and those which tend to stress societal ideology and conflict.

It will be argued here that the data from Lima (and see particularly chapters 5 and 6) strongly support such an approach: the two models are not necessarily incompatible, and can be reconciled if self-image - not only that of the individual, but in a wider sense, the communally-constructed self-image of Andean migrants to Lima - is considered alongside language attitudes as a crucial intermediate variable in language shift. Hence, while it is fully acknowledged that linguistic choices are made within a framework of power and ideology, mechanical extrapolations therefrom are resisted. Scotton (1988), in her critique of Blom & Gumperz' (1972) theory of situational/ metaphorical code switching, argues for the acceptance of a model in which "situations do not determine choices. Rather, speaker motivations do" (Scotton 1988:156). Approaches of this kind necessarily, and rightly, entail the positioning of the speaker - as individual, as interlocutor, as part of a family and a community, as citizen of a nation - at the centre of the sociolinguistic picture; speakers' own perceptions of themselves and others will here be considered of prime importance in explaining language shift.

Chapter One

Introduction

Part Two

Methodology, fieldwork and informants

1 General

The material presented in this study is derived principally from Peruvian speakers themselves, gathered through informal conversation and formal interviewing, self-report data and participant observation. The Peruvian print and broadcast media formed a valuable supplementary source. Information was, though, drawn deliberately from as wide a range of media and genres as possible: hence reference will be made to, inter alia, popular songs and sayings, names and nicknames, political speeches, institutional documents, street signs, football chants and so on.

Fieldwork in Peru was carried out over a total of 16 months, between June 1995 and March 1996, and between July and December 1996. The nature of the methodological framework adopted, which is discussed in detail below, meant that information-gathering - above all interviewing and observation - could and did take place virtually anywhere; no one particular community was selected for study, though of course more time was spent in certain places than in others. For this reason, and because of the number and variety of places involved, in general locations and contexts are described in the text as and when this becomes necessary, rather than at this stage. However, it may be useful immediately to provide some orientation with regard to some of the main areas where work took place.

Nine-tenths of the fieldwork period was spent in Lima. There, most fieldwork was carried out in various parts of the *cono sur*, the sprawling collection of settlements south of Lima which begins beyond the residential suburbs of Chorrillos and Surco and stretches some thirty miles or so out into the desert. This area contains three of the districts which will occur repeatedly in the text: Villa María del Triunfo, Villa El Salvador and Tablada de Lurín (a fourth, the *pueblo joven* of La Merced, lies a few miles further south again, just outside the bathing resort of Punta Negra). All are inhabited overwhelmingly by Andean migrants or their descendants. These districts are decidedly of the *clases populares*, but within this the social composition of each varies widely. Quality of housing, for example, ranges from neat brick or breeze block-built units with solid plastic roofs (these in the older and better-established zones) to the classic Lima "shanty" constructed of nothing more than three or four *esteras* - sheets of rush matting - topped with a piece of corrugated iron. Other critical factors such as street-lighting, access to water and electricity, transport, medical facilities and degree of social cohesion and organisation

vary to a similar extent. This is perhaps not surprising given the size of the area under consideration; Villa El Salvador alone is by far the most populous district of Lima, and bigger than many provincial cities.

A good deal of research was carried out, too, amongst families and individuals in the eastern industrial area of Ate-Vitarte, and in the inner districts of the city. Of these the three most important were: Surco, a generally prosperous district with much new housing and ample amenities, home to many white-collar professionals; Pueblo Libre, a rather faded lower-middle-class area near the Católica and San Marcos universities, with a substantial population of migrants established as far back as the 1950s and 60s; and Cercado de Lima, the historic city centre, which despite being now badly dilapidated and overcrowded, continues to attract primary migration from the Andes.

Outside Lima, three locations in particular yielded substantial material in the form of interviews and other supplementary information. These were: the village of Santa Cruz de Pacte, in the department of Junín, a community of some 150-200 people which lies just off the Carretera Central about thirty minutes from the city of Jauja; the city and environs of Huancayo, in the central highlands; and the city and environs of Cusco.

These places and the others where work was carried out are described in more detail, where this seems relevant, in the body of the text. The social and socioeconomic characteristics of the informants contacted in all these areas varied, as might be imagined, to the extent that the characteristics of the locations vary, and beyond. The informants are further described below, following a description of the methodological approach employed. It should be noted at once, though, that while it was intended to include opinions and data from a very wide range of subjects, and certainly not just migrants or Quechua speakers (indeed, subjects range from elderly illiterates to young professionals, Quechua-dominant recent migrants to monolingual Spanish speakers who have never been outside Lima, and so on) - this study does *not* attempt to consider the case of refugees, or "involuntary" migrants to Lima. The rationale for this decision is given at the end of this section.

2 Methodological considerations

One conventional approach in sociolinguistic work, that of selecting a sample and carrying out formal interviews or administering a questionnaire, was dispensed with after the initial stage, once it became apparent that the information thereby gained was less than adequate. The chief reason for this was that direct questioning on potentially sensitive topics, of people who had barely or never met me before, tended to produce very uneven and unreliable results. At one extreme there was the problem of denial. To give an example: early in the fieldwork period, at a social occasion at the house of a contact in an *asentamiento humano* in Villa María del Triunfo, I noted three elderly men of Andean appearance, drinking in the kitchen. On being approached, all

three politely and cheerfully denied any knowledge of Quechua. While I did not actually hear them speaking Quechua - and nor was this expected - a reliable contact later confirmed that all three were indeed native speakers.

Less emphatically offputting - but equally distorting - was the very common phenomenon of the respondent who, while co-operative or even actively enthusiastic, would give only a very superficial or stereotypical response to questions about attitudes and usage. Milroy (1987) notes with regard to questions on code-switching that, as respondents rarely have a precise metalanguage at their disposal, "responses to direct questioning about specific details are frequently in terms of some stereotypical form which has risen to the surface of consciousness" (1987:187). The same principle is abundantly true of language issues in Peru. There exists around Quechua a body of (very often mistaken or illogical) received attitudes and folk wisdom, which appear to be shared by many speakers and non-speakers alike. Some common examples of these might include: that Quechua originated with the Incas in Cusco; that the best and most correct Quechua is spoken in Cusco; that Quechua is not a language but a "dialect"; that Quechua is not and cannot be written; that Quechua is identical in structure to English, and therefore much easier to learn for English speakers than for Spanish speakers; that the variety of dialects of Quechua makes it impossible for speakers from different parts of the country to understand each other. Very many respondents, when asked to reflect on language, tended to frame their responses in these stereotypical terms.

Of course both these types of response, the evasive and the stereotypical, are interesting in their own right, and are discussed further in the text: but in order to arrive at a deeper level of understanding about the complex processes involved in language shift it was essential to deal in addition with people whose responses were less mechanical, or less guarded. The ideal informant would in addition be reasonably accessible. Quite often useful information was provided on a second, third or fourth visit that the informants had not volunteered at first. This was not simply because these people were now more willing to talk to me frankly - though this was doubtless the case - but also often because the initial enquiries had sparked their curiosity and they had in the meantime been thinking seriously about the issue of language shift and their own language usage, perhaps for the first time. However, accessibility in fact never ceased to be a problem during the fieldwork. Many poorer people in Lima work long and unpredictable hours; many are difficult to contact, with messages having to be passed through a *centro comunitario* or *poste telefónico*; some have no fixed place of residence or work, but tend to move around the city. In the case of two informants, Hilda Otazú and Ernesto Quispe, after an initial series of meetings contact was simply lost: I was told by friends or relatives that they had "gone away", and only the vaguest of indications about destination or timescale were forthcoming.

A self-evident principle in selecting potential informants is that "the objectives of a piece of research to a very large extent dictate methods of speaker selection" (Milroy 1987:28). The objectives of this research lay less in amassing quantities of statistical data than in teasing out what seemed to be important in the process of LS as suggested by a variety of different respondents and by my own observation. The roots of shift lie at deep and perhaps inaccessible levels, both in terms of society and of the individual: therefore the quality and depth of the information collected was of the very first importance. It should not be overlooked that language use - particularly the use of an "oppressed" language - is also a potentially upsetting or embarrassing subject to discuss with a stranger. It involves relationships with parents and with children; feelings about one's society and one's own place in it, and so on. Indeed, several of the present informants became quite emotional when discussing their native language, and in particular when remembering specific incidents from their past, and the widespread reluctance noted above to engage with the subject at anything other than a very superficial level is doubtless partly attributable to this.

3 Identifying informants: the network approach

My own relationship with respondents and my own position in the society hence very quickly became a fundamental issue of research methodology. It was crucial to find not only speakers (or ex-speakers, or semi-speakers, or children of speakers) of Quechua, but speakers who were willing to talk to me, who were relaxed and undefensive when faced with questions from a foreign researcher, and who were able and disposed to reflect at some length on the subject. It was thus decided to adopt a "social network" approach to identifying key informants, on the grounds that reliable and verifiable data, gathered from people with whom a relationship of trust had been established, was demonstrably more valuable in this context than data gathered from a broad sample which, while perhaps theoretically more "representative", in fact failed to reflect real usage and attitudes, or reflected them only superficially.

Such an approach has both theoretical and methodological implications. It was suggested in part 1 of this chapter that language attitudes and ideology form a key bridging agent between the macro- and micro-levels of analysis. However, the ideology which surrounds questions of language and identity cannot be in any sense regarded as, as it were, "free-floating" - that is, abstract, or existing apart from social structures. It is of course transmitted via the social networks which exist in Lima as in any other community. Speakers learn their attitudes from the social circles in which they move, and influence these circles in their turn (Milroy 1980). Social networks are hence to be regarded here, too, as a fundamental bridging mechanism between macro-level social processes and individual linguistic behaviour. It is language ideology which affects speakers' attitudes to their own speech and that of others; but this ideology is carried and transmitted through the real and tangible agency of friends, family, school, work, social clubs and so on. To

explore the discourses of language ideology in Peru, it was necessary to explore simultaneously the networks within which migrants to Lima live and learn as speakers.

The "social network" (Sankoff 1980) or "friend-of-a-friend" (Milroy 1980, 1987) method of working within a community, initially adapted from techniques employed in fields such as social psychology and anthropology, has been used to good effect by sociolinguists in a range of environments. It is naturally best suited to situations where the researcher already has an *entrée* to the community in question, and where, as suggested above, depth of analysis is considered critical. The method has been successfully used to investigate both intra-language variation (Paulston 1984 for Swedish, Milroy 1980 for Northern Irish English) and language shift (Holmes et al 1993 for Chinese in New Zealand, Li 1994 for Chinese in Britain).

The key problem with this approach, patently, is the question of whether the experiences and behaviour of the informants are representative of trends within the society: it should be acknowledged immediately that representativeness cannot be guaranteed. It will be noted, though, that while the findings of this study are quite seriously at odds with those of Myers (1973) they are broadly in line with more recent studies, and especially that of Gugenberger (1994) in Arequipa. The problem was dealt with in several ways. Within the framework of networking (i.e. asking contacts to introduce others) an ideal "judgement sample" was kept constantly in sight, in order to ensure the best possible representativeness - though the notion of what constituted the ideal sample changed distinctly over time as a picture began to emerge of what appeared to be crucial to the process of language shift. Therefore at various points it appeared necessary to gain an introduction to particular types of informant: Quechua speakers who had married other speakers; those who had married non-speakers or speakers of a different dialect; migrants who had arrived in Lima with no knowledge of Spanish; monolingual Spanish-speaking children of migrants, and so on. This could be done simply by asking informants if they knew, or knew of, someone who might fit the particular criteria.

In general, then, choice of informant was dictated by the direction that the investigation seemed to indicate at the time. However, in order to avoid distortion as far as possible, strenuous efforts were made to gather informants from all sectors of society. The sexes are fairly evenly represented, and the age range runs from 6 to about 80 years. In terms of socioeconomic status, naturally, given the subject matter, there is a bias towards the lower end of the spectrum; but amongst the occupations represented will also be found a number of white-collar professionals and speakers who learned their Quechua, like José María Arguedas, from the employees of the family *hacienda*. The informants come from many different parts of the country, though again there is a natural bias towards the central and southern Andean regions. No particular sample size was fixed in advance: rather, it was decided to talk to anyone who seemed to have something useful to say, and to exclude

no-one. The bulk of the study, though, is based on recordings, observation and information from the approximately 40 informants listed by name in Appendix A, who are referred to here as the "core" informants. It is they, in the main, whose words are reproduced in the text.

Representativeness was also ensured by constant cross-checking of information. Hence if someone volunteered a piece of information that seemed particularly important or convincing (or, indeed, unlikely), I would ask several other people (of other networks, or simply casual contacts) whether they agreed with it. This informal method of checking information proved on the whole remarkably efficient: reactions were generally uniform and decided, and sometimes the relating of other people's experiences could even jog memories. To give one example: a small boy related that his parents, migrants from Ayacucho, would normally speak Spanish to each other, but switched to Quechua when a certain Quechua-preferring uncle came from Ayacucho to visit. This sounded to be a very likely trigger indeed for code-switching; it was therefore wondered whether other speakers experienced similar effects. Some days afterwards I was engaged in casual conversation with a native-speaker taxi-driver from Huánuco. He at first claimed that he and his wife (likewise a native-speaker from Huánuco) now never spoke Quechua at home; however, on being asked about relatives visiting from Huánuco, he burst into laughter and exclaimed "¡Eso! Tienes razón, pues. Cuando están de visita los primos de mi esposa, ahí sí, tienes razón..." (From fieldwork diary, November 1995). As has already been noted, some casual contacts could for perfectly understandable reasons be unhelpful or unreliable; however, if several people agreed (or disagreed) decidedly enough about a piece of information, I tended to accept this *vox populi* judgement.

In a sense I was forced to rely more than I wished to on self-report data. This is in part because of the very nature of the subject: what Quechua is spoken in Lima tends to be restricted to family or *paisano* encounters (Myers 1973, Gugenberger 1994), and then to certain stages and functions in such encounters. As will be argued in the text, the presence of *anyone* from outside the immediate group will tend to trigger a shift to Spanish (cf Blom & Gumperz 1972). It is important to note that this is not simply "hiding" the use of Quechua from the outsider: rather, it means that the social context no longer favours the use of the language. Self-report data, of course, may be prone to inaccuracy. However, it is not necessarily so:

> Whether self-report techniques for eliciting information do in fact also tell us anything about real behaviour depends partly on the relationship between interviewer and respondent (for example, informal and supportive as compared with formal and distant), and partly on the openness and flexibility built into the question [...] [S]ome sociolinguists are careful to supplement [self-report data] with other sociolinguistic material, including more unstructured or

> informal interviews, and with actual 'micro-linguistic' data collected both during interviews and in casual or informal encounters.
>
> (William Labov, cited in LMP 1985:116)

All Labov's implied prescriptions were followed as a matter of course. The range of sources employed hence include self-report data backed up with participant observation (extracts from the fieldwork diary will be found throughout the text); structured interviews to obtain comparative information; lengthier unstructured interviews; recordings of "round table" discussions in which I was not myself involved; and micro-linguistic data recorded from spontaneous conversations. Also included are examples of discourse in or about Quechua from written media, TV and radio, popular music and comedy, *graffiti*, textbooks and virtually any other source that presented itself.

4 The informants

As a starting point I used my *entrée* to my wife's family to get introductions; this effectively meant mixing with the Pausa community in Lima (see Preface). Their knowledge of the background was invaluable, particularly in the early stages of the research. However, as a rule I tried to avoid using immediate family as core informants, in the interests of distance and objectivity. The only exception to this rule was the case of the Escudero brothers from Ancash (Marco Escudero is my wife's brother-in-law), whose interesting and interested contributions were simply too good to lose. Their insight was often extraòrdinary, and contributed greatly to my progressive understanding of the migrant experience.

The intention, then, was to reach informants beyond the ones immediately accessible. Some examples of the networks involved should suffice to illustrate the general method employed. Through the *colonia pausina* I was introduced to a distant relative who lives in the *pueblo joven* of José Gálvez, in Villa María del Triunfo. Successive visits there resulted in an easygoing relationship with her neighbours and family, and thence to invitations to social events in nearby Pachacámac, Atocongo and Tablada de Lurín, where I was introduced to many Quechua-speaking migrants. It was through another *pausino* that I came to know Hilda Otazú Cruz and her siblings, young migrants from Accha, in the department of Cusco, and contact with this family was continued - albeit rather unsatisfactorily - when I visited Cusco in August 1996. Another relative who was keen to help introduced me to a neighbour from Huancayo, who was a useful source. It will be noted, then, that while full use was made of the community to provide background information and contacts, in fact the networks led quite naturally away from Pausa and towards more variegated groups.

Another contact was Carmen Galarza Churampi, who lives in the Urbanización Pachacámac in Villa El Salvador. I began to make regular visits to her house there, where I gradually came to know almost the whole extended family resident in Lima and their friends, who spanned the range from full bilinguals to Spanish monolinguals. From there I was invited to visit the family home in Santa Cruz de Pacte, where I spent a fruitful fortnight with the non-migrants of the family, and was able to reconstruct the process of language shift by speaking to several generations and branches of the family, in addition to friends and neighbours. More casual contacts, too, sometimes led to useful insights. Several weekends spent at the invitation of a friend in the *pueblo joven* of 200 Millas, in Callao, produced a friendly and relaxed relationship with Denis Ballardo and his children; a chance encounter in the village of Huasao (Cusco) with Ernesto Quispe led to further contact in Lima; a "friend-of-a-friend" introduction in Toquepala led to long and interesting discussions with William and Gaby, both semi-speakers from once-wealthy Cusco families, who provided an angle on Quechua quite different from the more familiar rural migrant and *pueblo joven* one. A casual encounter with a Lima taxi-driver resulted in several visits to the *pueblo joven* of La Merced, in Punta Negra, home to a substantial community of recent migrants from Ayacucho. Their hospitality, openness and willingness to help enabled some very fruitful research to take place.

I quizzed casual acquaintances, friends, interested academics - in short, anyone who had any views on the subject - constantly throughout the period of fieldwork. Through hundreds of hours of informal conversation - sometimes recorded, more often not - these informants have also contributed hugely, albeit rather anonymously, to the theses outlined here about the way language functions in Peru and hence the nature of language shift in Lima. Some of these informants were helpful, others, of course, less so. Where their words are quoted, a brief description of the informant is given. These "lower-level" informants - that is, not core respondents - included speakers, semi-speakers, non-speakers, and almost everything in between. It need hardly be pointed out that in a situation of language shift the attitudes of the speakers of the dominant tongue are of enormous weight in forming the social environment in which speakers of the minority language feel pressure to shift (cf Husband & Saifullah Khan 1982:197). Hence I make no excuse for quoting at times the words of people who not only know no Quechua but know virtually nothing accurate about it: the linguistic behaviour and attitudes of monolingual *capitalinos*, too, form part of the explanation.

5 Modes and social context of information-gathering

As an initial step, a questionnaire (reproduced at Appendix D) was prepared and administered in the form of a structured interview to 20 respondents, selected more or less at random from a sample of first generation Quechua-speaking migrants who were identified for me by contacts. The intention of this small-scale pilot survey was essentially to test personal impressions,

popular wisdom and the findings of, for example, von Gleich (1995) and Gugenberger (1994): that Quechua retains a strong emotive/affective value for native speaker migrants, but that despite this, it fails to be passed on to children and is largely restricted to some private domains. The survey confirmed that this was substantially the case. Constraints of space mean that no separate analysis of the survey is made here, but information from it is integrated into a number of the arguments developed in the text, and particularly those parts which deal with the remaining niches of Quechua (see chapter 2).

The next, central stage of the project involved protracted interaction with the networks and other contacts described above. This was, as already suggested, primarily an exercise in formal and informal interviewing combined with participant observation. At times my language study was the main topic of conversation, and people were happy - even enthusiastic - to be interviewed at some length; but naturally, often enough informants tired of the subject or had nothing more to say for the present, and at these times I did not, of course, insist. Notes were taken at the time or shortly afterwards, and stretches of conversation recorded when this seemed acceptable and unintrusive. Of course recording was not always feasible, particularly with more casual contacts, but a considerable corpus was eventually built up on tape, from which most of the quotes contained here are extracted. Wherever possible informants' own words are preferred to secondary sources, in line with the approaches adopted by, for example Lewis (1964), Matos Mar (1986) and Smolicz (1992). Where recording was not possible or sound quality was not good enough to produce a reasonable transcript, informants' words are rendered as close to verbatim as possible, usually on the basis of notes taken immediately after or during the conversation.

Conversations with informants often took place at informal social events. A typical (indeed, quintessential) scene would be a Sunday afternoon *parrillada* or *pollada*[10] at someone's house: a context in which interaction was relaxed, spontaneous and friendly. However, conversation (and sometimes even tape recording) also took place in buses and taxis, on park benches, over meals, in bars - in short, whenever and wherever people tend to indulge in informal discussion. Generally my informants (and certainly all the core informants) were quite aware of the nature of my research, but as meetings with these people took place usually over a period of time and always in a normal social environment, I am confident that my position as a "foreign researcher" was rarely at the forefront of people's minds. Naturally I often tried to steer the

[10]A *pollada* (or *anticuchada*, or whatever it may be) differs from the usual *parrillada* (beef barbecue) not only in that cheaper meat such as chicken is served in place of the traditional mixed grill, but in that it is intended to yield a profit to the host family. The event is organised and publicised some time in advance, and tickets are then sold to friends and neighbours. The ticket entitles the buyer to a share of the meal on the day; the organisers, in addition to catering, provide a music system and sell beer and soft drinks with a small mark-up. Such events, essentially a cross between the traditional party for family and friends and a money-making venture, have become common in Lima's *pueblos jóvenes*. They are often held with the intention of raising funds for a particular object - a new roof, a journey, some medical treatment - and this fact is advertised on the tickets, presumably with the aim of encouraging people to buy (*colaborar*) out of a spirit of solidarity.

conversation round to the topic of language, but equally, it was never by any means the only topic under discussion, and it usually arose in a relatively natural way.

On the one hand, then, I am confident that my core informants were not holding anything back because of the nature of the interaction and my relationship to them. It should also be added that I have been familiar with Lima and Peru since 1985, speak Latin American Spanish to near-native standard with a pronounced Lima accent, and have acquired sufficient communicative competence and background knowledge to converse naturally with virtually anyone in Lima without appearing unduly "marked" as a foreigner: the Escudero brothers, for example, took to referring to me jocularly as *el cholo gringo*. This is not to say, of course, that I could pass as a local, or indeed tried to; but having once been introduced to people, I tended to be accepted as "normal" quite quickly, and my presence was, I believe, as unobtrusive as it is possible for that of a *gringo* in Lima to be.

While interviews were almost invariably carried out through the medium of Spanish, a basic knowledge of Quechua often helped establish my *bona fides* and my position as a sympathetic interlocutor. Speaking Quechua in Lima to anything more than a symbolic degree, where it happened, tended to be rather counter-productive; first, because it would have been marked behaviour for anyone, as, it is hoped, the content of this study will make abundantly clear. Second, because it was doubly marked for a foreigner, tending to have the effect of fixing the interlocutor's attention on medium rather than content (cf Trosset 1986 on the frustration experienced by non-native speakers of Welsh). With respondents whom I did not know well it could have been construed as insulting. In any case, it introduced a distorting aspect to information-gathering, and was clearly inappropriate for Lima bilinguals, for whom it is virtually axiomatic that one speaks Spanish to anyone who is not a *paisano*.

Finally, it might be remarked that while participant observation was an invaluable research tool, the observer's paradox was here present in spades. As has been noted, sometimes I suspected that people would speak Quechua if I were not there. At other times quite the reverse: people were so keen to help and pleased at a foreigner's interest in their language that they would deliberately strike up conversations in Quechua (with me or with each other) when I strongly suspected that, had I not been there, Spanish would have been the sole code employed. This was a particularly thorny issue: it could only be overcome by sustained visiting (so that my presence ceased to be a novelty) and by experience of the cultural terrain.

7 A note on involuntary migrants

The decision to exclude refugees as informants perhaps merits some explanation. By refugees (*refugiados* or *desplazados*) in Peru is usually meant those people, predominantly natives of the southern Andean region, and in particular the rural areas of Ayacucho, Apurímac, Huancavelica and neighbouring *zonas de emergencia*, who left their homes during the 1980s and early 1990s as a direct result of what came to be known as the *chaqwa*: the chaos, violence and disruption attendant upon the Sendero Luminoso insurgency and its repression. No reliable figures exist, but it has been estimated that between 1983 and 1992 some 600,000 people fled, either to the nearest urban centre, or to Lima itself.[11]

There is no doubt that the situation of these refugees deserves sustained study, and not least the sociolinguistic aspect of that situation. Observational and anecdotal evidence, and what little documentary evidence exists, suggest strongly that these migrants are highly untypical in terms of their language maintenance. Two examples, necessarily impressionistic, may give a flavour of this. First, a middle-class, Spanish-speaking dentist told me that as part of her work for the national health service (under the ambit of the Instituto Peruano de Seguridad Social) she had been assigned to carry out weekly dental clinics in a Chorrillos *asentamiento humano*. She was surprised to find that many of her adult patients spoke (or would speak) no Spanish at all, and were in the habit of bringing their children or other young helpers with them to act as interpreters. Enquiring of local health workers about this phenomenon, she was informed that the settlement had in fact been founded some years before by refugees from Ayacucho.

Another example comes from Peruvian media reporting of an event which took place on 22 October 1996. On this day a *despedida* was held for natives of Sarhua, Ayacucho, who were returning to Sarhua after some years of enforced residence in marginal zones of Chorrillos, Ate-Vitarte and San Juan de Lurigancho, all in Lima. The event, like the return itself, was organised by the Proyecto de Apoyo a la Repoblación (PAR); it was reported that night on several television news programmes, including that of the state-run Canal 7. Coverage concentrated on the Andean dances and song which accompanied the ceremony of leavetaking; however, quite the most remarkable aspect of the event, from the point of view of the present investigation, was the nature of the handful of interviews carried out with the returnees. One reporter had to employ the services of the Lima-born offspring of the returnees to interpret the words of their parents; another, a Quechua speaker herself, interviewed a returnee and performed an on-air consecutive translation into Spanish. The clear impression, confirmed by later press reporting (see e.g. *El Sol* 23/10/96), was that many if not most of these forced migrants remained functionally monolingual in Quechua even after up to ten years in Lima.

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[11]Source: *El Comercio* 4/12/96.

One factor retarding shift may be the hope or expectation of return (von Gleich 1995 notes that language shift was accelerated amongst her Lima subjects by the realisation or acknowledgement that return to Ayacucho was not a realistic option).[12] It might be hypothesised that these *desplazados* shared a socio-psychological orientation that regarded residence in Lima as a necessary evil rather than as a life experience to be embraced, and had hence developed a certain immunity, even resistance, to the culture of the capital rather than an openness to it. (This orientation must be compared with the willingness to engage with the city shown by the migrants discussed in chapter 6). Inseparable from this orientation is, it might be supposed, a marked difference in living patterns. Refugees tended to congregate in particular areas, in family and *paisano* groups, forming authentic *Sprachinseln*; this kind of living arrangement, once common amongst all types of migrant to Lima, is now much less so (von Gleich 1995, and see chapter 2). Beyond these observations, however, it is apparent that the situation of the forced migrants could not be dealt with adequately within the scope of the present study; their very particular motivation, background and cultural and psychological orientation appear to affect their linguistic behaviour to an extent that justifies an entirely separate investigation. It is to be suspected moreover that, given their particular situation, a very substantial investment of time would have to be made in building up relations of trust with the refugees in order to attain the quality of information needed. More prosaically, the potential pool of informants is fast drying up. Refugees began to return home in 1993, and by late 1995, some 250,000 *retornados* had already made the journey back to their lands from Lima and from various provincial centres, while about the same number again had requested help with resettlement from the PAR.[13]

Their children, however, may remain. Certainly it is to be suspected that many of them would have difficulty "returning" to such places as Sarhua, having grown up in Lima. The potential problems were neatly illustrated by a cartoon in *El Comercio* of 5 August 1996. Entitled "¡Apoyo para el retorno de los desplazados!", it showed a newly-returned *campesino* couple, dressed in traditional Andean clothes, regarding with dismay the wreckage of their long-abandoned home. More pointed, though, was the portrayal of their glum-looking children: both wear jeans and training shoes; one sports a "Tundercats" (sic) T-shirt, the other a personal stereo. All of this is plainly intended to mark them as modern, urbanised *limeños*. The cultural upheaval

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[12] The occurrence of this key turning-point in a migrant's or migrant community's history may well be worth studying in itself as a major variable acting on linguistic behaviour, including language maintenance and *shift* (see e.g. Dabène & Moore 1995:24-25). It is to be suspected that in the case of such groups as (voluntary) Andean migrants to Lima, despite dreams and talk of returning triumphant to the *tierra* one day, there is very little *real* expectation of it. Language shift may hence be expected to be relatively rapid, particularly with the first generation born in the new environment. Cases of migrant groups who at one time genuinely did expect their stay to be temporary, or expected their children to return one day to the former homeland, or kept a symbolic hope of return alive for political, religious, cultural or psychological reasons, seem (to the casual observer at least) to show greater maintenance. Examples might be: south Asians and eastern Europeans (especially Poles and Ukrainians) in Britain; mainland-born Chinese in Taiwan, who have quite deliberately retained the "old" forms of language now discouraged in the PRC; and parts of the worldwide Jewish diaspora. Clearly refugees tend to fall into this category more readily than voluntary migrants.

[13] Source: PAR spokesperson on "Ampliación de Noticias", Radioprogramas del Perú, 10 October 1995.

hinted at here would naturally extend to the field of language: while the parents may have remained monolingual Quechua speakers, the children most certainly would not. To what extent they might have maintained their Quechua, though, given their circumstances, is an intriguing question, and one which demands further study.

This said, it must be acknowledged that the distinction between "voluntary" and "involuntary" migrants is peculiarly difficult to define or even, at times, to recognise. While the case of the refugees from Sarhua referred to above is a fairly clear-cut one, in practice many decisions to migrate can be viewed in terms of a combination of "push" and "pull" factors (see e.g. Altamirano 1985:38). Such factors may not even be consciously remarked upon: one of Matos Mar's (1986) respondents, explaining why he left Taquile for Lima, comments simply that "me sentía inquieto" (Matos Mar 1986:171). To leave one's *tierra* because it offers nothing but poverty and stagnation is of course only in a sense "voluntary" migration; the motivations of those who choose to try their luck in Lima are further examined in chapter 6. However, the migrants who contributed to the present study are all "voluntary" migrants at least in the sense that they moved to Lima in search of greater opportunity or better prospects for the future: unlike the *desplazados* they were not forced out - sometimes, literally, at gunpoint - and have not spent their time in the capital looking forward fervently to the day when they might return to their land.

Chapter Two

"El mismo ambiente..."

The domains, forms and functions of Quechua in the capital

> I will suggest, generally, that public or observable aspects of ethnicity are gradually discarded, and that private ones remain. Thus, communicative language, distinctive dress and ornamentation, and other public manifestations of group identity tend to disappear; aspects of domestic life [and] the symbolic significance of language... may remain.
>
> (Edwards 1984a:281)

Introduction

As has already been implied, Quechua effectively has *no* safe, non-porous or predictable domains amongst voluntary migrants to Lima. Quechua-permitting contexts[14] - or niches - are to be found in the capital, but there is no central domain where Spanish is absent. In this chapter some of the available uses of Quechua are exemplified and analysed.

Section 1 below examines the way in which an essentially physical conception of language domains in Peru seems to operate for speakers and non-speakers alike, emphasising the rootedness of Quechua in the *sierra* and thereby constituting a socio-psychological restriction to its use in many Lima contexts. In section 2 the niches which are still available to Quechua are reviewed within the general framework of domain theory. It will be argued that: Quechua is used extensively and with a full range of functions only in the private/intimate domain, and that even here it is susceptible to Spanish influence; that in certain semi-private domains use of Quechua is acceptable, but, for the most part, only insofar as it constitutes a symbolic (and clearly marked and "framed") affirmation of family and *paisano* links; and that in public discourse Quechua maintains *only* symbolic functions. Section 3 examines some of the common genres, forms and functions of the language as it operates within these domains, dealing for example with the use of greetings, jokes, teasing and insults. It is suggested that, in line with the argument advanced in sections 1 and 2, the primary purpose of the use of the language is to symbolise family or *paisano* solidarity, reaffirming the groupness of migrants from a particular area (and hence implicitly excluding those born in Lima, so contributing little or nothing to intergenerational

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[14] The term "Quechua-permitting" is preferred to the more familiar "X-requiring" formulation (as used by Fishman e.g. 1989) precisely because it is virtually impossible to find contexts in Lima in which Quechua is actually required and Spanish would be entirely inappropriate. Some exceptions will be noted: they are very few, and very highly structured.

language maintenance). Exceptions to this tendency are noted. The occasional use of Quechua as a non-symbolic and entirely functional "secret" code, designed to hide meaning from non-speakers, and the use of insult and obscenity both survive in Lima in part because, it is argued, they have functional value for speakers, and represent real resources in the language "market".

The use here of the concept of language as a marketplace commodity owes much to the theory developed by Bourdieu (e.g. 1991). Bourdieu regards control of a language variety as representing symbolic capital, its value depending on its standing in the societal linguistic market. Within this market, as was noted in the discussion in chapter 1, the dominant class in society is considered to have secured recognition (or *mis*recognition) for its own variety, which is seen as inherently superior to, and hence more valuable than, all others. The legitimacy of this variety (the *langue légitime*) is maintained through the state-sponsored education system and formal bodies such as, in France, the Académie Française.[15] Its particular value to its speakers, then, lies in the fact that while its distribution is restricted, its legitimacy is, Bourdieu suggests, universally acknowledged.[16]

It should be stressed that Bourdieu's use of terms derived from economics is not merely metaphorical; or, as Gal (1989:353) puts it, "[not] simply an analogy or homology of language and economy". Bourdieu is in fact insistent that possession of linguistic capital can be converted into real and tangible benefits; Bourdieu actually uses the term "profits" to characterise these benefits. However, while the profit accruing to speakers may indeed be financial (through, for example, increased access to higher education and to employment markets), it may equally be realised in cultural or symbolic form, through, for example, increased status, honour or prestige. This point is made forcefully by Thompson in the introduction to his collection of Bourdieu's writings (Bourdieu 1991:15). The analysis to be presented here accepts this fundamental insight as useful. However, it departs to some extent from Bourdieu in showing that knowledge and use of a "non-legitimate" code, too, can offer "profits" both symbolic and real: not just in enhancing the speaker's status in the eyes of his or her peers (which is a possibility allowed for by Bourdieu), but in allowing the speaker to, for example, conceal meaning from non-speakers, or to insult them with impunity and hence challenge their perceived power or status. It will be shown that these features are highly prized by Quechua speakers, and in particular the last: insult is an important feature of Andean discourse. The extreme sensitivity of monolingual Spanish

[15] For the Latin American equivalents - in Spanish, at least - see Guitarte & Torres Quintero (1974).

[16] Bourdieu's assertion that the legitimate language benefits from societally universal recognition of its special value is, in fact, one of the more problematic areas of his thesis. As several commentators have pointed out (see e.g. Woolard 1985; Gal 1989; Fairclough 1989, Harvey 1987), such recognition can by no means be simply assumed. The Peruvian data presented here would seem to support the view that several language markets might be said to exist in any society, and that they are constantly subject to challenge and change. Bourdieu's theory is seriously weakened by his over-reliance on the example of France: and even in France, the situation is more complex than he supposes (See Gal 1989:354).

speakers to such linguistic behaviour, it is argued, is a measure of the power which it is perceived to confer.

1.0 "*Como hablar marciano*": conceptions of the physical domains of Quechua

Woolard (1989:366), citing a personal communication from Joshua Fishman, emphasises that the notion of domain, as originally elaborated, was not intended as a synonym for physical or topical context; a domain is more complex than this, and would certainly aim to include, for example, the relationship between interlocutors. This complexity is acknowledged by Romaine (1995), who characterises domain as "...an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships" (Romaine 1995:30); and by, for example, McConvell (1988) who, while clearly building on the base of domain theory, prefers the notion of "social arenas": language-requiring contexts that are more multilayered and interwoven than is sometimes thought to be allowed by the classical conception of domains, and within which can be accommodated continually shifting patterns of role relationships. Such theoretical elaboration is useful. And yet the case of Quechua in Lima, when seen in its broadest terms, at times appears to allow of analysis through the most simplistic and deterministic notion of domain imaginable. For all the careful attention given by successive commentators to the subtleties of role relations and social arenas and so on, very often Quechua is described in a straightforward way by speakers and non-speakers alike, as a language which corresponds to physical setting.

Mannheim's (1991) discussion of the Andean context within which Quechua is spoken emphasises continually the inter-related and place-specific nature of social relations, natural resources, culture, land, and religion; it is this environment that he labels the "social ecology of language" (cf Haugen 1972b). The testimony of many of the present informants would certainly seem to lend validity to this approach; there seems to exist a generalised form of domain allocation, in the sense of physical or territorial domains, which has a psychological reality for native speakers. Quechua is felt to be so fundamentally rooted in the environment of the Andes that it is simply not appropriate in Lima. At the most basic level, of course, this reflects a purely pragmatic view of the available possibilities of code selection. If one is to understand and be understood, then in many contexts, clearly, Spanish can be the only choice. Sócrates Yangali, a bilingual from Huancavelica who migrated in the early 1990s, puts it in the barest terms:

> Castellano es para... para... para comprender mayor, mayores, o sea por decir, eh... mejor pues [...] o sea por decir tú me dirías, en

castellano ¿no? Y bueno, si no sé yo perfectamente castellano, no sé pe[17] lo que me estás hablando.

(Tapescript 11)

But this in itself does not explain why speakers are often so reluctant to use Quechua even between themselves in private, nor why children are brought up as monolinguals in bilingual households. Ernesto Quispe and his brothers come from a Quechua-dominant family in Cusco; their mother and grandparents are monolinguals. Ernesto still speaks some Quechua with his brothers, but says of his nephews and nieces, living in Ate-Vitarte on the industrial outskirts of eastern Lima:

El mismo ambiente les obliga a que... esos niños no hablan. Mis hermanos a los hijos no les hablan.

(Tapescript 40)

Ambiente could of course refer to a number of disparate environmental factors - peer group pressure, social norms, the influence of school - but it is tempting to interpret it in part at least as a conception of a physical domain: to be in Lima means, fundamentally, to speak Spanish. Carlos, who migrated to Lima as a teenager in the 1960s, spoke virtually no Spanish until he went to secondary school in the city of Cusco. He is now a highly successful gynaecologist with a private practice in San Isidro. However, he still returns every few years to the village of his youth, and speaks lyrically of the discourse style of his mother tongue:

A mí me gusta la manera andina de decir las cosas indirectamente. Como por ejemplo, como broma se dice: Oye, comadre, *wañuchi wallpata mikhuchiwasqanki.* Cosas así me encantan.

¿Alguna vez habrás tenido la oportunidad de decir eso en Lima?

¡Jamás! ¡Jamás! Desde que vengo a Lima no hablo ni una palabra de quechua. Aquí sería como hablar sueco ¿te das cuenta? No, peor, ¡sería como hablar marciano! ¡*Marciano*! [*Laughs*].

(From fieldwork diary, October 1995).[18]

Carlos now of course mixes mainly with middle-class *limeños*, and one imagines that his opportunities to speak Quechua would in any case be few, but there is a suggestion here that he feels that the whole of Lima is self-evidently a *castellano* domain, that to use Quechua in the city is

[17] *Pe* represents a foreshortening, common in Lima speech, of the universal Latin American filler *pues*.

[18] The literal meaning of Carlos' Quechua epithet is: "You gave me a dead chicken to eat". The underlying idea is that, rather than slaughtering a chicken in honour of a guest, the family concerned produced a chicken that had already died; the sense of it is that the guest was not accorded the respect due him.

unimaginable: in his own words "*...como hablar marciano*". He is still strongly attached to Andean culture - indeed, is quite passionate about it - but his attitude seems to suggest a belief that language, culture *and environment* are inseparable. This is similar to the account offered by Hornberger (1988:66-75); Quechua is a symbol of being tied to the land, of subscribing to *runa* culture. By definition, then, it is inappropriate for an urban, industrial lifestyle.

The impression that such a view of Quechua is quite generalised is reinforced by even a cursory examination of the materials for the teaching of Quechua as a second language available in Peru. Soto Ruiz's "Quechua: Manual de Enseñanza" (1993) is entirely typical in that it associates the language *only* with the environment of the rural Andes. Each chapter revolves around a subject such as *Papa Allay* (digging potatoes), or *Turu Pukllay* (playing the bull). The book's characters are seen to be engaged wholly and only in the daily round of traditional *campesino* activities; no-one sets off for Lima, listens to Spanish-language radio or talks of national affairs. The author's preface states as an explicit aim of the manual: "...valorar la lengua quechua *y al quechuahablante...*" (Emphasis added). Hence the language is perceived as in a sense indivisible from its "traditional" speakers. This much is perhaps unremarkable, but, crucially, these speakers are perceived to exist only within a defined, distinct (and finally rather static and idealised) culture and environment. To teach the language to Spanish speakers is to force them to look anew at this culture and compare it with their own. Indeed, this is just the point of teaching them it, and this is why Soto Ruiz's cultural determinism is quite comprehensible in this context. The idealisation of Andean culture leads naturally to a desire to protect it and the language which encodes it from outside threat:

> En gran medida, aquellos que caen en esta lucha [*i.e. the Sendero Luminoso insurgency*] son los quechuahablantes; su forma de vida, que asimismo cae con ellos, en muchos aspectos es una alternativa mejor que aquella que nos ofrecen los bandos de esta trágica guerra.
>
> (Soto Ruiz 1993:15)

Seeking to protect the language, Soto Ruiz embeds it in the soil of the Andes and the lives of *campesino* speakers. Whether this strategy is likely to be productive in the long term is, of course, another matter: the question is discussed further in chapters 5 and 6. Such feelings about the language are, though, widespread. Hand-in-hand with the feeling that Quechua cannot be spoken in Lima goes the strong conviction that it *should* be spoken in the *sierra*. Rosa Castilla, who has revisited Pausa just twice since migrating to Lima in the 1950s, nevertheless feels something akin to a personal loss at the decline of the language there amongst the young:

Me han dicho que los jóvenes en Pausa ya no hablan quechua. Qué pena, qué pena de verdad. Es un idioma hermoso, deben usarlo.

(From fieldwork diary, September 1995)

Rubén Martínez - a *huancaíno* native speaker now resident in Lima - took a similarly deterministic view of the inhabitants of Hualhuas, in Junín, whence he had recently returned when he was interviewed, and where he was surprised and disappointed to find that people of Andean appearance and dress who "should" have spoken Quechua apparently did not:

Aparentemente por la raza, yo pensaba, porque yo trabajé por allá con la misión alemana; yo veía una raza, no perjudicando nuestra raza de peruano, peruanos puede ser gringuitos, blanquitos, como sea, se tiene que respetar; pero que yo veía un paisanito de esos, más indio que yo; y le fastidiaba en quechua, en dialecto wanka: nada, ni enamorar, ni querer, ni nada, ya.

(Tapescript 26)[19]

An intriguing aspect of the whole question of domain allocation is that non-speakers tend to think in very much the same way as speakers. Gema Meléndez, a middle-aged and resolutely middle-class *limeña* of European descent, explains why - in an ideal world - she would like to learn Quechua:

Para tener conocimiento del idioma nada más, y si tengo la oportunidad de viajar a los pueblos de la sierra y que utilicen ese idioma...

(Tapescript 01)

"*Viajar a los pueblos de la sierra*": there is no sense at all here that Quechua might be used by large swathes of the population of Lima (and not least, one might imagine, Sra Meléndez's own household employees). Quechua is not considered a "mobile" language: it is firmly associated in the public consciousness with the *sierra*, and only the *sierra*.[20] Alessandra, another

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[19]This segment, the meaning of which out of context may be rather opaque, could be freely translated as follows: "Because of his Indian features I thought - because I worked up there, for the German [technical] mission - I saw an Indian-looking man - that isn't to be disrespectful to our Peruvian race, Peruvians can be white, European whatever, all are to be respected - but I saw one of those local [Andean]-looking men, even more Indian than me, and I teased him in Quechua, in Wanka dialect. [And he understood] nothing; not [the word for] to fall in love, not to like [a girl], nothing at all". Rubén is clearly ill at ease here, trying to convey his sense that this man had the appearance of a "typical" Quechua speaker without sounding patronising or racist: "*peruanos puede ser gringuitos, blanquitos, como sea, se tiene que respetar*". His unease speaks volumes about the way Quechua is perceived (perhaps even at a subconscious level) to be linked to race, culture and appearance. The implications of this perception are explored further in chapter 4.

[20]Sra Meléndez's words, too, hint at a feature of attitudes towards Quechua which is discussed at length in chapter 4: one reason that she appears not to think of speaking Quechua in Lima may be that *everyone in Lima knows how to speak Spanish*. The only possible reason for wanting to learn Quechua would be that one wanted to talk to people who do not know Spanish: i.e. monolinguals in the Andes.

white, middle-class *limeña* who is studying at the exclusive Universidad de Lima, is asked what associations the language holds for her:

> *O sea ¿qué te viene a la mente cuando digo quechua?*
>
> Serrano [...] Nativo, indígena, autóctono...
>
> (Tapescript 03)

Again, an instinctive connection is made between the language and a set of ethnic, geographical and physical markers which are effectively fixed and non-negotiable. Quechua, it might be inferred, is considered appropriate for particular people, places and activities: beyond this it is simply out of place. It must be stressed that a very clear sense of functional differentiation and of domain separation has probably been crucial in helping Quechua survive in the Andes, even where bilingualism has made great inroads (see e.g. Harvey 1991 for Ocongate); language loss occurs where bilinguals are no longer able to "maintain this certain societal functional differentiation" (Fishman 1972a:8). But strict allocation of codes to certain functions and domains within a society can also render the language redundant - if these are effectively fixed, while speakers are mobile, not just in space but in socioeconomic level, in occupation and in culture. Ironically, the very quality of rootedness which fortifies the language in the face of societal change and renders it so dear to its speakers, may be in addition what renders it effectively unavailable in so many Lima contexts and therefore causes it to vanish within a generation of migration.

1.1 "*Todo un señor, en la ciudad, hablando quechua*": the physical domain as cultural symbol

The sense of physical domain boundaries is of course tied in with - perhaps inseparable from - a sense of relative prestige, feelings about appropriate social norms and perhaps a certain tendency towards cultural determinism. The notion that Lima is simply an inappropriate domain for Quechua goes in parallel with the sense (discussed in chapter 4) that the language would be used in the public, urban domain only by someone who had an imperfect grasp of Spanish. This is reflected in an anecdote told by William Pérez, which also hints at several further layers of sociolinguistic subtlety. William and his wife Gaby are schoolteachers in Toquepala (Tacna): both were brought up, however, on *haciendas* in Cusco in the pre-Velasco era, where they learned what Quechua they know from their servants and *peones*.

> Porque realmente no... no me enorgullezco de no saber el quechua, a diferencia de muchas personas, que creen que por el... que hablar quechua es... incluso como que le quita a uno estatus y todo en la... la actual sociedad. Yo sé de muchos, y como anécdota te podría contar de una empleada que había tenido mi abuelo estando en el Cusco,

> con la cual se encontró en Lima, y mi abuelo se encontró en no sé qué jirón[21] en Lima, y agarra y le empieza a hablar en quechua, bromeándole. Y ella agarra y le dice - en castellano mal hablado - dice: ¡Qué vergüenza! Todo un señor, en la ciudad, hablando quechua. ¿No? Entonces... yo no comparto esa posición.
>
> (Tapescript 18)

Here we may guess that William's grandfather was attempting to create a bond of sympathy with his ex-maid, addressing her as he would have done at home, in Quechua. Such a choice of code in Cusco, while admittedly paternalistic and quite possibly patronising, could hardly be considered offensive or shameful. In the context of Lima, however, it takes on other shades.

First, the ex-maid is shocked by hearing Quechua from "*todo un señor, en la ciudad*". The implication of this, quite clearly, is that only someone who was quite the opposite of "*todo un señor*" - i.e. a presumably monolingual, illiterate peasant - would act thus in Lima. Second, given that she replies in her imperfect Spanish ("*castellano mal hablado*"), it is to be suspected that she perceives a slight on herself (almost certainly unintended). Publicly to address someone in Quechua in the Spanish-speaking domain of Lima is to risk implying that you do not consider that person capable of controlling Spanish - a considerable insult - or at least conveying this impression about the person to passers-by - a considerable embarrassment. Lefebvre (1976) points out that in Cusco, traditionally, *gente decente* would use Quechua to their monolingual employees, and that by the 1970s younger, bilingual employees preferred to be addressed in Spanish.[22] Hence when the ex-maid exclaims "*¡qué vergüenza!*" it is surely her own loss of face that she is bemoaning, not, as she appears to suggest, that of her interlocutor - who would be assumed from his appearance to have perfect control of the dominant code and was therefore risking little prestige in speaking Quechua (see discussion in section 2.2.0 below).

The complex of factors that brought about this embarrassing episode (which is in essence a serious error of code choice) might be described in terms of history, of socio-economic difference, of culture, race or education or any of a number of other elements. But it is perhaps worthy of note that the woman herself found the aspect of place - of physical domain - to be the salient feature of the encounter. It is not that the man speaks to her that is distressing, nor that he teases her ("*bromeándole*"), nor even that he speaks to

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[21] Many of the thoroughfares of central Lima are referred to traditionally not as *calles* but as *jirones*: Jirón Junín, Jiron de la Unión, and so on. This reference places the incident referred to squarely in the old centre of the city.

[22] Some years earlier, the situation was still more extreme. Describing the Callejón de Huaylas in the 1950s, Stein states firmly that "a high-class mestizo will never speak with an Indian in Spanish, whether or not the Indian knows Spanish, since it is not expected that Indians will speak the higher-status language" (Stein 1961:341). He is perhaps being over-generous to the "high-class mestizo". It was doubtless not always the case that the *mestizo* did not expect the Indian to be competent in Spanish - rather sometimes that he refused to allow the Indian to use the more prestigious code.

her in Quechua, but that the speech act takes place "*en la ciudad*". The sense of appropriacy of code to space acts almost as a cipher, a highly-charged symbol of social, cultural and economic relations.

The fundamental notion of physical domain, the "common sense" understanding that Quechua "belongs" to a separate environment, is simultaneously a cause and a result of generalised language shift. Hearing little but Spanish in the city, the recent migrant is apt to conclude that Quechua has no place there, and is in some way physically restricted to the *sierra*. In this sense, the migrant's understanding of appropriate relations between language and environment is conditioned by the language shift undertaken by the generations who have gone before. However, this understanding having become generalised - indeed, universal - it constitutes in itself a mechanism promoting language shift, even enforcing it.

Once more, it should be emphasised that all of this is in no way intended to suggest that language shift in Lima can be explained solely by reference to speakers' sense of physical domains. Plainly, the associations of Quechua with the physical space of the Andes are simultaneously associations with the culture and society of the Andes, with ways of relating, working, dressing and so on, and with a distinct history and worldview (Harvey 1987, 1991, Mannheim 1991). The relative prestige of the two languages and their speakers is of crucial importance; at the micro-level, so is the self-image of the speaker. The importance of these and some of the many other factors affecting language choice will be assessed in due course. But the suggestion remains that many speakers hold in their minds a distilled, condensed conception of all these factors that represents (or symbolises) the relationship between the languages as being a *physical* one. In Lima Quechua is perceived as belonging to "there" (*allá*) and Spanish to here (*acá*).[23] The socially and linguistically competent will not confuse the domains: in Lima, that is. There are, of course, far fewer strictures on the use of Spanish in the *sierra* than on the use of Quechua in the *costa* - the relationship between the languages is not an equal one at any level.

The resulting physicality with which language choice (and eventually language shift) is envisioned is neatly expressed in the words of Rubén's brother, Gustavo, also now resident in Lima:

> Cuando se llega a la capital hermano, cuando se llega a la capital, yo encuentro hermano que hay gente hermano que han venido tierra adentro sabe Dios de los suburbios hermano del Perú, hermano ya no quieren hablar su quechua hermano [...] Oye, les avergüenza hermano. Hasta se ha olvidado, ¿sabe dónde se olvidan? En el cerro

[23]Cf the words of Abel Baldeón in chapter 5 (part 1, section 1), and see the discussion of the use of deixis by Peruvian bilinguals in Escobar (1990).

en Chontapás de un de repente[24], o en Ticlio cuando están bajando digamos a la costa. Qué pena da, hermano.

(Tapescript 29)

Leaving one environment - the domain of Quechua - and entering another - the domain of Spanish - the migrant crosses a symbolic frontier. The migrant may claim to have forgotten Quechua ("*se ha olvidado*"); and this is certainly a common enough assertion, but (for all that Gustavo is speaking ironically here of his fellow migrants) there is an underlying ambiguity. The Quechua *qonqay* has, in addition to "forget", the sense of "abandon", "leave behind" or "let fall into disuse". Gustavo's imagery, which is discussed further in chapter 7, suggests that there is no gradual shift over space or time; the language is abandoned "*de un de repente*" at Chontapás or Ticlio.

2.0 Quechua niches in Lima

Quechua-speaking migrants do not, of course, abandon their language entirely; though from the invisibility of the language in the capital one might be forgiven for thinking so. Language shift is in essence the retreat of language A from a series of domains, in which it is replaced by language B (see for example Fishman 1989, 1991). Life in a different linguistic environment, even for competent bilinguals, requires a rethinking of the allocation of code to context. At one extreme the move to the coast involves an accommodation to new domains and contexts in which the only possible language choice is Spanish. In the offices of Telefónica del Perú in the city of Cusco I witnessed an elderly woman in Andean dress, obviously from an outlying village, who approached the *mestiza* receptionist and, without preamble, asked in Quechua to make a long-distance telephone call. (From fieldwork diary, August 1996). Such behaviour in Lima would of course be entirely inappropriate (and that she in fact received unhesitating Quechua in return, quite unthinkable). But not all code choice decisions are so clearcut. Wherever there is bilingualism there must be, in the normal course of things, a number of contexts in which code choice is to at least *some* degree negotiable (Scotton 1983, 1988). In the following section it will be seen that, perhaps unsurprisingly, Quechua becomes increasingly available as an appropriate code as the setting of the speech situation becomes more private, the topic under discussion more intimate, and the participants more closely related.

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[24] "*De un de repente*" may be glossed as "all of a sudden".

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2.1 The private/intimate domain

It is readily ascertainable that much of the Quechua spoken in Lima is spoken in the smallest and most intimate domains: wife and husband, say, or siblings, or adult migrant and elderly parent, talking about day-to-day family matters alone in private. (But note that, as is suggested in the discussion of the breakdown of intergenerational transmission in chapter 3, Spanish is often preferred between parents and children *even where the children are native Quechua speakers*). Sustained participant observation yields some clues, though it should be borne in mind that by the very nature of the situation, a setting which includes a foreign observer (or any non-native speaker, or quite possibly even any speaker from a different background, as will be noted in chapter 5, part 1) is no longer an appropriate one for spontaneous and unselfconscious use of Quechua (see note on methodology in chapter 1). The relation between Quechua and Spanish in Lima is much too complex to allow of description simply in terms of the classic model of diglossia; however, it may be worth recalling that Blom & Gumperz (1972:423-424) in their Norwegian study found that the mere presence of strangers was enough as a rule to elicit the "high" variety. The following notes from the fieldwork diary hence suggest the rather surreptitious nature of the proceedings when the aim was to hear Quechua used in a natural context:

[1] At the home of Celia Muñoz in the *pueblo joven* of La Merced, Celia's husband and his brother could be heard to speak Quechua at times while working alone outside in the yard, but they switched to sole use of Spanish when the two older, Spanish-dominant (or Spanish-preferring) boys came home from school and went out to join them. (All concerned are native-speaker migrants from Huanta, Ayacucho).

[2] Hilda Otazú and her sister, young migrants from Accha, Cusco, could be heard on occasion speaking Quechua for quite extended periods behind closed doors in the household in Pueblo Libre where Hilda worked as a maid, though by her own account she would speak only "*algunas palabras*" (tapescript 46).

[3] Rosa Castilla (from Pausa, Ayacucho), at the time when she had her elderly mother living with her, would talk in Quechua to her in the kitchen or in the old lady's bedroom. Upon re-entering the body of the house, where other people were going about their business, the pair would habitually switch to Spanish, even if their conversation involved no-one else.

What these speech situations share is a combination of intimacy and privacy. All, clearly, display a high degree of sensitivity of code to any change of setting or participant; self-reported data from interviews and questionnaires suggests a good deal of sensitivity, too, to topic (cf Hymes 1974, and see below). The typical range of topics and functions available to Quechua is discussed further below; but it is perhaps worth noting here that even in intimate domains, Quechua-permitting contexts are rarely Quechua-

demanding ones. There are no obvious domains that are closed to Spanish, and it will be argued in due course that much Quechua use in Lima is essentially symbolic, restricted to certain functions or to certain stages of a given interaction.

Even Quechua-dominant *paisanos*, couples and families, speakers of the same dialect and speaking alone in private, do not habitually use only Quechua. It must be stressed that it is not simply the case that, as is often claimed by speakers and non-speakers alike, the language is hidden or denied (though this may indeed happen): it is that Spanish is often preferred by the speakers themselves. As has been noted, this is partly due to an embedded sense of appropriate domain and function; this is linked in turn to a particular sense of migrant self-image, examined in more detail in chapter 6. Jorge Flores, a bilingual from Ancash, revealed much about norms of interaction amongst migrants with the following answer to a question about whether he still spoke Quechua "*de vez en cuando*" with his wife, Flor:

> Claro, no de vez en cuando, con Flor sí, todos los días. Con Flor y el muchacho que tengo, todos los días puro quechua ¿no? Y yo especialmente les hablo en quechua ¿no? y a los paisanos, cuando yo hablo y les digo: ¿y por qué no hablan quechua? ¿no? Me pongo serio. Les obligo a que hablan quechua. Y así debe ser pues ¿no? Porque uno se va a olvidar ¿no? Porque uno se va a olvidar de su idioma natal, que es tan bonito, tan expresivo, y eso pues se tiene que continuar ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 52)

If Jorge must browbeat his *paisanos* into speaking Quechua on what might almost be termed moral grounds - reminding them of the loyalty they owe to their *tierra* and its language - and if he has to speak to Flor and his young assistant "*especialmente... en quechua*" then we might be forgiven for thinking that the language in fact has only a tenuous foothold in their everyday lives: that in fact, the fear that "*uno se va a olvidar ¿no?*" is a well-founded one. And indeed, Jorge's own protestations that he speaks "*todos los días puro quechua*" appear to be somewhat exaggerated. His son Danny, asked whether he had heard Jorge and Flor speaking Quechua, immediately replied:

> Claro, en las reuniones de mis padres con los tuyos [*addressing Paola Escudero, research assistant*] ¿no? conversando normal...
>
> (Danny Flores, tapescript 50)

Danny made no mention of hearing Quechua with any regularity in the home. Of course talk might have occurred in such private contexts that he was not aware of it; though this seems unlikely, given that their six-person family for many years shared a cramped, three-bedroom apartment in Breña, on the edge of central Lima. In fact he associated his parents' use of Quechua with

family and *paisano* parties, and within this context, with jokes, stories and *groserías* which the adults did not want the children to understand (tapescript 50). As will be seen, these contexts and functions are entirely characteristic of Quechua use in Lima, and on this point Danny's testimony is hence rather more convincing than Jorge's own, perhaps rather idealised one.

Migrants who have been in Lima for less time than Jorge *may* be rather more likely to speak Quechua (though it is still restricted to the most intimate domains). Over the course of time, though, the amount of Quechua spoken seems to decrease remorselessly, and finally even mother-tongue speakers like Hilda, a relatively recent learner of Spanish, tend to undergo a process of "forgetting":

> Pero ya después, parecía... como uno no se comunica mucho en quechua me iba olvidando así.
>
> (Hilda Otazú, tapescript 46)

Again, the sense of "*me iba olvidando*" seems to owe something to the "abandon" sense of the Quechua *qonqay*. Hilda is still a fluent speaker, as noted above, quite able to carry on extended and animated conversations in Quechua with her sister. There are other, social and psychological reasons for her habitual code choice, which will be explored presently.

2.2.0 The public domain

The public presence of Quechua in Lima is extremely restricted. The means by which the language is suppressed are explored at some length in chapter 4; but for the time being it is sufficient to state that in public spaces where one is liable to be overheard by strangers, Spanish is to all intents and purposes the sole available code. The extent to which a public conversation in Quechua is apt to draw unwelcome attention to the speakers is suggested by Elva Churampi's recollection of overhearing some women talking on a bus in Lima:

> Ay, pero yo digo, esta señora no teme hablar quechua; habían otras más por castellano que... mírele, mírele. Pero ellos sin temor, siguen adelante con su quechua, conversando.
>
> (Tapescript 28)

Very often where Quechua is used in public, as will be seen, it tends to be with very specific - even symbolic - intent. There is, however, a further social criterion for its use. Speakers of rather higher socioeconomic status and some degree of European descent (in effect, usually those who were brought up on Andean *haciendas*) seem to be rather more likely than a more "typical" Andean Indian speaker to use Quechua in public and to encourage others to do so. This was particularly the case with one group of informants, the

Alarcón family from Huancavelica, who now live in Lima's Pueblo Libre, whose linguistic and discourse behaviour is discussed elsewhere.

The principle underlying this phenomenon appears to be connected first and foremost to evident marking of status; such speakers feel less uncomfortable about the public use of a low-status *indio* language precisely because it would - or should - be obvious to any Peruvian that they are not themselves *indios* and are able to move with some ease back into the notionally urban, coastal, Spanish-speaking world. As Bourdieu notes in the (hypothetical) context of formal use of low-prestige varieties by speakers of the dominant language, the crucial criterion for such use would be that the speakers "have enough claims to linguistic legitimacy (at least in the eyes of their interlocutors) to avoid being suspected of resorting to the stigmatized language *faute de mieux*" (Bourdieu 1991:69).[25] That is to say, a possible criterion for the free use of the stigmatised language is that it should be clear from one's appearance or position that one also has access to the dominant language (see chapter 4). This is not an option open to the more traditional speaker, of low socioeconomic status, quite possibly with poor or *moteado* Spanish (that is, pronounced in the Andean manner) and of indisputably Andean ethnicity. For such speakers, as was noted in chapter 1, public use of Quechua may function less as a badge of national and (particularly) regional pride than as a marker of oppression and a source of further oppression (cf Albó 1979, Hornberger 1988).

> Upper-class mestizos [in Cusco] who are secure enough in their status so that no one will suggest that they are of Indian origin may vaunt the merits of Quechua, but in the working class and petty bourgeoisie of the small towns Spanish is clearly the prestige language, and Quechua is deprecated as a peasant tongue...
>
> (van den Berghe & Primov 1977:141)

It should be stressed that this is not a clearcut or predictable effect. The way in which markers of socioeconomic status and ethnicity are registered and interpreted can vary markedly from one context to another, and the cautious individual will be fully aware of this. The mischievous Peruvian description of a certain type of person as being "blanco en el Cusco, misti en Arequipa, serrano en Lima" may be read as a jibe at the pretensions of those who assume too readily that their looks and manners are self-evidently "European", and who, as the saying suggests, are apt to receive an unpleasant surprise when they venture outside the small hierarchy of Andean village or *hacienda*.

It remains broadly true, however, that the *mestizo* and/or middle-class speaker risks less in speaking Quechua than does the *indio*. Myers (1973:163) was surprised to find that, in direct opposition to what she had hypothesised, migrants who came to Lima from higher altitude (and hence less hispanicised)

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[25] And see the discussion on Quechua "rules of address" in chapter 4.

home villages were prone to *greater* shift towards Spanish than others. In terms of the data and analysis to be presented here, this finding is in fact rather unsurprising: the social meaning of speaking Quechua, and speaking Spanish, varies according to who is doing the speaking - and it is social meaning, broadly understood, that determines language choice, over and above more narrowly-focussed and necessarily superficial variables such as provenance, age, sex and so on. One who has little evident power or status is unlikely to wish to compound this undesirable state of affairs by using a language strongly associated with powerlessness. Somewhat problematically, Myers explains the resultant marked shift in terms of highland Indians being more likely to "deny their heritage" (Myers 1973:163). As will be seen (particularly in chapter 6) this is an inadequate argument. In addition, as is shown in chapter 3, speakers are in fact eager to have their children maintain the ethnic heritage, in the form of learning the language, but wish to abdicate the task of actually teaching it to the state, in the form of schools or state-owned media. It will be argued that this phenomenon, too, arises directly from the question of language prestige or status: that the state can legitimate the language in a way that its speakers alone cannot or do not feel able to.

Given this underlying system of legitimation or status-conferring usage, it is understandable that the primary source of public displays of Quechua (apart from middle-class language campaigners and enthusiasts) tends to be the state, or institutions deriving from it: examples are given below from the spheres of education, the military and political discourse. Other usages can be discerned, though, connected with, for example, the symbolising of cultural adherence; of *peruanidad*; of ethnic origin, and so on. It will be suggested that this kind of linguistic symbolism is usually relatively uncomplicated in its intentions, but can in some contexts be risk-laden, given the inherent mutability of symbols.

2.2.1 Prestige, legitimacy and the "link with the glorious past"

Public use of Quechua is safe and appropriate only where its symbolic import or social meaning is undisputed, and/or where the individual or agency which employs the language commands sufficient prestige to legitimate such use. Lima informants, adults and children alike, stress that the school is a context in which to speak Quechua is to invite ridicule and worse.[26] Asked about the language use of her children at their school, Celia Muñoz hints at the virtual impermeability of the domain with her firm insistence that

> ...ya afuera ya en su colegio todos castellano. Ahí nadies no habla quechua.
>
> (Tapescript 59)

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[26]See the testimony of, for example, Hilda and Percy Otazú in chapter 4, and Valentina Méndez in chapter 5.

But while Quechua, with rare exceptions, is not available to be spoken in Lima schools, it is too much to say that it has no presence there. The demotic Quechua of modern-day migrants, with its associations of backwardness and poverty, is rarely if ever encountered; but the semi-imagined Quechua of the Incas is quite another matter. In the *pueblo joven* of José Gálvez in Villa María del Triunfo, a woman showed me the *libreta escolar* of her son, who is a pupil at the local school, the Centro Educativo Particular "Kerpen Horren". On the reverse side of this document was reproduced the following:

CODIGO INCAICO

AMA LLULLA	No seas mentiroso
AMA KELLA	No seas ocioso
AMA SUA	No seas ladrón

In some ways this is reminiscent of European schools with their Latin mottoes; and just as Latin mottoes are intended to evoke not the speech of the Roman barrack room and marketplace but the "high" functions of the language, drawing on its historical associations with Church, university and state, so the Quechua of the *código incaico* is designed to evoke the glories of the ancient empire. This is a self-consciously referential use of language (and one, naturally, that implicitly associates Quechua with the historical past, not with the living present). Moreover, the decision to use this form of words can be assumed to have come from the highest school authorities - its head, staff and governors; it is therefore further legitimised by being invested with the status of these authorities: it is a "safe" context. The use of Quechua here has *only* symbolic value, in the sense that it cannot, and does not try to, effect real communication (indeed, the words have to be translated into Spanish: it is assumed that most Lima-born children would need this translation).

Fishman speaks of the past (and the language associated with the past) "being mined, ideologised, and symbolically elaborated in order to provide determination, even more than direction, with respect to current and future challenges" (Fishman 1972c:9). Quechua here symbolises authenticity and past greatness: but it is the "language of the Incas" that is ideologised (and idealised), and not that of the humble *campesino* in modern Peru. This approach to language ideology finds perhaps its purest expression in the discourse of the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, a bilingual élite who pride themselves on being the guardians of what they call "el Quechua Imperial del Cusco". As Godenzzi (1992:63) points out, this supposedly ancient variety is in fact "un sociolecto... el del grupo de mestizos que se siente heredero, no de los 'indios', sino de los Incas, de los grandes y poderosos". (This point is pursued further in chapter 5, part 2). The Academia has at best a patronising view of the language used by the great majority of monolingual speakers. Its president commented:

> El problema fundamental con el campesinado es que la mayor parte de ellos no saben leer y escribir ¿no? en idioma quechua. ¿Cómo

> hacemos? ¿Cómo hacemos? Fundamentalmente haciendo la corrección de su pronunciación. ¿No?
>
> (Dr Juvenal Pacheco, tapescript 49)

Perhaps the most remarkable leap of logic made here is that, as peasants do not know how to read and write, so *they do not know how to pronounce their own language correctly*. The language of most Quechua speakers is viewed as corrupt; that of the bilingual Cusco élite is lent legitimacy by the appropriation of the mantle of the Incas.

The notion that a legitimating element is indispensable is reinforced by a story related by Rosita Alarcón about the school in a poor district of Lima where she teaches. Some visitors - academic researchers who were quite probably white, middle-class *limeños* - came to question the children (mainly first generation Andean migrants) on ethnic and linguistic matters:

> Porque han ingresado a hacer una encuesta, preguntar, y nadie levantaba la mano que sabía quechua o admitir su origen. Entonces yo les dije: yo con orgullo les digo soy huancavelicana y ojalá pudiera hablar bien el quechua. Lo hablo un poco nada más. Ahora quiero, queridas alumnas, les dije, que me digan, pero con sinceridad, *quiénes* saben quechua. Varias levantan la mano [*laughs*].
>
> (Tapescript 02)

For a prestigious agency to lay claim to the inheritance of the Incas through public displays of Quechua, then, is acceptable and uncontentious. However, for migrants to attempt to do the same, given their demonstrable lack of power and prestige in Lima society, would be extremely problematic. As with the case of the schoolgirls referred to above, even to admit knowledge of the language is to take a risk: only when Rosita, with the power invested in her by her position as a teacher, makes an explicit statement of legitimation, do they even acknowledge publicly their cultural and linguistic heritage.

The armed branches of the Peruvian state make free play with linguistic symbolism: the army has its *Llapan Atiq* unit (or "those who are capable of anything"), the police (as part of the former Guardia Civil) its *Sinchis* ("the valiant ones", a term employed originally in the Inca military). For anti-terrorist commando training exercises in Lima the army employs a mock-up of a house in which soldiers face live ammunition and explosives: it is known as the *Wasi Manchachiy* or "house of fear".[27] Such usages are transparent enough: they are without doubt intended to emphasise the forces' supposed inheritance of the legendary discipline and martial valour of the Inca's imperial legions, to form the "link with the glorious past" (Fishman 1972c:44). And yet, ironically, the army has played a significant role in the

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[27]Source: *Buenos Días Perú*, Canal 5 television, 3 November 1995.

castellanización of republican Peru, and often quite deliberately: generations of Andean conscripts, like Luis Galarza, Ernesto Quispe (see Appendix A), or Gregorio Condori Mamani (Condori 1977), have been schooled in the "national" language by military taskmasters (a point also made by Paulston 1994:18). Functional use of Quechua is not encouraged in the *cuartel* - quite the opposite - but the language may well be dragooned into purely symbolic service.

2.2.2 Language symbolism in political contexts

During the municipal elections of November 1995 an unusual incident took place, reported in one newspaper as follows:

> La flamante alcaldesa de San Miguel, nacida en el Cusco, dio su mensaje en quechua a los presentes, siendo fuertemente aplaudida.
>
> (*La República*, 13/11/95)

The context of this public address in Quechua was that of a rally held by the Somos Lima group to celebrate their electoral success, and it took place in the group's headquarters in the exclusive district of San Isidro. The ideology of the group was and is somewhat vague, but it is worth noting that it was generally considered at the time to be a primarily middle-class movement, and not in any sense the natural voice of the poor. One might therefore wonder how many of the applauding audience actually understood the newly-elected *alcaldesa*'s words. This, though, was hardly the point of the exercise. It is surely more than likely that the aim was to symbolise Somos Lima's cognisance of the presence of Andean migrants in Lima and to present Somos Lima as a legitimate bearer of the mantle of *peruanidad* and the Incas (note that the woman is from Cusco). The "real" audience, to whom the use of Quechua was addressed, was not in San Isidro but in San Miguel and in the *pueblos jóvenes*.

This event bears comparison with that described by Bourdieu (1991) in which the mayor of Pau addressed a gathering of *béarnais* speakers in their own dialect. Bourdieu labels this a "strategy of condescension" (1991:68). As this label implies, such speech events are less radically egalitarian in their intention and effect than might at first be supposed. The strategy depends, indeed, on the recognition by both speaker and audience that the speaker benefits from a position of power in the existing hierarchy; it is only because of this that he or she can break the unwritten rule which states that formal speeches are to be delivered in the dominant language. The speaker is hence able "to combine the profits linked to the undiminished hierarchy with those derived from the distinctly symbolic negation of the hierarchy - not the least of which is the strengthening of the hierarchy implied by the recognition accorded to the way of using the hierarchical relation" (Bourdieu 1991:68). This is so; and this is doubtless why the burghers of San Isidro felt able to

applaud with such equanimity an act which might, in another context (for example if the speaker had been a *campesino* at a political demonstration) have been perceived as threatening, alienating or simply ridiculous. To use Quechua, then - and not only to use Quechua, but to use it in an explicitly public, formal context, and to use it in the heart of upper-class San Isidro - is to make an unmistakably symbolic gesture: but the intended meaning of the gesture in this case depended wholly on the undisputed status of the speaker, an elected politician and therefore a powerful person.

Whether the effect of this would have been positive or not is quite another matter. To put it in the most general terms, the inherent danger of employing symbols - whether linguistic or of any other kind - is that they may not symbolise to the *recipient quite the same thing as was intended by the user.* In specific terms, as is demonstrated with some clarity by the data presented in chapter 4 and by William's anecdote at 1.1 above, the peculiar sociohistoric context of language contact in Peru means that to use Quechua in public to a stranger is to risk giving offence. A hostile crowd addressed in Quechua by a politician might well interpret (or, as it were, *choose* to interpret) this code choice as patronising or insulting. That is to say - *pace* Bourdieu, who typically overestimates rather seriously the capacity of the powerful to legitimate their usage - a strategy of condescension may be perceived as just that.

Some measure of the complexity involved in public linguistic symbolism is suggested by events that occurred during a moment of high political drama, President Fujimori's *autogolpe* of April 1992. In the immediate aftermath of Fujimori's action, in an attempt to shore up his notional position as constitutional president, the hitherto vice-president Máximo San Román, a bilingual *serrano*, made two televised speeches in which he used Quechua in a deliberate appeal to *campesinos* and fellow migrants. The speeches were generally agreed to have been spectacularly unsuccessful. Interestingly, his choice of language and languages was utilised by the mainly pro-Fujimori *clases populares* as a stick with which to beat him: both his use of Quechua and his flowery Spanish were ridiculed, and the public perception was that he had come over as a "cholo estúpido" (Daeschner 1993:296-7). Soon after this a pro-Fujimori rally was held in central Lima, during which the popular comedian and singer Melcochita. a black *costeño* and certainly not a Quechua speaker himself

> ...surprised the crowd by speaking Quechua in a jab at San Román, who often touted his ability to speak the Andean Indian language as if it somehow made him more identified with the *pueblo*. The crowd roared with laughter, and Melcochita translated into Spanish the joke for non-Quechua speakers: "Abajo los huevones".
>
> (Daeschner 1993:304)

Note that the majority of the crowd appeared to understand Melcochita's joke without problems: these are Quechua speakers mocking a fellow-speaker for

his presumption, his attempt to make common cause through language where no other common cause was felt to exist. This seems to sum up very neatly the ambiguity of Quechua as a symbol, and the dangers of assuming that it has fixed and universal meaning. There is of course a history of such symbolic use of language in Peru. Cerrón-Palomino (1989b) notes that Generals San Martín and Canterac were given to making proclamations in Quechua; as was General Leguía, though he understood not a word of the language (Cerrón-Palomino 1989b:24). President García's round of meetings with rural communities soon after his election in 1985 was publicised under the banner of *rimanakuy* (literally, something like "speaking together") a quite deliberate attempt to link modern state practice to Andean social tradition. More subtly, such usage perhaps aimed to characterise the President of the Republic as someone who was close enough to the "people" to be able to hold dialogue with them in the egalitarian, reciprocal fashion suggested by the Quechua word and by its original referent.[28] A similarly positively-viewed aspect of Andean community is alluded to in the Fujimori government's dubbing of its network of state-run kindergartens the *wawawasis* ("children's houses"), a usage which seems to have been accepted unproblematically in Lima.

2.2.3 *Peruanidad* and the Andean: cultural and ethnic marking through linguistic symbolism

It is not, of course, only the state and politicians who seek to appropriate Quechua as a symbolic marker of identity or ethnicity. Individuals and groups may choose to do so too. There is a well-established tradition of artistic and cultural groups, typically musical or theatrical, giving themselves Quechua names: Yuyachkani, Hatun Wasi, Ñoqanchis, Llaqta Simi, Sumaq Runa.[29] Timaná (1993) refers to the last three in a discussion of the background of the *zampoña* groups formed at San Marcos University in the 1980s, characterising their members as, predominantly, young provincial migrants, strongly regionalist and deliberately oriented towards their "home" cultures.[30] However, many members of theatrical groups like Yuyachkani have no family connection with the *sierra*: a self-applied Quechua name does not necessarily signify ethnic background, but rather signals a certain political and social orientation, whether this be leftist, nationalist, regionalist, "nativist" or whatever.[31]

[28] For a detailed discussion of how Quechua encodes the notion of reciprocity in grammar, see Mannheim (1986).
[29] These names might be freely translated as follows: I remember; the big house; we, ourselves; voice of the people/village; the beautiful people.
[30] Significantly, these groups tended to be extremely protective of their local styles of music, and greatly resented their being appropriated by groups from other districts or provinces, feeling that these others had *no right* to play them (Timaná 1993). There is clearly little sense of a shared, pan-Andean musical identity amongst these migrants. The parallel with the way Quechua is viewed in strongly local, exclusive terms (see chapter 5) is an unmistakeable and informative one.
[31] Taylor (1996) cites the example of a folk group from northern Peru who call themselves Yuraqurpi (white dove)- even though *urpi* is not used in the northern dialect. This raises large questions of whom such naming is aimed at and what, exactly, are the intended connotations of the name.

Self-naming of this sort is positive, as it is in the case of a *combi* or urban minibus emblazoned with a Quechua motto, *Sapan Ccari* ("a man alone", "the solitary man"), seen in the *pueblo joven* of Villa María del Triunfo. (From fieldwork diary, September 1996). Such unabashed advertisement of one's ethnolinguistic heritage is, though, rare. More common perhaps is what seems to be an urban "mock" or "cod" Quechua, which begins as shanty town slang or humorous usage. A gossip column contained the following segment:

> Llegó por aquí, Perumanta, Ulises Aristides, chileno que pesa un montón en Televisa...
>
> (*El Mañanero*, 13/09/95)

The use of "*Perumanta*" is, of course, technically incorrect (meaning "from Peru" rather than the "to Peru" presumably meant) - but it is easily recognisable as Quechua. The overall effect of the usage (instead of *Perú*), as well as being simply jocular, is, I would suggest, to give an ironic sense of Peru being a humble, rural, backward country. The intention is to highlight the fact that Sr Aristides is an important man, that Chile is an "advanced" country, and that Televisa (a Mexican media conglomerate) is a large and powerful organisation: and that Peru should therefore - perhaps - feel itself lucky that it warrants such visitors. Between self-deprecating and ironic, this comment employs symbolic "mock" Quechua to create a finally rather cosy sense of nationhood.

The death of an elderly man during an earthquake drill was reported by the same newspaper (an unfailingly accurate barometer of popular speech) with the headline POR SIMULACRO MANCA COCHA (*El Mañanero* 10/10/96). *Manca* (< *mancar*: to die) and *cocha* (old person) are well established in *pueblo joven* slang; the fact that they are identical to Quechua lexical items in all but meaning[32] may be coincidence (phonologically they are of course potentially quite possible in standard Spanish), but may perhaps be more than this. Such usages seem almost to suggest an affectionate nod by shanty-town dwellers towards the ethnic language. If they are indeed simply phonological coincidence, then the coincidence does not go unmarked. The title of a 1996 album by the Lima rock group Del Pueblo y Del Barrio drew explicitly on the real or apparent parallel between Quechua and urban slang, and in so doing made a ethnic and political statement: *Manco Inca No Mancó*.[33]

2.2.4 Personal names

Such usage, to repeat, is positive: the last to the point of defiance. But words and names associated with Quechua and the Andean world are often used in

[32] In Quechua *manca* or *manka* is a pot, *cocha* or *qocha* a lake.
[33] That is, "Manco Inca did not die/is not dead". Manco was one of the last Incas; he raised a rebellion against Spanish rule, and was finally murdered by Spaniards of the *almagrista* faction, to whom he had given protection, at his jungle redoubt of Vilcabamba in 1568.

public in a less positive way. The usage may be patronising, as in the case of a training course for farmers being reported under the headline CAPACITAN A MAMANIS (*El Mañanero*, 13/09/95), where a distinctively Andean surname is used to stand for the whole social and occupational class of the *campesinado*. The association of Quechua names (and even facial features) with rural activities and, inevitably, cultural and social backwardness forms a mainstay of Lima humour. A popular sports newspaper reported the banter of some footballers from the Universitario club as follows:

> José **Puma** Carranza lo **vaciló rico** a Walter **Pituco andino**[34] Cavallini al llamarlo para que el cremolada autóctono maneje su carro y cuando se le acercó le dijo: "Ven para que manejes, pero un tractor reconch..."[35] No olvida el **choquehuanta** que tuvo con su **roca**[36]... Martín **Condorcanqui** Yupanqui dice que él ya está curado contra todo tipo de insultos...
>
> (*Libero*, 29/11/95; highlighting in original)

The teasing remark refers to the car crash ("*choquehuanta*": again the slang use of "mock Quechua") suffered by Cavallini. The incident though is re-represented in stereotypical terms of Cavallini's ethnicity; being Andean, he is fit only to drive a tractor ("*pero un tractor reconch...*"). The reporter confirms this reading of the joke both by inserting the explanatory adjective *autóctono* and Cavallini's nickname "Pituco andino", and by following up with a reference to the goalkeeper Martín Yupanqui which would otherwise lack all cohesion; he has been teased so often about his distinctively Andean surname (for instance by being called, as here, "Condorcanqui") that he is inured to it.[37]

A Quechua name, like the public use of Quechua, can be a source of defiant pride or an invitation to ridicule. There is here, of course, a critical distinction: to name or label oneself (*Llaqta Simi*, *Sapan Ccari*) may be regarded as a deliberate expression of cultural or ethnic pride, a voluntary act. An individual's personal name, though, is unchosen and is to all intents and purposes immutable; Martín Yupanqui did not choose to have a surname which carries symbolic weight, and yet must live with the interpretations that others place upon it. The otherness, for the traditional *criollo* classes, of Andean names (and by extension, the Andean cultural and linguistic universe) is reflected in a mischievous piece by the humorist Rafael León, involving his fictional creation, the *pituca* Lorena Tudela Loveday, and her maid:

[34] In the Peruvian vernacular a *pituco* is a wealthy snob; almost by definition such a person is a white *criollo*, and "*pituco andino*" is therefore intended as a humorous contradiction in terms.

[35] The reporter did not wish to write "*reconcha de tu madre*" - a considerable insult in Peruvian Spanish, though here of course meant jocularly

[36] This item is an example of back slang (*roca* < *carro*); and is analogous to, for example, *telo* (< *hotel*). Such formations are currently very popular in Lima.

[37] The perceived "Andeanness" of Yupanqui's name is also picked up on by rival supporters as a fit subject for abuse. During an Alianza Universitario match in 1996 Yupanqui complained to the referee about being pelted with stones from the terraces: the Alianza supporters (very many of them themselves of Andean extraction) reacted with a chant of "*cholo maricon*" Ironically, the Alianza goalkeeper in that match was one Francisco Pizarro.

> [Lorena] se enteró de que existía la palabra Chumbiauca en el diccionario de la peruanidad, una tarde en que le preguntó a la chica de servicio de su casa si ella tenía un apellido o sólo se llamaba Teodolinda... Teo le respondió, Chumbiauca, y Lorena pensó que le estaba diciendo en aymara que no, en efecto que no tenía apellido, y se quedó un poco más tranquila.
>
> (*Quehacer* no.103, 1996, p 46).

2.2.5 Summary

The public use of Quechua, then, stretches from the context of formal political discourse to the occasional employment of Quechua or Quechua-like lexical items in slang and humour. The essence of all public use of Quechua, however, is that it carries symbolic weight. Quechua in Lima *cannot* be an unmarked code in the way that it might be, for example, in Ayacucho or even (alongside Aymara) in La Paz. To speak Quechua in public, to apply a Quechua name to something, knowingly to introduce a Quechua or Quechua-like word into a string of Spanish, is to draw consciously on a bank of symbolic meanings. The aims of such usage are various. The intention may be to imbue one's discourse with authenticity, with popular appeal, or with the prestige associated with the Inca empire; it may be to signal a political orientation, nationalist or socialist, or to create a sense of national or local community; the usage may be serious, jocular, teasing or frankly insulting. Names, by their very nature, belong in the public domain; chosen names are one thing, but even given or inherited personal names cannot escape the symbolism of their origins.

As far as conscious symbolism is concerned, as the hapless Máximo San Román discovered, symbols by their very nature are subject to manipulation and re-interpretation. An individual or group may make use of conscious linguistic symbolism, employing Quechua to mark their own attitudes, ethnicity, identity, or political orientation; but equally, others may perceive or employ such markers in a negative or ambivalent way.

2.3 The "semi-public" domain: *reuniones* and *fiestas*

It has been noted that Quechua in Lima has no established public domains; it is not, as a rule, spoken in the street, or on buses, or in marketplaces, or anywhere it may be overheard by strangers. There are, naturally, exceptions; the Alarcón sisters (tapescript 02) tell an entertaining anecdote about how they persuaded the clientele of a Lima bar, none of whom they knew, into speaking Quechua:

Ichaco: Ya, y al decir *huk chayllata*[38] el hombre empezó a... ¿Usted sabe quechua? ¿[Cómo] van a saber estas gringas, cómo van a saber? Entonces una yo, el señor otra, la señora otra, la que nos atendía nos puso otra...

Efigenia: Y la picaronera[39] empezó a escuchar... [...]

¿Y de allí alguien hablaba también en quechua?

Efigenia: ¡Todos! [...] Contagiábamos ya... [...]

O sea que se necesitaba que...

Efigenia: Que alguien inicie.

(Tapescript 02)

This was quite clearly an exceptional occurrence (which was of course why the story was deemed interesting enough to relate some years later). The sisters are white professionals, and could therefore be supposed to risk relatively little by speaking Quechua in public (see discussion above). The fact of their ethnicity - indeed the perceived inappropriacy of what was happening at several levels - also aroused the curiosity of the other people present. It should perhaps above all else be stressed that the day in question was that of Todos los Santos, the bar was near the El Angel cemetery in Rímac, and a good deal of drink had therefore been taken by all concerned ("*huk chayllata*", "*una*" and "*otra*" above refer, of course, to bottles of beer). This last, quite apart from the predictable effect of "loosening the tongue", can have a real influence on code choice between Spanish and Quechua, and on the interpretations that participants and observers place on code choice (Allen 1988, Harvey 1991, Saignes 1989). The episode was, to repeat, exceptional.[40]

In general, relatively unmarked use of Quechua is restricted to the private/intimate domain, where it tends to be sealed within physical borders (a closed room, for example, or a yard, as seen in 2.1 above). However, the language also typically appears in one other context: that of the *reunión*, a term which in Peru covers anything on the continuum from a spontaneous social get-together or visit of family members or friends to a house, to a large, organised event at (typically) a provincial or departmental club. Such domains are referred to here as "semi-public", meaning simply that they fall between the obviously private (e.g. a closed room in a house) and the

[38] "One of those".
[39] That is, the woman who was preparing *picarones*, a sweet, fried dessert.
[40] Harvey (1991) comments that, in Ocongate, the whole community was only invited to drink together on certain feast days. The example she gives is that of Todos los Santos, when the living are perceived of as forming a single community in opposition to the dead. It would perhaps be foolish to wish to read too much into the incident referred to above without having witnessed it at first hand, but certainly it seems that the occasion of Todos los Santos helped create an environment in which the normal rules of discourse and code choice were - if not suspended - in some way reworked.

obviously public (e.g. a bus). They are "semi-public", too, in the sense that while one may not personally know everybody present, one at least knows that one has some kind of connection with everybody present via mutual friends, family or background.

In such contexts, the use of Quechua is neither entirely symbolic nor entirely functional. Rather, it appears to be framed within certain, rather limited types of speech event, and to bear therein simultaneously a functional and a symbolic (or metaphorical) load. However, it will be argued that the symbolic significance of code choice here is very much greater than the importance of the actual information encoded. To speak Quechua in such contexts, at the appropriate stages of the encounter and within the acceptable framework of discourse, is to draw attention to, reinforce and advertise bonds of *paisano* solidarity and fellow-feeling. Usually these bonds exist already; however, they may be in the process of being formed. When *paisanos* come together and talk in this way, the effect is to remove some of the restrictions imposed by the prevailing discourse of Lima.

It will, however, be seen that the relaxation of rules is not complete; rather, one set of linguistic and social parameters is swapped for another. As will be seen below, the range of topics, genres and functions is typically small; some speakers have more authority than others; the range of participants is limited. This should not, of course, surprise us. Bourdieu (1991:98) claims that the production of varieties that are not the "legitimate language", in a casual and non-public environment, may involve a relaxation of linguistic tension, as if such language use were in fact subject to fewer discourse rules. However, as is noted by Gal (1989) and Woolard (1985) amongst others, social networks of *any* class, and in virtually *any* interactional context, demand specific linguistic behaviour and exert real pressure over what is said and how.[41] And so it is in the case of the semi-public use of Quechua, some instances and typical features of which are now discussed.

2.3.1 *"Un hola, cómo estás"*: greetings and small-talk

Friends, family or *paisanos* who meet socially in Lima may negotiate the initial stage of the conversation - greeting, enquiring after the other's health and that of their family, suggesting some activity - in Quechua. Ernesto Quispe, from Ancomayo in Cusco, describes the usual range of such usage, and hints at its role in the discourse:

> A veces se encuentran entre paisanos, y se saludan; digamos, tú vas a Lima, tú eres de Ancomayo, yo vengo a Lima, nos hablamos en quechua. Un hola, cómo estás.

[41]This pressure may of course be in a "downward" direction, i.e. away from the (supposedly) societally prestigious norm; see for example Milroy's (1980:60 61) description of the Belfast boy mocked by his friends for adopting an inappropriately "high" style, which he quickly corrected.

¿Y de ahí?

Castellano. Ellos hablan cuando son paisanos, se encuentran en una ciudad lejos.

Para sentirse en confianza...

Saben que es un paisano. Tú eres mi paisano y soy tu paisano entonces nosotros en quechua, puedo hablar en quechua. Nos hablamos en quechua, en quechua nos saludamos, hola, cómo estás...

(Tapescript 40)

The final paragraph reveals with some clarity the value that such (essentially phatic) discourse carries in Lima. The ritual exchange of greetings in Quechua serves as a reminder and affirmation of family or village ties: to put it another way, code choice here indexes solidarity based on shared background. This linkage is made quite explicit by Ernesto: "*Tú vas a Lima, tú eres de Ancomayo, yo vengo a Lima, nos hablamos en quechua. Un hola, cómo estás*"; and again, with the use of "*entonces*" serving to stress the logical, causal nature of the code choice given the circumstances: "*Tú eres mi paisano y soy tu paisano entonces nosotros en quechua...*"

The use of Quechua, then, (and, importantly, their own dialect of Quechua: see chapter 5, and cf Hill & Hill 1980 for Nahuatl) sets the speakers apart from the rest of the city's inhabitants and highlights their common bond: but this is not all. The giving and returning of the language in addition encodes a shared judgement on the quality of the two speakers' relationship. Again, Ernesto is explicit: "*puedo hablar quechua*". From this sense of being able - or, rather, being *allowed* - note the "*puedo*" - to speak Quechua we (and primarily of course the interlocutor) are to infer that a degree of trust and confidence is being assumed. It is not that the speaker is unable to use Quechua in daily life because no-one understands it - this is patently not the case. The point of the code switch is to emphasise that the speaker feels free to use the language with this interlocutor because they do not feel vulnerable to ridicule or rejection. The nature and value of the relationship having been mutually affirmed in this way, the speakers can switch back to the standard unmarked code ("*¿Y de ahí?*" "*Castellano...*"). Indeed, it is the pronounced markedness (Scotton 1983) of Quechua in the urban context that gives it this special power; were most of the speakers' conversations carried on in Quechua, it would of course lose some of its particular social meaning amongst bilinguals.

This is not to suggest that Quechua use in semi-public contexts is restricted solely to greetings: though the importance of these in terms of social meaning is considerable, as they represent the site of the initial code choice in the interaction, in which not only code but social identity must begin to be negotiated (cf Scotton 1988, Heller 1982). The exchange of personal and family news can also appropriately be carried out in Quechua. Abel Baldeón, a

young migrant from Llocllapampa, near Jauja, who now lives in Villa El Salvador, describes another possible range of functions:

> Este... en la manera que... me dice ¿no? me pregunta cómo me puedo llamar, o un saludo, o una salida, o vamos por acá, vamos por allá, una llamada, o un... vamos a un parque a jugar, o lo que sea. Una conversación así...
>
> (Tapescript 20)

Note that he includes the possibility "*cómo me puedo llamar*": this suggests, rather surprisingly, that even strangers may use initial Quechua to each other. While this may be a possibility, subject to certain conditions (cf Myers 1973), it must surely be considered a rarity. Crucially, the speakers involved must generally be *paisanos* in a delineated social setting. Abel himself is emphatic that in the course of day-to-day life, the unmarked urban code (referred to as "*normal de acá*") must be employed: to use Quechua to a stranger is all but out of the question.

> No, ningunos tratan de eso. Ningunos. Porque se olvidan de hablar quechua, porque naturalmente hablan el idioma... normal de acá.
>
> (Tapescript 20)

3.2 "*Bromas, y otras cositas*": joking and story-telling

Humorous discourse is clearly labelled as a context suitable for Quechua, whether in the form of one-off witticisms or of semi-formalised sessions of joke-telling. Ernesto, in the houses of his two brothers in Ate-Vitarte, will exchange greetings and small talk in Quechua, and, as we have seen, "*de ahí castellano*". However:

> A Lima a veces voy con mis hermanos de broma en broma también siempre hablamos en quechua.
>
> *Pero bromas...*
>
> Sí, bromas, y otras cositas.
>
> (Tapescript 40)

The configuration of joking, being with family or *paisanos* in Lima and speaking Quechua (i.e. this particular conjunction of topic - or rather genre - setting and participants) is echoed by Emilia Aguirre, from Huanta, Ayacucho, and now resident in the *pueblo joven* of La Merced, Punta Negra. Talking of meeting her fellow *huantinos*, of whom there are a good number in La

Merced, she instantly identifies this as being a Quechua-triggering (we might say, Quechua-permitting) combination:

> Allí mis paisanos encuentro ¿no? entre quechua comenzamos a hablar, bromeando así ¿no? pura quechua...
>
> (Tapescript 55)

To a large extent the field of joke-telling overlaps with insults, taboo language and teasing (see below): much Quechua humour tends to revolve around the risqué or the frankly scatological. It is a commonplace amongst bilinguals to state that Quechua jokes simply do not seem funny when translated into Spanish (see e.g. Lefebvre 1976). This is no doubt true, apart from anything else, at the lexical level: wordplay is a crucial ingredient of the humour (Allen 1988:210, and see Harvey 1991). However, Danny Flores' rather poignant memories of his father Jorge's joke-telling sessions hint at a deeper level of discourse:

> Mi papá decía ¿no? hay chistes por ejemplo que... mi papá es de contar chistes en quechua ¿no? Y decía este... si yo esos chistes los cuento en castellano, no son graciosos. Pero contándolo de esa manera hay palabras típicas que... que realmente dan gracia.
>
> *Y cuando te explicaba eso nunca te trataba de... de decir...*
>
> No, o sea ví que en realidad decía... pero ¿qué dices, no? ¿Por qué tanto se ríen, no? Y mi mamá me decía ¿no? pero no, si te explico en castellano no da risa. Y así pues ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 50)

There is no question here that anyone was even going to attempt to explain to Danny what was so funny, or why. In part this is because of the desire of parents to avoid "contamination" of young children by Quechua (see chapter 4); in part because the jokes were without doubt obscene, and Danny was, at the time he is talking about, a youngish child. Much more, though, such behaviour (and it is typical) hints at the extent to which the use of Quechua is both topic or genre-controlled, and "framed", or context-dependent. To tell a joke in Quechua is one thing; it is acceptable to, and appreciated by, the (presumably self-selected) audience. To then retell the joke to a non-speaker, translating, analysing and explaining, is to remove the frame which made the use of the language acceptable (even indispensable) in the first place. Strict boundary maintenance would thereby be blurred, and the symbolic import of the use of Quechua diminished or even neutralised.

The extent of the framing of Quechua, and the very specific context required for these formal joke-telling sessions, are emphasised by Jorge's own description of them:

> Por ejemplo en las reuniones del Club Ancash, cuando son paisanos, entonces yo me pongo a contar chistes en quechua ¿no? y me sale bien pues ¿no? los chistes, todo lo demás. Y se reúnen todos los paisanos a mi alrededor y yo empiezo a contar ¿no? Y un mate de risa pues, un mate de risa, entonces ah, dicen: ya Jorge seguramente que está contando algún chiste ¿no? Entonces se vienen todos y nos reímos y nos gozamos ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 52)

The contextual framework which allows a switch to Quechua is here revealed with some clarity. The audience is composed without exception of *paisanos* - and note that Jorge, importantly, appears to distinguish between *ancashinos* in general and genuine *paisanos*, i.e. those from his home province of Pomabamba ("*...del Club Ancash, cuando son paisanos...*").[42] They are formed in a circle ("*se reúnen... a mi alrededor*") and the speech event is hence physically restricted to, presumably, speakers of that dialect. The purpose of the interaction is to listen to Jorge's jokes in Quechua. Anyone witnessing this would be in no doubt as to what was happening ("*ya Jorge seguramente que está contando algún chiste ¿no?*").

Jorge has a tendency to exaggerate, and he doubtless elevates slightly his own role in the proceedings described. However, his account of story-telling sessions at his club resembles to a striking degree the account given by the Alarcón sisters of similar events at the Club Huancavelica:

> *Ichaco*: Muchas veces nosotros cuando tenemos nuestras reuniones en el Club Huancayo [*sic*], Huancavelica, todos nuestros paisanos desde el momento en que entramos hablamos en quechua, todo el grupo.
>
> *¿Todo el mundo?*
>
> Todo el grupo. Todos los que sabemos, porque nosotros...
>
> *Efigenia*: Todos los que sabemos el quechua. Y nos contamos chistes ¿no? un poquito colorados y ya ves... [*Laughter*]
>
> *Ichaco*: Verdes, colorados.
>
> (Tapescript 02)

Many of the same elements are present: the audience appears to be composed (though again this is rather ambiguous) of *paisanos*, and hence speakers of the sisters' own dialect - not "*todo el mundo*" but "*todo el grupo*"; the group sets itself apart and defines itself in these terms. The code switch takes place

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[42]This segment is ambiguous, but the above reading would seem to be reasonable, especially in light of the discussion of dialectal difference in chapter 5, part 1.

only when an appropriate physical setting has been reached (*"desde que entramos"* - not before). And while Ichaco begins by implying that they speak Quechua all the time, covering, one might assume, a multitude of topics and genres, it quickly transpires that in fact this is another joke-telling session - that is to say, a code switch framed by context and genre. Again, the emphasis is on the scatological (*"verdes, colorados..."*); and indeed, taboo language and obscenity may be considered as a separate, but clearly linked, field which allows Quechua, and which is considered briefly in the following section.

3.3 Powerful words: teasing, insults and taboo language

As will be seen, the cultural context of teasing or insulting others is, in the Andean world, linked quite unmistakably to conceptions of power, and thence to language. An example from the fieldwork diary from Cusco in August 1996 may help to illustrate this. In an airline office an elderly couple in traditional Andean dress were sitting waiting for their turn to be served. A very tall French-speaking foreigner entered the office and approached the counter, seeming not to realise that the couple were waiting. When the elderly man stood up and pointed out to him, in Spanish, that he was pushing in, the foreigner merely smiled and nodded. (It is to be presumed that he did not understand). This was repeated, and the tall foreigner continued to smile and stand fast. Giving up, the Peruvian returned to his seat, and as he sat down, called out "*iuchuk chaki!*" (something like "short legs") in the foreigner's direction, producing laughter from those Quechua speakers present.

This case seems to present a clear example of unequal access to language being used to redress what was perceived as an imbalance of power. Faced with a large, wealthy foreigner who appeared unwilling to acknowledge his error, the Peruvian fell back on what may be considered his best or sole resource: the freedom to insult him (albeit lightly) with perfect impunity, confident that the insult would not be understood. Seligmann (1993:280-281) similarly reproduces an angry exchange in Cusco between a *chola* market woman and her upper-class *mestiza* customer, during which the *chola* shifts to Quechua to insult the other woman, who is the only person within earshot who cannot understand the language. However, unilateral knowledge of a language is not only exploited as a form of redress against the powerful; it is used too amongst peers. Insult and teasing as competitive behaviour - whether jocular or less so, but often with an emphasis on linguistic skill - are employed with great regularity in the Andean world.[43] Allen (1988:212) speaks of the "quintessentially Quechua game of oneupmanship"; Isbell (1977) sees riddle games, as if in preparation for competitive wordplay in later life, as a basic element in the Andean child's cognitive and social

[43]And of course in many other places. The "sounding" or "signifying" of young American blacks and the rhyming insult games of young Turkish-speakers are among very many well-documented examples: see e.g. Crystal (1987:60). Farb (1974:100-112) gives an excellent brief overview of "verbal duelling" in different cultures and times.

development. If, then, one's interlocutor is handicapped by lack of language, one has an advantage that should not be wasted.

This acute perception of the power inherent in differential access to language, and the vulnerability felt by those on the receiving end, are suggested in the following segment, recorded in Santa Cruz de Pacte, Jauja. The speakers are María, born in a nearby village and now resident in Huancayo, who speaks no Quechua at all, her grandfather José, who lives in Pacte and is a fluent speaker, and her cousin, Carmen Galarza:

> *José*: Tú no entiendes quechua, ¿no?
>
> *María*: ¡Ay! no, nada [*laughs*]. Ya ves. Verdad, aunque me están insultando, yo estoy ahí... [*laughter*].
>
> *Carmen*: ¡Gracias! ¡Gracias!
>
> *María*: ¡Gracias, mucho gusto, gracias! [*Laughter*].
>
> (Tapescript 44)

María cannot understand or respond when she is insulted, and is therefore powerless; so much so, as the speakers here jokingly have it, that she is likely to thank the person who insults her for the "compliment", thus compounding the other's victory. Sócrates Yangali, resident some five or six years in the capital, is obviously proud of his ability to speak both Spanish and Quechua. Strikingly, though, he describes the social value of his bilingualism in terms of his ability to understand (and therefore, perhaps, retaliate or in some way resist) when he is insulted:

> Más bien me siento hon[rado]... este, más... que sé un poquito más. Porque si me insultan en castellano, comprendo castellano. Si me hablan en quechua, también.
>
> (Tapescript 11)

To be unable to understand is equated with being unable to defend one's position or status. And for those who are bilingual, the ability to insult another person is a much-valued resource. This is not unique to Quechua and Spanish. In Aymara-speaking Moho, in the department of Puno, monolinguals, whether in Spanish or in Aymara "...are frequently the butts of bilingual jokes" (Painter 1983:25-26). Hill & Hill (1980) comment that Nahuatl-speakers are wont to address obscenities to strangers, ostensibly to test for understanding of the language, and that this practice is sometimes given as a reason for learning it - "*hay que defenderse*". Garzon (1992) reports that one of the few factors favouring the survival of Tektiteko on the Mexican-Guatemalan border in the 19th century was that in-marriers needed to learn it to be able to defend themselves against family teasing - a fact which clearly suggests that

challenging or competitive use of a language towards outsiders who do not understand it is deeply embedded in the culture.

Where differential access to language is used as a form of covert resistance to an outsider's perceived power, or more generally to mount an oblique challenge (whether seriously meant or not) to a person's position, the question of acquisition of language becomes critical. Many monolingual *limeños* know a handful of taboo words and insults in Quechua. As a rule they justify this by explaining that they learned the words before or during a trip to the Andes "*para defenderse*" (cf the findings of Hill & Hill 1980, referred to above). And indeed, it is not an uncommon experience for the visitor to the *sierra*, whether from Lima or abroad, to be assailed by small boys gleefully shouting Quechua obscenities. Such words are perceived as a very real resource, a form of power; this may help to explain why they are picked up so quickly by the Lima-born children of Quechua speakers, even if virtually no other part of the language is. Ernesto Quispe says:

> No, de verdad usted sabe; yo con mi hermano, de las groserías decimos. La grosería en quechua es más fácil. Y eso saben los pequeños. Eso que no hay que hablar... saben groserías, verdad. Más fácil de hablar, la grosería es más fácil a enseñar. Son malas palabras.
>
> (Tapescript 40)

Ernesto and his brothers' enjoyment of "*groserías*" is entirely explicable in terms of the above discussion of joking: humour, often scatological, is an established part of Quechua discourse amongst *paisanos* and family in Lima humour. Note, though, that he then says "*la grosería es más fácil a enseñar*". The Lima-born children obviously find this aspect of Quechua attractive enough to be worth the trouble of learning. The *pequeños* in question, then, Ernesto's nephews and nieces, are clearly well aware of the power of the words. Efigenia Alarcón's teenage son Lolo, too, has gained little but this ability from his years of exposure to his Quechua-speaking mother and aunts:

> *¿Tú también sabes hablar algo?*
>
> *Lolo*: No, no, entiendo un poco nada más.
>
> *Ichaco*: *Manam yachanichu runasimita*[44] dile.
>
> *Lolo*: Algunas cosas...
>
> *Ichaco*: ¡Lisuras! [*Laughter*].
>
> (Tapescript 02)

---

[44] "I don't know how to speak Quechua".

The discourse of swearing and insulting continues to be available to Quechua in Lima, and is one of the very few elements of the language which survives, to at least some extent, the break in intergenerational transmission. It is attractive to Lima-born children in a way no other part of the language seems to be. This is of course attributable in part to the delight all children take in forbidden words: but it is attributable too to the role of such discourse in the linguistic "marketplace" as conceived of by, for example, Bourdieu (1991) and Gal (1989). (And cf Haugen 1972b). In marked contrast to other Quechua discourses, that of insult and obscenity is perceived to bring real power and advantage to the person who controls it: it is a valued and valuable commodity.

3.4 "*Para que no escuchara su esposo*": the use of Quechua as a "secret language"

Another function of Quechua which carries advantage is the exclusionary, that of excluding non-speakers from information. It is linked to teasing and insult in that the speaker with access to the language is placed at a perceived advantage, and hence knowledge of the language represents a real resource. (The same is noted by Hill & Hill 1980, 1986 for Nahuatl). This is a use of Quechua to which non-speakers tend - not surprisingly - to be very sensitive. Alicia, in her early 20s, also of the Galarza/Baldeón family but born in the Lima district of Jesús María and now resident in Villa El Salvador, and hence a non-speaker, was in no doubt as to what a code-switch on the part of parents or elderly relatives from Pacte tended to signify:

> Y algunas cosas que hablan ellos... de repente hablaban en quechua para que yo no me enteraba... enterara de las cosas que hablaban.
>
> (Tapescript 24)

Some speakers were rather reluctant to admit that they themselves used Quechua in this way, though all agreed that it occurred. Luis (Lucho) Escudero, a native speaker from Pomabamba married to a monolingual Spanish-speaking *limeña*, was both amused and embarrassed to hear his wife Socorro point it out to me:

> Ellos [*Lucho and his brothers*] se ponen a hablar en quechua cuando no quieren que yo me entere de lo que dicen. [*Lucho laughs, denies this half-heartedly*].
>
> (Socorro, from fieldwork diary, October 1995).

However, there can be no doubt that this is a function of Quechua used - it seems quite sparingly - and valued by its speakers. Hilda describes how she and her sister speak in Quechua to conceal meaning from her sister's husband, a monolingual Spanish speaker from Chiclayo:

Ah, este... o sea a veces nos contamos cosas, o sea de lo que le había pasado, sobre todo para que no escuchara su esposo... entonces así y no lo... entonces él nos decía: contra, contra, de repente me están insultando, decía, lo único [*Laughs*].

Y a veces sí lo están insultando....

Sí, a veces [*Laughs*].

(Hilda Otazú, tapescript 46)

There is here of course an unmistakeable connection to the question of insult-as-power discussed above. The husband, with his "*contra, contra*" suspects - at times quite correctly, it would seem - that he is being insulted behind his back. This phrase and its accompanying "devil's horns" hand gestures appeared among several informants as a response to being addressed in, or overhearing, Quechua (see for example the words of Julia Falcón in chapter 3). The implication is that, even if the Quechua speakers are using the language primarily to conceal information rather than to insult, the non-speaker may reasonably suspect that the speakers - at best - are saying something unflattering about them, or - at worst - actively wish them harm. In such a context, "*contra, contra*" does not only function as a supposedly magical (if largely jocular) defence against ill wishes, but has the illocutionary force of an urgent plea or demand that the speaker switch back to Spanish.

Most importantly, though, the clear implication of these examples is that the use of Quechua outside the private/intimate domain, that is, within earshot of non-speakers, *cannot* be unmarked: there is invariably a symbolic or (as in this case) functional load attached to it. There must always be a reason, in Lima, for switching to Quechua: sustained and unselfconscious code-switching or mixing as an unmarked discourse style (as documented by, for example, Scotton 1988, Swiggart 1992) is simply unheard-of. Here, where Quechua speech acts are in general restricted so obviously to framed contexts, where all present are speakers (and usually, indeed, *paisanos*, as in 2.3 above), when a non-speaker hears Quechua in his or her presence, they will have good grounds for believing that whatever is being talked about is in some way to their detriment.

To put it another way: in the established terms of Lima discourse, if people are speaking Quechua, the presence of a non-speaker *should* trigger a shift to Spanish, for the very presence of the non-speaker means that the domain is no longer the private/intimate or the semi-public/*paisano*, and therefore no longer available for Quechua. If the shift does not take place, there must be a pressing functional reason for this. The obvious reason, from the non-speaker's point of view, is that information is being deliberately hidden or that he or she is being insulted - and this, as we have seen, constitutes a very real threat to one's status. Hence the strong reactions ("*contra, contra*") that such occurrences provoke.

In the linguistic marketplace, then, or within the political economy of code choice, Quechua in Lima is so devalued that its use in front of non-speakers by anyone other than a monolingual, typically the comical and naive *recién bajadito* of urban lore, must have significant symbolic or functional value which outweighs its self-evident drawbacks in terms of ridicule and consequent embarrassment. The notion of the linguistic marketplace is not merely metaphorical. An example of differential access to language - in this case Aymara, rather than Quechua - having quite tangible economic effects in the literal marketplace may be seen in Gamarra, a large, working-class market area of central Lima. Here a very tightly-knit and cohesive group of traders from Puno, all *paisanos* and mostly inter-related by blood or marriage, wield significant economic muscle in the textiles and clothing sectors (del Aguila 1996 gives an useful, sociologically-oriented account of the so-called "*clan de los puneños*" in Gamarra). Interestingly, according to one informant, this group - the original members of which are or were Aymara-speaking migrants - continue to speak Aymara amongst themselves in the course of public business, and even pass some knowledge of the language on to their Lima-born children, specifically in order to maintain an advantage over competitors. One imagines indeed that access to a "secret code" may well prove beneficial in the field of price negotiations with suppliers and customers and so on; this has certainly been the case in other linguistic contexts in various parts of the world (Crystal 1987:58). At the most basic level, rather than leaving the room to confer in private, the negotiators need only switch codes; in addition, it is to be supposed that the use of Aymara helps bind together this extraordinarily close-knit unit in opposition to the *limeños* and *arequipeños* whom they hold in something like contempt (del Aguila 1996) and thereby encourage family, ethnic and commercial loyalty.

A similar phenomenon has been reported to me as occurring in the *zona franca* markets of Tacna, where merchants from Puno are admired and resented in equal measure for their commercial acumen. I have no similar information concerning commercial use of Quechua. While this does not, of course, mean that it does not occur, it seems inherently less probable simply because of the numbers of Quechua speakers in Lima. One could not in working-class districts of Lima predict with any certainty who was a Quechua speaker and who was not; the "market value" of Aymara in Gamarra is enhanced because of the restricted access to it.

4 Summary: markedness, legitimation and the possible uses of Quechua

If we regard use of Quechua in Lima as being ranged along a continuum of contexts or domains from public to private, it is quite clear that most use bunches at the private end of the scale. In the private/intimate domain, Quechua appears to be relatively unmarked for family members and *paisanos*, but there is much sensitivity to external factors. Spanish tends to be preferred where there exists a possibility of being overheard, or when children are

around (see following chapter); Quechua appears to be used more for topics of a personal or intimate nature. Quechua may of course be used at any point along the continuum, but its use is always subject to other criteria. In public, as a rule, the language is employed only for symbolic purposes. Public use of Quechua is invariably a heavily marked code choice, and the user upon choosing Quechua will have a specific object in mind: to refer symbolically to the nation, or to the place of the Andean within the nation; to create an effect of humour or *pueblo joven* "folksiness", as with the case of what is here referred to as "mock Quechua"; to draw attention to ethno-cultural or political orientation, and so on. An exception to this rule is the use of Quechua to hide information or to insult, both of these being functions of language that are valued by speakers and whose value may be seen to outweigh the negative sanctions arrayed against use of the language in public contexts.

Much public use of the language is legitimated by the power, institutional or personal, of the user, and it is not in any real sense open to the ordinary speaker to attempt to do the same. Extending Bourdieu's (1991) notion of the *langue légitime*, we might suggest that Quechua, while it is emphatically not the "legitimate" spoken language of modern Peru, still retains the capacity to be legitimated for symbolic purposes (and temporarily, within a given context), providing that the speaker or agent *self-evidently* has sufficient power to do so. A teacher might use or permit use or acknowledgement of Quechua in the context of the school (as Rosita above, or Efigenia in chapter 4); the President of the Republic and other elected politicians, or the armed forces, may feel they have the prestige to legitimate such use; a clearly wealthy, white *patrón*, as in William's story at 1.1. above, likewise. Such legitimation is not, however, automatic or predictable. Where the speaker's authority is questioned or challenged, the legitimation will fail and the symbolic use of Quechua be rejected, as in the case of Máximo San Román. Equally, addressees may feel their status to be lessened by being addressed in Quechua, and will refuse to co-operate, as was seen in the case of William's grandfather and his ex-employee (and see the detailed discussion of this in chapter 4). The notion of code choice as a means of identity negotiation (Scotton 1980, 1983, 1988; Heller 1982) is discussed further below.

At points between these two extremes, Quechua tends to become available where a number of criteria are met. The necessary "physical" conditions (i.e. ignoring for the moment the questions of topic and genre) for a Quechua-permitting context could be stated in relatively simple broad terms as follows:

[1] The setting is a private or semi-private one.

[2] The people present are known to one other; usually, the people present share extended family relationships and/or are *paisanos*.

[3] All present in a group of speakers and listeners at any one time are competent, at the very least passively, in a given dialect of Quechua.

New and fast-changing working and living conditions lead to the gradual whittling-away of domains available to the minority language in the manner described by, for example, Holmes et al (1993). As has been noted, by far the most typical context in which the above criteria are met - apart from the totally private conversation - is that of the social *reunión*, whether in a family house or under the auspices of a club. The demographics and social forces of modern Lima effectively dictate such an outcome. Where researchers working in the 1960s and 1970s still tended to find family and *paisano* groups living close together (Myers 1973, Lloyd 1980, Adams 1976, and see Mangin's articles on Peru in Mangin [ed] 1970), such is now becoming less and less the case, and *Sprachinseln*, other than those of refugees, are rare (von Gleich 1995). Integration into the wider city seems to lead inexorably to disintegration of local and family networks; Lobo (1982:31-32) reports that the legalisation and re-modelling process which was undertaken in the Callao *pueblo joven* of Ciudad Chalaca, while improving material conditions and confirming the residents as lawful possessors of their plots of land, had the effect of breaking up *paisano* and kin groups. It may be something of a struggle, with the constraints of time, money and distance, even to manage to organise an occasional football tournament based on migrants from the home village or province (Skar 1989, von Gleich 1995). Certainly it is unlikely that one will find oneself working and socialising on a daily basis with *paisanos*, let alone *only* with paisanos, a context which would make use of Quechua a real possibility.

The *reunión*, then, be it anything from a homely Sunday afternoon *parrillada* to an elaborately-organised celebration for a village's or province's patron saint, represents the most likely context for the kind of conditions set out above to be met. This is not to suggest that such a set of circumstances will automatically trigger Quechua; far from it. These are emphatically the components of a Quechua-permitting context, and not a Quechua-requiring one (and this was seen clearly in the case of the *pausino* celebration at Villa Santiago, described in the preface). But the absence of any one of these features is more than likely to ensure the use of Spanish as the unmarked, default code.

Where all the criteria are met, the range of topics and functions encompassed is apt to be rather limited, and limited to certain stages of the event. The major ones, as has been noted, can be characterised as greetings and small talk, insults, teasing and jokes, including formalised joke-telling sessions (or humorous narrative). I suggest that these discourses tend to have more symbolic than functional meaning; their primary purpose appears to be to bind those present with a symbolic restatement of the rights and duties of *paisano* relationships (i.e. rights-and-obligations, or RO sets; see Scotton 1988). In terms of the classic model of situational and metaphorical code-switching laid out by Blom & Gumperz (1972), such switching would be seen as metaphorical; the intention is to call into being the role relationships and social meanings with which Quechua is associated. This seems reasonable, and especially so in light of the extraordinarily strong associations, discussed

at the beginning of this chapter, that Quechua speakers make between language and place. Indeed, it seems at times as if Lima bilinguals can scarcely speak in or of Quechua without being, as it were, transported back to their *tierra*. And yet such an analysis does not adequately deal with the perceived appropriacy or inappropriacy of code choices.

Scotton (1983, 1988) notes that the distinction between situational and metaphorical switching can be identified or aligned with that between unmarked and marked choice of code. Beyond this, though, she suggests that the poles "marked" and "unmarked" represent not a rigid dichotomy but rather a continuum. Speakers "perceive [that] one or more choices are more unmarked than others; and among marked choices some are more marked than others" (Scotton 1988:155). This is convincing. In the case of Lima, and of use of Quechua in the semi-public domain, the markedness appears to lie in frequency of use, genre (e.g. joking) and topic. It is acceptable - in some social networks indispensable - to greet and joke with others in Quechua. However, it would be considered odd (i.e. marked) to insist on speaking Quechua all afternoon, regardless of topic, genre and context, even if all present are fully competent Quechua-speaking *paisanos*. McConvell (1988) talks of the existence of "nested" social arenas, and the notion of nesting seems to apply rather neatly here: in Lima all Quechua use is marked; within this, at a *reunión* Quechua jokes and greetings and so on are unmarked (i.e. they are conventional and expected); but extensive use of Quechua beyond these few common contexts would again become marked, moving along the continuum with frequency of occurrence. What is hence marked at the macro-level (Quechua in Lima) is unmarked at the micro-level (telling an obscene joke in Quechua to a *paisano*); and between these exists a multitude of different contexts, a complication which the situational/ metaphorical model is unable adequately to handle.

It is not necessary, in the context of bilingual Lima, to switch into Quechua repeatedly or to speak it for long periods in order to index solidarity: greetings, small talk, jokes and so on will suffice. Nor is it the case that sustained use of two codes alternately would be thought of as an unmarked choice (as it is in some other parts of the world; see e.g. Swiggart 1992, Poplack 1988). Few speakers would risk a switch in a genuinely unexpected situation (on a city bus, in a department store), for the reasons which will be examined in chapter 4: apart from anything else, they would thereby expose themselves and their interlocutor to ridicule. And of course, there is no guarantee that such a switch, were it to occur, would have the effect intended. A speaker cannot ever hope to control the reaction of addressees, as was seen clearly in the case of Máximo San Román. Norms of usage provide speakers with "...a grammar of consequences. Speakers are free to make any choices, but how their choices will be interpreted is not free" (Scotton 1988:155). In Lima, these norms are so influential, well understood and indeed internalised (see the discussion of bilingual speakers' internal control mechanisms in chapter 4) that they are very rarely departed from. The result

is that, in fact, most semi-public use of Quechua is more or less predictable and more or less limited.

The fragility and restrictedness of the niches in which Quechua is actually used (as opposed to those in which it is theoretically available) is summed up rather poignantly in the words of Jorge Flores, talking of *reuniones* with the Escudero brothers:

> No, hablamos todo en quechua ¿no? Claro. Ponemos como premisa o como una cuestión así de hablar quechua, y hablamos quechua pues ¿no? Y con multa todavía. El que habla castellano es multado ¿no? Así con Marco [...] la muerte, la muerte es. Entonces una apuesta, dice: él que habla quechua [*sic*: castellano], por ejemplo, pon una cerveza, ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 52)

Even for these fluent mother-tongue speakers, enthusiasts for the language, the inroads of Spanish are so pronounced that, in order to produce a Quechua-only environment, those present must be fined a bottle of beer for every word of Spanish. One cannot imagine a more premeditated and elaborate frame for language use, nor one which sets it off more completely from the "real" day-to-day world which all these speakers inhabit. While it may seem encouraging to see these signs of linguistic resistance (in essence resistance against one's own usage), artificial though they may be, in fact even here the battle appears to have been lost. The words of the ever-enthusiastic Jorge notwithstanding, Marco Escudero and his brothers told me separately that these meetings had ceased some years before.

Chapter Three

"*Nosotros nomás de la sierra*"

The breakdown of intergenerational transmission of Quechua

> En los últimos decenios la migración andina ha determinado el uso del quechua y del aimara en las barriadas urbanas, mas la segunda generación ya no lo hace por el deseo de acriollarse y no parecer serranos.
>
> (Monseñor José Dammert Bellido)[45]

Introduction

One may perhaps wish to take issue with Monseñor Dammert about the reasons for language shift - and it will be argued in due course that the process rests on rather more complex factors than the simple impulse to "*acriollarse y no parecer serranos*" - but he is surely right to state the case as baldly as he does. The disruption of intergenerational transmission of Quechua (and indeed Aymara) in Lima is virtually total: the language is simply not passed on to children. Indeed, the notion that it *could* be passed on is barely entertained. To bring children up in Lima is to bring them up as monolingual Spanish speakers:

> Y esas personas, inclusive aquellos que hablan el quechua acá entre ellos y hablan muy bien el quechua y toda su vida han hablado... vienen a Lima y tienen sus hijos en Lima, y sus hijos ya no van a hablar. O sea evitan en lo posible hablarles en quechua.
>
> (Marco Escudero, tapescript 51)

As Marco's words suggest, the fact of generational language loss surprises no-one, and attempted explanations of a fact seemingly so natural and self-evident tend hence often towards the vague and the circular. Margarita Contreras migrated to Lima several decades ago from Colcabamba, Junín, and now lives in the *pueblo joven* of La Merced. Her granddaughters were all born in Lima. Echoing Monseñor Dammert, doña Margarita says of them:

> Tampoco hablan la quechua; no no, no nada. Lo que nacen acá Lima se criollan más rápido.
>
> *Sí ¿no? ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué será eso?*

---

[45] Ideéle no. 92, 1996, p 46.

No, criollan más rápido. Ellos no le gusta pues. Sí, criollan más rápido y.... sí pues, será su costumbre ellos.

(Tapescript 53)

This chapter examines the process of language loss primarily in the family and the wider home community, with the aim of showing when and how decisions on language use are made (if they are consciously made at all), and how they are experienced and rationalised by the speakers - grandparents, parents, children and so on - who are involved in them. It is noted that, typically, bilingual parents and monolingual Spanish-speaking children tend to assign the major responsibility for loss of Quechua each to the other. Section 1 posits the existence in each migrant family of a pivotal generation - a generation of bilinguals whose behaviour and attitudes effectively decide the future of Quechua in Lima. Section 2 discusses the role of Lima-born children themselves in the language loss process, as they begin to resist or reject the language as it occurs in conversational interaction. Examples are given of the use of Quechua by an older relative - usually a grandparent, less often a parent - to a younger person or child, which meets with a negative response. This discussion leads to a consideration of the related, but considerably more complex case of children who are themselves first generation migrants and native-speakers, but reject Quechua in much the same way as Lima-born monolinguals.

In an attempt to synthesise the various strands of the discussion, in section 3 a particularly striking feature of the breakdown of intergenerational transmission is selected for analysis. While bilingual parents almost invariably express the desire to have their children learn Quechua, they are markedly reluctant to teach them it, instead laying the responsibility for such teaching at the feet of outside agencies, typically the government or state schools. It is argued that, in line with what was argued in chapter 2 about public use of Quechua, this fact holds the key to the reason for intergenerational language shift: parents fail to teach the language, and children fail to acquire it, because it lacks explicit legitimation by a prestigious outside agency.

1 The pivotal generation

The process of language shift necessarily entails the existence, in at least one generation, of at least *some* degree of bilingualism over *some* period of time (Paulston 1994:13, Haugen 1972b:334). In the *sierra*, there may be several such generations (von Gleich & Wölck 1994:29; Wölck 1991), or indeed bilingualism may even show signs of becoming stable (von Gleich & Wölck 1994:47): in the case of migrants to Lima, though, where the migrant is bilingual their generation will almost invariably be the last. Indeed, many such migrants themselves become effectively monolingual after a period of time in the capital, forgetting, or affecting to forget much of their Quechua. This type of subtractive bilingualism is not uncommon in situations of rapid

and thoroughgoing shift (Allard & Landry 1992). The second language learned becomes the bilingual speaker's dominant one; the "first" language is the first only chronologically, not in terms of dominance or competence, and may even be forgotten almost entirely (Sasse 1990). Valentina Méndez, an elderly migrant from Ayacucho now living in a poor district of Tablada, describes how her fluency in her native language has declined:

> Por ejemplo yo, hay veces - yo sé quechua ¿no? - pero hay veces como ya no tengo mucha práctica, entonces ya me olvido, qué significa, tengo que pensaa-aar raa-aato [*laughs*]. Después ya reacciono. ¿Qué quiero decir? Pienso, ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 09)

The behaviour of this pivotal generation is crucial to the study of the language shift process, not just because such speakers alter their own linguistic behaviour, but because they influence their children's. Denison (1977) rightly notes that the direct cause of shift (we might in fact better say, the direct *mechanism* of shift) is the absence of transmission to children. Where the value of a language is judged only in terms of societal prestige and functional usefulness - that is, where there are no pressures towards maintenance derived from religious practice, say, or strong ethnocultural attachment - there may well come a point when "...multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low-prestige language variety, and when children are no longer motivated to acquire active competence in a language which is lacking in positive connotations such as youth, modernity, technical skills, material success, education" (Denison 1977:21). As will be seen in this chapter, this general characterisation describes very fairly the process in Lima. Pye (1992) in turn characterises shift as defective bilingual acquisition on the part of children. From whichever angle it is viewed, it is parents' *and* children's behaviour that is crucial, rather than one or the other. The process invariably begins, however, with the parents.

As will be seen below, very young children, as yet relatively unprejudiced by attitudes learnt through socialisation and the school, are more than happy to acquire Quechua: but they are not taught it in any substantial measure. Children of any age may pick up isolated segments from grandparents, and may listen in on parents' conversations, thus acquiring some measure of understanding, but they are rarely encouraged to produce Quechua (indeed, as will be seen in chapter 4, often quite the reverse), and it is almost never the language received from parents. Such mechanisms of shift may become ideologised, as was pointed out in chapter 1. Lindgren (1984:297) describes how amongst the Kven of northern Norway, a community undergoing shift from Finnish to Norwegian, Finnish came to be regarded as unfit for use with children. This was then extended and generalised to *all* children, including Finnish-speaking children visiting from Finland itself, who, to their total incomprehension, were addressed in Norwegian just as Kven children would

be. This is not quite the case in Lima - children in Lima *are* occasionally addressed in Quechua, though they may not seriously be expected to answer - but the language distribution of many bilingual households does tend to reflect very closely their generational patterns. Celia Muñoz, a migrant from Huanta, Ayacucho, now resident in La Merced with her young family, answered questions about the linguistic pattern of her household without a second's hesitation:

> *Hablando con su esposo o entre familia, ¿usan más quechua o más castellano o igual...?*
>
> Más quechua.
>
> *Más quechua. ¿Y hablando con los niños?*
>
> Castellano.
>
> *¿Sólo castellano?*
>
> Sí, sólo castellano.
>
> (Tapescript 59)

In many ways this behaviour approaches a compressed version of the linear model of shift in the Andes produced by von Gleich & Wölck (1994:29; also in Wölck 1991), in which monolingual Quechua gives way to monolingual Spanish in five stages, and probably over the course of five generations, thus:

M (Qu) → B (Qu>Sp) → B (Qu=Sp) → B (Sp>Qu) → M (Sp)

(M stands for monolingual, B for bilingual. > represents the dominant language in a bilingual individual, = represents balanced bilingualism).

As Wölck (1991) points out, this process is accelerated by urbanisation. In Lima then, as is also noted above, a model of this kind would need to account for the shift from one dominant language to another within an individual's lifetime. (Appendix C shows how such a model might look). Ernesto Quispe and his brothers, balanced bilinguals and first generation migrants from Ancomayo, Cusco, also come close to the "compressed", or three-generation model, using only Quechua to mother and grandparents and only Spanish to the Lima-born children (they use both with their father). This is explained in purely pragmatic terms:

> Quechua hablo con mis abuelos, con mis padres, aunque mi padre también habla castellano. Entonces si me habla en quechua tengo que responderle en quechua; si me habla en castellano, castellano. Allá en su tierra que es Ancomayo, Urcos, mis abuelos hablan puro quechua, no hablan castellano. Con ellos tengo que conversar quechua [...]

¿Y a sus hijos no les enseñan quechua?

Nada.

(Ernesto Quispe, tapescript 40)

Naturally, such models by their very nature over-simplify. Linguistic choice is unpredictable and complex, social circumstances differ, and the behaviour of one family cannot necessarily be compared with that of another. Within each family and individual, too, linguistic behaviour is fluid, and cannot be automatically read out from a speaker's place in the generational progression. Ernesto's father is bilingual, his mother is not; Celia's son Edwin is Quechua-dominant in his competence but prefers to speak Spanish, even to his mother; Denis Ballardo (see below) receives, but does not give Quechua, although he is perfectly capable of doing so. Crucially, of course, a speaker's language competence or preference, or both, may change over a period of time. Above all it must be emphasised that what is occurring amongst speakers in Lima is a process. While shift in Lima does indeed appear to be extraordinarily rapid and complete, it is still less a once-only event than a sustained elaboration of new competences and practices. It is in essence a renegotiation over time of the relationship between code and domain, a tendency in linguistic and social behaviour which - potentially at least - could be altered or reversed. In this sense it is useful to retain within the paradigm of language shift the notion of a *shifting* (Clyne 1992): a more or less gradual development in sociolinguistic behaviour.

The idea, then, of a uniform pivotal generation in which total language shift occurs must be treated with some caution: a mechanical prediction of language use based on such a theory will almost inevitably encounter exceptions and contradictions. And yet, in order to explain the very speed and completeness of language shift in Lima, it is necessary to acknowledge that experiences like those of Ernesto's or Celia's families are, in some way at least, "typical", and that something like this is taking place over a very wide range of migrant families (and Gugenberger 1994:3-4 confirms this for Arequipa). Ernesto's mother, in the final analysis, speaks only Quechua: her grandchildren speak only Spanish.

It might be noted in passing that this generational shift is bound to cause problems. Even though Ernesto's mother has not yet met her grandchildren - she still lives in Ancomayo, and has never been to Lima - we might suppose that at some time in the future, she will. Where the older, Quechua-speaking generations, who are unable or unwilling to speak Spanish, come into contact with younger, urban-born ones unable or unwilling to use Quechua, then to avoid complete breakdown some kind of mechanism must be adopted which facilitates communication. This may rely on an intermediary from the bilingual generation. Denis Ballardo migrated as a teenager in the 1960s from Oyón, in the *sierra* of the department of Lima, where his Quechua-preferring mother still lives. When she comes to visit him and his children in the *pueblo*

joven of 200 Millas in Callao, next to the Lima-Callao airport, he takes upon himself the role of interpreter:

> *¿Y tu mamá habla a sus nietos en quechua?*
>
> Sí [...] Pero no entienden. Los chicos no entienden, así. Entonces el... a mi hijo lo llama ¿no?
>
> *Y ¿qué tipo de cosas dice?*
>
> Digamos, digamos en quechua le dice... eh... qué... espérate... lo dice ven, en vez de decir ven le dice *hamuy, hamuy*. Cuando dice ¿cómo te llamas?... *imataq sutiyki* le dice mi mamá. Entonces mis hijos se quedan, pues ¿no? Le digo ¿cómo te llamas, hijo? Dice que vayas tu abuelita.
>
> *O sea que ¿tú tienes que traducir?*
>
> Traducir, sí.
>
> *¿Pero ella sigue, pues?*
>
> Sí, hasta ahora, sí. Como ellos no... no quieren la costumbre, pues.
>
> (Denis Ballardo, tapescript 06)

This kind of family interaction may appear to the outsider rather awkward and unwieldy. However, Denis seemed to find little noteworthy or odd in it; in trying to explain to such an outsider - quite possibly for the first time - an established and normal code of linguistic conduct, like many others he was reduced to a laughing "*costumbre, ya...*" (tapescript 06). In Lima linguistic behaviour amongst migrants is not, as a rule, a common topic for introspection or debate, even (or perhaps especially) for those at the centre of it. It need hardly be pointed out that the linguistic situations of Celia, Ernesto and Denis are a product above all of the society in which they live, of the extraordinary rate of social change in modern Peru; at the micro-level, though, language shift is the outcome of linguistic practices negotiated between this "pivotal" generation and its children. Insofar as we can separate the different processes, then, it is necessary to ask: why do parents not teach Quechua in the home, or, if their children speak the language, continue to use it? And why do children not learn Quechua, or, if they speak the language, do they reject it in favour of Spanish?

2.0 "*Manam munanchu*": rejection of Quechua by younger speakers

Attitudes to language are learned attitudes. It will be seen in due course that Quechua-speaking children in Lima are subjected to a barrage of peer pressure which leads them to suppress their own use of the language in many contexts. However, just as important (if not more so) in this regard are the attitudes that are learned early in life from Quechua-speaking parents and family. Even those speakers - the very great majority - who profess positive attitudes towards Quechua and express a desire for their children to learn it, tend to reveal ambivalent views about the appropriateness, usefulness or desirability of the language when real-life language choices are encountered. This deep-lying negativity is quickly picked up on by children (Sasse 1990); one result of it may be that children simply "block out" the ethnic language to which they are exposed and fail to learn it (Pye 1992 for Chilcotin in British Columbia, Dorian 1981 for East Sutherland Gaelic).

The behaviour of adults, then, has far-reaching effects on the process of shift in terms of the attitudes to the languages developed by children, as Quechua begins to be perceived as the code which is to be used with caution, for fear of disapproval or ridicule. Once this is internalised, children themselves, becoming rapidly monolingual or at best passive bilinguals, in turn reject the use of Quechua by adults. Alejandro, a car mechanic who is a native of Huanta, Ayacucho, and now resident in Huaycán, Lima,[46] having endeavoured to bring his seven children up as predominantly Spanish-speaking, now finds - and this is perhaps only to be expected - that they react negatively to code-switching and refuse to co-operate with it:

> A veces hablo quechua con mis hijitos, pero me contestan en castellano [...] A veces les digo cosas en quechua, y entienden, pero me dicen: ay papi, no entiendo.
>
> *¿Qué tipo de cosas les dices?*
>
> Bueno, como: anda descansar, ya es hora, cosas así. Y me dicen: ay, no entiendo, ¿por qué me hablas así? Yo con mi esposa, sí muchas veces hablamos quechua. En la casa nomás.
>
> (From fieldwork diary, October 1995)

The rejection of Quechua is a learned response that is acquired in primary socialisation. As we shall see, entirely typical (and societally legitimate) reactions are silence or laughter, the latter perhaps intended to defuse a

[46] It should perhaps be noted that both of these areas have been subject to sustained Sendero Luminoso activity. It has been suggested (von Gleich 1994b, 1995) that there exists - above all in urban areas - a reluctance to use or receive Quechua for fear of being linked with this or other subversive groups. If this was the case in the early 1990s it seems to be so no longer; none of the present informants mentioned any connection between use of Quechua and supposed affiliation to guerrilla groups. There is further discussion of this point in chapter 6.

potentially awkward or embarrassing situation, the former to attempt to avoid or deny it altogether. However, younger children who have not yet been exposed fully to adults' language attitudes are naturally less resistant, and accept mixing and switching as a normal part of linguistic behaviour.

The presence of Quechua-speaking grandparents is a recurring element in bilinguals' (or often, finally, semi-speakers') linguistic formation. Julia Falcón, a migrant from Ayacucho who lives in a *pueblo joven* in Tablada de Lurín, has two adult daughters and two granddaughters, the latter both born in Lima and aged under five. She explains how she uses Quechua in everyday contexts with her granddaughters:

> A veces la sal también le digo: *kachita apamuy, sopa mich'unaypaq.* Ah-hah, entonces *kachi, kachi, kachi*... Sopa, *kachi*, ah ya, sal debe ser, dice. Así lo trae [...] A mi nietecita también le digo pues: ay niña, *apamuy chay mankata, chay cucharata.* Cuchara... ¡ah! ya sé que cuchara quiere mi mamita [*laughs*]. *Apamullay cucharata, apamullay cucharata.* Cuchara mamita tiene que darle. Hacen comprender y ya traen. Más o menos calculan. [...] Ya están comprendiendo.
>
> (Tapescript 08)[47]

The grandchildren are hardly speakers of Quechua: it appears from these segments that they simply identify the familiar Spanish lexeme in a Quechua string and infer doña Julia's meaning from context (an operation demanding some skill, of course). But they certainly do not *reject* the use of the language; indeed, there is a sense of them enjoying the novelty of the task of decoding. Compare this, however, with the reactions of the adult daughters (the mothers of these girls) to being addressed in Quechua:

> *¿Y a sus hijas también siempre les habla...?*
>
> Sí, le hablo quechua también. A ellas les insulto quechua así. Entonces: ¿qué me dirás? Contra, contra, me dice mi hija la menor. En cambio la otra mi hija menor se me dice sí, sí, *imataq sutiyki, imataq sutiyki.* Así no más me contesta [*laughs*].
>
> *Cualquier cosa...*
>
> Ah-hah, cualquier cosa me contesta.
>
> (Tapescript 08)

The force of the rejection, from people who are themselves Andean-born bilinguals (albeit passive), is striking. The elder daughter replies with a

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[47]The whole of the exchange described here refers solely to kitchen language: *kachi* is Quechua "salt", *cucharata* is the Spanish word *cuchara* ("spoon") plus the Quechua accusative suffix *-ta*, *apamuy* is Quechua "bring me" and so on.

nonsensical non-sequitur - *imataq sutiyki* means simply "what is your name?" - a stereotyped isolated segment that contrives to suggest that her mother's Quechua is merely gibberish.[48] The younger co-operates only to the extent that she registers the fact that she has been insulted and employs the *"contra, contra"* and accompanying hand gestures, discussed in chapter 2, that are traditionally supposed to turn back curses or malign influences on to their originator (see chapter 2, section 3.4).

The tensions at work within the family's sociolinguistic behaviour may be guessed at from the mischievous admission that *"... les insulto quechua así"*. Why insults? Seen in terms of the discussion of insult in the last chapter, and if it is borne in mind that the daughters do actually have some knowledge of Quechua, this represents perhaps a form of challenge, a throwing down of the linguistic gauntlet. If suspicion, denial, laughter and ridicule are socially legitimate reactions to being addressed in Quechua (even by one's own mother: this is not the only case of this, as will be seen), then doña Julia's use of insult seems to represent a strategy intended to break through such reactions; to force her daughters to acknowledge, at least, that they *can* understand and that they are not, perhaps, as far away from their mother's - and their own - Quechua-speaking, Ayacucho roots as they would like to think. An insult or criticism, after all, cannot be so readily shrugged off as a general or indirect comment; it is intended, here at least, to goad the hearer into a response. The daughters, brought up in Lima, clearly regard themselves as *limeñas* through and through. Their mother appears to be reminding them that they are - technically - first generation migrants.

The experience of Margarita Contreras, living with one of her daughters in La Merced, follows a pattern in many ways similar to that described by doña Julia. Delegating simple household tasks to her young grandchildren, she too is able to use Quechua and be readily understood. However, there is little sign of the children ever becoming active speakers:

> Pero yo le hablo en quichua, ellos entienden y le hacen. Sí le hacen. Como que mandaras en castellano, hablando así ahorita así mandaras, ellos hacen solito, pero hablar sí no sé, no le gustará. ¿Qué será pues, no? No hablan.
>
> (Tapescript 53)

Indeed, doña Margarita later admits that the more ambitious project of actually trying to teach the children to use or understand words of Quechua in more varied contexts quickly encounters active resistance:

> *¿Y usted nunca trató de enseñar quechua a sus hijos?*

[48] Usage of this kind is identified by Sasse (1990) as typical of semi-speakers: the language is no longer a structured code but an ill-controlled bundle of isolated forms, stereotyped expressions, idioms and so on. Fishman (1991:88) similarly points out that in cases of language loss speakers are often hardly speakers as such, but rather "blessers, cursers, prayers..."; in Lima they are often less even than this.

Sí, pero ellos no le gusta, pe. Ay, abuelita, ¿qué estás hablando? dice.

(Tapescript 53)

One of the girls in question and her friend, who also has a Quechua-speaking grandmother, later confirmed amply that the language acquisition of children in such circumstances (and for that matter their interest in the language) tends indeed to be strictly limited.

¿Tu abuelita habla quechua entonces?

A: Sí.

¿Y tú hablas con ella?

No, ya no sé hablar. Un poquito.

¿Un poquito como qué? ¿Qué palabritas sabes?

[*silence followed by nervous laughter*]

B: Yo lo único de mi abuelita que es mesa nomás.

¿Mesa? ¿Cómo se dice mesa?

Mm... No me acuerdo.

(Tapescript 57)[49]

This could not be put down to shyness or reticence. Both were lively and confident eight year-olds, plainly excited by the presence of a foreign visitor and keen to help in any way possible; they simply could not, offhand, think of any words in Quechua at all (though they later managed to remember one or two stock phrases). Note, too, that the first girl says "*ya no sé hablar*": the use of "*ya*" would suggest strongly that she used to speak more Quechua with her grandmother, probably in the way described above for the rather younger grandchildren of Julia Falcón. She is, in fact, at the stage of becoming conscious of the social stigma adhering to the language, and is hence in the process of rejecting it.

These girls, of course, were born in Lima, and could therefore not be expected to have much experience of active interaction in Quechua. Crucially, though, it proved virtually impossible to elicit a single word of Quechua from two of their native-speaker peers in La Merced. These were Edwin, the 11 year-old

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[49] In fact there is no dedicated word in everyday Quechua equivalent to *mesa*. When, in response to this girl's memory lapse, Edwin Muñoz was later asked to translate "*encima de la mesa*" he gave "*mesa hawapi*". (This was the only Quechua he volunteered during the several hours we were with him).

son of Celia Muñoz, and Jhonny, the 6 year-old son of Saturnino Aguirre. Both boys have Quechua as mother tongue and are relatively recent arrivals in Lima: at the time of the fieldwork Edwin had been there about two years, and Jhonny some six months. Both reacted to being addressed in Quechua with downcast eyes, silence and obvious discomfort, and insisted on speaking Spanish, which both speak only haltingly, when they spoke at all.[50] Again, this could not be put down to the inhibiting presence of a foreign researcher. Saturnino (whose own Spanish is severely limited) and his sister Emilia confirmed that Jhonny now refuses to speak to them in Quechua and even denies knowledge of it:

> *¿Y a los hijos usted les habla en quechua?*
>
> *Saturnino*: Sí, ahora es poco... Se está volviendo este... limeño pues [*laughs*].
>
> *Emilia*: El vino hablando quechua. Nada sabe... no, no sabe nada de castellano. Pura quechua. Más bien ahora ya. Ya como habla este... cómo se llama, castellano, lo pregunto: ¿sigues este... este, hablando quechua? Ya no tía, ya me olvidé, me ha dicho [*laughs*].
>
> *Saturnino*: Y me decía: ¿qué estás hablando, pá? [...]
>
> *¿Con usted habla?*
>
> *Saturnino*: Nada ya... ¿no te digo?... después de que... Ya no quiere, ¿ah? ¿Qué hablas?
>
> (Tapescript 55)

The Aguirre family present a fascinating and complex case study of how the process of language shift is rationalised. Emilia and Saturnino are brother and sister, both in their 30s, and come from Huanta, Ayacucho. Emilia came to Lima aged 11 as a monolingual Quechua speaker and at first found work as an *empleada doméstica*. She has eight children born in Lima, none of whom speak any Quechua, and is well established as a market stallholder in La Merced. Saturnino, father of Jhonny and a single parent, in contrast moves from one seasonal job to another around the country, and at the time of the fieldwork was about to leave the coast for the *ceja de selva*, where he had been promised agricultural work. On and off he had spent some five years in Lima; this most recent stay, of about six months, had been the first one in which he was accompanied by Jhonny. The following segment hints at some of the tensions operating in the family:

[50]The linguistic behaviour of speakers like Edwin and Jhonny may have some implications for the debate on semilingualism. This is discussed in detail in chapter 7.

¿Por qué ya no te gusta hablar ese otro que hablabas antes, cuando llegaste?

Jhonny: Ya no puedo hablarlo.

¿Ya no te sale?

Jhonny: No.

¿Por qué será?

Jhonny: Porque mi tía me [habla] en castellano. [...]

¿Por qué usted cree señor que ya no quiere?

Saturnino: Manam munanchu, manam munanchu.[51]

(Tapescript 55)

The style of the question which opens this segment reflects the difficulty we had encountered in encouraging Jhonny to talk about his linguistic behaviour prior to his arrival in Lima. He generally responded to questions put to him in or about Quechua with determined silence and averted gaze. Interestingly, he would not use or respond to the words *quechua* or *runasimi* (though was happy to use the word *castellano*); and it was only at the point of the above segment, when the language is alluded to obliquely as "*ese otro*", that he finally acknowledged that he had indeed, in the past and in another place, used another way of talking (though he acknowledges it only in the context of the assertion that he no longer does so: "*ya no puedo hablarlo*").

Part of this evasive behaviour may be put down to the naturally rather limited metalinguistic knowledge of a young boy from a peasant background: it is just about conceivable that he genuinely does not know the name of the language (though it should be recalled that his peers in La Merced knew it quite well). It is nevertheless tempting to conjecture that Jhonny's entrenched resistance to speaking his native language - or indeed speaking *about* it - extends even to a refusal to give it a name, and thus perhaps acknowledge its legitimacy as a code alongside *castellano*. This is a tactic not only of rejection, but of denial. And yet strangely, when asked to account for the fact that he no longer speaks the language, he attributes this to the actions of others, in the shape of Emilia: "*...mi tía me [habla] en castellano*". His father, shifting to Quechua for the first and only time during a conversation of some hours - almost as if to reassert the status of the language as a "real" and legitimate code in the face of Jhonny's denial - pushes the responsibility for the abandonment of the

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[51]That is, "he doesn't want to".

language back towards Jhonny himself: "*Manam munanchu, manam munanchu*".

The social norms of the children's peer groups reinforce constantly the denial and avoidance of Quechua. When Jhonny's aunt, Emilia, indulged in a limited code-switch to him - which Jhonny promptly rejected - one of her own children was also on hand, in the role, as it were, of Jhonny's protector or cultural counsel, to remind her that this was inappropriate linguistic behaviour. Emilia recalls the incident thus (her Quechua phrase means simply: "Where have you been?"):

> El otro día yo le dije Jhonny, este... *¿maypi hamuranki?* yo le dije así. Ay tía, eso olvídate, dice, yo no sé quechua me dice [*laughs*]. Así me dice mi hijo me quería callar. Ya pues mami me dice, el Jhonny vino hablando quechua, ahora ya no quiere hablar, ya quiere ponerse como limeño.
>
> (Tapescript 55)

The phrase "*quiere ponerse como limeño*" of course echoes Saturnino's comment above: "*Se está volviendo este... limeño pues*". To be a *limeño*, as was noted in chapter 2, means to speak Spanish.

Valentina Méndez, in Tablada de Lurín, describes the linguistic behaviour of her eleven year-old nephew who has recently arrived in Tablada from their home village in Ayacucho. Assuming that this boy is indeed a competent Quechua speaker (and there is no reason not to think so) clearly he has very quickly learned the rules of discourse for the *recién bajado* in Lima. When one is addressed in Quechua, even by a close relative, silence or laughter are appropriate responses.

> *¿Y no habla?*
>
> No, no creo.
>
> *¿Pero sí sabe?*
>
> Sí, sí sabe hablar.
>
> *Pero no quiere...*
>
> No, no quiere.
>
> *¿Por qué, ah?*

> No sé, porque yo le hablo a veces así, le pregunto algo, y me dice que... no me contesta. Se ríe nomás.
>
> (Valentina Méndez, tapescript 09)

Silence or laughter are, of course, among the reasonable range of reactions for anyone upon being unexpectedly addressed in an unfamiliar tongue. It must hence be again stressed that all the above children do have some competence in the language, and are not unused to hearing it; several are native speakers. This is not, essentially, a cognitive or linguistic reaction, but a social one. The children have learnt to reject Quechua.

3.0 The role of the parent

Eliseo López, from Abancay (Apurímac), an *ambulante* in central Lima, was asked why intergenerational transmission did not take place in the capital. His answer attributed the breakdown entirely to the attitudes of the second generation:

> Un poco los hijos que nacen aquí, ya no se interesan.
>
> (Tapescript 12)

This rather plaintive explanation for the loss of Quechua in Lima has much truth in it. However, as has been suggested already in the discussion of a notional "pivotal" generation of bilingual speakers, the breakdown of transmission of Quechua within the family is not the result solely of a one-way process of younger speakers rejecting the language of their elders. Gugenberger (1994) found amongst her sample of migrants to Arequipa not a single case of parents speaking Quechua to their children. This pattern is repeated in Lima: *none* of the parent respondents in the present study was making or had made an effort to pass on the language, or to maintain it in children who were native-speakers born in the *sierra*. Occasionally a respondent would claim that he or she knew of Lima-born children who were taught to speak Quechua at home and spoke it with their parents. So untypical was this of established linguistic patterns amongst Lima migrants, that over the course of fieldwork it became apparent that such claims were to be treated with the utmost caution. Observation or further questioning invariably revealed that the real situation was rather different. Flavio Alegría is a bilingual native-speaker from the department of Cusco, married to another native-speaker from the same area. He is now in his mid-20s, and migrated with his wife in 1990 in order to try and gain admission to university in Lima. He himself expressed the common - and, if we can extrapolate from the experience of earlier migrants, almost certainly unrealistic - intention to teach his baby children Quechua when they were older; he claimed in addition that his cousin's Lima-born daughters spoke Quechua:

Sí, algunos le encanta. Sí. Le encantan hablar así. Por ejemplo de mi prima sus hijas saben hablar.

¿Sí?
Han nacido acá en Lima y... sí.

¿Y saben hablar?

Sí. Correctamente no, pero algunas palabras hablan pue. Sí. [...] Por ejemplo vamos, ¿no? *Manam kanchu*... o... cómo se llama, por ejemplo, tráeme agua, *unuta apamuy*, ¿no? [...] Ellos hablan como broma ¿no? Converse, converse a ellos, repite ¿no? *Unu, unu* dicen, *unuta apamuy*. Y repite pues. Y así comprende.

(Flavio Alegría, tapescript 56)[52]

As can readily be seen, this is a long way from genuine cultural transmission of a language for the purpose of genuine communication: the girls' command of Quechua is limited to the repetition of a few isolated stock phrases and simple commands, and appears to be indulged in for the sheer pleasure of wordplay natural to any child. The language is used "*como broma*"; that is, the very novelty and unfamiliarity of the words provides their attraction. As Flavio himself says elsewhere: "*lo que conversamos, los niños son moscas*" (tapescript 56). Indeed they are: children love to imitate, and often do so very well. But this is not sustained interaction, and the girls are not, and as things stand are very unlikely ever to be, Quechua speakers in any real sense.

Flavio goes on to emphasise the number of Quechua-transmitting families in Lima:

Muchos hay. Muchos hay. Como por ejemplo acá muchísimo... algunos han venido, con el terrorismo se han venido de... Y ellos están acá, algunos quieren regresar, algunos se han quedado ya acá. Sí, muchos hay que saben hablar quechua.

(Tapescript 56)

Revealingly, though, the first group of speakers that come to mind are not people of his own sort, the mass of voluntary migrants who come to Lima precisely with the intention of effecting change in their lives and achieving social mobility, but reluctant refugees from the *zonas de emergencia*. As was noted in chapter 1, this difference in condition implies a concomitant difference in cultural and linguistic behaviour.

The deeper reasons for this lack of will to preserve the language in Lima are examined in chapter 4, where it will be argued that a set of ideologised

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[52] *Manam kanchu* = "there isn't any/it's not there". *Unuta apamuy* = "bring some water".

attitudes to Quechua, shared by very large numbers of speakers, helps to rationalise the abandonment of a language which - while still held in high esteem by its speakers - is considered to be essentially a brake on material and social progress. For the present, though, it may be helpful to look briefly at the ostensible attitudes of parents towards the teaching of Quechua and the way in which these attitudes translate into behaviour.

The high emotive-affective value of Quechua remains undimmed for virtually all native-speaker informants. It is therefore perhaps natural that very many of them expressed an apparently sincere desire for their children to learn the language. Crucially, though, this learning process tended to be either visualised as taking place at some point in the future, the present being regarded as an unsuitable time, or being delegated to another authority to carry out - or indeed, both.

3.1 "*No hay tiempo para conversar*": the abdication of responsibility for language transmission.

Younger speakers with pre-school children (or without children), tended to be more likely to express the intention of maintaining Quechua. Flavio Alegría gave a perfectly logical reason for wanting his children to speak the language:

> Sí. Son pequeñitos nomás todavía, pero sí, un día tengo que enseñar, sí. Porque ¿qué dirían, no? por ejemplo viven por allá mi papá, mi mamá, no van a comprender. [...]
>
> (Tapescript 56)

He also assumed that his friend would do the same:

> Tengo un paisano que se ha comprometido hace un año, que se llama Gilbert, y también habla quechua igual que yo, y su esposa también habla quechua [...] Tiene un niño, todavía recién está aprendiendo a hablar.
>
> *¿A él enseña?*
>
> Sí... debe enseñar, él de todas maneras sabe.
>
> (Tapescript 56)

If Flavio and Gilbert and their wives actually do transmit the language to their children in any real sense, they would constitute a marked exception to the norm. It is very much more likely that they will go the way of the great majority of speakers, and find reasons for not, in fact, teaching the language. Many older informants, as enthusiastic about and proud of Quechua as Flavio,

claimed that they certainly would have taught their children Quechua, had time only allowed. Emilia Aguirre, for example, says of one of her sons:

> Bueno, él, como le digo, ya pues él ya está hablando castellano porque... ahorita porque en este tiempo casi no hay tiempo para conversar, porque más dedicamos trabajar. [...] Usted muy bien sabe que mercado es... no hay nada en tiempo de invertir.
>
> (Tapescript 55)

Jorge Flores, the *paisano* of the Escudero brothers from Ancash, likewise explains why neither he nor his wife Flor have managed to teach their children anything of the language beyond a handful of stock phrases:

> Pero por el tiempo, el factor del trabajo, el tiempo que sea ¿no? ellos no toman interés y nosotros tampoco. Ese es el problema [...] Tú sabes que muchas ocupaciones... El caso de ellos también, el trabajo, el estudio ¿no? Eso es lo que nos quita un poco el interés para poder transmitirles y enseñarles el quechua.
>
> (Tapescript 52)

Such comments are exactly in line with those given to Gugenberger (1994) in a *pueblo joven* in Arequipa. It might be guessed that the indefinite postponement of the teaching of Quechua into an almost certainly non-existent future is a means of, as it were, softening the blow: a harmless self-deception which maintains intact the migrant's personal attachment to their native culture and language and avoids the immediate necessity of having to face the bare fact that the language will play no part in the lives of Lima-born children. The claim that there is no *time* to teach children Quechua represents, though, a rather more complex socio-psychological adjustment. One readily acknowledges that these informants lead hard lives and work exceptionally long hours; a two or three-hour journey to the place of work, apart from anything else, is not uncommon for inhabitants of the *conos*. Leisure time is scarce. It need hardly be pointed out, though, that naturally-occurring bilingualism takes place without a particular investment of time and effort on the part of parents. Children attain simultaneous or early successive bilingualism without undue difficulty - and certainly without classes and grammatical explanations - by being exposed to two languages in natural contexts: there need only be "a supportive context of necessity" (Edwards 1994:63). As Gugenberger (1994:5) crisply notes, though, respondents tend to claim that there is no time to teach Quechua "como si fuera necesario sentarse con los hijos al escritorio para enseñarles la lengua materna".

In claiming that time need be set aside to teach children Quechua, speakers are admitting in effect that the language no longer occurs naturally in inter-generational communication. It has undergone what Hayden (1966) calls "functional de-ethnisation"; that is, it is perceived as a fit subject for academic

study, like English, rather than as an integral part of the family's heritage. Once the perception becomes generalised that the language is not one which is or should be maintained through cultural transmission in the domain of the home during primary socialisation, it is but a small step to demanding that it be taught in schools - not *as well as* in the home, but *instead of* in the home. Indeed, Joshua Fishman is quite correct to point out that in the mother-tongue continuity process, simply, "the school is too late" (Fishman 1992:400).[53] This represents a crucial turning point in the process of language shift: nothing less than an abdication of the task of transmission to outside agencies. As will become apparent, though, it is not the case that *any* outside agency could take on the task.

3.2 "*Ojalá que algún presidente...*": the desire for action by external authority

Speakers are united in their insistence that it is the state, through the school system, that has the responsibility to teach Quechua (and once more, this precisely mirrors Gugenberger's 1994 findings). Given the earlier discussion of language ideology, we might reasonably suspect that it is not lack of time or interest which prevents speakers from passing on the language at home, but a real and acute awareness of the sti~matised condition of the language and its speakers. If this is the case, then the logic of demanding Quechua instruction in schools is obvious. Speakers desire the legitimation of the language; the state, in placing Quechua on the school curriculum, would be publicly and unambiguously acknowledging the value and worth of Andean language and culture in the modern nation.

This, of course, is essentially what the Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas (GRFFAA) did with its famous Decreto Ley 21156 in 1975, making Quechua an official language and hence a compulsory subject for study. It is noteworthy that, while some linguists routinely dismiss this as a rather ineffective piece of language planning (see e.g. Cerrón-Palomino 1989b, Godenzzi 1992, Paulston 1992, 1994), many of the present informants - and some of these with no great love for the military government in any other sphere - spoke with real pride and emotion of the 1975 decree and equal regret that it was finally overturned. This is echoed by Turino (1991), who sees *oficialización*, and the policies of the GRFFAA more generally, as a turning-point in the acceptance of Andean culture in the nation at large, after which migrants to the capital began to assert their Andean culture. While this is certainly to some extent true, and while Turino is right to remark that *huaynos* can now be heard on many Lima radio stations, it should be noted immediately that there is virtually no naturally-occurring linguistic element present in this; if Quechua lyrics to songs are excluded, the only language to

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[53] Williamson & van Eerde (1980) note that the use in school of a minority language *can* lead to bilingualism and biculturalism, but only if the language is employed as a medium of instruction rather than being taught as a discrete subject. Even then, reinforcement in the home and community is indispensable.

be heard even on transmitters such as Radio Villa El Salvador, broadcasting exclusively to the *barrios populares*, is Spanish.[54] (A key reason for this is suggested in the discussion on dialectal differentiation in chapter 5).
This said, von Gleich (1994a) is surely right to insist that *oficialización* was not merely demagogy, but had substantial positive effects - at the psychological level, at least. (The point is made for minority languages in general by Dorian 1987:63-66). It is perfectly possible to admit the truth of Cooper's (1989:103) dictum that "symbols are created not by legislation but by history" and yet note that in the Peruvian context legislation does itself carry great symbolic weight. That this is the case is suggested by the ubiquity of the belief, voiced again and again by informants, that the task of teaching Quechua should be taken on by the state in the form of incorporating it into the school syllabus. Sócrates Yangali, who claimed to speak much Quechua with his wife at home, expressed the earnest desire for his young child to learn Quechua. However, he did not mention the possibility of transmission of the language by parents until it was suggested to him, instead laying the responsibility at the door of the school authorities:

> Para mí... debería tomar cartas en el asunto en el estudio, y aparte en los centros educativos, un curso más.
>
> (Tapescript 11)

His choice of words is revealing. "*Un curso más*" sounds almost dismissive, but this is certainly not the intention. Sócrates is, rather, asking that Quechua be treated normally, unexceptionally, as a modern language like any other, rather than, we might surmise, as a stigmatised and shameful relic of the past. The contrast with the treatment afforded to English (a contrast pursued further in the following chapter) is drawn time and again, as in the impassioned and eloquent words of Gregorio Huarca, a would-be medical student from Ayacucho who lives in Villa El Salvador:

> Ese es nuestro idioma, ese es nuestra raíz. Eso no se puede olvidar nunca. Es como olvidarse de su patria o de su padre. Al contrario, debe fomentarse. Llevar algún curso, llevar en el colegio, así como se lleva el inglés. Practicamente a primera hora están enseñando el inglés... ¿por qué no enseñar quechua? Y es de nosotros.
>
> (Tapescript 13)

The deep-rooted sense that only governments - through legislation on education - can really alter the status of Quechua sits side-by-side with a

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[54]While it may be the case that some broadcasting in Quechua takes place from Lima, my own research yielded only one example. The national news and current affairs network Radioprogramas del Perú (RPP) schedules a daily programme called "Amanecer Campesino", which goes out at dawn: this includes a segment of five minutes or so in Quechua giving market prices of produce and other agriculture-related news. As is suggested by scheduling, title and content, the programme is aimed squarely at Andean farmers rather than the Quechua-speaking inhabitants of Lima and the coast.

similarly thoroughgoing belief that there exists at present no political will for this to happen. The theme is developed by Jorge Flores, who sees the problem as being one of inertia and lack of interest in high places in Quechua as opposed to English:

> Como repito, ojalá que algún presidente pues tome todo el interés necesario para que este idioma oficial ¿no? se transmita a los colegios y que se enseñe el quechua en los colegios. Obligatoriamente, así como el inglés ¿no? y como un curso. Y eso debe ser ¿no? Yo creo que está en las manos de todos nosotros que nos interesamos por este idioma para poder que esto pues se continúe ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 52)

The internal contradictions of this position are evident. Asserting (rightly, of course) that it is speakers themselves who must have the primary responsibility for language maintenance ("*todos nosotros que nos interesamos por este idioma*"), Jorge nevertheless can see no better way forward than to wait for the election of a president who will again, like Velasco, legislate for compulsory teaching of Quechua at school. (Jorge and his wife are both native speakers; they have never taught their Lima-born children any Quechua at all). Denis Ballardo, similarly, having cheerfully admitted that he has never attempted to teach Quechua to his children, unhesitatingly blames the government for the decline of the language. He then reiterates the duty (presumably of parents, for he uses the word *hijos*) to transmit the language to the next generation - and again proceeds to blame the government, not parents, for the fact that this transmission does not take place:

> *¿Nunca les has enseñado nada?*
>
> No, no. También me parece que acá el... el principal culpable es el... más que nada pues ¿no? el... el gobierno, pues. Que deben como... nuestros antepasados acá eran pues que hablaban su quechua ¿no? [...] Entonces ese idioma siempre deben de enseñárselo a los hijos. Pero acá el gobierno no se interesa en eso. Ya...
>
> (Denis Ballardo, tapescript 06)

As has been suggested above, the obviously deeply-felt desire for Quechua to be maintained can only be reconciled with the projection onto the state of the responsibility for its maintenance if the role of the state is seen primarily as that of *legitimator* of language and culture (and see chapter 2). It is no accident that this desire for official recognition of Quechua is expressed through demands for obligatory teaching of the language in schools, and not through demands for - say - bilingual signposting, language rights in lawcourts and governmental institutions, or any of the myriad other language-

requiring contexts.[55] The school, as prime instiller of Spanish language and literacy amongst Andean peoples, is at the very centre of Peruvian thought about language and society; it is noted elsewhere (see e.g. chapters 4 and 6) that the very particular role of the education system in Peru, both historical and contemporary, means that questions of language learning tend to be perceived through the lens of experience of this system. For the present, though, it is perhaps sufficient to point out that the desire for officially-sanctioned teaching of Quechua in schools (and not just sanctioned, but *imposed*: most respondents were careful to emphasise that Quechua classes would have to be obligatory if students were to take them seriously[56]) is noteworthy because of course it constitutes only one element of what might be done to promote language maintenance - and in this context, probably not a very important element at that.

Fishman (e.g. 1991) and others have documented a whole series of activities and programmes that have been employed in various parts of the world to stem the tide of shift in minority languages: mother-tongue kindergartens, after-school clubs, social or youth clubs; radio and TV broadcasts, community newspapers, sports and cultural events and so on, almost endlessly. Given the legendary capacity of the inhabitants of Lima's *pueblos jóvenes* for self-help and community organisation, one might think that this sort of solution would have sprung up everywhere. But plainly it has not. What, then, is to be made of speakers' (I think genuine) protestations that they truly want the language to be maintained? The will to keep the language alive appears to have mutated into a desire that someone else keep it alive; and not just a random someone else but, quite specifically, the state. It is the state's seal of approval that is wanted: the official acknowledgement that Quechua has worth and value within the modern, urban nation. Speakers crave the explicit legitimation which was accorded to the language by the GRFFAA in 1975, only to be removed again (or at least sharply reduced, in the sense of being restricted to certain geographical regions) by the constitution of 1980 (von Gleich 1994a). It is not, in short, access to the language in natural contexts that is at the root of the problem, it is its perceived low prestige.

If this reading is accepted as fundamentally accurate, then it becomes clear that it is not enough - indeed, it is quite irrelevant to the matter in hand - to address the question of language maintenance through informal, self-generated institutions, or even commercial language schools as exist for, say,

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[55]Note, though, that outside Lima this type of status planning appears, in a very modest way, to be gaining ground. The *departamentos* of Cusco, Apurímac and Madre de Dios have legislated for street names and official documents of the Región Inka to be rendered in Quechua (von Gleich 1994). This policy has been most zealously pursued in Cusco, perhaps because of the traditional link with the Incas and the influence on municipal affairs of the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, which is based in the city. There one may observe public information posters (sponsored by the Cristal beer company) which exhort: "Difundamos la Educación Vial Bilingüe (Castellano y Quechua)". It being assumed that any literate person is literate in Spanish, it is hard to see this last as anything other than a symbolic gesture - though as was observed above, symbols do of course play an important role in legitimating language, and perhaps particularly in the Peruvian context.

[56]As Jorge says (see above): "*Obligatoriamente... y como un curso*". What he means by "*como un curso*" is that the subject should be examined and should count towards the student's annual marks. This emphasis on the instrumental motivation which a rigid school structure can supply reveals rather clearly the absence of any genuinely-felt motivation on the part of young *limeños* to learn Quechua.

English and French. The idea of teaching Quechua as a second language to Peruvians is quite alien, as is suggested by the words of the Alarcón sisters:

> *Ichaco*: [Efigenia] ha sido titulada. Pero yo le dije ¿por qué no pones acá un cartel y darse clases de... del idioma?
> *Puede ser ¿no?*
>
> *Efigenia*: Claro. Que cuantos extranjeros quieren venir y aprender. Y ganas pero sentadita en tu casa la plata que quieres.
>
> (Tapescript 02)

This could hardly be clearer: the potential clientele for Quechua classes is perceived as consisting entirely of visiting foreigners.[57] This impression was confirmed by my own Quechua teacher, Ñilda Guillén; at the Católica and San Marcos universities in Lima she regularly teaches the language to classes without a single Peruvian in them. On the rare occasions on which possible avenues of language maintenance are considered other than that of obligatory instruction in state educational institutions, again there is invariably the sense of a top-down sanctioning of the language, with the full weight of government decree behind it. Autonomous action is simply not an option.

> Si el quechua es oficial, entonces que se dicte el quechua en los colegios. Eso sería muy, muy interesante ¿no? Y podemos partir por la televisión. La televisión debe haber una hora por ejemplo dedicada exclusivamente a la música peruana, al folclor peruano, y al quechua. O sea enseñar por la televisión. Entonces ahí ya despierta el interés de los niños entonces, los padres que estamos en casa también decimos: éste es el quechua, éste es tu música, nuestra música, entonces hay que cultivar ¿no?
>
> (Jorge Flores, tapescript 52)

Jorge paints a curious picture indeed: Quechua-speaking parents waiting patiently for television to do the job of introducing their children to Quechua. The state-controlled television channel, Canal 7, does in fact broadcast a weekly programme of Andean music and dance - though, like similar radio programmes, it contains virtually no Quechua component other than the Quechua lyrics sometimes used in songs.[58] Jorge is doubtless thinking along the lines of such a programme. Again, his position only makes sense if it is assumed that the underlying demand is not for exposure to the language for the young - for this is, potentially, freely available in the home - but for state

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[57] Asked about the fact that so few Peruvians wished to learn Quechua as a second language, Denis Ballardo responded thus: "Sí pues, que no sé pues, porque mira que por ejemplo hay extranjeros ¿no? les gusta... quieren aprender quechua... Hay muchos extranjeros... ¡Pero los peruanos no queremos! [*Laughs*]. ¿No? Que es al revés ¿no? Cómo puede ser, ¿no?" (Tapescript 06).

[58] This maintenance of cultural phenomena such as song and dance - often in traditional dress - without a concomitant use of the minority language, has been found in other situations of language shift and loss, including those of Welsh in Australia (Smolicz 1992:291), Breton in France and Gaelic in Nova Scotia (Edwards 1985:67-68).

validation and legitimation of the language via official media. The problem is fundamentally not one of access to a language, or of the time needed to learn it, but of the status of that language in society, and the ideology surrounding it.

Given the lack of interest of older children in Quechua, the reluctance of parents to teach it, and the prevailing social pressures that form, reinforce and reflect these attitudes, it is scarcely surprising that breakdown in transmission occurs. There is a gulf between the first and second generations, conveyed accurately in the recollections of Jorge's teenage son, Danny:

> Nosotros como éramos chiquillos nosotros, nosotros decíamos, pero papá ¿qué dices, qué dices? No, nada, nada, nada, y seguían hablando [*laughs*]. Yo creo que eso es ¿no? Y por eso nosotros lo veíamos como algo muy lejano ¿no? Ah bueno, eso son cosas de ellos, pues. Y nunca nos interesó. O sea también es... bueno, de mi parte, creo yo, nunca quisimos, ¿no? De repente ahora, ¿no? O sea, hubiera sido bonito haber aprendido el idioma, ¿no? Pero en ese momento no, o sea, creo que las cosas se planteaban de otra manera.
>
> (Tapescript 50)

Here is a pin-sharp snapshot of the process by which Quechua is lost. Parents and their peers speak the language but are reluctant to encourage their children to do so while it carries the stigma accumulated over the course of history. It hence becomes seen as a code which is sealed off to the second generation, appropriate only for the jokes, stories, insults and so on which are the domain of older, *sierra*-born speakers and which were discussed in the preceding chapter. For young *limeños*, what is expressed in Quechua are "*cosas de ellos*". The speakers of the language are restricted to a single group in society, summed up by Sócrates Yangali as "*nosotros nomás de la sierra*" (tapescript 11). Their ambivalence about their decisive role in the process of language shift - on the one hand melancholy and contrition for the loss of a treasured heritage, and on the other, pragmatism and a desire to see their children succeed in the city - when it is spoken of at all, is often rather moving:

> Como muchos, hemos impedido que nuestros hijos disfruten también de la herencia. ¿Lo que ha sido bueno para nosotros no lo es para ellos? ¿Quiénes somos nosotros, entonces, para hablar del futuro del quechua?
>
> (Rojas Pérez 1996:48)

The reluctance of older speakers to transmit the language derives ultimately from its lack of prestige, reflected in the deepfelt wish for the state to acknowledge it as a truly national code, a cultural element sufficiently valuable to have a place in the national school curriculum. As long as this

acknowledgement is not forthcoming it is unlikely that Quechua will begin to be a visible language in the coastal cities. Indeed, even renewed legitimation by the state would be unlikely to guarantee a renewal of intergenerational transmission: Quechua has to contend with a host of received, ideologised attitudes which, while they are not themselves the *cause* of its marginalised status, help to rationalise, reinforce and perpetuate this status in the minds of speakers and non-speakers alike. The next chapter examines some of these attitudes and their effects upon language behaviour in migrant families.

Chapter Four

"Prohibirle al hijo que hable"

Language ideology, mechanisms of norm-enforcement and the marginalisation of Quechua

Introduction: inter-code and intra-code enforcement of norms

Cameron (1990, 1995) in her discussions of "verbal hygiene" raises the question of how, exactly, linguistic norms "get into" individual speakers. Bourdieu (1991) appears to assume (as do many laypeople) that the school is the primary agent of standardisation and norm-enforcement; but as Cameron rightly notes, this is "a gap in our understanding that sociolinguistics has not really filled. It is often assumed... that speakers become sensitive to prestige norms of language through the interventions of their parents and, more decisively, their teachers; yet we have very few investigations of how this happens in practice" (Cameron 1995:15; and cf Woolard 1985 and the final chapters of Fishman 1991). Both Cameron and Bourdieu are concerned primarily with standardisation and norm-enforcement *within* a language; however, the process - whatever, exactly, it may consist of - may well be similar in cases where one language, rather than one standard variety, is societally encouraged at the expense of another. More pertinently, even if agents such as schools and parents can be presumed to be inculcating norms, *how* exactly do they do this - and how is this project rationalised?

The problem, as Cameron notes, is to decide "how we get from large-scale historical developments... on one hand to the actual behaviour of individual speakers on the other" (1995:15). In terms of Quechua and Spanish, then, the essence of the task is to identify the means by which the large-scale historical process of the oppression of Quechua is translated into the actual reluctance of individuals to speak or pass on the language. In this chapter it is suggested that the transition is in part managed by an intervening layer of ideologised attitudes to language (cf Woolard & Schieffelin 1994), linked at the macro-level to the historical power relationship between speakers of the two languages and at the micro-level to the rules dictating what is considered acceptable discourse. These attitudes are ideologised in the sense that (at the macro-level) they are clearly derived from a particular set of social, economic and historical circumstances, and not from observations about the nature of language in general; and that (at the micro-level) they serve to justify and rationalise behaviour which effectively discourages the use of Quechua - such as the widespread stricture on code-mixing of Quechua into Spanish, or the reluctance to address strangers in Quechua - without the necessity of having to acknowledge that such is the aim.

The ideologised attitudes to language are a necessary mechanism in part because, in common with many minority languages, Quechua retains very high affective/emotional value for its speakers, and particularly at the most local levels (see the discussion in chapter 5, part 1, on glottocentrism and attitudes to local dialects); furthermore, it has been used - and still is used, to some extent - by cultural and political nationalists as a symbol of *peruanidad.* All this means that overt denigration of the language, or overtly negative attitudes towards it, are relatively rare phenomena. Failure to speak, learn or transmit Quechua tends to be explained not in terms of the language's stigmatised condition, or that of its speakers, but in terms of its being for example too time-consuming to teach and learn (as was seen in the preceding chapter), difficult to pronounce, or confusing for children; of its being unwritten, unstandardised, and not part of the school curriculum; of its being inappropriate to the setting or situation, lacking in vocabulary and so on; or simply in terms of it being potentially offensive.

Section 1 of this chapter attempts to describe the processes by which Quechua in Lima is rendered "invisible". It examines some of the common rationalisations made by bilingual parents for their failure to pass on the language to their offspring, and by speakers in general for their reluctance to address others in Quechua in urban, especially public, contexts. It deals particularly with those social pressures on bilinguals which discourage code-mixing and promote denial of competence in Quechua. Section 2 describes the end result of the process; the development in bilingual migrants of an internalised system of domain control which sharply separates the languages and ensures that Quechua is restricted in large part to the (mainly symbolic) domains and functions reviewed in chapter 2. Two contrasting case studies are presented of avoidance of Quechua. Section 3 discusses the presence of English in Peru at the social level as a desirable "other" code, and at the lexical level, in Lima Spanish, as a resource for borrowing and for prestigious code-mixing. A comparison is drawn between this treatment of English and the treatment accorded to Quechua, leading to conclusions about the ideologised nature of individual and societal suppression of the language.

A key problem here is to distinguish between code-mixing and code-switching, and between these and borrowing; there is little agreement yet on how the separate terms are to be used or even on whether they should be separate terms at all (see e.g. Romaine 1995:142-161, Edwards 1994:73, Scotton 1988:157-158, Heller 1992). For the sake of convenience, switching and mixing are here distinguished in structural terms, in line with much conventional usage, to the extent that when we are dealing with isolated segments of one language (for example a single lexical item or short phrase) within a substantial string of the other, this is referred to as "mixing"; a distinct movement from talk substantially in one language to talk substantially in another will be referred to as "switching". It is however assumed that

switching, mixing and borrowing are less distinct and dissimilar phenomena, than points on a continuum of language interaction.[59]

Above all, however, and most importantly for the discussion on use of English in the latter part of this chapter, following Scotton (1988), the spectrum of switching, mixing and borrowing is here treated primarily in terms of *social* significance, rather than as a question of linguistic structure. Commentators such as Poplack (1988) and Swiggart (1992) have noted that, in some multilingual speech communities, sustained and repeated switching and mixing are regarded as an unmarked choice of code; nothing particular is intended by the use of one code rather than another at any one point, the switching itself being considered the "base" or unmarked discourse style. Building on this analysis, Scotton identifies as crucial the degree of markedness of the code (or codes) selected at any moment in a particular exchange. Hence switching and mixing can best be distinguished from borrowing by considering what the speaker is trying to do with their choice of words within the framework of the encounter: "incorporations which carry social significance... constitute switches, while those that do not, do not" (Scotton 1988:159). Any code choice is therefore either marked or unmarked; either expected and conventional within the framework established by the speech community for the particular exchange, or unconventional, and so marked and intended to be invested with social significance (Scotton 1983, 1988). Within this framework, there exists a continuum of markedness. Speakers "perceive one or more choices are more unmarked than others; and among marked choices some are more marked than others" (Scotton 1988:155).

As will be seen, such an analysis of code choice has particular resonance in the context of Lima speech. It will be noted that some Quechua words (*cancha*, *carpa* and so on) have been "borrowed" into Spanish: that is, they are used without conscious social significance. Beyond this restricted set of items, to use Quechua in the vast majority of contexts is to draw on the bank of accumulated associations which Quechua holds (described in chapters 2 and 5): it is unavoidably a marked choice, and is treated as such by listeners.

1.0 Speakers' rationalisations of the suppression of Quechua

It was noted in chapter 3 that urban-dwelling Quechua speakers, while they almost invariably express a desire for their children to learn the language, tend to do nothing at all to encourage such learning, or even actively to discourage it. Meanwhile, as seen in chapter 2, typically such speakers also restrict their own use of Quechua to a few distinct spheres of their own lives. The attitudes and behaviour of young people, then, form the end result of a

[59]Gardner-Chloros (1995), arguing for a "fuzzier" understanding of switching and mixing, remarks that the very use of the term "code-switching" encourages us "...to believe that we are studying a unitary phenomenon with objective reality rather than a fuzzy-edged construct" (1995:70).

process of linguistic marginalisation, not its cause. Marco Escudero sets this apparent rejection of the language by its own speakers into a historical context, emphasising the desire of early migrants (he himself emigrated from Ancash in the 1960s) to blend into what was then perceived as a relatively homogenous coastal culture, and to enable their children to do so:

> Habían épocas en que... venía el serrano a Lima y sentía la... la... el rechazo. El rechazo de los limeños con respecto a sus costumbres, a su idioma, al folclor. Entonces él como un mecanismo de integración a la cultura limeña... lo primero que hacía era prohibirle al hijo que hable, o... o tratar de transmitir alguna idea en quechua, o hablarle algo en quechua.
>
> (Tapescript 51)

Explicit rationalisations of the process of suppression of Quechua are rare. However, speakers of course do rationalise to at least some extent their sociolinguistic behaviour, and certain widely-shared attitudes can be discerned which seem to be common to almost all speakers. They are here discussed in turn. The first is the belief that exposure to Quechua leads to imperfect acquisition of Spanish by children; this alone is regarded as sufficient justification for shielding children from the language, though it will be seen that more prestigious languages are treated quite differently. The second is the notion that to speak Quechua can only imply, in many urban contexts, that the speaker is unable to control Spanish. Many speakers affect to scorn this perception, and insist that only others suffer such delusions; but even so, it has the effect of driving Quechua from public contexts: one's own reluctance to speak Quechua, perhaps for fear of ridicule, can be rationalised - and quite legitimately - as a reluctance to embarrass one's interlocutor. The third factor, in many ways parallel to the first, is a set of feelings about the purity of language. This serves ostensibly to restrict Quechua and Spanish to their "appropriate" domains and to discourage mixing; unsurprisingly, it functions in practice as a mechanism for the suppression of the less powerful language. Each of these ideologised attitudes has its part to play in rendering Quechua in Lima a semi-covert language in the first generation and a dead one, to all intents and purposes, in the second.

1.1 "*Tienes que hablar bien el castellano*": fear of imperfect acquisition of Spanish

The negative sanctions - economic, social and political - arrayed against the urban Peruvian who fails to control Spanish are so overwhelming and self-evident that they hardly need to be spelt out. Indeed, migrants to the city themselves rarely mention them: the notion of *not* being able to speak Spanish to at least some degree is simply ludicrous. For first generation migrants, who themselves may have bitter memories of their early experiences in Lima, the acquisition of Spanish on the part of their children is

of fundamental importance. Emilia Aguirre relates how she became lost after going to buy bread for her employer, soon after her arrival in the capital, and how she walked the streets for hour after hour, unable to ask for help and in any case too scared to approach a stranger, until finally the police picked her up. Her recollection of detail, more than twenty years on, is rather extraordinary:

> Yo llegué esa puerta, compré pan, hasta ahora que no me olvido, he comprado ocho panes, una pan franceses, grandes [...] Era una canastillita media rosada me parece, ya no me acuerdo [...] Y ese tiempo vivíamos en Pueblo Libre, en casa de Pueblo Libre, allí es un... casas toda la calle, y ¡la misma color! ¡La misma calle! La misma, madre. Y yo como no conocía la letra, ese tiempo, no conocía... qué decía la este... el número no conocí, he caminado así... por de hambre, de sed, del cansancio, de todo.
>
> (Tapescript 55)

Emilia tells the story entertainingly, but she clearly still recalls the panic and isolation that she felt then.[60] It would be surprising were she not to consider the acquisition of Spanish (and indeed, literacy - she is herself still unable to read and write) a vital life skill for her children.

As it stands, this should not preclude the acquisition of Quechua. Instances abound of minority migrant communities - many of them a good deal smaller than the "community", if it can be termed thus, of Quechua speakers in Lima[61] - who have more or less successfully kept up transmission of the minority language while simultaneously acquiring the dominant language. Chinese in south-east Asia and many other parts of the world (and not least Lima itself), orthodox Jews in Europe and the US, Indians in East Africa and the Malay peninsula, the old order Amish in Pennsylvania, have all found sufficient cultural, religious, political or economic incentives to maintain their "home" language over generations. However, in the case of Quechua several other factors come into play, some common to other language-contact situations, some specific to Peru.

Shift towards Spanish between generations is encouraged by a strong belief that to learn two languages simultaneously confuses children and may impede the successful acquisition of the dominant language. This is a widespread notion, well documented in the literature (for two particularly clear examples see Lindgren 1984 for the Kven of Norway[62] and Mertz 1989 for Cape Breton

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[60] Many migrants have such a story, which comes to stand almost as a cipher for all the loneliness and disorientation felt through the early part of their stay in Lima. See Skar (1994:96).

[61] Such a "community", in the sense of a self-consciously cohesive group, can hardly be said to exist - which is, of course, part of the reason for the rapid disappearance of the language. This notion is further discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

[62] "One of the tenets of assimilation in Nordreisa was 'Finnish spoils Norwegian'. Bilingualism was seen as a simple case of subtraction in which every word of Finnish was a hindrance to learning Norwegian. Gradually speaking Finnish became virtually an outright taboo for children" (Lindgren 1984:297).

Gaelic-speakers in Nova Scotia), and not only amongst laypeople. A more sophisticated and far-reaching, but fundamentally similar theory is that of "semilingualism" (further discussed in chapter 7), by which some educational psychologists have attempted to suggest that bilingual children may fail to extend either of their languages sufficiently to fulfil the advanced functions of education. This theory has been severely criticised for, amongst other things, its faulty conception of how language is stored in the brain and its lack of appreciation of what constitutes communicative competence (Romaine 1995, Martin-Jones & Romaine 1985, Paulston 1992). However, given long-running disagreement amongst educationalists, educational psychologists and linguists, it is hardly surprising that it is believed in many lay circles that if children grow up speaking two languages, they will speak them both poorly. (Nor is the debate a modern one: Edwards 1994:55-60 traces the historical development over centuries of this and similar beliefs about bilingualism). Faced with this apparently stark choice, the pragmatic Peruvian parent will inevitably decide that the child should speak Spanish well, and that competence in Quechua will have to be sacrificed.

Amongst many migrant families in Lima, this process is so firmly embedded that it is difficult in the extreme to find second generation children who have had any exposure to Quechua beyond, for example, hearing it spoken occasionally by grandparents or at family gatherings. In order to trace the mechanisms of suppression of the language, then, it is necessary to look in addition at the cases of speakers whose communicative and linguistic competence was acquired in traditionally bilingual environments and who thus have at least some authentic exposure to the language. The following therefore concentrates (though not exclusively) on the Galarza/Baldeón family of Santa Cruz de Pacte, near Jauja in the department of Junín.

Bilingualism has been established in Pacte for many generations, though casual observation suggests that it is giving way to Spanish monolingualism. Mixing of the languages is still generally seen as unremarkable, and for many families in the area has been transmitted through the generations as a standard form of discourse. Carmen's bilingual parents, though, perhaps more education-oriented and more attuned to "national" norms than many in the village (her father don Luis served as a conscript in the army), had little doubt that she, along with most of her siblings, would eventually leave for Lima or Huancayo. (And indeed, as a teenager Carmen found work in Lima as a domestic servant: she now lives with her brother in Villa El Salvador). It was hence necessary to do everything possible to ensure that she mastered Spanish - which in their eyes naturally entailed the suppression of Quechua. In the following segment Carmen recalls how her father prevented her maternal grandmother - also bilingual - from speaking to her in Quechua:

> Lo único que puedo resaltar en esto es que yo cuando era pequeña, recuerdo muy bien cuando mi abuela me estaba hablando en quechua, ¿no? o sea tratando de que yo le entiende, eh... escuché algo así de mi padre - tengo el vago recuerdo ¿no? - casi, que le dijo

que no me hablara en quechua porque yo... yo como iba a malograr el castellano, o sea... y sucede, ¿ah? Sucede con otras personas, que el castellano no lo hablan tan bien, tienden a mezclar mucho entre el castellano y el quechua.

(Tapescript 19)

It is worthy of note that mixing is here regarded as indicating not competence in two languages, but *lack* of competence in at least one of them (and quite possibly both). While mixing is quite often stigmatised and associated with linguistic incompetence or impurity in other speech communities, this is by no means universally or unchangingly the case (see for example Scotton 1988 on East Africa, McConvell 1988 on Australian *mix-im-up*; and Gumperz 1982:63 notes that *pocho* and *caló* in California were at first stigmatised but with growing ethnic self-assertion and pride have become not only acceptable but even emblematic of the Chicano experience). Certainly, as we shall see, mixing of prestigious codes like English into Spanish strings is regarded quite differently. But in the context of migrant (or, as in Carmen's case, prospective migrant) families in Peru, once a child is at school and learning Spanish, the presence of Quechua elements tends to be viewed with unease, as actively threatening to the integrity of the child's Spanish, always carrying the risk of confusion or - it is not too strong a word - contamination. This is in some respects rather odd, for Carmen's grandmother, regarded by don Luis as the main source of "contamination", in fact was perceived by the family to speak unmarked Spanish, to maintain strict domain separation and to avoid code-mixing.

Carmen: Mi abuelita hablaba perfecto el castellano [...] Sí, mi abuela hablaba perfecto [...]

Luis: Castellano y quechua también ... Las dos partes.
Carmen: Sí, ella perfecto. [...] Y lo bueno de ella es que no mezclaba, para ese entonces ella no mezclaba; porque incluso nos enseñaba como atenderlo a mi papá como debería de ser y todo lo demás.[63]

(Tapescript 45)

Note that Carmen equates perfect control of the languages with not mixing them: *"ella perfecto... Y lo bueno de ella es que no mezclaba"*. This view being shared by the family, it would apparently allow the use of Quechua with the children in "appropriate" contexts. Nevertheless, Carmen's grandmother (quite rightly) interpreted don Luis's warnings about code-mixing as being in fact an instruction to abandon the use of Quechua with the children altogether. This she did, reluctantly restricting her use of the language to conversations with her daughter, doña Elva, as Carmen reports:

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[63]It is most striking that Carmen appears here to equate "correctness" in not mixing codes with "correct" behaviour in carrying out the tasks appropriate to a dutiful daughter.

Y mi abuela como que se resintió, y después tenía ya mucho cuidado ya en no hablarnos, siempre con mi mamá cruzaban frases.

(Tapescript 45)

It is as if the very presence of the language were seen as a threat, regardless of domain separation or situational appropriacy (and more will be said about this in the discussion on language purity below). Simple exposure to the "other" language constitutes a risk to the child's acquisition of the dominant tongue. Garzon (1992), reporting a similar phenomenon for the case of Spanish and Tektiteko near the Mexican-Guatemalan border, suggests that teachers may possibly be responsible for inculcating this belief in parents. Romaine (1989) too suggests that the feeling that retention of an immigrant language interferes with learning of the dominant language has been encouraged by educators, stating that "many parents of Southeast Asian origin in Britain have been led to believe that bilingualism is inherently problematic and confusing for their children" (Romaine 1989:375). While (especially rural) schoolteachers certainly have a critical role to play in the process of language maintenance or loss, and may be deeply ambivalent about this role (Ojeda y Ojeda 1992 for the Región Inka outlines one view of this ambivalence: see chapter 6), the belief is so widespread and long-lived (Romaine 1995:237) and so firmly embedded in Peru (see for example Lefebvre 1976 for Cusco) that it must be concluded that it has a fixed place in popular lore, regardless of the efforts of teachers for or against it.

As noted above, this attitude may persist even where domains are separated. However, it is perhaps particularly strong where there is a perceived lack of clear domain separation: Hornberger (1987) reports that parents in Puno, while content to have their children speak Quechua at home and Spanish at school, were resistant to the idea that the two languages should be used in the school, on the grounds that "*umata muyuchin*" ("it mixes up the head" - cf Carmen's "*que con el quechua nos estaba confundiendo*" in tapescript 28). This deep-rooted uneasiness about the effect that a bilingual environment may have on child language acquisition, allied to the real and tangible negative consequences that the failure to control Spanish will bring, forms a powerful incentive to "protect" younger speakers from the language, and in very short order, where the legitimate domains of Quechua are few, helps bring about the loss of intergenerational transmission in any significant form.

1.2 Language prestige and differential attitudes

Perhaps the most extraordinary aspect of this rationalisation of the failure to transmit the language is that it would seem, superficially, to run directly counter to the desire expressed by virtually all the parent respondents (and all of Gugenberger's 1994 respondents) for Quechua to be taught at school, which was treated at length in the last chapter. It has already been suggested

that this desire owes more to social status and ideology than to, for example, constraints of time: it thus comes as no surprise to find that prestigious languages are treated quite differently (and cf e.g. Romaine 1995). It occurs to no-one to suggest that the acquisition of English may retard learning of Spanish: indeed, it is fervently encouraged from as early an age as possible. The most celebrated schools in Lima are those "international" schools which offer, both as subject and as medium of instruction, French, Italian, German and, above all, English, with a deliberate minimum of domain separation and no sense at all that *umata muyuchin*. Socorro says of her two primary school-age daughters:

> Ay, me muero para que hablen inglés. El quechua no sirve para nada, pero el inglés, uy, sí, es recontra necesario. Siempre les digo: "Tienes que estudiar, tienes que hablar bien bien el inglés, si no, nunca vas a ser profesional".
>
> (From fieldwork diary, October 1995)

Socorro is a socially conservative, middle-class, monolingual *limeña*, and it is less than surprising that she is hostile - or at the very best indifferent - to Quechua. But the tacit ban on the language in the home is also supported by her husband Lucho Escudero, a competent (if rusty) bilingual from Ancash, who reports:

> Con mis hijitas no hablo nada de quechua.
>
> *¿Nada, nada, nada?*
>
> Nada pues. A veces le digo a la menor, estás *khuchi*.[64] Que debe bañarse, eso nomás. Es que ellas no necesitan el quechua. Ellas no conocen mi tierra, son de acá. Tienen que aprender bien el inglés, el inglés sí es necesario.
>
> (From fieldwork diary, December 1995)

Such feelings about the relative merits of English are reinforced by the barrage of publicity generated by language academies, which tends to play on parents' natural desire that their children should have the widest opportunities possible. Hence, to take an example virtually at random, two advertisements (amongst very many) for English courses in *El Comercio* of 25/2/96 announced: "Inglés americano - el idioma de las grandes posibilidades" and: "El futuro de tus hijos se escribe en inglés". The various associations of Quechua in the minds of speakers and non-speakers alike are discussed in chapter 5, part 2: it is safe to say that concepts such as *futuro* and *grandes posibilidades* do not figure amongst them. Naturally, there is a conceptual difference between a language acquired in the home and one

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[64] "Dirty".

learned formally in the school with little outside reinforcement, and between a European language and a very dissimilar American one, but at one level at least the apparent paradox remains that Quechua is felt to interfere with acquisition of Spanish, while English is not. (The question of relative attitudes to Quechua and English is discussed at greater length below).

Hence we may posit that where the potential language configuration in the family or at school consists of two languages, Spanish and Quechua, Quechua is apt to be discouraged on the grounds that it is damaging or impossible to learn two languages simultaneously. Where the configuration contains in addition a desirable language such as English, the prohibition on learning two languages is quickly abandoned, but Quechua is equally marginalised, now, one can only presume, on the grounds that it is confusing or too time-consuming to learn *three* languages simultaneously, and that Quechua will hamper the child's learning of English. Thus a person's capacity for language learning is perceived - when the notion of learning Quechua is considered - as a finite commodity (cf Romaine's 1995 critique of semilingualism, referred to earlier) and the "extra" languages (that is, languages in addition to Spanish) are perceived to be somehow in competition with Quechua. In such a contest, Quechua must inevitably lose out. Jorge Flores is in no doubt that, for people of the age of his children, there can only be room for English:

> Bueno, eso... influencia de la universidad, de los estudios que ellos tienen, porque en la universidad exigen de todas maneras que se... que uno debe hablar otro idioma ¿no? Más que todo el... más que todo el inglés que es un idioma universal, comercial ¿no? Yo pienso que sea así.
>
> (Tapescript 52)

The familiar phrase *tienes que hablar bien el...* refers back implicitly to the "balance hypothesis" view of language learning, but it conceals - consciously or no - a view of language that it is not academic, but purely social.

The feeling that competence in Quechua necessarily implies a concomitant reduction of competence in Spanish has been internalised by many speakers. Carmen's sister Vilma (who moved to Lima at the age of 11), while regretting that she has only passive competence in Quechua, still feels that her father was right to forbid code-mixing; furthermore she feels that greater exposure to Quechua would necessarily have led to her mixing the languages - self-evidently a bad thing - and that this is indicative of less than competent Spanish:

> *¿Y a ustedes les parece lógico eso, que aprendiendo dos idiomas vas a salir hablando mal dos idiomas?*
>
> Mm... Bueno, a mí me parece que mi papá lo hacía para hablarlo bien el castellano, ¿no? O sea me decía pues, o hablas quechua o hablas

castellano, pero más posibilidades... [*¿Pero te parecía correcto?*] Bueno, en cierta forma, sí. Si era dicho hablas... o sea al mismo tiempo por decir entablas una conversación en quechua no más, hubiera sido bueno, y en otro momento castellano, estaba bien, pero lo que mi papá fue... yo pienso ¿no? que él pensó que estaba haciendo lo mejor en corregirme. [*¿Pero qué piensas tú?*] Bueno, no estaba bien tampoco mezclar la una con otra ¿no?

(Vilma Galarza, tapescript 23)

Appel and Muysken remark (1987:117) that outsiders tend to view code-mixing as decay. Insiders may, too: Grosjean (1982:146-148) reproduces a mixture of insiders' views on switching and mixing, some of them - though not all - very negative indeed. Typical are the Punjabi speakers in Britain discussed by Romaine (1989), who do not regard mixed Punjabi-English as 'real' or 'pure' (see e.g. 1989:122). (Interestingly, Romaine also notes more generally that community members often worriedly ask linguists if codeswitching presages language death: a very different concern from that found amongst Lima bilinguals, who are worried about the integrity of the *target* language). In the context of migrant Peru it would appear that insiders hold the negative view of code-mixing very strongly indeed; the presence of Quechua items in a Spanish string can elicit real reactions of disapproval, suggesting that they are seen as somehow corrupting, threatening the integrity of the Spanish and endangering the speaker's competence in Spanish. Carmen and Vilma's father saw it as his particular duty to police his children's language, and reacted with something approaching anger to their code-mixing, *even though he did it himself* (this disjunction between overt attitude and actual practice is a common one in situations of code-mixing and shifting; see for example Grosjean 1982). The irony is not lost on the rest of the family, who clearly enjoy telling stories of this when don Luis is not within earshot:

Yo me acuerdo bastante que mi papi me corrigió porque dijo por decir el... una hebra de hilo, es en castellano, entonces dame este... dame ese pedazo de *q'aytu*[65] decía, *q'aytu*. Entonces yo hablaba dame ese pedazo de *q'aytu*, estaba hablando castellano con quechua, entonces mi papá me dijo ¿por qué hablas así? ¿no puedes decir pásame ese pedazo de hilo? Entonces ahí... lo que él no quería es que se mezclara...

(Vilma, tapescript 23)

65"Thread".

1.3 Mixing and misrecognition of codes

Mixing being thus heavily frowned upon, it ceased to be expected; and where don Luis employed a Quechua word - either thinking it to be Spanish, or being unable temporarily to remember the Spanish - which was unknown to the children, quite serious breakdowns of communication could take place, which are now recalled as something approaching comic events. Doña Elva was sensitive to the possibility of misunderstanding; her husband much less so.

> *Entonces, a veces dice que hablaba con sus hijos en quechua.*
>
> Así es.
>
> *¿Qué tipo de cosas?*
>
> A veces, mm... apúrate, le decía, haga esto, pero en quechua... y no me entendían, y me reía y le corregía a castellano. Bueno, algunas cosas, las otras cosas, también tienen nombre quechua, y muchas veces también su papá le pedía tal cosa alcánzame, pobre mis hijitas buscaban y buscaban, no entendían qué cosa era. [*Laughter*] [...] Entonces a la hoz le decía *kucha,*[66] pásame esa *kucha*, pobre mi hija, ¿qué es *kucha*? ya no podía.
>
> *Carmen*: ¡No sabía lo que era!
>
> (Elva Churampi, tapescript 28)

Equally, the reverse was wont to take place: hearing an unfamiliar Spanish word, the children assumed it was Quechua and that their father was mixing codes:

> *Elva*: Mi esposo era él que se molestaba, no tenía paciencia de hacer entender, entonces, con Nelly pasó de ese la... la chalina que se usa y mi esposo decía: alcánzame mi bujanda.
>
> *Carmen*: Pero bufanda no es quechua, ¿no? [...] Bufanda, pero eso ya no es quechua.
>
> *Elva*: Bufanda. Pero ninguna vez pero habrá hablado esa palabra...
>
> *Carmen*: Nosotros conocíamos por chalina...

[66] "Sickle".

Elva: ...pero por chalina entendía. También dice: busc... está en su lado, está mirado y no sabía qué cosa era bujanda.

(Tapescript 28)

This was something of a multilayered misunderstanding (and continues to cause confusion in the family even now, as can be seen). The Spanish *bufanda* has been widely rephonologised and integrated into Quechua as *bujanda* (/buxanda/) (see Howard-Malverde 1995); indeed, *bufanda* has been rephonologised to differing degrees across the Andean region, even as far as /wuxanta/ (Howard-Malverde, personal communication, 1997). Don Luis appears to have heard the word - perhaps from a Quechua monolingual - and identified it as Spanish, but to have been unaware of the rephonologisation; he therefore believed it to be a "pure" Spanish word and one that he could safely use in an unmixed Spanish string. To a monolingual Spanish speaker, however, the rephonologised word is of course effectively an unknown one.

In an unstable bilingual environment and with limited access to formal education, mistaken assignments of lexical item to code are perhaps inevitable; this may not matter in an environment where code-switching and mixing are acceptable and freely indulged in, but in the context of Peruvian language shift it becomes a potential trap for the unwary. Don Luis and don José both insisted in conversation that the only Quechua greeting was "*buenos días, igual que el castellano*" and that this had been used since before the conquest. Margarita Contreras produced a rephonologised form of *chiquillos* (with the segment *ll* pronounced /lj/) and identified it as Quechua:

Por los niños también, bueno a los niños les decimos el chiquillos. Chiquillos en quichua. Entonces le decimos en chiquillos en quichua. En quechua, pues en castellano es niños, ¿no? En quechua es chiquillo. Así.

(Tapescript 53)

Thus the in part arbitrary and subjective nature of resistance to code-mixing must be taken into account: effective separation of codes of course depends on accurate recognition of both of them, and such recognition is not always forthcoming. Speakers' perceptions of which code a word really "belongs" to inevitably influence the process of shift or maintenance (Howard-Malverde 1995, Woolard 1989); concerned speakers may be very anxious indeed to identify correctly the provenance of items in order to use them appropriately or to avoid them altogether.[67] It is difficult to escape the impression that such anxiety must add further to the linguistic uneasiness of children brought up in this kind of environment: forbidden to use Quechua words in a Spanish string,

[67] Hidalgo (1986) for Mexico points out that educated speakers are more likely to recognize loanwords and in fact to avoid them. This seems to be confirmed by Romaine (1989:374) who observes that increasing metalinguistic awareness amongst Tok Pisin speakers is leading to increased recognition of different varieties of the language and to stigmatisation of those that are heavily mixed with English.

but not always entirely sure to which code a word belongs. Doña Elva was asked if she would like Quechua to be taught in schools:

> Claro.
>
> *¿Por qué?*
>
> Saber de su antigüedad, o para corregir o ahora que va cambiando, que es necesario saber ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 28)

This is a rather ambiguous comment, but doña Elva seems to have been implying that a valid reason for teaching Quechua to children at school, other than to keep a cultural link with the past ("*saber de su antigüedad*") would be to equip them with the necessary knowledge to avoid code-mixing ("*para corregir*"). The irony is that this would almost certainly be helpful; greater linguistic and metalinguistic awareness would surely help resolve the kind of problems of misrecognition outlined above. But so great is the social prejudice against Quechua, that it is thought better to keep it out of the school - and even the home - altogether.

1.4 "*Hablar quechua significa que tú no sabes hablar castellano*": the social meaning of public use of Quechua

To learn Quechua, then, is to endanger one's competence in other, ostensibly more useful or necessary (we might say prestigious) languages. Acquisition of Quechua alongside Spanish tends to be seen as risking confusion and misrecognition; children's Spanish becomes contaminated with Quechua, and it is the duty of the competent schoolteacher and the responsible parent to avoid this unfortunate occurrence. Given that the equation of code-mixing with speaking poor Spanish is entirely characteristic of prevailing attitudes amongst urban Peruvians, it is not surprising that the kind of unmarked, unselfconscious mixing described by Poplack (1988) for Chicanos, or Swiggart (1992) for Senegal, is virtually absent amongst migrants to Lima.

Quechua-speaking migrants in Lima in effect perform a permanent balancing act, bound by ethno-geographic loyalty to express pride in their provincial identity, but bound equally to prove that they are fully competent members of the modern, urban community. A crucial element in the last is the ability to speak Spanish, the unmarked code of urban Peru. In the same way that the fear of imperfect acquisition of Spanish leads parents to police their children's linguistic environment to protect against Quechua, so, logically enough, do bilingual speakers police their *own* language, lest they be thought by others to be unable to control Spanish. The nature of the risk is clear: to speak Quechua in Lima - apart from in the clearly-delineated, legitimated contexts described

in chapter 2 - risks implying that one is incapable of doing anything else. And worse, as Efigenia Alarcón points out:

> Lo que yo creo es que se minimizan, se apocan con el idioma.
>
> *¿Cómo ser humano?*
> Claro, como ser humano. Y dicen este indio sólo habla quechua. Aprenden... todo... todo limeño: este indio serrano no sabe ni hablar. Entonces todo eso... los minimiza.
>
> (Tapescript 02)

Monolingualism in Spanish might be unobjectionable, but monolingualism in Quechua is prima facie proof of backwardness and stupidity ("*este indio sólo habla quechua*"), doubtless because of the historic connection between Spanish and formal education.[68] There is even a suggestion of an echo here ("*este indio serrano no sabe ni hablar*") of the unthinking glottocentrism of Columbus and Cieza de León, sending native Americans back to Spain with instructions that they be taught "how to speak" (see e.g. Godenzzi 1992:63-64).[69] Albó (1974:96) was in fact close to the mark in his bald assertion that "...la gente de habla castellana suele hablar del quechua en términos peyorativos. Ni siquiera lo considera idioma". And indeed, despite the change in attitudes since the 1970s, middle-class Spanish speakers still routinely dismiss Quechua - in private - as being no more than a *dialecto*. By extension, it is implied, nothing of any importance or substance can be talked about in Quechua. As Ernesto says:

> Para que te vean hay que hablar castellano. Así es en Lima.
>
> (Tapescript 40)

The public use of Quechua, in short, is equated with not being able to speak Spanish. The stereotypical association of Quechua in Lima is with the *recién bajadito* who has not had time to master the language of the city, and is to be pitied and patronised for this and other social solecisms. The act of a street comedian in Lima's Plaza San Martín was reported thus:

> Un poco más cerca - pide Daniel a su público - Acérquense todos. Amigo un poco más aquí. Ven. Este no entiende. Quizás es turista.

---

[68] This might be contrasted with the situation in Paraguay, where Guaraní in certain contexts enjoys considerable prestige. There, too, monolingualism in the ethnic language is regarded as backward and is associated with lack of education (Stark 1983, Rubin 1968, Garvin & Mathiot 1972). Crucially, though, active bilingualism is regarded positively. In Lima, by contrast, there is almost an assumption that anyone who acquires Spanish through schooling will wish to leave Quechua behind.

[69] This kind of ethnocentrism is not, of course, restricted to matters of language. At the monastery of Santa Rosa de Ocopa, near Concepción (Junín) I saw a 19th century map showing the missions undertaken by Franciscan fathers to the jungle areas of Peru, and extolling the virtues of the missionaries. The text relates that the Franciscans went to "civilizar al Yndio, hacerlo hombre..."; raising the intriguing question of what the poor "Yndio" had been before. The development of outsiders' perceptions of American Indians and their cultures is well treated in Pagden (1982).

Let's go, come on, please... A pique es cholo... Jamuy, Jamuy... Ven pues huev..., acércate.

(*Domingo* magazine, *La República* 08/09/96)[70]

The use of language here - though of course the intent is comic - is perceived as purely functional. English is to be employed to a gringo tourist, Quechua to a *cholo*, and both for the same, single reason: because the person concerned is unable to understand "normal" Spanish: "*éste no entiende*". There can be, it is implied, no other reason to speak a language other than Spanish in one of Lima's main squares.

To use Quechua in Lima at all is hence a risky activity, unless - and perhaps *even if* - all present are well known to the speaker. The tension may be found even in private, family domains. Gustavo Martínez is by his own testimony a proud and loyal Quechua speaker; as much of his family has done over the years, he migrated from Huancayo to Lima, where the family group keep in close contact and hold regular *reuniones*:

¿Y así en las fiestas de la familia no hablan en quechua a veces?

No, es que ya de un de repente, yo qué sé, resaltar de un de repente, querer, sabe mucho, sabe, entonces digamos ya hay como se dice una competencia, ¿no? En que quién sabemos más, quién sabemos mucho [castellano]. Quienes tenemos la capacidad dentro de ya prosarlo...

(Tapescript 26)

If even the bilingual family, in a private get-together in Lima, feel the pressure to partake in this "*competencia*" of who speaks the best Spanish, then the pressures operating on interlocutors who may not know each other particularly well, or who find themselves in public domains, can be imagined. The perceived danger, in terms of functions, appears to be that listeners may mistake the speaker's *expressive* mixing for *referential* mixing: that is to say, that upon hearing an item of Quechua, listeners may simply assume that the speaker does not know the appropriate Spanish equivalent, and is using the societally stigmatised language, as Bourdieu (1991:69) puts it, "faute de mieux". To mix or switch between the two codes is to expose oneself to the danger of ridicule: other, less risky ways must be chosen to manifest one's Andean identity (always assuming that this is considered desirable). Meanwhile it is preferable in the vast majority of contexts to stick resolutely to the urban code, even if one's command of it is less than perfect. Marco Escudero was quite explicit about this:

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[70]The Quechua "*jamuy*" can here best be translated as the comedian does, as "come on". "*Huev...*" represents the reporter's delicate rendering of the (originally Chilean, but now practically pan-Latin American) all-purpose expletive *huevón*.

Hablar quechua significa que tú no sabes hablar castellano. La gente prefiere hablar castellano aunque hablen mal.

(From fieldwork diary, December 1995)

This view was amply supported by Gustavo and his brother, Rubén:

Casi toda la gente ahora habla castellano, ¿no?

Rubén: Sí, sí sí. Aún mal hablado, pero se tiende a querer aprender castellano [...]

Gustavo: Más el castellano. Mal o bien lo hablan.

(Tapescript 25)

Hence it is preferable to be mocked for one's *serrano* accent or faulty grasp of Spanish (cf Cerrón-Palomino 1989a) than to lapse into Quechua. In public contexts - and particularly, of course, in Lima - this tendency becomes for most migrants almost a cast-iron rule of discourse (though as was remarked in chapter 2, greater freedom of choice is available to speakers at higher socioeconomic levels).

1.5 *"Tratar de hablarles en quechua es como hacerlos sentir mal"*: rules of address and the *alejamiento* of Quechua from public space.

Myers (1973) in her study of interaction in Lima's *pueblos jóvenes* concluded that Andean migrants were most likely to address an unknown interlocutor in Quechua if they seemed to be a *paisano* and seemed to be *unlikely to be able to speak Spanish*. If we turn this rule around and look at it from the point of view of the person addressed, it is immediately obvious that to receive Quechua in public is potentially offensive and demeaning. Here is the crux of the matter: apart from in a very limited number of domains, to use Quechua to someone who is not close family or a *paisano* is an extremely risky and unpredictable strategy, best avoided. If one insists on doing so, perhaps in a well-meaning spirit of solidarity and fellow-feeling, one must be prepared for rejection and denial. Gustavo (having just explained that even amongst his immediate family Quechua is generally avoided!) relates sadly how he has tried to address a seeming *paisano* who was a stranger:

A veces le digo *wauqey, rimaykullayá*.[71] Señor, no, yo no hablar quechua, ya a olvidao... [*with exaggerated sierra accent*] [*Laughter*]

---

[71]Something like "greetings, brother", in the Quechua I dialect of the central Andes.

¿Qué es eso? ¿qué es eso, hermano? ¿Qué pasa paisano? ¿de dónde eres tú? Yo soy hermano, sabe Dios.

(Tapescript 29)[72]

The Andean migrant who claims in heavily-accented "broken" Spanish to have forgotten Quechua is a stock character in Lima lore. Ichaco Alarcón produces essentially the same vignette:

> Vienen acá, tienen vergüenza. ¿De dónde eres? Soy de tal sitio. Y hablas en quechua, y no te contestan en quechua, te hablan en castellano. ¿Y por qué no hablas quechua? Mi he olvidado [*imitates sierra accent*]. Es el pretexto ¿no? Porque les da vergüenza.
>
> (Tapescript 02)

Amateur campaigners and enthusiasts for the language, like Gustavo and Ichaco, are quite right to place such emphasis on the fact of public denial of Quechua. It is indeed the touchstone of language prestige: for all the public assertions that Quechua is truly Peruvian, that people should be proud to speak it and so on, the real condition of the language is laid painfully bare whenever a speaker addresses another speaker and encounters an embarrassed rejection.

Language choice for the migrant is hence invariably hedged about with tensions and potential problems. The use of Quechua becomes a highly-charged and sensitive part of social activity; to use it, even to admit ones own competence, is to bring into play a host of possible assumptions about the interlocutor and ones relationship to this person (and cf Harvey 1987 on power relations and code choice in Ocongate). In Lima particularly, where there exists the slightest doubt about the nature of this relationship, Spanish is to be preferred. Those who ignore this rule of discourse are liable to make their addressee extremely uncomfortable. As Marco says, to insist on speaking Quechua when the addressee has rejected it is potentially offensive: "*Tratar de hablarles en quechua es como hacerlos sentir mal*" (tapescript 51). The reluctance to speak and discomfort of the addressees can be sensed from Ichaco's account of her addressing market stallholders in Pueblo Libre:

> Por ejemplo yo tengo este... yo me voy al mercado, y les hablo. Y se avergüenzan y me dicen: ay, ¿de dónde...? Yo soy huancaína, yo soy de Huaraz, yo soy de tal sit... de Huánuco, de Cerro de Pasco, pero ¿me estás entendiendo lo que te estoy diciendo? Sí, pero no... no hablo yo... [...] No quieren. No quieren.
>
> (Tapescript 02)

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[72] And see William Pérez's story about the woman addressed in Quechua in a Lima street by her ex-employer, reproduced in chapter 2.

Ichaco is, of course, attempting to show empathy and solidarity; the problem is that it is not at all clear that she is succeeding. It should also be noted that - for all that she is a poorly-paid state schoolteacher and lives in a modest house in Pueblo Libre - Ichaco is of European descent, and learned her Quechua on the Huancavelica *hacienda* owned by her family in the pre-Velasco era. This introduces a fresh set of complicating factors to the equation, noted in chapter 2: her bid to show solidarity could quite easily be interpreted as paternalism or - in the worst case - as a deliberate attempt to downgrade the interlocutor's status as they themselves perceive it, a calculated insult akin to, say, calling a black American man "boy". (And cf Harvey's 1987 account of the defendant who addressed a judge in Spanish and received for his pains a crisp "*¿Manachu runasimita yachanki?*"[73]). Ichaco's appearance and occupation give her the social status necessary to be able to risk speaking Quechua in public; but, critically, she cannot transfer this to her interlocutor. For the more obviously Andean and less obviously bilingual migrant, to use Quechua in public is also to risk one's own humiliation. Ernesto Quispe - a native speaker who is of distinctively Andean appearance and often works as a jobbing carpenter in the poor district of Ate-Vitarte - explains how such a language choice is apt to be viewed:

> Nadie habla. Así es. Nadie habla. [...] Es que al hablar quechua creen que son de otros sitios, hacen mirar menos que ellos. Siempre es así, no es un orgullo hablar quechua.
>
> (Tapescript 40)

As the Linguistic Minorities Project (1985) rightly notes, the factors which influence code choice in a given interaction "are not only those of the wider sociocultural context and range of options, and the more specific details of setting, topic participants, etc..." They necessarily include speakers' "perceptions of their interlocutors' perception of them as individuals" (LMP 1985:117). Every Lima bilingual knows that to insist on using Quechua might be to invite personal ridicule, even from fellow speakers. Marco comments:

> Bueno, en ningún momento pueden ellos este... por el contrario, cuando uno trata de insistirles, hablarles en quechua, es motivo de burla ¿no? Ellos se ríen, festejan con una cuestión digamos este... fogosa ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 51)

Holmes et al (1993), studying the use of Greek, Chinese and Tongan amongst migrants to Wellington, New Zealand, found that the overriding factor governing language choice in a variety of domains was the linguistic proficiency (or rather the *predicted* proficiency) of the addressee. This is no doubt true for many language contact situations (see Grosjean 1982:135-

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[73]"Don't you know how to speak Quechua?"

140). It should be clear, though, both from the above data and from the limited conclusions of Myers (1973), that the factors determining language choice in Lima are very much more complex than this, and that the possible outcomes of that choice are potentially conflictive and emotive. In essence, speakers who choose Quechua in addressing someone other than a close friend or relative, in all but a very few contexts, risk either appearing rude and insensitive or exposing themselves to ridicule. To address someone in Spanish in Lima is always a safe choice and virtually always an appropriate one. To address someone in Quechua in Lima is almost never a safe choice and only in a small number of clearly marked and framed situations could it be considered an appropriate one.

This means that, in terms of the ideologised language attitudes which, it is suggested here, drive the process of shift in Lima, adherence to Spanish in public contexts is available to be rationalised - and quite legitimately - as respect and sensitivity for others' feelings. This is one reason - and a key one - why Quechua is an "invisible" language in the city. It also helps explain why it is so common for speakers to claim that other people are ashamed of speaking Quechua, but *that they themselves are not*. Abel Baldeón, semi-jokingly, makes it a point of *macho* honour[74] that he is not ashamed of his Quechua:

> En la verdad que no quieren, pues, no quieren hablarlo, ¿por qué será?... les dará vergüenza, ¿cuál será su motivo, su problema? Pero yo no tengo vergüenza de nada.
>
> *Tú no tienes vergüenza...*
>
> ¡Nooo-oo!
>
> *...pero ellos sí.*
>
> Ellos, pues. Se acomplejan. Pero yo no. Yo soy varón, y como varón hago respetar lo que... en la verdad es así.
>
> (Tapescript 20)

And yet, like so many others, he never speaks Quechua in Lima unless someone addresses him in the language: that is to say, the decision to speak Quechua is always delegated to others.[75] Where there is no family or *paisano*

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[74]Lindgren (1984) comments that during the process of LS from Finnish to Norwegian undergone by the Kven of Norway, "being ashamed of Finnish seemed typical of women in particular and young women might very consciously create for themselves a new [Norwegian] linguistic identity... In male groups, by contrast, Finnish had a certain status as favourite" (Lindgren 1984:296). Finnish was particularly prized by men who engaged in criminal or non-societally-sanctioned behaviour.

[75]The same phenomenon is noted by Gugenberger (1994) for Arequipa. She suggests that "al utilizar esta estrategia el individuo elude cualquier situación que comporte el antagonismo y afirma su afiliación indistinta, pero incondicional, a los dos grupos culturales o sociales antagónicos" (Gugenberger 1994:4). This is, I think, convincing. The idea of "afiliación indistinta, pero incondicional" to both the *tierra* and the modern, urban community, in particular, exactly describes the loyalties of people like Abel, though Gugenberger perhaps puts too much stress on the supposedly irreconcilable conflict between the two. More generally, while Gugenberger suggests that it is the choice of code in

connection - and even sometimes then - Quechua is always the marked choice of code, the one that risks discomfort or loss of face for oneself and others. To choose Quechua involves questions of class, ethnicity, power relations; it brings to the fore one's sense of self and one's view of others. Using Quechua in Lima is not akin to using Aymara in La Paz, or Urdu in London, or Guaraní in Asunción: it is not a thing to be done lightly and thoughtlessly. In Lima, Quechua is always the marked code.

1.6 "*Mote con cancha*": notions of language purity

In Carmen and Vilma's family, it will be recalled, it was their father who took upon himself the duty of policing the children's language. Vilma remembers:

> Porque yo le he escuchado conversar a mi abuelita, o sea unas conversaciones pues, y... me parecía bonito, me quedé escuchando, por eso llego a entender muchas palabras, pero no las puedo pronunciar, y de corrido no puedo, o sea, falta de práctica, pues [...] Entonces por decir allá a mi abuelita nosotros la escuchamos una con otra cosa, y mi papi agarra y dice o hablas el castellano o hablas quechua. Decídete. Habla una u otra.
>
> *Carmen*: Pero me hablas bien. Uno, pero bien.
>
> *Vilma*: Ah-hah. Entonces uno daba por corregirse en las cosas.
>
> (Tapescript 23)

This recollection of don Luis's behaviour is in some ways very similar to Carmen's above. However, there is a slightly different emphasis. Here don Luis did not simply forbid his mother-in-law to speak Quechua, but scolded the girls themselves, appearing to base his criticism of their language on the notion of its purity: "*Decídete. Habla una u otra*". Certainly he is thinking still to some extent of the risk of confusion and imperfect acquisition, but the injunction is delivered in terms of pure language ("*uno, pero bien*"), by which is meant, presumably, language unadulterated by code-mixing.

This hostility to mixing was compounded at school, where the teachers were wont to tease pupils who let slip words or phrases in Quechua. Vilma again:

> Pero allí también, la profesora entraba al taller, porque decía estás hablando... como en broma decía pue estás hablando mote con cancha[76] [*laughs*]. Entonces el que menos no quería pasar ese rato por decir un momento de vergüenza cuando uno la llamaba la

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itself that is delegated to the interlocutor, it should be noted that - in Lima at least - it is rather the decision to use the *marked* code that is preferred to be left to the interlocutor. As is noted elsewhere, nobody in Lima would have any hesitation in beginning a conversation in Spanish in almost any context.

[76] Mote is boiled corn, *cancha* roast corn. *Mote con cancha* hence signifies two unlike things mixed together.

> atención, entonces ahí es todo de barrio entonces uno se decidía para lo que más se practicaba entonces.
>
> (Tapescript 23)

From what both sisters said about their experience at school and home, it seems more than likely that the object of their teacher's and their father's disapproval was not code-mixing per se, but the use of Quechua. This could possibly be seen as the strict separation of domains, and the enforcement thereof; Vilma, particularly, has internalised an explicit concept of domain separation which excludes mixing. However, given the attitudes of the father in particular, it is far from clear what, for him, would have constituted an appropriate domain for his children's use of Quechua. One might have supposed that a conversation with the children's grandmother would be one such domain; in fact, though, and as was seen earlier, even here the prohibition against Quechua was enforced:

> Lo que... lo que sucedió es que una vez mi papá escuchó pues que mi abuela nos estaba hablando ¿no? en quechua. Entonces dijo ¿no? ¡hablen bien! o sea hablen el castellano. Que con el quechua nos estaba confundiendo. Yo tengo ese recuerdo, ¿no?
>
> (Carmen, tapescript 28)

It can only be concluded here that the ostensible concern for purity in language, like the concern not to "confuse" learners, is no more than a (perhaps unconscious) rationalisation of what is in effect a desire to suppress Quechua entirely. We may guess that the grandmother's conversation referred to was wholly in Quechua; almost certainly the context was appropriate; but still the children (and the grandmother herself!) are enjoined "*¡hablen bien!*" - an order which Carmen helpfully, if unnecessarily, decodes for us: "*...o sea hablen el castellano*".

Vilma's story of the teacher who would upbraid her charges for speaking "*mote con cancha*" contains a parallel moral, which for all that it was left unspoken, was nevertheless not lost on the pupils. As with don Luis, what has the outward appearance of a plea for separation of the languages, for purity and against code-mixing, is understood (and doubtless intended) as an instruction to speak Spanish. This, in any case, was certainly the outcome. Vilma concludes thus:

> Entonces el quechua se ha ido relegando y a los finales pues ya nadie lo practica. Como digo, yo entiendo muchas cosas de oído, pero no las puedo pronunciar.
>
> (Tapescript 23)

Neither Vilma nor any of the other pupils were in any doubt what was expected of them: they stopped speaking Quechua, and Vilma, at least, lost or suppressed what active competence she had acquired.

2.0 "*Se me salió, pues*": the internal control system of the bilingual

Domain separation is strictly enforced (at least as far as the domains of Spanish are concerned); the acceptable domains of Quechua are few and seemingly decreasing; there is acute awareness of the risks involved in choosing to speak Quechua in public: it is, then, no surprise that the urban bilingual lives in a semi-permanent state of linguistic tension, ever wary of letting slip the odd word of Quechua in an inappropriate context. Weinreich (1968) remarks that Romansch-German bilinguals in Switzerland tend (or at that time tended) to be particularly careful not to switch or mix into Romansch in inappropriate contexts (that is, presumably, when talking to a non-speaker who is not well known to them), lest they inadvertently reveal their competence in Romansch and be taken for someone who has failed to integrate into the greater (i.e. *Schwyzertütsch*-speaking) society. The same principle holds true in Lima (and note that Romansch, like Quechua, is a stigmatised language associated with mountain peasants). Indeed, so rare is involuntary code-mixing in most Lima contexts, that when it happens the reaction from listeners is apt to be immediate and marked. Hilda, attending evening classes in a secondary school in Pueblo Libre, told us of the occasion at school just a few days before on which her guard had dropped for a split-second and she revealed herself as a Quechua speaker:

> Si me preguntas... yo no digo nada. O sea... ahora en la clausura por ejemplo, este... se me salió, pues. En quechua... este... [*laughs*] [*A ver...*] No, como estaba en la casa de mi hermana, allí hablamos a veces, y estaba media acostumbrada ya... *ñoqa*,[77] dije. ¿Qué es eso? Quechua, le digo. Ah, ¿tú sabes? Y todos por la novedad, todos se amontonaron, uy, dime, a ver, ¿cómo se llama éste? así [*laughs*].
>
> *O sea que toda la gente en ese momento quería, les daba ganas de saber...*
>
> Sí, sí, a ver, díme, me jalaban, oye, a ver, díme esto, ya [*Percy laughs*] y ya tanto me fastidiaban que decía: ya, no me acuerdo ya eso, les decía [*laughing*].
>
> *Para que ya no te fastidien.*

---

[77] The Quechua first person singular pronoun.

Sí [*laughs*].

(Hilda Otazú, tapescript 46)

Fortunately for Hilda, the reaction from her classmates was quite a positive one, of natural interest and curiosity. But clearly she was rather ill at ease with the attention she was receiving, and disentangled herself from the situation as quickly as possible. The dangers, then, are well illustrated. Hilda made the primary error of not keeping the domains rigidly separated in her mind, and inadvertently carried over a fraction of the code she had been using with her sister in the private/intimate domain a few hours before into the domain of the school, laying herself open to an unpredictable reaction.

It is tempting to speculate whether some of her colleagues did not understand rather more than they pretended. Most students who attend primary or secondary classes in the evenings have, like Hilda, full- or virtually full-time day jobs and are very often first-generation Andean migrants, who might be expected to know at least some Quechua. Hilda clearly suspects that this is the case, and has tried at times to encourage some of them to admit as much, with little success:

¿Y había, o hay, otras... o sea amigas tuyas en el colegio que también hablan quechua?

No, no sé, porque yo le pregunto y me dice no, no sé. ¿De dónde es tu mamá? - de tal sitio - persona de la sierra - mi papá también. ¿Ah, de repente sabes algo? No, no sé. Y... se niegan a... a hablar.

¿Y por qué te parece es que se niegan?

De repente es porque les pueden, o sea, fastidiar. Y... de repente ni les gusta hablar quechua. Allí tengo mi prima, que no le gusta hablar quechua. Y esa habla que - habla media moteado, pues. No le gusta hablar.

(Hilda, tapescript 46)

Hilda's cousin, then, has been more circumspect than her, avoiding the use of her native tongue in any context and sticking doggedly to Spanish, even though she speaks it *media moteado* (i.e. with some of the characteristic pronunciation and syntax of the Quechua speaker). The risk of teasing or worse is ever-present, and perhaps particularly in the context of the school, a highly competitive and conformist environment. We may assume that Hilda will be more careful in future; after all, she is quite aware of the problems that being identified as a Quechua speaker can bring. In the first school she attended in Lima, immediately after her arrival from her native department of Cusco, she recalls:

No podía aprender rápido, para ir al colegio. Y fuí a un colegio de primaria ¿no? y allí me decían: ay, esta cholita... de éstas, [*laughs*] me decían: ¿no sabes hablar castellano? Y... pero yo entendía lo que me estaban diciendo, y a veces me ponía en un rincón, o me iba al baño, allí me sentaba a llorar nada más, y... ya... Yo quería que ya sea hora de salida o algo por el estilo, para irme.

(Tapescript 46)

Her brother, nine year-old Percy, too, learned all too quickly that his native language could be a painful liability in Lima:

Los primeros días que llegué a la escuela, hablaba en quechua, entonces: ese que no sabe hablar el castellano; me jaloneaban de mis pelos [*pulled my hair*].

Qué malos, ¿no?

Me dolía.

(Percy Otazú, tapescript 47)

It is against precisely this kind of miserable experience that parents such as don Luis are trying to protect their children in encouraging them to speak Quechua as little as possible, and to avoid at all costs code-mixing.[78] In the primary school, of course, Hilda's classmates were right in thinking that her Spanish was inadequate; now it is more than adequate - indeed, of a level equivalent to that of any of her Lima-born contemporaries. But the belief remains that anyone who speaks Quechua does not fully control Spanish, and hence Hilda's embarrassment at letting slip a word of Quechua in an inappropriate context several years later.

Even the most careful speaker can let their guard drop momentarily. A 10 year-old boy of Andean appearance, Humberto, had been talking to me in a cafe in Pisco (some four hours south of Lima) for about 30 minutes, without showing the slightest trace of Andean intonation or syntax in his Spanish. I had therefore assumed that he was what he claimed to be, a native-born *costeño* who knew no Quechua. He was then served a soft drink, which had been so efficiently chilled that when he touched the bottle he let out an involuntary "*alaláw!*".[79] When asked about this he admitted, rather sheepishly, that he was in fact originally from Ayacucho and had come to the coast as a

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[78] It should not be overlooked that parents may well be trying, too, to protect *themselves* - from the possible consequences, in terms of familial rancour, of their children's imperfect acquisition of Spanish. Cosamalón (1993a:219) describes a Lima family in which the children "...critican a la madre y expresan su molestia" for their own *moteado* Spanish. That is to say, the mother (who is from Ayacucho) is blamed for passing on the stigmatised speech styles which expose the children to the ridicule of their peers.

[79] This is one of a set of characteristic Quechua interjections which respond to various (visual or tactile) sensory stimuli. *Alaláw!* is a reaction to a sudden sensation of cold; by contrast, *akhakáw!* would be an appropriate reaction to heat.

small child with his parents who were native Quechua speakers. He reported that his parents spoke both Spanish and Quechua to each other; to him they spoke Spanish as a general rule and Quechua only *"a veces"* (and this would certainly be typical). He claimed not to be able to speak much Quechua himself, and indeed appeared to have to think quite hard even to translate such common words as *comida (mikhuna)*, *perro (alqo)* and *gato (michi)*. The fact remains though that he demonstrably had reasonable passive knowledge and at least some active competence in the language; but it took the shock of an unexpected physical sensation to break through his very efficient system of domain separation.

There is an unfortunate irony here: denial and concealment of competence in Quechua are so widespread and unremarkable in Lima (cf Hilda's suspicions about her schoolfellows above) that an Andean migrant who genuinely has little or no real knowledge of the language may not be believed:

> Y yo he sufrido por eso. En mi colegio me decían: ¿de dónde eres? - de Jauja; y en quechua, no sé. Y yo sufría, porque en realidad me estaban llamando mentirosa, directamente. Mentirosa, sabiendo, o como que me hacían sentir que yo no quería de donde era, ¿no?
>
> (Carmen Galarza, tapescript 27)

Likewise María Baldeón:

> Porque siempre, como te repito, siempre he sufrido, a veces siempre la gente me ha dicho, pero si tú eres serrana ¿cómo no vas a saber? ¿No? Y es que como estaban diciendo de frente, tú eres una mentirosa y te haces [...] Sabiéndolo no lo hablas.
>
> (Tapescript 44)

It is bad enough to be wrongly suspected of concealment by cynical *criollos*; worse, one might think, when the suspicion comes from fellow Andeans who do themselves speak Quechua. In either case it calls into question the person's loyalty to the *tierra*, an indispensable touchstone of provincial identity in the capital: "*...como que me hacían sentir que yo no quería de donde era...*" Allardt (1984) comments on this tension:

> [T]here are always some persons, firmly classified by others as members, who actually want to dissociate themselves from the group. Their behaviour is classified and labelled differently in different contexts alternatively as treason, desperate attempts to pass ethnic borders, self-hatred, denial of one's identity, etc. At any rate, their behaviour gets its cultural meaning from their relationshp [sic] to their language minority of origin.
>
> (Allardt 1984:202)

María and Carmen's problem, of course, lies in the nature of this relationship; feeling themselves to be Andean, and not wishing to deny or reject this element of their identity, they do *not* want to "dissociate themselves from the group". Nevertheless, they have little competence in what is perceived deterministically by others to be "their" language. The relation of Andean and national identity to language and culture is discussed in the following chapters. For the present it is perhaps sufficient to note that for all the determined pragmatism that characterises the provincial migrant in Lima, such painful occurrences as the ones Carmen and María relate inevitably bring the migrant face to face with some awkward and potentially disturbing issues of identity, culture and self-image.

2.1 Avoidance of switching or mixing: two case studies

Seen in terms of the above discussion, much of the avoidance and rejection of Quechua in public and even private domains becomes comprehensible. Even where a speaker intends their use of the language to symbolise solidarity or pride, this speaker cannot be sure that their interlocutor will receive it in the same spirit. Likewise, the apparent rule that public use of Quechua equals ignorance of Spanish (and therefore ignorance *tout simple*), internalised by many speakers, leads to a conscious or unconscious policing of one's own language - a process which begins early in life and is encouraged by parents, teachers and peers. It is this individual, defensive mechanism which ensures that Quechua is virtually never heard in the streets of the capital. The following two case studies of speakers deliberately avoiding the use of Quechua may help illustrate the working of this linguistic "cop in the head", as it were, in real speech situations.

2.1.1 The community centre

The following segment was recorded in a community centre in Tablada de Lurín, a dusty settlement in Lima's *cono sur* peopled mainly by Andean migrants. It consists of part of a conversation between two of the elderly Andean women who go there to meet friends and do light handicraft work once a week . The centre is staffed by members of a local charity and a fluctuating number of foreign volunteer workers (the "*señoritas*" here referred to). The first speaker, Julia Falcón, is bilingual but a keen and determined speaker of Quechua when she has the opportunity. The second speaker is her friend Valentina Méndez, also a fluent bilingual but, as will readily be seen, less willing to employ Quechua.

1	*Julia*:	Manam, señoritanchik kuskay pinña...
2	*Valentina*:	Bueno, pasakun.

3 4 5	*Julia*:	Pasakun huk lado nación. Pasakun chhayna, carta tuya leí con señorita hinaqtin temporalmente corazonniy nanaran...
6	*Valentina*:	Pi... ¿ahora quién con nos hemos quedado?
7	*Julia*:	Eh... señoritanallam Fio... señorita Fiona nomás.

(Tapescript 08)[80]

For some minutes prior to the recording of this segment, Julia has been speaking Quechua (though heavily mixed with Spanish, as in the above extract). Valentina has until this point been reserved and rather passive, on the whole restricting her participation in the conversation to agreeing with Julia's propositions, and that in Spanish. This reticence could be attributed to the nature of the exchange (Julia is a forceful speaker) or perhaps to Valentina's unwillingness to engage in a conversation in Quechua. It is difficult to say which is the case; however, a close analysis of the above segment would suggest that the latter is the most likely explanation, for Valentina's conscious reluctance to use Quechua is here clearly illustrated.

In line 2 we see that Julia's insistent use of Quechua has had the effect of "drawing out" the reluctant Valentina; recalling that the previous *señorita* has left for Argentina, she lets slip *pasakun*. At lines 3-5 Julia picks up on this and enlarges on the topic. Valentina, though, is not signalling with her *pasakun* a shift on her part to Quechua. Indeed, line 6 reveals her careful avoidance of such a shift. She starts off with *pi-* and then quickly corrects herself, and recasts the sentence in Spanish. Obviously, though, the morphosyntactic structure of the Quechua is uppermost in her mind: the incorrect word order of the Spanish that emerges demonstrates this beyond doubt. She had surely been on the verge of saying *piwantaq* - that is, "who with?", where the segment *pi-* signifies "who" and the segment *-wan-* "with". The Quechua morphosyntax was reflected in the Spanish thus:

Pi	-	wan	-	taq	...?
Quién		con			...?

Perhaps slightly unsettled by the marked instability of code selection operating in the conversation, Julia elects to repy in both languages. The above exchange would seem to constitute evidence that selection of the appropriate code is not simply a matter of which language happens to be

[80]The following is a very free translation into English of the above segment. It cannot, of course, convey the sense of Valentina's misuse of Spanish word order, nor the mixing of Spanish and Quechua:

Julia: No, our young lady who was with us here.../*Valentina*: Well, she's gone./*Julia*:She's gone to another country. She's gone just like that; I read your letter [from her] with [the help of another] young lady, and I was upset [lit. my heart ached] for a while.../*Valentina*: Wh... Who are we left with now?/*Julia*: Er... Just Miss Fiona. Only Miss Fiona.

dominant in the mind at any particular moment, nor of which language happens to be dominating the conversation: Valentina *actively resists* the temptation to slip into Quechua, even though this is demonstrably the most "natural" code for her at this moment, and instead produces a (finally ill-formed) Spanish utterance.

Julia and Valentina's conversation (and particularly Julia's part of it) may perhaps to some extent be thought of as transpiring through the medium of a "mixed code": it will be recalled that Wölck (1973:138-9) refers to Quechua-Spanish "fusion" in Andean speech. Certainly the speech of some Andean bilinguals can be so heavily mixed that the listener might intuitively feel that the notion of "fusion" is a helpful one in trying to describe it. Mixed code as a relatively unmarked speech style, though, while unremarkable in many Andean settings, is rare in most Lima settings. This is not to say that it will always remain so. Quite clearly, further research needs to be carried out on the possible development of a Quechua-Spanish mixed code in Lima, and might profitably be begun by studying the speech of the *desplazados* and, especially, their Lima-born children. Valentina's obvious discomfort in the segment above, and the fact that this segment is virtually unique in the present research in capturing such unselfconscious mixing, might suggest that such a development is in fact some way off. However, Julia's enthusiastic and fluent mixing (as has been noted, she is a proud and determined speaker of her native tongue) may be regarded as evidence that it is not an impossibility, even given the social strictures operating on the use of Quechua in the capital today.

2.1.2 The school debate

A second instance of avoidance of public mixing/switching comes from a quite different and more formal context, and has a very different outcome. It was related by Efigenia Alarcón, herself a fluent bilingual and a teacher at a primary school in La Parada,[81] where the great majority of children are themselves recent migrants or children of relatively recent migrants.

> Por decir en mi colegio hubo eso de la... parlamentos, de los alumnos. Este... hay niños que se expresan bien. Pero por momentos que... que quiere decir una palabra y... o me llamaban, me decían: señorita, en quechua ¿no? una palabra. Le digo: habla, nomás. Tú di la palabra en quechua [...] Habla en quechua, te van a entender. Entonces habló en quechua y todos le aplaudieron. Todos. Empezando el director, todos. Porque me dijo: has hecho bien de que tu niño exprese la palabra que no podía decirle en castellano, lo dijo en quechua. Porque la mayoría acá son de allá, ¿no?

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[81] La Parada is a poor and rundown district in La Victoria, near central Lima, with an unenviable reputation for violence and crime. Once a bastion of working-class *criollo* culture, it has over recent years, like much of Lima, become home to a large and growing population of Andean migrants, often recent arrivals and often of the very lowest socioeconomic level.

¿La mayoría entiende?

Todos, entonces...

¿Y a nadie le suena raro escuchar una palabra de quechua dentro del castellano?

Uno que otro niño, ¿no? Uno que otro niño. Porque como ellos son nacidos acá y a sus papás les dicen: no me hables quechua, aprenden castellano, porque hasta en probadas pues nos... nos bajan ¿no?

(Tapescript 02)

This incident has several intriguing features, but its essence can be stated quite simply: before a lexical item in Quechua could be included in a Spanish string, permission (and indeed active encouragement) had to come from the authority figure present. The outcome was finally a positive one, and the initial reluctance of the child to use Quechua was overcome; but the speaker's first strategy was one of avoidance. In one sense this is unremarkable: the setting was a formal one, the child was making a speech in front of the whole school, the headmaster was in attendance, and so on. Without a doubt this was a situation which required Spanish.

However - and this goes to the very heart of the issue of language use in Lima - as Efigenia is at pains to point out, virtually everyone present had at least a passive knowledge of Quechua, and the great majority much more than this. The environment sounds to have been a supportive one, the child seems not to have been in any way different or isolated from his schoolmates, linguistically or socially, and he well knew that even his class teacher was an enthusiastic Quechua speaker. And yet his sense of the inappropriacy of even a single, limited occurrence of Quechua in his discourse was such that he instinctively preferred to stop and ask for guidance. The lesser embarrassment was preferred to the greater; it was better to break off, turn to the teacher and ask for a Spanish word, uncomfortable though this must have been, than to invite ridicule by using the Quechua equivalent, *even though he was addressing an audience of Quechua speakers*. Our sense that the boy's eventual use of a Quechua segment, encouraged by Efigenia, was an unusual and even courageous course of action, is confirmed by the description of the reaction accorded it: "*Entonces habló en quechua y todos le aplaudieron. Todos. Empezando el director, todos*". More even than this, it appears that the headmaster afterwards congratulated Efigenia on her handling of the incident. While the story is in many ways a rather encouraging one, it reinforces the distinct impression that code-mixing or switching in such contexts are, in the way suggested by Scotton (1988), behaviours charged with social meaning. Legitimated beforehand by the teacher and afterwards given explicit approbation by the headmaster, the use of Quechua is marked and framed to a quite extraordinary degree.

3.0 Spanish/English mixing and its social context

It was suggested at the beginning of this chapter that the attitudes which drive language shift in Lima are ideologised attitudes, in the sense that they encode a view of language which is ostensibly "common-sense", neutral and value-free, but is actually rooted firmly in the political and historical relationship between the powerful and the powerless in Peru. This is seen with some clarity where the treatment afforded Quechua is compared with that afforded English, a much sought-after and prestigious code at all social levels. It has been shown that learning Quechua is perceived to have a deleterious effect on the learning of Spanish; learning English is not. It appears to be widely felt in Lima that mixing of Quechua and Spanish is apt to bring about negative effects, either (for children) on the speaker's attainment of full competence in Spanish - i.e. the mixing brings linguistic/cognitive disadvantage - or (for everyone) in the sense that anyone hearing such mixing will tend to doubt the speaker's full competence in Spanish - i.e. it brings social disadvantage. Worse, to address a stranger in Quechua is to risk implying that one assumes that person to be a less than competent member of the urban community. A supposed concern for purity of language operates only at the level of discouraging Quechua mixing into Spanish strings: not vice-versa, and emphatically not at the level of mixing or borrowing from English. The following section looks briefly at the way mixing and loaning from English are employed in everyday Lima speech, and compares this with the way Quechua is treated.

It was noted that bilingual parents tend to worry about "confusion" where children are exposed to both Quechua and Spanish, and particularly where the two languages are used side-by-side in the school; equally it has been shown that code-mixing tends to be seen as a symptom of this confusion. It might then be supposed that if English is regarded as unthreatening to the child's acquisition of Spanish, it is because the domains of Spanish and English are clearly separated. However, this is far from the case. Amongst middle and upper-class speakers, heavy intrasentential Spanish/English mixing - perhaps developed during frequent trips to Europe and Miami, and in the "international" schools of wealthy Lima suburbs such as Miraflores and La Molina - has traditionally been regarded as not only acceptable but fashionable.[82] Much of the humour of the stereotypically *pituca* character "la china", or Lorena Tudela Loveday, created by the humorist Rafael León for *Caretas* magazine, derives from her language, liberally sprinkled not only with upper-class Lima slang, but with words and phrases of English and occasional French or Italian:

[82] In one such school, San Silvestre, a teenage pupil was asked - in English - to wash a coffee cup out for me. As she hurried out of the door a classmate asked her where she was going. She replied: *"Voy a washear el cup del mister"*.

> Así que recurrí al *hard disk* de mi cerebro, pucha, apreté *ordinary people* y regio, resolví el problema [...] Y bueno, o sea, al final no dormí *rien de rien* pero pucha, o sea, vi la luz al final del túnel...
>
> (*Caretas* 26/7/95)

As evidence that such functionally superfluous, stylistic code-mixing is not merely the figment of a humorist's overheated imagination we may take the following extract from an interview with the young, upper-class actress and model Ana Cecilia Brozovich, in which she discusses her favourite beaches for the Lima summer:

> De niña iba mucho a la Herradura, pero ahora prefiere el Silencio: "bueno, si está muy *crowded* me voy a Santa María", dice con sus ojos de gata...
>
> (*Somos* magazine, *El Comercio*, 2/3/96)

Intrasentential mixing of English has until fairly recently been largely the province *only* of the middle and upper classes. However, casual observation gives the strong impression that the practice has been moving rapidly down the social scale and has become much more common both in speech and in the print media. Lima informants were in general agreement (though this is naturally rather difficult to pin down) that the major impulse to this phenomenon has been a growing familiarity with the well-documented mixing of *chicanos* in the USA, and particularly areas such as Miami, New York and New Jersey, where the heaviest concentrations of Peruvians are to be found. Usage that is common in these places appears to have been, as it were, re-exported to Lima. This explanation is, I think, a convincing one: until the 1980s, relatively few Peruvians outside the middle and upper classes had had any real contact with the USA. During the 1985-1990 García administration, however, large-scale emigration extended to much wider social circles (Altamirano 1990, 1992).

3.1 Recent anglicisms in working-class Lima Spanish

The following selection of recent urban usages has been culled from a fieldwork diary kept between July 1995 and December 1996. It is of course difficult to be sure what is "recent", but here are included only those usages that were encountered for the first time during the period of fieldwork, and which informants agreed had become current only in the 1990s.

[1] *japi / hapi* < Eng. *happy*

[1a] ¿Cuándo es tu japi?

[1b] María Elena está japi con su nuevo departamento

[2] *men* < Eng. *man*

[2a] Ese tipo se cree el men de todo Villa El Salvador

[2b] El men de la 'U' [a Lima football club]

[3] *full*

[3a] La fiesta... fue de rompe y raja. Mi escabechada de bonito estuvo full.[83]

[3b] Esta semana he estado full chamba ["hard at work"]

[3c] Yo en el verano la verdad que soy full playa

[4] *brodi / brother* < Eng. *brother*

[4a] Hola, brodi, ¿qué es de tu vida?

[4b] Salimos mis brodis y yo

If such usages are considered in structural terms, what seems to be noteworthy is that all have, in varying degrees, been assimilated into Lima slang with transformations at the phonological, grammatical or semantic level. (Orthography is another matter: spellings here are rendered as they have appeared at various times in "popular" newspapers or as suggested by informants). In [1a] the transformation is quite clear: a back-formation from the song "Happy Birthday to You" to convert the English adjective into a noun equivalent to *cumpleaños*. [1b] is superficially obvious, but it should be noted that *japi* here does not occupy quite the same semantic space as the English "happy"; rather, it conveys the sense of "thrilled, delighted". In [2] the word "man" has similarly been rephonologised to the more accessible *men* (the pluralising effect in the original English is disregarded) and the sense transformed to give something like "the big boss". In [3] the rephonologisation extends only to a lengthening and fronting of the vowel, but the senses are wholly new ones, and the word is assigned a different grammatical category, as in [1a]. Example [4] is another rephonologisation, with - possibly - a reallocation of semantic space.[84]

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[83] *Ajá*, 11/11/96, p 4.

[84] It could of course be argued that *brother* as a form of address to a friend, or to a stranger who seems to be a peer, is also employed by some American native-speakers of English, notably young black males. However, I suspect that *brodi / brother* is not borrowed from such speakers, but is rather a semantic calque on Spanish *hermano*.

Thus far, it is suggested, the treatment of input from English is akin to that from Quechua. That is to say, these lexical items are considered an integral (if perhaps in some cases temporary) constituent of certain Lima sociolects, and are submitted to some form of phonological, grammatical or semantic transformation. They are, in short, assimilated loans, only to be considered "mixing" in the sense that speakers are - at times doubtless only vaguely - aware that their provenance is from American English.[85] They might hence almost be compared to the stock of Quechua-derived lexical items in Lima Spanish: *cancha*, *chacra*, *pucho*, *yapa*, *lampa*, *carpa* and so on.[86] The English-derived words are perhaps more marked than these, on Scotton's (1988) marked-unmarked continuum or "gradient", but still carry a very restricted amount of social significance. They are only superficially similar to upper-class usage, which presupposes some knowledge of English and relies on this shared knowledge for stylistic effect (and hence social meaning).[87]

However, a striking innovation in recent years is the appearance of direct replacive borrowings, for the most part rephonologised hardly at all and retaining the semantic properties and grammatical features of the original English. That they remain untransformed at any level, and that they tend to occur at clause margins (and above all in clause-final position) suggests that they could be qualified as examples of stylistic code-mixing, rather than loanwords per se. Examples include:

[5] Este es el frente de mi house.

[6] Estoy con mis negocios, con mi business.

Sin darte cuenta miras atrás y ya hiciste tu primer business.[88]

[7] Y ahí cayó toda mi family.

[8] Fiorella, pásame el libro ese, please.

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[85] The supposed failure of many *limeños* to correctly identify and understand English items is sometimes mocked by more educated speakers. One (possibly apocryphal) tale has a child asking: "¿cuándo viene el circo Hermanos Brothers?" This of course ignores the fact that, as has been noted, many such loans are transformed at one or more levels and thoroughly assimilated. Their provenance and "real" meaning are less important than the function and meaning assigned to them within popular Lima discourse.

[86] These words are commonly used with the following meanings: "roast corn"/"an enclosed space"; "field or agricultural land"; "cigarette end"; "an added extra"; "spade"; "tent". A recent addition would be *huachito*, presumably from Quechua *waqcha* (orphaned, abandoned), for the last ticket in a page of lottery tickets: though it is unclear to what extent the people using this word are aware of its Quechua origin.

[87] Indeed, upper-class usage even extends to a knowing, in-group, jocular adoption of false calques. I have heard, for example: "*estoy con la ruler*". (*Ruler* < *regla*: menstrual period). A rapidly-spreading usage amongst the young is *point* (*point* < *punto de encuentro*), as in: "Ahora hay muchos points: las discotecas, los pubs" ("Andrés" interviewed in Quehacer number 104, 1996, p71). Such usage tends to confirm the impression that the use of English-based lexical items is spreading down the socioeconomic spectrum; where previously the mere deployment of an English word would have been a prestige marker, now the speaker who wishes to mark status difference must demonstrate that he or she has sufficient control of English (and therefore sufficient expensive education or travel) to be able to produce and understand such sophisticated plays on words. The occasional use of French or Italian words, as in the case of the fictional Lorena Tudela Loveday above, no doubt serves much the same purpose. If a basic knowledge of English and trips to Miami are no longer the sole preserve of the rich that they once were, speakers must find other ways to demonstrate the status associated with foreign travel.

[88] *Quehacer* 104, 1996, p 70.

Traditional structural analysis, as above, offers some clues as to how these words are viewed; however, surely more important is their social meaning. In terms of Scotton's (1983, 1988) formulation, these items would be considered highly marked. When speakers use language in this way, it is with real intent: the mixing is "both a means and a message" (Scotton 1988:156). If the English words stand out rather from the surrounding Spanish, it is because they are intended to, and the speaker is attempting through them to project an image of him or herself as modern, urban and streetwise.

Crucially, it is this kind of deliberate, stylistic code-mixing which, in the case of Quechua is - certainly in public, and some extent also, it seems, in private - virtually absent: the self-policing of the bilingual's language, the constant uneasy awareness of domain separation, appropriacy and prestige, appears to work effectively against it. One can barely imagine a speaker saying "este es el frente de mi *wasi*", for though such a usage would be similarly heavily marked, it would be difficult to say, beyond noting that it was presumably jocular, what exactly was intended by it. Marked mixing in Quechua is so rare amongst Lima bilinguals that what Scotton (1988:155) refers to as the "grammar of consequences" or the "script" - that is to say, the model by which an addressee measures and understands a speaker's adherence to or departure from conventional linguistic norms - does not adequately cater for it. It is therefore the more interesting to encounter occurrences of such mixing, though the surrounding context needs to be analysed closely. In the following section a peculiar example of public code-mixing involving both Quechua and English is examined.

3.2 Public code-mixing: la Chola Chabuca

The instance to be discussed here comes from the comic character "La Chola Chabuca", who in 1995-6 became a sensation amongst the *clases populares* in Lima and beyond following a residency on the long-running and enduringly popular TV comedy programme "Risas y Salsa". Chabuca is the creation of Ernesto Pimentel, a working-class, male, *criollo* actor in exaggeratedly Andean women's clothing. The character is made to speak heavily *moteado* Spanish, and is clearly intended to be a Quechua speaker. However, her use of actual Quechua is minimal, restricted as a rule to a symbolic "*kawsachun*" upon greeting the audience.[89]

Chabuca's appearance on "Risas y Salsa" on 09/11/96 began with the character coming out on to the stage and saying, to laughter and applause:

> Kawsachun, amigos, kawsachun, everybody.

[89]Equivalent to the Spanish *viva*. This word is familiar to many non-speakers because of its associations with the Velasco government and because of a Lima newspaper of that name.

How are we to interpret this? Or rather: why is this felt to be amusing? One cause for amusement is simply the incongruous juxtaposition of "modern" English with "old" Quechua. But the joke seems to go deeper than this.

Importantly, part of the comic effect of the character is that she pretends to be socially naive: this traditional *sage folle* ploy gives her a certain leeway to be rude (and often scatological) with the guests who appear with her. I would cautiously suggest that the comic element of the above utterance lies not just in the inappropriateness of the language configuration, but in what it implies about the character. It is considered fashionable and prestigious to mix English with Spanish, as we have seen. "*Buenas noches, amigos, buenas noches, everybody*" would hence be an acceptable jocular opening. However, the supposedly unsophisticated Chabuca has failed to understand the rules of the game: noting that English/Spanish mixing is prestigious, she extrapolates from this the mistaken notion that it is *code-mixing itself* that is prestigious, and can be applied equally to Quechua. Of course, it cannot: it would be a very unworldly speaker, a *recién bajadita* indeed, who would dream that this was the case. The humour, then, perhaps derives from her provincial error: striving for social prestige, she unwittingly betrays her lack of metropolitan sophistication. The audience laugh because here the constant tension of the bilingual in Lima, a tension rooted in ideologised attitudes to language and embedded in the individual over a lifetime, is brought into the open and acknowledged.

Chapter Five

The socio-psychological associations of Quechua and their influence on language shift

Part One

"*Nosotros, natural nomás*"

Attitudes to dialectal variation

> Dialects, like the poor, are always with us.
>
> (Pei 1952:58)

Introduction

The absence of a supra-regional standard Quechua (and a corresponding orthography) has been a thorn in the flesh of linguists and language activists, in Peru and beyond, for many years. The effort to create such a standard - or rather to agree on one - still forms one of the main strands, and one of the most controversial, in contemporary Quechua studies (see for example Wölck 1977, 1991, Cerrón-Palomino 1987b). How - or perhaps if - this problem is ever to be resolved need not concern us unduly here; the salient fact, insofar as the study of Quechua LMLS in Lima is concerned, is that no common standard is felt to exist, either by academics or by "ordinary" speakers.

This first part of chapter 5 examines the context of this perception and, most importantly, its effects on the use of Quechua in Lima. It will be argued that, given the historically-rooted glottocentrism of Quechua speakers, speakers have a marked tendency to view other dialects of the language - even geographically contiguous and linguistically similar ones - as being alien, amusing, incomprehensible, ugly and so on. It is suggested that this tendency helps to explain why, as was seen in chapter 2, Quechua is largely restricted to family and *paisano* interaction. There it may function as a symbolic code of solidarity and togetherness; it does not, though, as a rule, function as a unifying code for wider social groups. Indeed, in the Peruvian context at least, it may even serve to highlight difference and divergence. As a result, a key social function of a "minority" code - that of defensive group solidarity - is absent in Lima, and a potential use of Quechua is hence suppressed, and replaced by the popular, urban variety of Spanish.

Section 1 below illustrates how speakers tend to elide the notions of "Quechua speaker" and "speaker of one's home dialect". Section 2 sketches out

the theoretical background to this metalinguistic discourse, and draws on some comparative examples. In section 3 data from informants is presented and analysed in order to show the workings of the process in practice.

1 "*No hay con quién conversar*": the question of a suitable interlocutor

Opinions vary as to the number of Quechua speakers resident in Lima, and the problems involved in reaching an accurate figure are self-evident. Quite apart from anything else, the notion of what constitutes a "speaker" is exceedingly problematic: the notional community of speakers certainly includes many "forgetters", "deniers", semi-speakers and fully competent native speakers or lifelong bilinguals who, though, virtually never use the language in daily life. According to a source within the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, the total of "speakers", however defined, may be some 800,000[90]; popular opinion seems to think in terms of millions more. Certainly there is no difficulty in finding speakers of the language, virtually anywhere in the city and at virtually any social level. All of this makes it the more puzzling why, when asked if they use Quechua in the city, so many respondents are apt to reply along the lines taken by Julia Falcón:

> Hace tiempo también, como no hay con quién conversar en quechua, no tengo con quién conversar.
>
> (Tapescript 08)

Abel Baldeón, who agreed that in his daily work (as a *cobrador* on a bus route in the *cono sur*) he met many people who were clearly Quechua speakers, still seemed to find no inconsistency in claiming that there were few people in the capital with whom to speak:

> Y... y acá en la capital es muy poco la persona que puede... así, este, hablarte quechua, pues. [...] La única que hablaba era mi abuela pero ya ha fallecido ya. [...] Con ella sí, conversaba, hablaba, y tengo otra abuelita que...
>
> *¿Pero eso acá en Lima?*
>
> No, allá, allá. Acá no, acá no. Allá en la sierra. Acá nada. Y tenía una abuelita que era su... su madrastra de mi abuelito que ahorita está

[90]Source: AMLQ spokesman, Radioprogramas del Perú, 14/2/96. The uncertainty surrounding this issue, though, may be gauged from the fact that the actual President of the AMLQ assured me there were "two to three million" speakers in Lima (Dr Juvenal Pacheco, personal communication, 1996). The provenance of such figures is entirely unclear, and one is forced to the conclusion that they are impressionistic estimates.

presente, está vivo... Con ella, ella sí tiraba una quechua pero, uuy, salsa y limonada.

(Tapescript 20)[91]

Hilda Otazú, too, explains her very restricted use of Quechua in Lima in terms of other people's behaviour: that is, there is no-one who is able or willing to speak Quechua with her:

Pero ya después, parecía... como uno no se comunica mucho en quechua me iba olvidando así. No sabía con quién conversar.

(Tapescript 46)

On the surface, this information seems contradictory. The informants seem to be suggesting that, given the opportunity (and they define this in terms of "having someone to talk to") they would be happy to speak Quechua. They all meet people every day who are speakers - indeed, in the parts of Lima where they live (Tablada de Lurín, Villa El Salvador and Pueblo Libre, respectively) one can hardly avoid doing so - and yet all claim that they can find no-one to speak to. Given the presumably large numbers of speakers resident in the capital, how is this apparent anomaly to be explained?

One possible pointer to what is happening may be found in what the same informants said elsewhere. Compare, for example, Julia's and Hilda's references to the effect of learning Spanish on code choice:

Conversaba... con mis primos sí comprenden quech... castellano. Ya como estudiaron en el pueblo ya saben ya ahora castellano. Entonces yo converso con mi tía, mi tías en cambio no saben nada, y yo converso...

(Julia, tapescript 08)

Con mi hermana también conversaba, pero poco. Ya cuando aprendí el castellano ya no hablaba mucho ya.

(Hilda, tapescript 46)

This seems to take us back in the direction of the phenomenon discussed in the preceding chapter: "*hablar quechua significa que tú no sabes hablar castellano*". That is to say, in urban contexts Quechua is often perceived as an

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[91] Abel's insistent "*No, allá. alla. Acá no, acá no*" recalls the fixed sense of the territorial distribution of Quechua (typically described in terms of the *allá/acá* distinction) discussed in chapter 2.

unmarked code only when Spanish is not available as an alternative. Hence doña Julia used to speak Quechua with her *primos*, but when they went to school and learned Spanish, this became the preferred code; however, she still uses the language with her *tías* who are monolinguals (and do not, in any case, live in Lima: she is presumably referring to her visits to the *sierra*, or of visits by the *tías* to Lima). Likewise, Hilda used to speak Quechua to her sister when she first arrived in Lima and could not speak Spanish: now that she has acquired Spanish, as often as not they use this code between themselves.

This, then, constitutes one aspect of the process of language shift, and it is described in detail elsewhere. However, a further clue to the process lies in the informants' references to the people with whom they do speak Quechua, or used to speak Quechua: "*primos*", "*tías*", "*mi abuelita*", "*su madrastra de mi abuelito*", "*mi hermana*". The speaking of Quechua appears to be essentially a family business; or, bearing in mind the latitude traditionally allowed in Latin American culture in the interpretation of kinship terms like "*tías*" and "*primos*", a *paisano* business. This was suggested by Myers (1973), and is amply confirmed by the present respondents.

But why, exactly, should Quechua be restricted to family or village (or - less often - province, or department) social networks? It is here suggested that, in addition to the pressures working to discourage Quechua in the city that have already been described, and which may be in large part attributed to "external" forces (eg the dominant/oppressive nature of urban society and the ascendancy of the Spanish language), there is a further, *internal* pressure working against Quechua which is rooted in the dialectal variation (we might even say fragmentation) of the language, and, above all, speakers' attitudes to this variation. Hence when people say "*no hay con quién conversar*", they are perhaps not in reality suggesting that there is a lack of Quechua speakers per se in the capital, but that they lack ongoing contact with *speakers of their own dialect* - which of course recalls the importance of the sense of place, of rootedness in environment, which was highlighted in chapter 2. Put crudely, to speak "Quechua" is not enough: one must speak to one's *paisanos*. These being unavailable, or unwilling to speak Quechua, it is preferable to adhere to the unmarked urban code.

It might therefore be suggested that the statistics that are bandied around for numbers of Quechua speakers in the capital, in addition to being wholly unreliable, actually conceal as much as they reveal, in the sense that they imply a linguistic homogeneity, or at least a sense of linguistic unity, that is quite unreal. Cerrón-Palomino (1989b:26) notes that the urban centres of the coast have become "microcosms of the overall plurilingualism of the country". In the case of Quechua, this means that, inescapably, all the communication problems inherent in the differing dialects of the language in the Andes, the

heterogeneity of Andean culture and speakers' attitudes towards dialectal variation (Torero 1974, Mannheim 1991, Harvey 1987, Heath & Laprade 1982) are reproduced in Lima.

2.0 Differential comprehension and differential recognition of language varieties

The question of mutual comprehensibility of dialects or varieties, and that of recognition (by which is here meant their being recognized or acknowledged by an individual speaker as legitimate fellow varieties of the speaker's own language) are issues that are perceived only to a limited extent in terms of "objective" linguistic phenomena. An obvious first problem is that while some language varieties are, intuitively, obviously "similar" to one another, and others obviously "different", such seeming absolutes exist only in relative terms, and wherever varieties have contact or a historical relationship, their relationship tends upon close inspection to become blurred and fluid. Spanish and French are "different" in the minds of most people (or at least of most Europeans); but clearly they are more different from each other than are Catalan and Occitan, and less different than are, say, Arabic and Russian. Hence whenever two varieties are compared by speakers, it is with the underlying sense of their *relative* difference or similarity.

This fact takes on great importance where the speakers in question have had exposure to few varieties other than their own, and/or have not achieved basic literacy in a common standard. Dorian (1987) comments that:

> [I]t can be hard to appreciate the aversion among self-conscious and underconfident dialect speakers to 'strange' forms of the 'same' language. Because of inadequate or absent literacy, experience in relating local forms to other forms via an intervening standard form to which each can be referred is also lacking, and the effort involved in working out the equivalences necessary to easy understanding is correspondingly greater.
>
> (Dorian 1987:60)

In the context of the Peruvian Andes - where no accepted standard form of Quechua exists, where illiteracy is still common, and where literacy would in any case almost invariably mean literacy *in Spanish* - Dorian's remark has particular resonance.

A second problem is that underlying linguistic phenomena (morphosyntactic systems, phonemic distribution and so on) exist at several removes from the consciousness of the ordinary speaker. To take an admittedly extreme example, the historical or comparative linguist may note with interest the corresponding distribution of the phonemes /p/ and /f/ in the Indo-European family (English *five*, German *fünf*, compared with Greek *penta*, Hindi-Urdu

panch and so forth); the ordinary speaker of English, though, would be unlikely to see any correspondence whatsoever between their own language and that of an Urdu-speaker beyond the surface one of lexical borrowing. Where the language specialist sees correspondence and similarity, the layperson is apt to register only difference.

It is unsurprising that many speakers tend to define (or tend to claim to define) whether another's language is the "same" or "similar" to their own by the yardstick of intelligibility. Even this apparently straightforward test, however, is less reliable than it seems. Intelligibility and recognition between languages or varieties may not be mutual, but unilateral, or at least subject to a greater or lesser degree of imbalance. Indeed, perfect, balanced mutual intelligibility is probably a rather rare occurrence. Portuguese speakers are typically very much more comfortable with Spanish than are Spanish speakers with Portuguese; this particular imbalance may perhaps be due in part to the phonological systems of the languages, but differential exposure or access to other varieties, too, may cause an imbalance. In practice this means that powerful, widespread or prestigious varieties are the most readily understood and the most readily recognised as legitimate. Intelligibility may also be restricted to a certain medium. If the group of dialects spoken in China can be collectively known as Chinese (see Wardhaugh 1992:119), it is largely because they share a common script; the spoken dialects of, for example, Guangzhou and Beijing are not mutually intelligible. An opposite case would be that of Serbian and Croatian varieties of Serbo-Croat: orally mutually comprehensible, but written in different scripts. Intelligibility may be restricted to certain domains and discourses. Hindi and Urdu share a good deal of common lexical stock, amongst other core constituents, but the historical religio-cultural divide of South Asia means that communication between anything other than highly educated speakers of the two languages could become problematic if the topics broached were of an abstract or culturally-specific nature.

It should also be noted that all of the above, crucially, assumes an ideal situation: one in which speakers of two language varieties make their judgements about the other's variety as much as is possible on strictly functional, pragmatic grounds (i.e. are willing to consider the other variety primarily as a communicative system, rather than as a mark of national, regional or ethnic identity, a carrier of culture etc); are motivated to understand the other; are sympathetic interlocutors; and maintain a consistent judgement of the other variety regardless of situation. Needless to say, this is often not the case. The will to understand is imperative to successful communication; it is entirely useless for the linguist to insist that two speakers use objectively similar varieties and therefore *should* understand each other, if they are themselves convinced that they do, or should, not. Such will to understand is subject, too, to shifting cultural and political circumstances; Isoko speakers in Nigeria tend to insist that they cannot understand speakers of other languages in the same Urhobo family, even where these speakers have no difficulty in understanding Isoko (Wardhaugh

1992:39). As Wardhaugh observes, this is doubtless related to a contemporary movement for ethnic recognition and political autonomy. The same principle applies to the question of recognition: the historical link between Malay and the Indonesian national standard, Bahasa Indonesia, tends to be emphasised or downplayed by the authorities in Jakarta depending on current domestic and regional political imperatives (see Heath 1984, and cf Alisjahbana 1971).

Certainly objective linguistic analysis often proves a poor weapon when measured against speakers' dearly-held prejudices: Hendricks (1991) notes that amongst the Shuar of Ecuador, fellow Shuar are recognised and defined (and hence protected from violent assault) by their control of the supposedly unique language. To attack a person who understands this language is unthinkable. However, this proscription is abandoned with regard to the traditional enemy, the Achuar, who in fact - or rather, in objective linguistic terms - speak a closely related and mutually intelligible language: the similarity in language is simply denied (Hendricks 1991:62-63). A similar desire for symbolic differentiation through language has been observed, too, amongst other Amazonian peoples (Heath 1984). Thus where a language or variety functions societally as a primary symbol of identity or ethnicity, perceptions of its relation to other languages or varieties - and even perceptions of its comprehensibility - may be shaped by political, cultural, ethnic or social considerations before strictly linguistic ones. Typically, in such cases perceptions of the comprehensibility of a variety will vary as societal or individual factors vary. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller remark (1982:163) that "in popular usage... linguistic labels are culturally-conditioned". This is quite true: but in addition, such labels may be individually-conditioned, and subject to shift and re-interpretation at any time.

3.0 Attitudes to dialectal differentiation in Quechua

This leaves us with the question of how Quechua speakers perceive dialects other than their own. Julia Falcón, from Ayacucho, was asked if she ever spoke Quechua to her companions in the day centre at Tablada:

> Sí, algunas ayacuchanas. Acá por ejemplo la señora también sabe hablar quechua pero eso es Huaraz. Habla, no habla como nosotros bien claro. Sí.
>
> (Tapescript 08)

This is par for the course: speakers of Quechua II dialects routinely describe Quechua I as being "unclear" or "harsh": but at least Julia did not claim that it was unintelligible. Marco Escudero, from Ancash, gave quite simply the reason that he did not use Quechua with his mother-in-law from Ayacucho - they could not understand each other. Other respondents volunteered the same; Denis, who speaks the dialect of Oyón in the department of Lima, was

in no doubt that if he were ever to travel to Cusco - which he has not, and is most unlikely ever to do - his Quechua would be of little use to him:

> Yo por ejemplo me voy digamos al Cusco, me hablan en quechua, yo no entiendo, porque ellos tienen otro... otro... *[otro dialecto...]* dialecto, sí pues.
>
> (Denis Ballardo, tapescript 06)

Marco and Denis are unlikely to be exaggerating; it is beyond doubt that many of the dialects of Quechua I are mutually unintelligible with many dialects of Quechua II (Torero 1974). However, it is important to note that the consciousness of *dialectal variation does not stop there: far from it. The* deep-rooted glottocentrism *of the Quechua speaker often has the effect of* rendering *virtually all other dialects of the language to some degree "strange"* or "incomprehensible", whether this is expressed in terms of aesthetic quality, pronunciation, lexis, intonation or whatever. As will be seen, this "interdialect intolerance" (Dorian 1987:60) applies even to dialects that are geographically close-by and demonstrably - to the outsider - closely related.

3.1 "*Nosotros, natural nomás*": glottocentrism and locality

As was seen in the last chapter, the Alarcón sisters, from Huancavelica, are educated, professional women, determined and enthusiastic speakers, keen to demolish the prejudices that they perceive to impede the use of Quechua in Lima and extremely receptive to the notion of a pan-*sierra* migrant identity. They are, in short, a classic example of the amateur campaigning *quechuista*, and are in that sense rather different from most of the more pragmatic, locally-oriented migrants in this study. It should be recalled that Ichaco and Efigenia, being "untypical" speakers - that is, obviously not *campesinas* - are relatively well-placed to break the rules and attempt the public use of Quechua without loss of face (see discussion in chapter 2, section 2.2.0). They therefore act on their strong desire to make common cause with other Andean people and use their native language. The reaction of embarrassment and rejection is entirely unsurprising; as has been seen, this is just the kind of response that might be expected in these circumstances. However, the point to be stressed here is that the Alarcón sisters can be seen in their daily linguistic behaviour to be trying to break down barriers; they address people other than family and *paisanos* in Quechua, thereby claiming a common identity based on language and geography.

Their views on dialectal variation, nonetheless, are entirely traditional: when the subject of dialect is broached, in an instant the impulse towards common identity vanishes, difference is stressed, and the essentially *local* aspect of what it means to be a native speaker comes implacably to the fore. This is seen with some clarity in the following segment, where Efigenia Alarcón moves effortlessly from a denunciation of *limeños* who do not wish to

acknowledge the national and unifying nature of the language to an entirely locally-oriented - and in that sense actually *divisive* - comparison of their own group of dialects to that of neighbouring Cusco, in which Cusco naturally comes off badly:

> Pero yo les digo: si ustedes son peruanos, como peruanos debemos saber nuestro idioma que es el quechua. Eso debíamos hablar primero, después castellano, ¿no? Entonces la gente por decir, de acá de Lima, se asombran al escucharnos hablar. Y hay muchas que me dicen: enséñame, cómo se dice esto o el otro, para que cuando vayan al mercado no... las vivas pues no... se las comen vivas en los precios.[92] Entonces uno que le habla quechua y ya dice ah no, no le voy a engañar.
>
> Ahora actualmente el quechua cusqueño como el de nosotros, hay palabras similares. Pero en el quechua, el cusqueño, es la pronunciación más ruda, más áspera. No es tan dulce y expresiva como la nuestra, ¿no? o sea de Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac. Es más dulce. Una palabra te puede decir varias.
>
> (Tapescript 02)

Efigenia clearly has a wider frame of reference than the usual; she supports a whole dialect group rather than a village variety. The local principle, though, remains constant. It is striking here to note how an aesthetic judgement on the phonetic or intonational features of the southwestern variety of Quechua ("*es más dulce*"), which are presumably thought of as particular to that group of dialects, is linked seamlessly to a judgement on morphosyntactic properties, which are of course shared by all the dialects - "*una palabra te puede decir varias*". The objectivity of the pan-Andean *quechuista* slips here, albeit momentarily: the best and most attractive Quechua is represented by Efigenia's native dialect, or by the dialects most closely related to it.

Indeed, the very notion of what constitutes the entity known as "Quechua" is subject to interpretation and shift, construed according to place, person and occasion. José Baldeón, from Llocllapampa, near Jauja, in the department of Junín, is asked an apparently straightforward question:

> *Y usted señor, usted también habla quechua ¿no?*
>
> *José*: Sí, yo hablo quechua, Ayacucho también un poco.

---

[92] The rationale behind this idea seems to be that of employing Quechua as a bid for solidarity, to position oneself (legitimately or not) as a speaker and thus obtain a better price. Scotton (1988:167-168) describes how a man on a bus in Nairobi successfully obtained a discounted fare after addressing the conductor in their shared code, Lwidakho, instead of the unmarked urban code of Swahili. In Lima such a bid coming from a non-*paisano*, and particularly from non-native speakers, as in the case of Efigenia's friends, is most unlikely to be successful, for the reasons given in this chapter.

Luis: ¿Ah sí? Caramba... Ayacucho también [*Laughter*] [...]

José: Huancayo también, tiene otro, sí pues.

Luis: Sí pues, otro es pues, eso estoy diciendo pues.

(Tapescript 43)

The reply is a revealing one; *quechua* is the name of the dialect which he happens to speak, while *Ayacucho* (and perhaps *Huancayo* - this phrase is ambiguous) denotes another dialect or even language. In addition, the very mention of the language brings forth a spontaneous comment, immediately reinforced by don Luis, about the *differentness* of the various dialects. It is unsurprising that Ayacucho Quechua (a dialect of Quechua II) is identified as different from Jauja Quechua (a dialect of Quechua I); but that both men then go on to identify the Quechua of neighbouring Huancayo as equally different bespeaks a distinctly Andean glottocentrism. As will be seen, this conception of differentness, of variety, is close to the surface of almost any Quechua speaker's metalinguistic awareness.

Before retirement don José travelled widely in the central and southern Andean region in connection with his work, and thus had exposure to several different dialects. For the less well-travelled, with an overwhelmingly local conception of the language, even the dialects of neighbouring departments can seem impossibly remote and alien, and places, dialects and languages may become confused. Cecilia Quispe, from Chincheros, Cusco, makes bracelets and necklaces which she sells in local markets. In her 50s, she has never been outside the department of Cusco. When she is asked where else in Peru Quechua is spoken, the limits of her metalinguistic knowledge are very quickly reached:

En Ayacucho hablan el quechua que dicen aymara. [*Quechua...*] Aymará... aymará hablan. Otra idioma es aymará. Nosotros ahí no sabemos nada. Los que son de allá de Huancayo...

¿Y en Ayacucho también?

Allá en Ayacucho hablan también diferente.

¿Qué más me cuenta de los otros...los otros...?

Por ejemplo buenos días, decimos *ama llulla, ama qella, ama suwa* en quichua. ¿No? *Ama María purísima*.

(Tapescript 34)[93]

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[93] Doña Cecilia's equation of the *ama* of the *código incaico* (see chapter 2) with a rephonologised version of the Spanish/Latin "Ave Maria" presents an intriguing case; first of misrecognition of codes, and second, of how the

Don José regarded "Quechua" as being his own dialect. For Rubén, a speaker now resident in Lima but interviewed on a visit back to his home village of Cajas in the Huancayo area, where in some circles a folk memory of (pre-Incaic) Wanka independence still exists, the same distinction exists in reverse. What he speaks is *not* Quechua[94]:

> El dialecto de acá, por ejemplo, dice, hay diferencia bastante, porque: ¿Adónde nos vamos mañana? en el dialecto de acá dicen: *yala wala maytan risun*, por ejemplo en quechua dicen: *paqarinmi chaymantaq rikusunchik*.[95] Ves.
>
> (Tapescript 26)

There is often little or no real awareness amongst speakers of a dialect continuum: neighbouring varieties are perceived as quite different from one's own.[96] The local linguistic geography is hence seen in terms of sharply contrasting - *and basically mutually unintelligible* - dialects. Here Gustavo and Rubén talk about the dialect of Hualhuas, a textile-producing town of some 3,000 inhabitants a few kilometres from Huancayo, near their own village of Cajas:

> *Gustavo*: La diferencia entre, digamos, Huancayo, ya más allá digamos a Hualhuas [*Rubén*: Cerro de Pasco] no, acá nomás, Hualhuas, acá nomás hermano [*Rubén*: Hablan quechua, papá; dialecto wanka no hablan]. No hablan, no hablan. Entonces y siendo 5 o 6 kilómetros, no, a distancia de Huancayo, ¡ya no! [*emphatically*], ya no hablan.
>
> *¿Pero se entiende algo?*
>
> *Rubén*: Nada.
>
> *Gustavo*: [*grudgingly*] Aa-algo, quizá.
>
> (Tapescript 26)

"foreign" segment is then rephonologised and reinterpreted until it "becomes" Quechua. A similar Bolivian case is analysed by Howard-Malverde (1995).

[94]Ortiz (1996) uses the example of Wanka ethnicity and language to make an intriguing suggestion. He claims that the notion of differentiating oneself in these terms from other groups is a recent one, and will have more importance for town-dwellers and *castellanizados* than for monolingual *campesinos*. These last will think in terms of their village or *ayllu* rather than anything wider or more abstract. In the case of Rubén, this came very close to the truth. He and his brother (bilingual migrants now well-established in Lima) were passionate about their Wanka identity. However, a monolingual woman whom he talked to shortly after this interview (conducted near Huancayo) showed no interest whatsoever in the concept, and in fact infuriated Rubén by failing repeatedly to understand what he meant by "Wanka" as opposed to "Quechua".

[95]"Where are we going tomorrow?" in dialects of Quechua I and II respectively.

[96]Cf Wardhaugh (1992:81) on perceptions of the creole continuum in Haiti, where despite the fact that each speaker in a bilateral encounter may converge towards the other until very much the same point is reached, one might continue to insist that what they themselves are speaking is "French", the other that they are speaking *patois*.

The reality and importance of these distinctions in the speakers' minds is not to be doubted. Indeed, the extent to which Andean communities may perceive themselves as different from each other is apt to be underestimated by outsiders unattuned to the nuances of "internal" differentiation. There may be deep-rooted and ancient distinctions (and not infrequently animosities) not just between neighbouring villages (see for example Isbell 1992 on two neighbouring communities in Ayacucho) but between the different moieties of the same village (see for example Skar 1994 on Matapuquio). These feelings of differentness are often expressed, as has been suggested, at a linguistic level; they may even be associated with ideas of competence and ethnic loyalty. In the following segment, bundles of isoglosses are perceived metaphorically by Gustavo as a *cinta* which divides the communities of Cajas and Hualhuas. The people of Hualhuas are perceived simultaneously as not wishing to speak Quechua; as speaking worse Quechua than the people of Cajas, and even worse Spanish (cf the discussion of semilingualism in chapters and 7); and as being arrogant into the bargain:

> Entonces, qué tal diferencia, por eso yo digo: oye, ustedes se sienten mucho; qué tal diferencia entre Cajas y Hualhuas, que una cinta pasa, digamos, la zona limítrofe, Cajas habla quechua y Hualhuas ya no. No pues, pero no habla ni bien el quechua, ni bien el castellano.
>
> (Gustavo, tapescript 26)

Elva Churampi, meanwhile, is at some pains to stress just how different (and unpleasant-sounding) is the dialect of Llocllapampa, even though this small town lies only some two or three kilometres from her village:

> Y el pueblo vecino al frente tenía otro quechua que, no nos gustaba, tenía bastante dejo.[97] Nosotros, natural nomás [...] Sí, es diferente. No le digo al... acá a Llocllapampa por ejemplo le agregaban otros más, sus dejos, no sé como se dice, sí.
>
> (Tapescript 28)

As with don José, her own dialect is the measure for all: "*Nosotros, natural nomás*". And as with Torero's (1974:42) informants, she resorts to comparisons with famously unintelligible foreign languages to describe just how difficult and alien other dialects are:

> De partes de Ayacucho también, partes entiendo, pero hablar no puedo. Parece inglés...
>
> (Tapescript 28)

[97] To have a *dejo* is to have a regional or foreign accent.

Aesthetic judgements on others' speech were rarely lacking. As we have seen, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, when conversation tends towards the metalinguistic, it is a favourite pastime of Quechua speakers to disparage dialects other than their own. Doña Elva described with relish the fun she had at the expense of some *ayacuchanos* on a visit to her daughter Carmen in Villa El Salvador:

> Es que mi hija tenía vecinas en Lima, y ahí también llegaban. Así, por qué se vendrían... por motivo de trabajo... así, gentes humildes... así, analfabetos. Llegaban hablando quechua, buscando trabajo [...] Por ejemplo a veces escuchábamos, nos parecía broma, a las señoritas decían *pasñacha*,[98] y nosotros nos reíamos y comparábamos a nuestras amigas: oye *pasñachas* les decíamos.
>
> (Tapescript 28)

These people's poverty and illiteracy ("*gentes humildes... analfabetos*") is associated with their speaking Quechua within earshot in the city; as was seen in chapter 4, this is entirely to be expected. However, it appears further to be associated with their use of comical or strange Quechua - which in reality of course is simply their Ayacucho dialect.

It is demonstrably not the case that all dialects of Quechua are mutually incomprehensible. While speakers at either end of the dialect continuum of the language may not understand each other or even accept the other speaker's code as a dialect of Quechua (Torero 1974:36-43), there is a good deal of relatively painless mutual comprehensibility along the continuum. Wölck (1991), assessing the potential for a new *quechua general*, maintains that there exists sufficient internal cohesion and external distinctiveness amongst the dialects for them to be considered parts of a single system, and that they are hence less dissimilar than is often claimed (not least, presumably, by their own speakers). He further notes that the Ayacucho variety, which can claim the greatest number of speakers, shares mutual intelligibility with the varieties of Cusco, Bolivia and perhaps Ecuador.

However, the fact remains that the difficulties (whether linguistic, socio-psychological, or both) caused by having to listen to an unfamiliar dialect - or one that is just different - seem often to be sufficient to trigger a shift into Spanish where this is a viable option. Dorian (1987) gives a Scottish example which appears to parallel the Quechua case rather closely:

> [A] west-coast speaker of Scottish Gaelic complained to me once that she wished a certain woman in her neighborhood would just speak English to her instead of insisting on using a nonlocal (but also western) Gaelic dialect, as it was such a bother trying to 'translate'

---

[98] Equivalent to Spanish *señorita*.

the other dialect forms into local equivalents at high-enough speed for easy communication.

(Dorian 1987:60)

That an under-confident semi-speaker in Peru would have similar problems is quite understandable. However, even for the confident and fully competent speaker, the linguistic ethnocentrism associated with Quechua speakers (Mannheim 1991, Cerrón-Palomino 1988, Hornberger 1988. and see below), demonstrated rather clearly by the reluctance of some of Torero's (1974) respondents to acknowledge other dialects as legitimate varieties of Quechua, may hamper understanding or the *will* to understand. If, in addition, both or all speakers in a speech situation also control Spanish, and the encounter takes place in an urban area, clearly there would have to be exceptionally strong motivation - on both sides - for the conversation to be continued in dissimilar Quechua dialects, when the option exists of switching to the relatively neutral, problem-free and societally-sanctioned code of Spanish.

3.2 "*Nosotros decimos* unu": the perception of differentness and divergence

The differentness of Quechua dialects is a perceived phenomenon emphasised - quite spontaneously - by virtually all the informants in the present study. Indeed, it appears to be one of that bundle of received ideas which make up many Peruvians' conception of the language, whether or not they are actually speakers of a particular variety. Wölck's (1977, 1991) attempts to lay this particular ghost on purely linguistic grounds are surely doomed to failure if, as seems to be the case, speakers have a socio-psychological preference for maintaining it. Likewise Cerrón-Palomino's (1989b) complaint, that the emphasis laid on dialectal difference by such organisations as the Summer Institute of Linguistics undermines the unity of Quechua speakers, fails to acknowledge the fact that ordinary speakers (i.e. not self-consciously "unificationist" language campaigners) themselves feel these differences to be very important indeed. What Milroy (1982:208) calls the "...tendency of speakers to seize upon, and magnify, relatively trivial differences to symbolise group distinctiveness" is a particularly firmly-established feature of Andean metalinguistic discourse, and cannot be simply wished away.

It might be said, then, that - in Peru at least - control of a variety of Quechua functions less as a symbol of ethnicity per se than of region or place of origin, often at the most local level. This must in part be due to its historical development as a geographically (and ethnically) widespread language, lacking the cultural homogeneity and comparatively narrow distribution of Aymara (Heath & Laprade 1982). Even the pan-imperial *koine* of the Inca state did little to alter the underlying multilingualism of the Andean region: Mannheim (1991:33) describes the area at that time as a "linguistic mosaic". While the Spaniards did much to disseminate the *lengua general* over their

new territory - and a great deal more than is acknowledged by popular opinion in Peru - command of the language was never uniform either socially or geographically. In many areas the *lengua general* was used only by the highest stratum of society. Much regional variation remained and remains; it may even have increased with the advent of the Spanish (Cerrón-Palomino 1989b, Torero 1974, Mannheim 1991). Hence control of a certain variety of Quechua tends to tie the speaker culturally and psychologically to a particular village, province or department (both in the speaker's eyes and in others') rather than to a notional pan-Quechua "nation".

We have seen how doña Elva rejected the speech of Llocllapampa as having an unpleasant "*dejo*", and how a certain lexical item from Ayacucho afforded her a fair amount of amusement. Likewise, for Gustavo and Rubén in Cajas, Huancayo, some phonetic differences were a source of puzzled head-shaking and genuine hilarity:

> *Rubén*: Entonces por ejemplo nosotros decimos en dialecto wanka, cómo se dice nariz: *singa*, y en quechua: *sinqa*.
>
> *En quechua ancashino se dice:* senqa.
>
> *Rubén*: No, en Ancash no, ¡eso es dialecto!
>
> *Gustavo*: En Cusco se dice: *sinqa* y en dialecto wanka se dice: *singa*.
>
> (Tapescript 26)

It should be stressed here that the difference between *singa* and *sinqa* does not affect comprehension; nor do the two constitute a minimal pair. In fact it is quite obvious that Gustavo and Rúben recognise and are familiar with other variants, identify their provenance correctly and can even imitate them. Their rejection of them is at a *non-linguistic* level. For the speaker who is accustomed to register the differentness of all other dialects to his or her own, any such variation effectively renders the other dialect an alien tongue, and quite possibly a sub-standard one: the Ancash variant, it should be noted, is dismissed as *dialecto*, an all-purpose term of disparagement and the very word often used by the monolingual white élite of Lima to dismiss Quechua as a whole.

The identification of differentness is often coded at almost a symbolic level with the comparison of *yaku* and *unu*.[99] The fact that this difference exists between the two major dialect groups was invoked literally scores of times during the course of this study as proof of the insuperable fragmentation of Quechua. A single example will suffice, from a *campesina* speaker from Sicuani, Cusco, doña Jacinta:

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[99] That is, "water". In general terms, *yaku* is more common in Quechua I and *unu* in Quechua II dialects. Both occur in Ayacucho. See Torero (1974) on Quechua I and II and the context of their separate development.

En Cusco siempre es en quechua correcto lo que hablan. En Ayacucho ya también, es medio otra clase hablan [...] [En el Cusco] el quechua es bien hablado. Porque en Ayacucho es, no sé, pero en otras palabras cambian. Por ejemplo agua, dicen *yaku* en Ayacucho, nostros decimos *unu*. En Ayacucho cambia.

(Tapescript 35)

Doña Jacinta is perhaps typically *cusqueña* in her equation of the Cusco variant with what is "correct", rather than just what is "normal", but her feeling that the *yaku/unu* distinction is important is shared by speakers of all regions. The speakers who repeatedly pointed out this distinction understood and were well aware of the difference - they could hardly have pointed it out were this not the case - but still felt that it provided prima facie evidence of how odd, unintelligible and different were other dialects. It is noticeable that even speakers who had never had any exposure to other dialects produced this example to emphasize the perceived differentness between them and their own. Perhaps because the lexeme signifying water is such a basic one, this seems to have become in some way a symbol of dialectal variation; the underlying rationale may be that, if these "other" speakers have a very different word for such a basic concept, the rest of their dialect must be truly impenetrable.

4 Interdialect intolerance and language shift

What is being suggested here is, in effect, that the "typical" Quechua speaker, upon encountering a speaker with a different dialect to his or her own - even if the dialects are objectively rather similar - will tend to register *difference* and *divergence* rather than seek surface similarity and underlying correspondence. The urge to differentiate rather than to find common cause has enormous implications for the process of LS in Lima. Seen from this angle, it becomes clearer why the niches of Quechua are virtually restricted, as was noted in chapter 2, to family and *paisanos*, and why widespread and consistent use of Quechua in Lima is restricted to kin- or village-based *Sprachinseln* of *desplazados* which are in any case fast evaporating. To use Quechua within these domains is to employ the code of solidarity and fellow-feeling; to use it outside these domains, though, with speakers of other varieties, may have the effect only of marking one's difference from one's interlocutors.[100] Needless to say, if the aim is to promote solidarity, then the wisest choice of code is the one perceived to exist genuinely in common: Spanish.

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[100] And this, perhaps, at best. As has been noted elsewhere, and particularly in chapter 4, to address anyone other than a close acquaintance in Quechua may be perceived as offensive.

Dressler (1982:329) notes that fusion of linguistically distinct communities, as in many migration situations, tends naturally to lead to the dominance of the majority language (which of course need not be the first language of any of the communities concerned); an example of this is provided by Cooper (1989), who attributes the relatively painless acceptance of Hebrew as an Israeli lingua franca in part to the linguistic heterogeneity of Palestinian Jews. The same appears to be true here of distinct dialect groups, if the differences between the dialects are felt to be significant enough.

Gugenberger (1994) makes the point forcibly in her consideration of the social meaning amongst migrants of speaking Quechua. She concludes:

> La lengua étnica sigue existiendo en la consciencia... sin que el quechua llegue a verse como símbolo de una nueva identidad del grupo (migrantes, habitantes del mismo *pueblo joven*, etc.), o, en sentido más amplio, como símbolo de una identidad india supraétnica. No se llega a crear una consciencia suprarregional [sic] de una comunidad de todos los quechua-hablantes lo que impide la consolidación de una comunidad de migrantes que se defina básicamente a través del criterio lingüístico.
>
> (Gugenberger 1994:7)

That this is indeed the case might be confirmed by a sample interaction encountered through observation. On one occasion I overheard a social event in a house in Pueblo Libre at which, at an early stage, all five people present were bilingual migrants, native speakers of Quechua, from Ancash, Ayacucho and Cusco. The conversation turned to the question of the language, and for some thirty minutes, amid much hilarity and good-natured teasing, the five compared their different ways of saying things, whether at the morphosyntactic, phonetic or lexical level. This metalinguistic discussion was carried out entirely in Spanish: the Quechua was introduced only as a topic. The speakers knew each other well; no-one else was present (I was in the next room); this was a "safe" and private environment; and yet while at one level the topic of Quechua was a unifying factor, it was the differentness of the dialects which formed the basis of the conversation, and the unifying base code was Spanish.

Chapter Five

Part Two

"Un quechuahablante, un antiguo, un pobrecito..."

Introduction

Quechua is associated in the minds of speakers (and, importantly, non-speakers) with a set of oppositions in relation to Spanish (see Gugenberger 1994 for Arequipa, Harvey 1991 for Ocongate). Some of these oppositions of course favour Quechua: it may, for example, be perceived as redolent of the warmth of community where Spanish is perceived as impersonal; it is strongly associated with the glories of the Inca empire and a time when "Peru" is felt to have been a powerful nation. Many, however, do not. Quechua is thought of as local and regional as opposed to national and international; rural rather than urban; associated more with tradition than with progress. While some of these associations may be objectively neutral - there is obviously nothing wrong with tradition or the countryside per se - they are damaging to long-term language maintenance through their interrelation with migrant aspirations and experiences. The association of Quechua with the countryside, for example, when it is combined with the urban migrant's view of the countryside as a place in which material progress is strictly limited, tends to produce a negative outcome for Quechua when language attitudes are explored. Other associations - with marginalisation from national life, with poverty and with powerlessness - are frankly deleterious in almost all imaginable circumstances.

There is a considerable body of literature to suggest that the development of such a set of oppositions is common where an ethnic language comes under pressure from an expanding "national" language. Kuter (1989) examines the relationship between Breton and French in this light; it also helps explain the case of Berber languages versus Arabic (and French) in Morocco (Bentahila & Davies 1992); Finnish versus Norwegian amongst the Kven of Norway (Lindgren 1984); Gaelic versus English in Scotland (Dorian 1981) and in Nova Scotia (Edwards 1992, Mertz 1989); and Hungarian versus German in Austria (Gal 1979), amongst many others. As will be seen from the present informants, the associations may have such deep roots and psychological reality that the very sound of the language, even its grammar or morphosyntax, may be felt to convey a truth about its speakers. Isaías Rojas Pérez continues a long tradition (neatly dissected by Itier 1992b:33-34) of romantic and positivist discourse about the origins of Quechua (and incidentally perpetuates the hoary myth of Andean origin) when he claims that the first speakers:

> [t]enían que crear un idioma que la naturaleza pudiera entender perfectamente [...] E inventaron la palabra, profunda, intensa,

> vibrante y amorosa que calaba las entrañas de los cerros, los ríos y los bosques...
>
> (Rojas Pérez 1996:48)

The great Arguedas, of course, made this association between land and language a key motif of his work. But just as there is no demonstrable relation between the Quechua language and the geographical features of the Andes, so there is no necessary relation (except, of course, a social one) between it and backwardness, illiteracy, poverty and so on. Quechua is regarded in parts of Bolivia as a prestigious and modern code in opposition to Aymara, being associated with wage-earning and technically-skilled miners (Howard-Malverde 1995:145; and see Heath & Laprade 1982). Finnish, it need scarcely be pointed out, remains a fully functional and prestigious code amongst the Finns, regardless of the fact that the Finnish-speaking Kven in Norway tend to view it as a code of backwardness and ignorance, and discourage their children from acquiring it (Lindgren 1984). As Sasse (1990) insists, the causes of language shift, and thence language impoverishment, breakdown of intergenerational transmission and even eventual language death, are *always* to be sought in external - that is, social, and not linguistic - factors.

It is axiomatic that language shift is preceded by - and becomes intertwined with - social change. As a "traditional" rural lifestyle comes under pressure from a more "modern" one, with a greater emphasis on mobility (both geographical and social), wider communications, education, national integration and so forth, the traditional language gradually comes to be associated with conservatism and stasis, even stagnation. Once such associations have been made, the spiral downwards to language loss or even death begins to seem inevitable (Sasse 1990, Dressler 1982). Godenzzi is thus being perhaps faintly disingenuous in his observation on the state of Quechua that "[p]restigiosos intelectuales y gente 'decente' consideran que es inútil ocuparse de una lengua asociada con el atraso y la miseria de sus hablantes..." (Godenzzi 1996:45)[101]; for it is not only such people, but *speakers themselves* who hold such views and transmit them, consciously or no, to their children. Poverty and backwardness are indeed amongst the features felt to be associated with Quechua; others include the past, old age and the historical legacy of the Inca state. Some of these are now discussed and their effect on language maintenance considered.

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[101] It is to be suspected that "*prestigiosos intelectuales*" is a coded reference to Mario Vargas Llosa, who has been understood to suggest that the "modernisation" of Peru is incompatible with the survival of traditional Andean culture (see e.g. Poole & Rénique 1992:140).

1.0 The past

1.1 "*Ya no podemos regresar*": progress and the personal past

For well-established bilingual migrants like the Escudero brothers, early migrants to the capital who first learned their Spanish at elementary school in Ancash, Quechua is now viewed essentially as a pre-school language, a language of childhood experiences and children's games and so on; it belongs to a different stage in their lives. (And it will be recalled that in the citation from Rojas Pérez in chapter 1, Quechua is thought of instinctively in connection with childhood and youth). If the brothers are asked to reflect on Quechua they tend immediately to recall events and people from this period; to speak of Quechua is to invite reminiscence.

Marco, Lucho and Humberto are typical in that, while they feel some limited sense of loss in the fact that Quechua is no longer a part of their day-to-day lives, this is greatly outweighed by the benefits that all have gained in moving permanently to Lima and adopting Spanish as their first (i.e. dominant) language. This helps bring about a further psychological shift: to attempt to maintain Quechua is perceived as being a backward step in the sense both of moving time backwards and of attempting to reverse a process of individual and societal evolution. This process, moreover, is thought of - when it is consciously thought of at all - as being natural and inevitable:

> *Humberto*: Estamos viviendo un mestizaje increíble en Lima. Dentro de 30 o 40 años tendremos una sociedad integrada, no importará que seas el gringo Tim o el cholo Lucho.
>
> *Y el idioma de esa sociedad, ¿será el castellano?*
>
> Necesariamente [*Humberto and Lucho almost simultaneously*].
>
> *Lucho*: Ya no podemos regresar al quechua. No se podría.
>
> (Humberto and Lucho Escudero, from fieldwork diary, October 1995)

The sense of progress associated with Spanish, and of regression associated with Quechua, is inevitably bound up with the migrant's self-image and desire for *superación* (see e.g. Zubieta 1993, Cosamalón 1993a, Degregori et al 1986). This question is explored further in chapter 6, but it should be noted at once that the shift towards Spanish is only in part indicative of a conscious acculturation to *criollo* norms; further, it is not in general indicative of a denial of Andean identity (though it may be perceived as such in other people, by speakers and non-speakers alike). Speaking Spanish is perceived as the motor, and the marker, of personal progress along a well-charted route. One begins by speaking Quechua and ends by speaking Spanish; Quechua is

not specifically rejected as such, but simply left in the past, where it is perceived to belong.[102]

The logical conclusion of such a mode of thought would be that - at least in areas where shift is well under way - intergenerational language shift be seen as the norm, with children who fail to conform to the norm being regarded as anachronistic curiosities. This is entirely the case in Lima (as was seen in chapter 3), and was the case in Santa Cruz de Pacte in the 1960s and 70s, when Carmen Galarza was growing up in the expectation of one day migrating. Her mother, doña Elva, tells of an incident that took place on a visit to a family who lived "*arriba*" - that is, in the upper part of the village where Quechua was (and is) still a normal language of the home. To the young Carmen, hearing children of her own age using Quechua, the most striking aspect of the situation was not that these children were speaking Quechua per se, but that they were *still speaking like their mother*: clearly a very abnormal state of affairs, where change between generations was expected and encouraged:

> Bonito es, a veces se ríen, a Carmen mismo le ha... este, le ha tocado escuchar cuando ha ido a una visita arriba. Los jovencitos que te dice: oye, oye, apúrate, el burro está *hurkakando*. [*Laughter*]. Mamá, ¿qué cosa quiere decir estaba *hurkakando*? Entonces ellos se ríen: que estaba ajustándose el cuello, pues, con la soga, le digo. [*Laughter*]. Todavía ellos están hablando como su mamá, dice.
>
> (Elva Churampi, tapescript 28)[103]

This notion that Quechua is simply incompatible with modernity (that is, with the *contemporary*) is reflected in the title of a recent (1996) set of articles in the journal of the Instituto de Defensa Legal dealing with present-day attitudes to the language: "Al quechua con cariño... y en tiempos de McDonalds".[104] While these articles are aimed explicitly at establishing that Quechua can indeed continue to make a claim on its speakers' loyalties, the semi-ironic tone of the title conveys most accurately and concisely the prevailing attitude to the language. If, as we might suppose, "McDonalds" is here intended to signify the modern world, global in its reach and urbanised in style, then it requires no great effort of the imagination to understand what is intended to be conveyed by the "Quechua" set in opposition to it. This deliberately jarring juxtaposition, aimed perhaps at shocking the reader into a re-appraisal of the place of the language in modern Peru, acknowledges implicitly the view that so many Peruvians hold of it: that it speaks of the past, and not the real present or the desired future.

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[102] And cf the connotations of the Quechua *qonqay* referred to in chapter 2.
[103] *Hurkakando* is a hispanicised form of a local Quechua dialect word meaning something like "to be tightened".
[104] Ideéle no. 92, 1996. Lima: Instituto de Defensa Legal.

1.2 "*Su manera de ser de antes*": the historical past, Cusco and the Incas

What Rojas (1980:47) calls "la secular creencia del origen cusqueño" is an article of faith in Peru: in the public consciousness there is no doubt whatsoever that Quechua originated in Cusco, and little doubt that it was first spoken by the Incas. Elite bodies such as the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua and groups of individuals such as the *indigenistas* of the early 20th century and the bilingual *haute bourgeoisie* of Cusco from the end of the 17th century onwards have attempted to raise the status of Quechua - and often with it their own - by stressing repeatedly the language's associations with the perceived glories of the Inca state. Pacheco (1994) and Samanez Flórez (1992) form modern examples of this kind of discourse.[105] It has been effectively subjected to critique by, inter alia, Itier (1992b), Niño-Murcia (1997), Godenzzi (1992) and Degregori (1994). To dwell on the *incanato* is, from the point of view of language maintenance, to play a dangerous game, for what Degregori (1994:449) calls the "mitificación del pasado incaico" leads to an unreal conception not only of the Inca state but also of the language indelibly associated with it in the public mind. This kind of status planning through the evocation of history risks consigning the language to a remote and idealised past, and implicitly denying or ignoring its reality as a contemporary and living tongue.[106]

The tensions inherent in such discourse are evident. Vega's (1996) newspaper article, for example, seeks to "revitalizar el quechua, el que cada día lo hablan menos niños y jóvenes y que tiende a desaparecer en las ciudades". His prescription for language maintenance is thoroughly modern: dissemination of the language on radio and television (cf the comments of Jorge Flores in section 3.2 of chapter 3). His short piece of some 350-400 words, though, contrives to include all the following conspicuously un-modern references: "el gran idioma de los Incas"; "la lengua inca"; "el mundo clásico peruano"; "la lengua de los reyes incas"; "lengua quechua imperial"; "nuestro gran idioma clásico". Young, urban Spanish speakers may in fact have gathered most of their impressions and information about Quechua through such pieces, or through their school textbooks. Such schoolbooks, tellingly, would be those

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[105]The seductive glamour of the *incanato* and "its" language has had the effect over the years of blunting the critical faculties of many, and not just among the Cusco élite or nationalist historians. The historian Prescott claimed that the Incas had managed to impose their own language virtually at will over the whole of their domain and added, awestruck, that "...history furnishes few examples of more absolute authority than such a revolution in the language of an empire at the bidding of a master" (1889:38). More recently, Jesús Lara seems to have seen in Inca language policy an almost mystical communion of people and language. Having accepted the modern view that Quechua was not the original language of the Inca people, he searches for reasons why they should have chosen it as the lingua franca of the empire. Finding the reason in the very nature of the language itself, he concludes that it was because they found it "...más desarrollado y amplio, más blando y accesible que el suyo propio inclusive, más facil, en fin, de ser difundido entre los pueblos conquistados" (Lara 1976:314). Lara appears to find his credulity not even slightly strained by the proposition that a militarily powerful, culturally self-confident people in the midst of imperial expansion would cheerfully recognise a conquered rival's language as being inherently somehow better or more appropriate than its own, and adopt it for that reason alone. Geopolitical and sociolinguistic realities are a poor substitute for romance.
[106]These often rather diffuse and unfocussed discourses upon language are here referred to as "status planning" in line with the very broad definition of language planning suggested by Cooper (1989:45). From the more traditional point of view it would doubtless be argued that language planning proper might be considered to consist of organised (and quite often state-sponsored) responses to specific language problems (see Fishman 1973:23-24).

belonging to the element of the curriculum known as *Historia del Perú*, not *Lenguaje*, which is an entirely Castilian affair. It is unsurprising, then, that the very mention of Quechua is apt to produce a reaction like that of Charo, a middle-class *miraflorina* in her 20s, who, upon being told that the visiting foreigner was studying Quechua, exclaimed:

> ¿El quechua? Ay, ¡qué antiguo!
>
> (From fieldwork diary, February 1996)

Charo was in fact speaking in an admiring way, but that is probably neither here nor there: while negative attitudes always represent a threat to minority language maintenance, positive attitudes are not in themselves any guarantee of maintenance (Dressler 1982). There is no doubt at all that positive attitudes to a language may co-occur quite comfortably with its rapid decline, if such attitudes are not those related to concepts such as modernity, functional and economic value, and social status.[107] As so often with Quechua in modern Peru, a comparison with the case of Irish (as described by e.g. Macnamara 1966, 1971; Edwards 1984b, 1985) is instructive. Ideally, a language will be capable of carrying aspirations towards modernity while retaining its historical authenticity and legitimacy in the minds of its speakers (see Fishman 1972c:45-52 on language as the link with authenticity); this is obviously the case for long-established national languages, and to a great extent also for some "newer" national languages such as Bahasa Indonesia, Swahili and Hebrew. In practice, though, where "minority" languages are concerned, the gap between authenticity and modernity is apt to widen (Cooper 1982); speakers do not perceive the language as being capable of fulfilling both roles simultaneously.

Many Peruvian *quechuistas* (though of course not all), buttressed by the romantic nationalism beloved of governments, have opted for authenticity above all - though this authenticity, ironically enough, may itself be quite spurious (see for instance Itier 1992b; and cf Hill & Hill's 1986 discussion of "authenticity" in Nahuatl). Thus the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, while it certainly concerns itself to some extent with corpus planning activities such as coining neologisms and attempting to regularise grammar and orthography (see the Academia's constitution in AMLQ 1995), in fact concentrates most of its efforts on the legitimation of Quechua as a national language through a heavily mythicised - not to say mystical - discourse of nationalist-regionalist historical pride, founded on the cult of the Incas (a prime example of this is to be found in Pacheco 1994). Its journal, tellingly, is entitled *Inka Rimay* ("The Speech of the Incas"). A similar instinctive appeal to the legitimising past may be found in Angel Marroquín's cheaply-produced Quechua primer (Marroquín Llamoca, no date), which also parades in its very title its mark of authenticity: "Runasimi, Inkakunaq rimaman. El lenguaje de

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[107] Or, as Fishman puts it: "the road to societal language death is paved with the good intentions called 'positive attitudes'" (Fishman 1991:91).

los Inkas". (It is interesting to compare this with the very different but equally deterministic and narrowly-focussed Quechua textbook of Soto Ruiz 1993, described in chapter 2). It is of course tempting to make such appeals to a proud history, and particularly, one might feel, for "those whose current greatness [is] far from obvious' (Fishman 1972c:45). The risk, though, is that in focussing attention on the historical role of Quechua in Peru, the amateur status planners will inadvertently help condemn it to a living death.

Within the lay discourse of Peruvian historicism, then, to speak of Quechua is to summon up the spirit of the Incas. This is potentially damaging to the maintenance of the language in another, more insidious way. Amongst speakers, the constant identification of the language with the imperial Inca élite of Cusco tends to have the effect of marginalising their own speech, in terms of social class, geography, "purity" or all of these. Such marginalisation may be quite deliberate; Itier (1992b) notes how the Quechua-speaking élite of 19th century Cusco called their own dialect *qhapaq simi* or *apu simi* "language of the powerful", "language of the lords") in a conscious effort to distance it from the *runasimi* ("language of the people") of the peasantry (a practice continued today by the Academia).[108] Modern Peruvian Quechua speakers, while resolutely glottocentric (Mannheim 1992, Torero 1974), are, perhaps paradoxically, nonetheless often highly ambivalent about the quality and worth of their own dialect. In the study carried out by von Gleich and Wölck in 1968 in Ayacucho it was found that 62% of the sample thought Cusco Quechua "best", qualifying it in such terms as original, legitimate, historical, autochthonous and pure, though only 40% actually understood that dialect (von Gleich & Wölck 1994:36). Hence the anxiety of doña Elva, who lives near Jauja in the central highlands:

> Eh... ahora, ahora así que haya una conversación de quechua, nosotros no sabemos de onde es el quechua legítimo que es valioso; de Ayacucho, por acá el centro, hay diferentes maneras de hablar quechua ¿no?, por sitios [...] ¿Cuál será el quechua legítimo del Perú, pue? Eso sí no estoy a... al tanto.
>
> (Elva Churampi, tapescript 28)

Doña Elva, while typical in her sociolinguistic insecurity and in her concern for a Quechua which is *legítimo* and *valioso*, is in fact out of the ordinary in that she even considers the possibility that the dialect of Ayacucho or that of the central *sierra* may be the "best". Most speakers (and, for that matter, most Peruvians) take it entirely for granted that all current dialects of Quechua are debased, decayed over time, and the non-*cusqueño* ones decayed in addition

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[108]And cf the discourse of the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua referred to in chapter 2, section 2.2.1. The ambivalent and selective attitude of Peru's ruling classes to the country's historical culture is summed up with admirable succinctness in the title of Cecilia Méndez's (1996) article "Incas sí, Indios no". Abercrombie (1991:96) similarly points out that the white or *mestizo* élite has traditionally tended to view Andean Indians as "romanticized or stigmatized alters".

with distance from Cusco. (A diagrammatic model of this perception is shown at Appendix B). An educated *cusqueño* bilingual named David Pacheco, curious about the fate of languages such as Welsh and Gaelic in Britain, asked:

> ¿Hay variantes en las lenguas indígenas del Reino Unido, o se mantienen puros todavía?
>
> (From fieldwork diary, Cusco, July 1996)

Language ideology is here revealed in over-generalisation. The mythical "idioma de los incas" being seen as pure, homogenous, almost monolithic, all dialects of Quechua are therefore post-conquest corruptions: more successful "indigenous" languages in other countries may have resisted such corruption and remained "*puros todavía*". This is doubtless the kind of discourse that Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1982:162) have in mind when they refer to "pre-Copernican concepts about language homogeneity" which continue to lead people - and not just laypeople - astray.

The elevation of a particular dialect may have the effect of discrediting and marginalising perfectly fluent speakers of other dialects, as Dressler (1982) remarks with regard to the process of standardisation in minority languages. The following informant is a fluent bilingual from Huánuco, now a Lima taxi-driver:

> Ah ya, pero ¿sabes tú de dónde es el mejor quechua? Del Cusco, pues, claro. Ese es el quechua legítimo, puro. Es original de ahí, pues. De los incas. Ellos sí hablaban su quechua pero perfecto, perfecto, no como ahora. Tienes que ir al Cusco si quieres aprender.
>
> (Pedro, February 1996, from fieldwork diary)

There is some confusion, here, obviously: modern Cusco Quechua is simultaneously "*puro*" (presumably in comparison with other geographical dialects) and debased (in comparison with its former, Incaic purity). There is also perhaps here an echo of the views of the 17th century Cusco élite and their modern counterparts. One suspects that when Pedro imagines the language of Cusco he is likely to be thinking not of *campesino* Quechua, but rather of the *qhapaq simi* referred to earlier - a variety which, as Itier (1992b:26) quite correctly points out, is little more than an ideological construct. Niño-Murcia (1997), likewise, notes that while the Academia and similar bodies might appear superficially to be carrying out a valuable task in attempting to recover the status of Quechua, in practice "...this recovery has turned into a promotion of the sociolect of one segment of the population over other varieties" (1997:139). The model which is presented of "correct" and "pure" Quechua is indeed a sociolect, and a heavily self-conscious one at that.

Such attitudes have marked effects on the teaching or transmission of the language to children. As was seen in chapter 3, speakers of Quechua in Lima are markedly reluctant to pass it on to their children, preferring to leave this to the government in an imagined future. It would seem that this reluctance can be in part attributed to feelings about the legitimacy or status of their own dialects in comparison to that of the Cusco élite, whether historical or contemporary. There is a distinct echo of this in Hayden's (1966) discussion of French-speaking immigrants to Fall River, Massachusetts:

> [W]hat many Fall River respondents expect their children to learn is neither their mother tongue nor even their ethnic mother tongue but the language of Voltaire and Flaubert, a language of culture and of practical significance in social advance.
>
> (Hayden 1966:203)

In Peruvian terms we might say that what migrant parents would like their children to learn is not the language of village or *chacra* - this could surely be taught in the home, if the will were there - but that of the imagined glories of the Inca empire, the language of Cusco, of the Academicians, the self-appointed guardians of the "pure" tongue. In this sense many speakers appear to subscribe to the view of language put forward by Bourdieu (1991): an authorised, codified system of rules, transmitted through official channels - essentially the state school system - and deriving its legitimacy ostensibly from history but actually from the body politic. Gaby Pérez is a well-qualified teacher of English, and someone who might be expected to have a better than average knowledge of the process of language acquisition. Nevertheless, she explains her failure to acquire Quechua from her Quechua-speaking parents in terms of the lack of availability of teachers and formal grammars:

> Porque no había lo que hay con otros idiomas, un esquema formal de la gramática quechua. En ese tiempo. No había un estudio formal de la gramática quechua. Entonces... las personas que hablan, no necesariamente son buenos profesores. ¿No? Eso es lo que pasa con mis padres. Mis padres hablan muy bien, pero no son necesariamente buenos profesores en ese idioma, ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 16)

The problem, as was suggested in chapter 3, is essentially one not of educational practice but of language ideology. Language which is learned or taught outside the aegis of the state, or a body which has similar powers of legitimation (the Academia in Cusco would surely see itself as such a body) is suspect, considered unsound, in some way corrupted or debased, and lacking legitimacy. Hence the repeated demands amongst informants for a new standard, a new *quechua general*, which should be taught at school; hence, too, the great reluctance of ordinary speakers to appropriate to themselves the role of teacher, and the nostalgia for the Velasco period, when a

legitimated Quechua was indeed taught, to at least some extent, with the full authority of the state.

One might of course expect speakers of Cusco Quechua to be conscious of their dialect's supposedly special status. And indeed, one teenage *cusqueño* informant, Henry, opined with the cheerful confidence of youth about the legitimacy of the Cusco variety:

> Acá Cusco quechua. El mismo quechua es hablado en el Cusco.
>
> *¿Por qué?*
>
> Sí. Porque el Cusco es el centro del mundo pues. Además su idioma es el legítimo quechua.
>
> *¿Y por qué es el legítimo quechua?*
>
> Porque así es pues...
>
> (Tapescript 39)

However, even amongst Cusco speakers there is little doubt that true legitimacy lies in the past, and in the "pure" and "old" (*antiguo*) Quechua of the Incas. This model was identified by several informants with the speech given in Quechua by the actor who plays the Inca Pachacútec in the annual festival of Inti Raymi.[109] Strikingly, one young bilingual man, Julián, who sells cigarettes in the town centre, almost seemed to confuse the actor with the long-dead Inca himself:

> Porque yo escuché al Inca Pachacútec, pues, que habla en Sacsayhuamán en Inti Raymi, todo correcto habla.
>
> *Y cuando dices correcto, ¿qué significa? O sea...*
>
> O sea ah... a veces de hoy en día ya no utilizamos palabras, ¿no? Los incas saben.
>
> (Tapescript 37)

The use of the present tense in "*los incas saben*" is curious; however, the salient feature of this observation is surely that it hints at a sense of loss and inadequacy in the language, compared with the past "correctness" represented

---

[109]Interestingly enough in view of the question of what constitutes legitimate or authoritative usage, while many Cusco informants believed this speech to consist of the real words of the historical Pachacútec, in fact it was written in comparatively recent years by a founder member of the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, Faustino Espinoza Navarro. (Personal communication from Dr Juvenal Pacheco Farfán, President of the Academia, 1996). Espinoza Navarro's contribution to the study of Quechua is discussed - in notably uncritical terms - by Hornberger (1994:75-78). A more reasoned assessment is made by Niño-Murcia (1997).

by the Quechua used at Inti Raymi. Many modern-day Cusco speakers worry, too, that their dialect lacks legitimacy because it has been influenced by Spanish.[110] Víctor, also a fluent bilingual, and an articulate and thoughtful informant with a high-school education, commented:

> Yo sé quechua pero ya mezclado con español ya. El neto neto quechua ya muy pocos hablan ya, nada [...] Ya pero acá en la ciudad ya es el quechua medio modernizado ya, ya no es ya como.... [*laughter*].
>
> (Tapescript 36)

His comment is particularly interesting in the light of the above discussion of authenticity as potentially incompatible with modernity; he associates non-legitimate Quechua (i.e. that which is not "*el neto neto quechua*") with mixing with Spanish; this is in turn identified as "*medio modernizado*". This seems to sum up what was suggested by the other informants above. The *quechua legítimo*, even in Cusco, belongs firmly in the past: modernity and authenticity, for Quechua, cannot come together.

It might then be suspected that much Peruvian language campaigning (and particularly the variety which emanates from the Cusco élite), with its endless variations on the theme of Incaic glory, has had little effect other than to sap the confidence of numbers of speakers in their own competence and to fix Quechua into an idealised and nebulous past. (Appel & Muysken 1987 in their discussion of socio-historical factors in LMLS point out that such campaigns can indeed be counter-productive, for these very reasons). When informants are asked why and if Quechua should be maintained in Peru, the gulf between authenticity and modernism is again starkly apparent; while it is firmly agreed that Quechua is an important symbol, and should be preserved, there is very little sense at all that it can be a truly modern language, or indeed anything *more* than a symbol. In fact the link with the past, the mythical Incaic origin of the language - in sum, the authenticity lent by time and history - tends to emerge as the *only* spontaneously volunteered reason for its maintenance. Gaby Pérez explicitly rules out the notion that Quechua may serve any wider purpose than that of keeping a link with Peruvian history:

> Es una necesidad interior, porque si bien es cierto que no nos va a servir para [...] abrir otras puertas, pero sí va a ser posible abrir nuestras propias puertas, a nuestro propio pasado, a nuestra propia idiosincracia, ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 18)

---

[110] Cf Hill & Hill (1977:60), whose Mexican informants describe the relexification of Tlaxcalan Nahuatl in strikingly similar terms to those used by the Cusco informants in the present study, lamenting that the language is "mezclada" and no longer the "legitimo Mexicano" [sic]. However, Howard-Malverde (1995:155) cites a Bolivian informant who felt that her urban Quechua was better and more "civilizado" for being mixed with Spanish.

Denis Ballardo, unlike Gaby a fully competent native speaker, nevertheless relies on the idea of the "*antepasados*" to legitimise the continued use of Quechua:

> Porque... porque es nuestro... nuestro idioma principal acá en el Perú... entre los antepasados... que... los primeros padres de acá... Sí.
>
> (Tapescript 06)

This is echoed by doña Elva and Carmen, whose justification for the maintenance of Quechua is replete with references to the past, historical origins and antiquity:

> *Elva*: Saber de su antigüedad, o para corregir o ahora que va cambiando, que es necesario saber ¿no? [...] De su antes... este... cómo se llama... de sus... cómo, quiero decir y no me sale.
>
> *Carmen*: Su origen, su identificación misma, su identidad.
>
> *Elva*: Su manera de ser de antes, de su formación del pueblo, su costumbre.
>
> (Tapescript 28)

The essence of the symbol is compromised and ambiguous, for Quechua comes to stand for what once was, rather than for what is or what will be. This is the quandary of those who would exalt Quechua as a symbol of Peruvian nationhood: what is consciously presented as glorious, historic and *milenario* can only with difficulty be perceived simultaneously as living, contemporary, commonplace, functional. The inevitable tension which ensues is encapsulated in the words of María Baldeón, a teenager from Llocllapampa (Junín) who now lives in Huancayo. She is rather impatient at life in the central *sierra* when so many of her family have migrated to Lima, and for her, just to be addressed in Quechua seems to touch on a sore point. The impatience is vented on her grandfather, don José, and his choice of language:

> No, de verdad, cuando me hablan, también, hay veces que mi abuelito también así me habla, y... Y yo me amargo, le digo ¿qué me hablas? ¡háblame castellano! le digo [*José laughs*] y más me molesto. Tú debes saber hablar la quechua, dice; eso será de antes, yo le digo. Pero, pues, de todas maneras vale aprender la quechua.
>
> (Tapescript 44)

Her last remark sounds dutiful rather than sincere - a token of the loyal Peruvian and *serrana* - and it is scarcely necessary to add that she has never attempted to learn the language. Her true attitude, surely, is summed up in

the phrase "*eso será de antes...*" Much talk of *antepasados*, in the end, tends to lead to an association with all that is *antiguo* (and this point is pursued at 1.4 below). While the symbolic link with the past may be effective for the inculcation of nationalism, it is nothing less than disastrous for the future of Quechua as a living language amongst the young.

1.3 *Peruanidad* and the spectre of separatism

The much-lauded empire of the Incas was, of course, a multi-ethnic entity, and one which stretched over at least part of the territory of *all* the modern Andean republics. However, it deserves to be noted that when the above informants speak of identity, it is clear that they conceive of Quechua as a symbol first and foremost of *Peruvian* identity; there is often only a hazy and secondary awareness of the fact that the language is spoken to a greater or lesser extent in all the Andean countries. Certainly this fact was never spontaneously volunteered by any informant. Abel Baldeón is typical:

> Porque será la base fundamental del... del ser peruano. Del ser peruano. Porque con eso uno gana muchísimo. Se gana la simpatía. La simpatía y el cariño de ambas personas. Por ser peruano. Porque el quechua es una cosa... una cosa natural de la vida del peruano. Y el quechua nace del... del centro de... del centro de la sierra.
>
> (Tapescript 20)

There is no sense here of Quechua as anything other than a Peruvian code and a touchstone of *peruanidad*. This identification of Quechua solely with Peru would suggest that nationalist ideologues have been relatively successful in their attempts to press the language into the service of the modern state - albeit only at a symbolic level - thereby divesting it of its potential as a symbol of resistance to the "national" culture (cf Turino 1991). Rivalries between *costa* and *sierra* exist, of course, but at a linguistic level they may be mediated by quasi-official bodies such as the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, whose agenda certainly does not include, say, home rule for the Andean region. Rather, the Academia considers Quechua to be the true "native" tongue of *all* Peruvians. Its president, Dr Juvenal Pacheco, says:

> Que es así como el niño yanqui o norteamericano se siente orgulloso de su país, de su cultura, de su historia, nosotros también queremos que el niño peruano, el joven peruano, se sienta orgulloso ¿no? de su historia, de su cultura ¿no? de su lengua materna.
>
> (Tapescript 49)

Such a view of the place of Quechua in the nation (unreal, utopian and empirically nonsensical though it may be) is unlikely to worry the central authorities in Lima. Indeed, any President of the Republic automatically

becomes an honorary member of the Academia's ruling council. In effect, then, the symbolic associations of Quechua with identity exist at two levels; for its speakers it is first and foremost a marker and vehicle of local identity. At another level, and for the mass of non-speakers as well as speakers, it is a symbol of "true" national identity. There is no evidence at all in the present study to suggest that the language functions as a symbol of a pan-Andean identity. In fact, the very concept of the Quechua-speaking "nation" is one that is fraught with difficulties. Itier (1992a) is in no doubt that it exists only in the dreams of urban intellectuals, and certainly this would be borne out by the information supplied by the present interviewees. Carrión Ordóñez (1977) is similarly sceptical about the idea of an all-embracing, international *región andina.*

However, the potential strength of such a "nation" appears to continue to haunt the imaginations of politicians, and must necessarily affect language planning and political initiatives (and hence, perhaps indirectly, the process of language shift or maintenance). A revealing 1994 interview in Paris with Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, then a candidate for the presidency of the republic and hence, presumably, being particularly careful with his words, illuminates some of the thinking which may be supposed to go on in élite circles:

> Allí, una de las cosas que vamos a proponer, llegado el momento, es el respeto de las respectivas identidades culturales. Esto es muy importante, en el Perú tenemos una identidad andina que tiene que ser preservada, no sólo en cuanto a la lengua y el folclor, sino en todos los elementos que constituyen la nación quechua. Porque hay una nación quechua dentro del Estado peruano y ella tiene que ser preservada.
>
> *- ¿Esa nación tendrá un día periódicos y libros en quechua...?*
>
> Por supuesto, pero tenga usted en cuenta que le estoy hablando del concepto de nación dentro del Estado peruano, no vaya a concluir que estoy propugnando una revolución y que quisiera que desde el norte de Bolivia al Ecuador haya un solo estado. Todo lo que digo se refiere a la nación pluricultural peruana, al Estado peruano. [...] Creo que en el Perú algún día se podrá hablar de federalismo, ¿por qué no? No crea usted que el Perú es el único país donde se habla varios idiomas. Aquí tiene el caso de Francia. Y en España están los gallegos, vascos, catalanes etc. [...]
>
> *- Muchos limeños se van a espantar con esto.*
>
> Bueno, que se espanten. En todo caso, no olvide usted que Lima está lleno de provincianos. De lo que se trata no es sólo de reivindicar el

quechua sino también propender a crear áreas bilingües en las que los que no saben una lengua aprendan la otra. Pero todo esto sin olvidar a la cantidad de peruanos que no hablan sino el quechua.

(*Caretas*, 18/08/94)

The nature of the ideological and political minefield bequeathed by the history of Peru to its actual or would-be rulers is here laid bare in almost comic fashion. Thinking doubtless of his visit to Puno scheduled for that week, Pérez de Cuéllar is at pains to emphasise the rights of the "*nación quechua*". Scarcely have the words left his mouth, though, than he realises the logical implications of such a notion, and, brushing aside the journalist's question about written media in Quechua, goes on to deny that such a nation can exist except under the aegis of the Peruvian state - even ruling out explicitly the return to an Incaic state across existing national borders. Federalism, presumably based on language use, would appear to be an option (though quite possibly an unpopular one with the Lima élite), and is illustrated with the examples of France - a distinctly unfederal nation - and Spain, where the configuration of language and political power is historically and actually radically unlike that of Peru. Grasping at the idea of bilingual areas - as if they did not already exist, though of course outside the control of the government - and now in virtual free-fall, he then recalls just in time the right, which by his own argument must logically exist, to Quechua monolingualism. Such confusion, and from a figure generally admired for his clear thinking, is indicative of the extreme difficulties which surround the question of language planning in Peru. Quite apart from the traditional duty of the politician to please everyone and alienate no-one, Pérez de Cuéllar accords himself the thorny task of encouraging cultural nationhood and ruling out the possibility of political nationhood; the Quechua nation is simultaneously called into being and denied.

We may note once again that the fear of separatism so ill concealed by Pérez de Cuéllar is largely illusory. To non-speakers, the Quechua-speaking bloc (or what used to be referred to half-scornfully and half-fearfully by the coastal élites as *la mancha india*) may appear monolithic and homogeneous; however, its integrants have a much more localised and fragmented view of it, often insisting, as was seen in the discussion on dialectal differentiation in the first part of this chapter, more on their differentness than on their similarity even to close neighbours. Moreover, the nationalist propagandists, as noted earlier, have done their work well. The officially-sanctioned symbolism of Quechua is associated with the imagined roots of ancient Peruvian nationhood; it is not aimed at finding common cause with Bolivians and Ecuadoreans.

The spectre of separatism, though, refuses to vanish, and at one level at least may have important effects on language shift. It was noted in chapter 3 that von Gleich (1994b, 1995) suspected that there may exist a reluctance to use Quechua, particularly in urban areas, for fear of being associated with the

Sendero Luminoso insurgency. The roots of such a fear are not hard to spot: the guerrilla war began in and was centred upon Ayacucho, the traditional Quechua-speaking heartland of the southern Andes. However, it may be that if a link exists between political instability and language choice, it exists at a rather deeper level. Cooper (1989) observes that when the state is perceived to be in danger, the spectre of fragmentation and separatism is seen everywhere, including in language use. He notes, acutely, that Richelieu's founding of the Académie Française coincided with a period of turmoil in France in which the nation was felt to be in danger from enemies both within and without (Cooper 1989:4). This analysis has certain striking parallels with that of Cameron (1995:217-218), who glosses British conservative discourse on the supposed decline of the English language as in reality a commentary on the supposed decline of social order and hierarchy; fear of social breakdown is recast - at a conscious level or not - as fear of linguistic breakdown.

There can be little doubt that in the early 1990s the Peruvian state was perceived to be in real danger of fragmentation and ultimate collapse, with commentators both in Peru and abroad speaking freely of the "libanización" of the country.[111] In such a situation it is perhaps natural that there should be pressure on Peruvian citizens resident in the capital to cleave to what is represented as national and unifying - which in linguistic terms, as was shown in the first part of this chapter, can only mean Spanish. Critically, socially-constructed positive attitudes to Quechua function as a symbol of *peruanidad* and national union; the *speaking* of Quechua, by and large, does not (and this is further discussed below). As has already been suggested, in many contexts it may even be redolent more of divergence and separateness than of unity. In times of national crisis, this perception of the language naturally assumes great symbolic importance.

1.4 "*Suena más antiguo*": older generations and the elderly

Given the heavy emphasis laid by much of the official or semi-offical discourse around Quechua on antiquity, tradition and history, it is hardly surprising that younger generations tend to view it as something remote and outmoded. This negative perception is compounded at the level of personal experience by the process of language shift detailed in chapter 3: intergenerational transmission does not take place; young speakers in Lima prefer to speak Spanish or, if their Spanish is inadequate, to remain silent. The experience of Alicia Flores Galarza, then, becomes a common one: in her late teens, born in Lima of Quechua-speaking parents and living in Villa El Salvador, she has never heard

[111]See for example *Caretas* 1221, 30/07/92, p 18. Such apocalyptic views were common currency during the period 1991-92, and probably with good reason. Reyna's (1992) article reflects the scale of the threat that was felt to exist: intervention by other American states was mooted as a real possibility, with the attendant risk that neighbouring countries would use such intervention to pursue longstanding territorial claims, leading effectively to the dismemberment of the republic.

the language spoken by anyone of her own age or younger. For her, the very sound of Quechua is emphatically associated with age:

> Tiene algo especial a los demás idiomas, a comparación de los idiomas por ejemplo el inglés, o el francés, tiene un tono diferente. Tiene un...
>
> *Un tono diferente...*
>
> Un tono diferente. Bueno, de eso me he dado cuenta, no sé yo, estoy diciendo lo que pienso, ¿no? Pero tiene un *tono* diferente. Es como un idioma que estuvieran cantando, o... no sé, pero es diferente. Tiene algo diferente.
>
> *¿Que suena raro?*
>
> Que suena raro. Que suena más *antiguo*.
>
> (Tapescript 24)

To young children, with limited metalinguistic knowledge and in the process of developing their language attitudes, the association between age and code may be even more marked. One Lima-born informant whose mother and grandmother are bilingual natives of Ayacucho recalled:

> Cuando escuchábamos a mi abuelita y mi mamá hablando quechua, no les hacíamos caso.
>
> *¿No tenían curiosidad, no querían saber qué cosa estaban diciendo?*
>
> No, para nada. Ni siquiera nos parecía idioma; era cosa de viejitos, era para cuando los viejitos hablan sus cosas entre ellos.
>
> (Ana, November 1995, from fieldwork diary)

This is a particularly revealing reminiscence; as a child, Ana perceived the language as being *primarily* a code of old age, rather than of geographical or ethnic origin. That is to say, before she learnt that her grandmother sometimes spoke differently because she came from Ayacucho, she assumed that she spoke this way *because she was old*. Hence age may determine and be determined by language identity, in the mind of the listener if not of the speaker. Carmen Galarza, too, was in no doubt about the generational distribution of the language in her village near Jauja:

> Ya tendría que ser una viejita, como te digo, las abuelitas.
>
> *O sea ¿para tí era un idioma de abuelitos nomás, de viejos?*

[*Assenting*] Mm-hm.

¿Y así te pareció, en ese entonces, cuando estabas pequeña?

Claro. Y los bien abuelitos, no los que son abuelitos jóvenes [*laughs*].

(Tapescript 19)

Older people tend to speak Quechua; younger people tend to speak Spanish. That this objective fact of code distribution - the natural consequence of intergenerational language shift - leads to unfavourable attitudes and thus further shift, is hinted at by María, the teenager living reluctantly in provincial Huancayo:

> El quechua muy poco los peruanos, o sea ahora, los de ahora, nosotros gente jóvenes, muy poco lo cultivamos, pues [...] La gente andina lo debemos de practicar, pero no es así. O sea que la gente antigua nomás, pue. Porque ahora todos de nosotros, de nuestra, de la edad, casi nadie es quechua.
>
> (Tapescript 44)

Her choice of words is interesting. "*Gente antigua*" connotes something rather more than "old people"; it has in addition the sense of outdated, belonging to the past, representative of an earlier state of affairs.

2 "*Allí donde nunca nada ocurrió*": poverty, stagnation and isolation

"*Antiguo*" is also used by Carmen in attempting to explain why young people now avoid speaking Quechua because of its negative associations:

> Los chicos que van al colegio, al secundario, ya como que, no pues, no. Pero más por vergüenza en ellos, no porque le estén dando un valor al... o sea, como que se sienten que alguien le va a decir que es un quechuahablante, un antiguo, un pobrecito, no sé.
>
> (Carmen Galarza, tapescript 28)

The association of ideas here - "*un quechuahablante, un antiguo, un pobrecito*" - could hardly be more precise, nor more indicative of the dim prognosis for Quechua amongst the ambitious young. In just the way outlined by Sasse (1990) in his description of the downward spiral leading to language death, the language has become associated with the old and the poor, and the process of shift is thus given renewed impetus. The fact that Quechua is perceived as an essentially rural code, linked automatically in the public mind with the Andes and its inhabitants (see chapter 2), is crucial for its status in

the eyes of speakers and non-speakers alike. As in many developing countries, in Peru the countryside is regarded rather ambivalently: on the one hand as the emblematic heart of the "real" country (which is often referred to as *el Perú profundo* - a formulation which presumably owes something to the metropolitan French conception of *la France profonde*), and on the other, simultaneously, as a place of stagnation, isolation and backwardness. President Fujimori's address to the nation for the 28 July celebrations of 1996, while upbeat, contrived to convey a hint of what has been the traditional view of the *sierra* for the metropolitan classes for generations:

> Algo está ocurriendo allí donde nunca nada ocurrió. Poblaciones andinas, adormecidas por siglos, despiertan y paralelamente con los marginados de las ciudades, van convergiendo, integrándose en un proceso global, que está vertebrando a la Nación. El Perú está cobrando forma.
>
> (Reproduced in *El Comercio* 29/7/96)

The "waking" of the Andes is a familiar motif (and indeed has been used in recent years, with a rather different emphasis, by Sendero Luminoso). The notion occurs time and again in Peruvian political and literary discourse, be it nationalist, regionalist or revolutionary, that the region has been frozen in the past, mired in tradition and left culturally and economically stagnant. (This discourse is well treated by Franco 1991:88-89). The extent to which such a view of Andean society can be said to be accurate or valid (and certainly it would be strongly contested by many) is only tangentially relevant; what is crucial is that it is widely held, by ordinary people as much as by politicians and *literati*, and that it directly affects language attitudes. Sócrates Yangali, a native Quechua-speaking migrant from Huancavelica and now a journeyman builder living in Villa María del Triunfo, says of his *tierra*:

> ¡No hay nada! La chacra nomás. Allí no hay progreso. Por eso es que vienen todos a Lima, para progresar.
>
> (Tapescript 11)

That "*allí no hay progreso*" is the archetypal lament of the migrant; it is echoed over and over again by the informants of commentators on Peruvian migration such as Altamirano (1984, 1985), Cotlear et al (1987) and Aramburú (1981). When this view of the rural provinces is combined with the perception of Quechua (discussed in part 1 of this chapter and in chapter 2) as a localised, place-specific language, embedded in the soil of the Andes, the resulting attitude to the language is a predictably damaging one. Quechua becomes conceived of as the language of the isolated, the poor, the immobile: to be a Quechua speaker both marks and compounds one's marginalisation

from what progress there is to be had.[112] Like Tlaxcalan Nahuatl, the language "...has become defined as a 'village thing', which a forward-looking, ambitious person would do well to abandon" (Hill & Hill 1977:59). And in this sense, indeed, President Fujimori's words in his 28 July speech - "*poblaciones andinas... van convergiendo, integrándose a un proceso global*" could be read apart from anything else almost as a paean to language shift, or a call to further and faster language shift in Peru. How language choice fits in to this "*proceso global*" may be guessed at from some of the attitudes expressed by María. To this young woman, fretting impatiently at her provincial life in Junín, it is English that represents adventure and glamour: it is the language of tourists, the young, the mobile. Quechua (cf Franco 1991:79-109) is the language of those who are tied to the land, rooted and fixed.

> No, lo que a mí me gustaría es aprender a hablar inglés, pero quechua, no [...] Por decir con un amigo, una amiga me encuentro y me dice estoy estudiando inglés, o sea le escucho lo que habla inglés ¿no? y qué bonito sería, o sea, con otra persona relacionarme y hablar los dos pues inglés [...] Por eso me gustaría aprender para así poderme comunicar con otras personas, también. Porque incluso a Huancayo van turistas, ya; y qué lindo sería que uno sepa el inglés y te pongas a conversar los dos ¿no? y ya pues, ahí lo entiendes.
>
> (Tapescript 44)

María almost seems to be suggesting that it scarcely matters to whom she might speak in English; simply to speak English would be an expression of modernity (which implies the possibility of geographical and social mobility).[113] Quechua is hence set against English in the way suggested in chapter 4. While no-one is suggesting that the young are about to abandon Spanish for English, equally it is almost unthinkable that this generation would choose to move "back" (for this is what it amounts to) to Quechua. The felt connection between language shift and progress is picked up on more specifically by Ricardo Villegas, a 30 year-old from Huancayo who spoke Quechua as a child and who now works as a bus company clerk in central Lima. Having commented that there is little Quechua now to be heard in his native city, he explains why this is so:

> Ya están perdiendo ya... como se dice, ya se están civilizando. [*Laughs*]. La civilización está llegando allí.
>
> (Tapescript 14)

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[112] The resulting sense of isolation from the life of the nation is remarked on by Pozzi-Escot (1988).

[113] Giddens (1991:6-7) argues that "modern" self-identity and lifestyle are not simply the result of impersonal forces acting on individuals: they can be negotiated by the individual within the framework of an interaction between the local and the global. If this is represented in terms of languages and what they symbolise to María, it could perhaps be said that she rejects Quechua as the expression of what is most local and fixed (and old), preferring English as the expression of what is most global and mobile (and modern).

The cheerful brutality of Ricardo's judgement on his native language is perhaps slightly shocking, but it is undeniably of a part with the "official" view as represented by President Fujimori. The complex of associations in the public mind around Quechua and its speakers, developed over centuries of marginalisation and oppression, forms the background against which language attitudes must be judged. The internalisation of these attitudes by younger speakers like Ricardo is the clearest possible sign that language shift is for the present irreversible (though see the discussion in chapter 7). Valentina Méndez's rather touching words of comfort to her young nephew, recently arrived from the *sierra* to a *pueblo joven* in Tablada de Lurín, and teased because of his speech and background, are hence certainly in the final analysis vain:

> A mi sobrinito lo fastidian, le dicen. Por ejemplo sobrenombre le ponen, dicen los amigos, este... los amigos decir ¿no? papa seca. Ese molesta pues. Ese queja, me dice tía, papa seca me dice. Y le digo: ¿pero si la papa seca es rica? Después le dicen papa huayro. Entonces le digo: ¿por qué tienes que... por qué te molestas porque si la papa huayro es rica con ajicito?
>
> (Tapescript 09)[114]

Doña Valentina's intentions are of the best, and her point is a fair one: what could be insulting about being called *papa seca* or *papa huayro*? The boy, though, knows the answer all too well - as, we might suspect, does doña Valentina herself. To be nicknamed after an archetypal Andean product is to have one's Andean-ness magnified and transformed into the defining mark of character. It is to be branded with all the negative (and none of the positive) associations that Peruvian history has bequeathed to that region: isolation, backwardness, ignorance and above all, poverty. In such circumstances the natural reaction is to turn oneself with all possible alacrity into that classic Lima social "type", the *cholo que cholea*[115] (cf Acha 1993, Cosamalón 1993a, 1993b), the indispensable first step of which process consists of learning to avoid the use of Quechua and, if at all possible, the stigmatised *sierra* accent or *moteo* (see Cerrón-Palomino 1989a). These are not after all middle-class metropolitan sophisticates who tease doña Valentina's nephew, but Andean migrants much like himself.[116] And here we see again the inescapable tension

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[114]This meaning of this passage is at times rather elusive, due in part to doña Valentina's limited ability in Spanish and in part to some regionalisms. *Papa huayro* and *papa seca* are types of Andean potato; *ajicito* (from *ají*) is the Andean hot pepper or chilli. A free translation might read: "They tease my nephew, they say things to him. For example they give him nicknames, his friends, er... his friends call him, you know, *papa seca*. So he gets annoyed. He complains to me, he says: Auntie, they're calling me *papa seca*. And I say to him: So what, if *papa seca* is nice to eat? And then they call him *papa huayro*. So I say to him: Why do you need to... why does that annoy you, when *papa huayro* is so nice with chilli sauce?"

[115]That is, an Andean migrant or *cholo* who teases others for their *cholo*-ness and lack of metropolitan sophistication.

[116]The *cholo que cholea* is referred to too by William Pérez: "Cuando allá por ejemplo, los primeros que insultan y dicen oye... el primer insulto que los emigrantes del campo a la ciudad dicen es cholo, oye, ¿no? Es como que reniegan un poquito..." (Tapescript 18). At the macro-level, language shift is of course a function of economic and power relations in the wider society, and is hence conditioned by speakers of the dominant language. At the micro-level, though, as Holmes et al (1993) note of immigrants to New Zealand, very often new arrivals are "translinguified" by people of their own kind and linguistic background.

between the "official" view of Quechua as a symbol of *peruanidad* and the widespread disparagement of the language as a symbol of backwardness and poverty. Doña Valentina explains that she upbraided one of her nephew's tormentors thus:

> Entonces le digo, le digo, ¿por qué? Si todos nosotros somos serranos, ¿por qué tienen que decirte eso? ¿Por qué tienen que decirle así? Yo le digo a su amiguito, ¿por qué lo molestas así si todos somos serranos acá? le digo. Entonces no hay un gringo, gringos son los norteamericanos, los gringos de otro país. Nosotros somos serranos. Peruanos serranos.
>
> (Tapescript 09)

Méndez (1996:210), discussing the history of representations of the Peruvian nation, notes that "[t]he Indian is accepted... insofar as he represents a scenic milieu and distant glory". This is precisely the case, and the principle applies equally to "Indian" culture and language in general. Peruvians are urged to be proud of Andean culture and language, and view them as the distilled essence of national identity. They are, though, to be kept at a safe distance: those foolhardy enough to attempt to maintain them in the capital are liable to be ridiculed, not least by other *serranos*. As with María above, who expressed a pious wish to learn Quechua but had no intention whatsoever of doing so, one way of resolving this tension to some extent may be to maintain ostensibly positive attitudes to the language *as a symbol*, while rejecting it to all intents and purposes as a functional code. As Gugenberger (1994:7) notes, "la lengua étnica sigue existiendo en la consciencia [sic], lo que en algunos casos se manifiesta en el uso del quechua, en otros sólo en declaraciones metalingüísticas".

It is these "declaraciones metalingüísticas", above all, that offer insight into the socio-psychological processes underlying language shift in Lima. Non-speakers refer to the language's history, authenticity and *peruanidad*. Speakers, in addition, laud its beauty and intimacy. But this apparent attitudinal support for the language is not translated into a personal desire to learn, use or maintain it (cf Romaine 1995:317-318 for Irish, and Smolicz 1992 for Hebrew and Yiddish). This paradox is in part explicable by reference to the theory of language ideology: the powerful social discourse which represents the Incas as a symbolic national model simultaneously represents the descendants of the Incas as backward and their culture as static and outdated. It is this social pressure, translated into ideologised language attitudes, which ensures that Quechua is at once idealised and rejected. Bentahila & Davies (1992:210) say of Jewish and Berber language shift in Morocco that: "...the attitude to the abandoned language seems to be highly pragmatic; the languages are considered not as symbols, but simply as tools to be maintained just as long as they are needed." The differing language ideology of Peru has produced a subtly different outcome. Attitudes are similarly pragmatic,

but language perceptions are reversed: Quechua is considered no longer as a tool, but now only as a symbol.

Chapter Six

"La revolución para los que venían de la sierra era justamente olvidarse"

Language, culture and the self-image of the urban migrant

> The loss of Berber, while it may look to the outsider like a classic case of a minority being submerged by a majority, does not seem to be experienced like that by those involved; secure in their Moroccan identity, they appear to look upon languages as being rather like clothes, things for which one may feel a certain affection, but which are to be maintained only as long as they are of use.
>
> (Bentahila & Davies 1992:204)

Introduction

The preceding chapters have attempted to represent the LS process in large part in terms of ideologised attitudes to language, experienced at the micro-level as to at least some extent valid and legitimate - even self-evident - but derived ultimately from macro-level processes involving social prestige, power and domination. This analytical model, associated with the work of Bourdieu (e.g. 1991) and developed along the lines suggested by, inter alia, Woolard (1985), Woolard & Schieffelin (1994), Gal (1988, 1989) and Harvey (1987) has considerable elucidatory power. Without it, for example, it would be merely mysterious that, as was seen in chapters 3 and 4, Quechua-speaking migrants simultaneously wish their children to learn Quechua and employ strategies designed to prevent them from doing so.

In this chapter, however, the focus of analysis shifts somewhat to consider language choice as an act of individual and communal self-expression, in some ways approaching the characterisation made of it by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) as an "act of identity": in this case, a reflection of the migrant's desire to represent him or herself as modern, adaptable and capable of making choices. Attempts have recently been made (Walters 1996, Johnstone & Bean 1997) to bridge the perceived gap between this identity-oriented approach to code choice and that mentioned previously, more concerned with the sources of societal power, conflict and ideology. It will be argued here that a combined theoretical approach of this kind is indeed possible, and that the two positions are not necessarily incompatible.

It should perhaps be restated that this is *not* to suggest that LS occurs outside or independently of the existent power structures of Peru. Demonstrably, as was noted in chapter 5, the fundamental reasons for language loss must be sought at the external, structural level (Sasse 1990). Quechua speakers

become Spanish speakers because Quechua speakers are in a number of ways stigmatised by the larger society: because, as Albó (1979) maintains, the language is oppressed, and not because they make a personal decision, in isolation, to prefer the one code to the other. This said, it will be argued that the adoption of Spanish by migrants, while in this sense forced upon them, is not as a rule regarded by them as an alien imposition, or experienced by them as a kind of submission to *criollo* society, to be sullenly endured or secretly resented, with what Dressler (1982:329) calls "acquiescing *Weltschmerz*". Rather, the migrant culture of Lima tends to characterise itself as a real or potential national model, and the Spanish language as being quite its own property, hard-won and hence highly valued. To give up Quechua and embrace Spanish entails a measure of loss and regret at both the individual and societal levels, but it forms part of a larger social process which is in general seen in terms not of cultural defeat but as in some sense a victory.

The first part of this chapter presents some examples of, and points to the dangers in, a very particular type of discourse on cultural and linguistic maintenance; it attempts to show that this discourse, while couched in terms of "protecting" and "defending" Quechua culture, in fact risks being seen as élitist and deterministic, given to a static conception of society, and hostile to genuine cultural self-determination. In this sense it is probably itself inimical to language maintenance; migrants, given their material and social aspirations, are apt to react against it. In the following section it is argued that, as there exists no necessary indexical link between language and culture, so linguistic change - even language loss - cannot necessarily be seen as indicative of assimilation to the dominant culture. As a corollary to this it is then suggested that language shift in Lima, far from providing proof of migrants' assimilation to coastal culture, may in fact equally well be understood as a reflection of their sense of self as hardworking and able, progressive, pragmatic, even heroic, and that this self-image is represented as existing in some ways in opposition to traditional coastal culture.

The phenomenon of Anglo-Saxon naming is described in support of this thesis, and examples are given of other popular discourse - *chicha* lyrics, names of settlements and so on - which suggest that *pueblo joven* culture is not, and is not intended to be, a calque on traditional *criollo* culture. The acquisition of the Spanish language is considered in the context of political-linguistic power structures in Peru, and its importance emphasised as a tangible and achievable marker of personal progress. In sum, it is argued that to characterise language shift simply as an indicator of oppression, as a retreat from traditional cultural values or as an accommodation to the dominant national culture (as even some migrants themselves are wont to do - particularly when speaking of *other* migrants) is to over-simplify a complex, and strikingly creative and dynamic, process.

1 Language choice and language rights

Many commentators on Quechua language and culture, faced with the problem - the word is itself problematic - of widespread language shift, base their analysis and prescriptions on the principle that maintenance is primarily an issue of language rights, these being inextricable from political and civil rights; communities who wish to use Quechua should be supported in their efforts to do so. Mannheim (1984), Cerrón-Palomino (1987b, 1989b), Montoya (1987), Montoya & López (eds) (1987), Godenzzi (1992) and von Gleich (1994a, 1994b), amongst many others, have argued strongly for this position. It is, of course, essentially the same position taken by Fishman (e.g. 1991) and lies squarely within an honourable international tradition of support for minority languages.

Support for linguistic self-determination should, logically, imply support for shift, if this is a community's choice. This is a more controversial area. Paulston (1994:12-13) argues that, given opportunity and incentive, linguistic minorities in modern states *will* tend to shift, and that this unpalatable fact must - *pace* Fishman - be accepted. Ladefoged (1992) goes rather further in insisting that the linguist's task is merely to record and describe the loss of minority languages, not to try and reverse the process. It may be argued - and there is of course no question that Paulston and Ladefoged are fully aware of this - that in the case of historically oppressed languages such as Quechua, the hegemony of the societally dominant language is such that no truly "free" choice is possible (see Abercrombie 1991 on Bolivian Indian self-identification). Certainly relationships between languages are rarely equal, and language choices are hence very often "loaded" and ideologised. The choice between Spanish and Quechua in many contexts is a free one only in the sense that speakers are naturally free to form utterances in any language known to them. (This unequal relationship is emphasised by Cerrón-Palomino 1989b, 1991; and see the discussion in chapter 4). The Linguistic Minorities Project group warns against a "free choice" view of language choice in the following terms:

> The whole concept of language 'choice' is in fact grounded in an individualistic notion of 'free' choice as influenced by setting, audience, topic, etc... [A]ny discussion of the selection of appropriate language or alternation of varieties within a particular bilingual population has always to bear in mind the inequalities and conflicts that are faced by bilinguals in the processes of acquiring and using their different languages...
>
> (LMP 1985:117)

It is difficult to disagree with this; language "choice" is therefore necessarily a rather relative, not to say slippery, concept. And yet, in seeking to understand the motivation of migrants to Lima who to all intents and purposes abandon Quechua in the first generation, it is important to acknowledge that they

themselves see language shift as being in some measure a positive and empowering process. It is accepted without question that in Lima one has to speak Spanish (in this sense one has no choice); but motivation to shift springs also from a deeper level, one at which speaking Spanish represents not submission or accommodation, but resistance and self-assertion. This is so in part because there exists in Peru a strong current of cultural determinism which, in appearing to seek to lock Quechua language and culture into, as it were, a time capsule or sealed compartment, awakens the suspicion amongst Quechua speakers that their best interests are unlikely to be served by their maintaining and transmitting the language. To resist this kind of determinism is natural; the form such resistance takes has language shift as its prime component.

One aspect of this is purely materialist: it need hardly be remarked that the economic and social benefits of speaking Spanish are great - and the potential consequences of not doing so catastrophic. Hence Andean Indians have traditionally fought for the right to learn Spanish (see e.g. Cerrón-Palomino 1989b, Painter 1983) and are deeply cynical about the motivations of those who would encourage them to have their children educated in Quechua (Hornberger 1987 for Peru, Carpenter 1983 for Ecuador). There is, though, a further aspect, one related to self-image and psychological orientation, which helps explain why Quechua is not maintained in Lima *even as a second language alongside Spanish*, which a materialist motivation to shift alone would not necessarily exclude. Two examples of the discourse of cultural determinism are here presented: one demonstrates with some clarity that Quechua speakers are right still to be wary of the motivations of those who would campaign on their behalf; the other, from a Lima anthropologist, goes some way to explaining why so few *limeños* of Andean background feel that Andean culture and language as popularly represented have any relevance to their lives.

2 The discourse of cultural determinism

Ludolfo Ojeda y Ojeda might be considered a prime example of the campaigning *quechuista*: a bilingual educationalist based in Cusco, he has strong views on linguistic and cultural maintenance. In his (1992) article "El maestro y el quechua: en torno a la ley de oficialización del quechua en la Región Inka" he bemoans the unwillingness of state schoolteachers in the southern Andes to do what he sees as their job: inculcate children with the values of "their" language and culture. Language planning legislation should have ensured that these bilingual teachers act as maintainers and promoters of Quechua, but, seduced by the lure of the city and of Spanish, they do not. The result is that the language and culture are set on a course of irreversible decline. One recognises here of course the familiar discourse of the bilingual Cusco élite, with its unshakeable attachment to decrees, legalism, and duly-constituted authorities (cf Samánez Flores 1992, Pacheco Farfán 1994 and other examples of the discourse of the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua

referred to elsewhere). Nowhere does Ojeda form a critique of - indeed, express the smallest doubt about - the value of legislation as a means of influencing linguistic and cultural behaviour: he simply demands that teachers obey the law. Nor does he anywhere define what kind or extent of cultural change would be acceptable, leaving open the possibility that what he sees as a relentless wearing-away of traditional culture by oppressive "national" norms may to its victims - or participants - be a natural and desirable process of growth, development and change.

The crucial weakness in this type of approach is that it fails to distinguish adequately between the "culture" - a conveniently nebulous and impersonal concept - and the human beings who in some way inhabit or live it. This is seen at its clearest in Ojeda's critique of language choice in education. That parents choose to have their children educated in Spanish, even when the option exists of educating them through Quechua, is seen as proof of

> ...un nivel bajo de autoaprecio, tanto personal como grupal y un enraizamiento profundo de las estructuras de la lógica de dominación frente a la lógica de la cultura.
>
> (Ojeda y Ojeda 1992:247).

This may be so. But it is also, as Hornberger (1987) explicitly states, a logical and rational choice, given the present socio-political makeup of Peru. More, in many communities it would be regarded as in almost every way an empowering choice for the individual and community concerned, literacy in Spanish being seen traditionally in the *sierra* as a form of protection against abuse and exploitation (Degregori 1992:42; and see the informants cited by Matos Mar 1986:160). More even than this, it might be argued that, given the historic struggle for Spanish-language schooling in the Andes (see e.g. Godenzzi 1992, Painter 1983), it represents a confident restatement of the hard-won rights of Andean peoples.[117] Ojeda, however, sees only submission to the dominant culture: Quechua speakers simply make the "wrong" choice. If, as seems rather probable, Ojeda's overriding priority is to maintain the "culture" per se rather than to encourage individual or communal self-determination, it must then be asked whether he would deny people free choice in the name of the defence of this culture from the depredations of its own inheritors. A kind of answer is not long in coming:

> Creo, adelantando una opinión muy personal, que el llamado "analfabetismo femenino" es uno de los baluartes de la resistencia cultural indoperuana a la invasión cultural occidental; el haberla

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[117]The implications of this are discussed further towards the end of this chapter. Cerrón-Palomino hints at the dimensions of the struggle when he points out that for most Quechua-speakers, throughout the colonial period and even beyond, "...the 'conquest' of Spanish ... was always achieved in the most unfavourable conditions and before the disapproving face of the Spanish-speaking unilingual" (Cerrón-Palomino 1989b:23). Given this historical inheritance, it is hardly surprising that so many Quechua-speaking parents tend to insist on their children being taught in Spanish and are wary in the extreme of mother-tongue education proposals made by well-meaning outsiders.

considerado sólo como una carencia a superar no hace justicia a la totalidad del problema.

(Ojeda y Ojeda 1992:249)

In the terms of this discourse, then, it is just as well that many Andean women remain uneducated and illiterate: in this way unsullied cultural transmission from mother to child can be guaranteed, and the "authentic" culture will be saved. The cost of this saving to the individual and the community as people goes unremarked; the culture as an abstract entity is regarded as all-important. Itier (1992c:90), noting that this kind of worldview is far from uncommon amongst the self-appointed guardians of Andean culture, qualifies it accurately as "...una concepción spenceriana de las culturas como 'organismos que conservarían su integridad fuera de la historia y de la sociedad". The corollary to this is that a good amount of discussion of migration and language shift in Peru takes place in a rarefied realm where the real desires and motivations of its subjects are unknown, ignored or - even - disapproved of.

The ideological agenda of such "representatives" of Quechua culture is hence never far from the surface. Ojeda is, it will readily be agreed, to some extent right to identify the acquisition of literacy as potentially a major force in the interruption of cultural transmission[118]; apart from anything else, state-sponsored education in Peru tends to contain a heavy ideological bias towards "nation-building", and is replete with references to national history, national heroes, integration of the *costa*, *sierra* and *selva*, and so on, with all that this implies for the survival of cultural autonomy. But his only answer to such complex problems is to block out outside influences altogether, rather like the *ultras* of the Gaelic League who would ban or jam foreign media in Ireland in their attempts to secure an Irish-only *Gaeltacht* (Edwards 1984b:270). Indeed, Ojeda lies squarely within the tradition of *indigenista* intellectuals of years past who sought patronisingly to protect their supposed charges from the malign influence of the modern world (see e.g. Degregori 1992:41).

Ojeda's main preoccupation is language, but a similarly closed and isolationist current is readily apparent amongst many of those who elect to pronounce on other manifestations of Andean culture. A seminar on Peruvian folklore organised by the Municipalidad de La Victoria and held in Lima in August 1996 had as its keynote speaker the anthropologist Mildred Merino de Zela, of the Instituto Riva Agüero. Her contribution was reported in a Lima newspaper in the following terms:

118"While Levi-Strauss... may not have been entirely serious when he claimed that the primary function of literacy is the enslavement of the masses, the notion contains more than a kernel of truth" (Cooper 1989:26). A rather different view, though, comes from Stark (1983) who suspects that literacy programmes in Guaraní were cancelled by the Paraguayan government because they would give monolingual Guaraní-speakers access to national and international information in their own language. The nature of the problem no doubt revolves to at least some extent around which - or rather *whose* - language is taught in literacy programmes.

> La antropóloga sostuvo que... las emisoras radiales de Lima emiten una gran cantidad de canciones y géneros musicales extranjeros en desmedro de las danzas autóctonas, lo que propicia que nuestra juventud se vea cada vez más alejada de las costumbres vernaculares [...] Merino de Zela agregó también que es necesario identificar a quienes representan el folclor verdadero porque existen muchas agrupaciones que incluyen rasgos modernos en sus indumentarias, restándole autenticidad a los géneros que practican.
>
> (*El Sol*, 26/08/96)

This is, perhaps unfortunately, a reasonably representative example of the "official" view of what constitutes - or should constitute - Peruvian culture, and is thus worth examining in some detail. First, an explicit distinction is made between what is *extranjero* and what is *autóctono* in terms of music and dance (and there is here too the merest suggestion of the desirability of control of the airwaves, as with the Gaelic League above; at the very least, in blaming radio stations for cultural abandonment, Merino is guilty of wanting to shoot the messenger). As all that is *extranjero* is assumed to be damaging to cultural integrity, we can of course take it that popular genres such as rock and salsa have no place in Merino's scheme of things. However, there is equally no mention of enduringly creative Peruvian artists such as Miki Gonzales, who with an adventurous fusion of rock, *huayno* and *festejo* has probably done as much as anyone to re-popularise traditional musical styles amongst the urban young, and whose very record titles ("Hatun Exitocuna", "Pisipisimanta") allude specifically to the Andean influences in his music.[119] Likewise Fredy Ortiz, the Quechua-speaking Ayacucho police sergeant who, with his group Uchpa, in 1996 recorded an album of blues music with lyrics entirely in Quechua. *Chicha*, surely the most distinctively Peruvian of modern musical genres, and one rooted squarely in Andean *huayno*, must also stand condemned, borrowing as it does from *merengue*, *cumbia* and other "tropical" styles.

Merino is also far from untypical in her almost sinister insistence on what she supposes to be a pure strain of culture ("*es necesario identificar a quienes representan el folclor verdadero...*"). The inference is that interlopers and cultural fifth columnists must be winnowed out; in her eyes their offence is that "*...incluyen rasgos modernos en sus indumentarias, restándole autenticidad a los géneros que practican*". And here is the crux of the argument, a proposition which, if one imagines it transferred to the field of language, explains better than almost anything else why Quechua cannot hold its speakers in the capital, despite - or because of - champions such as Merino: what is *modern* cannot possibly at the same time be *authentic* (and this is essentially identical to what was argued with regard to language in the preceding chapter). Worse: any superficial taint of modernity is seen to

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[119]"Hatun Exitocuna" is a Quechua calque on the Spanish "Grandes Exitos" or "Greatest Hits". "Pisipisimanta" ("little by little") is the name of a song familiar to Spanish-speaking Peruvians as "Poco a Poco".

contaminate the whole, leaving it valueless and discredited, much as Víctor in Cusco was ashamed of his Quechua "*medio modernizado*" (tapescript 36). One understands readily that the development of a degree of conservatism is a legitimate response on the part of a culture which feels itself to be threatened. It is, though, only one possible response, and it may not be the best one. Dorian (1994) shows that the relationship between language purity and language maintenance is a complex and rather unpredictable one; certainly she gives little support to the notion that language maintenance is best served by an insistence on "authenticity" above all. Merino's authenticity is, in short, the authenticity of the museum. Rather than preserve the culture for future generations, it is apt to trap it in an unreal past, rendering it thus marginal and irrelevant. As Zúñiga (1996:44) rightly insists with regard to the place of Quechua in modern Peru: "...las lenguas y culturas vivientes cambian, pero no pierden identidad; sólo las ruinas permanecen iguales o se deterioran".

Ironically, Merino's demand for authenticity in dress (along with everything else) has the effect of returning us to the site of a long-running conflict. Plaza (1988) describes how some national integrationists in 1920s Bolivia demanded that "*nuestros indios*" should stop wearing their traditional clothes in order to lessen the social divisions in the country (Plaza 1988:356); meanwhile, though, in Puno in 1923 riots broke out in protest against the legal requirement that Indians *should* wear "Indian" clothes and go unshod (Painter 1983). As Plaza demonstrates (and see also Mannheim 1984), historically, the discourse on language, like that on clothing, has been a barometer of how the Andean peoples are perceived by national society. National élites have at various times demanded - unsuccessfully - the forced integration of Andean peoples into a monocultural nation (Turino 1991). Some members of the self-appointed cultural élite of the present (themselves invariably bilingual or monolingual Spanish-speaking) demand - equally unsuccessfully - that the heirs of these same people imprison themselves in an "authentic" cultural and linguistic ghetto.

What the discourse represented here amounts to, in effect, is an authoritarian determinism which claims for itself the right to dictate to others what their culture is or should be. Whatever the orthodoxy of place and time, the failing ascribed to these groups remains fundamentally unchanged: unwillingness to adhere to the norms prescribed for them by outside observers.[120] The cultural and linguistic determinism espoused by the likes of Merino, Ojeda and the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua is not, in the end, any the more acceptable for being directed towards the maintenance of Andean language and culture rather than their eradication. Ojeda's is doubtless the more

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[120]Nor, of course, is this kind of discourse restricted to commentary on the Andean world. The *Economist* (01/03/97), reporting on the linguistic make-up of the Russian Federation, bemoaned the fact that: "Linguists who studied the Ket, a north-west Siberian people, found... that only half the 1,000 or so Ket could speak their own language competently..." The others, presumably, have Russian or Yakut or another regional language as their first or sole code; in what way, then, other than by dint of a crude cultural-linguistic determinism, could it be said that Ket is their *own* language?

offensive, with its ill-concealed contempt for its very subjects, its high-handed urge to reduce them to the level of dependent children who must be protected against themselves and their mistaken, self-destructive desires. Merino's, though, is perhaps the more immediately threatening. Those who refuse to allow natural creativity and subjectivity to act upon the inheritance of the past run the risk of driving that inheritance further away from every succeeding generation.

3 Received culture and negotiated culture

It need hardly be pointed out that Andean culture, like any other, is not simply received intact by each succeeding generation but is negotiated by them, manipulated and reinterpreted as the need arises. Many of the elements of what is regarded as "traditional" or "authentic" Andean culture are of course colonial - or later - in origin. Harvey (1987) in this connection mentions certain *ayni* practices, religious practices and forms of dress (and one might also add, say, music and the use of coca); indeed, the widespread distribution of Quechua itself probably owes more to Spanish colonial institutions than to the "indigenous" culture (see e.g. Torero 1974). Abercrombie (1991) notes that some of the institutions and practices originally imposed upon Andean peoples in order to cement colonial dominance (Catholicism, the *cofradías*) have been refashioned into tools of resistance against European hegemony. Much the same point was made, famously, by Wachtel (1977:187).

This alone should stand as sufficient reminder that culture is negotiable, as is the place of language (and its other constituent elements) within it. It is not a homogenous and changeless whole, existing separately from people. Nor is it simply a set of behaviour-controlling norms into which one is born and to which one has a perhaps historical or social duty to adhere. In agreeing with Juan Carlos Godenzzi that culture is not a matter only of historical legacy and tradition but also "el conjunto de soluciones a problemas surgidos en el desarrollo de una sociedad" (Godenzzi [ed]1987:12), we must accept that living cultures are, by their very nature, constantly in a state of flux.

From the perspective of the determinist worldview, migrants undergoing language shift are simply those who have abandoned their culture and submitted fatalistically to the onslaught of an alien culture. And yet an honest appraisal of the cultural-linguistic makeup of the "typical" migrant and the process whereby they remake their life, must proceed from the starting-point of how they themselves perceive their experience: as Smolicz (1992) insists, there must be "a fundamental assumption that social and cultural phenomena can be understood only if they are studied from the viewpoint of the participants, that is, as they appear to those who are actively involved in them" (Smolicz 1992:281). For most people, migration and urbanisation, while at times difficult or even traumatic, are in the final analysis overwhelmingly positive experiences which bring real (though perhaps delayed) benefits. All available evidence from the 1960s onwards, both

academic and anecdotal, suggests that the great majority of migrants feel that they have made the right decision for themselves and their children, and that in Lima their life has improved (see e.g. Valdivia 1970, Dietz 1976, Matos Mar 1986, Degregori et al 1986). One is tempted to reflect that this reveals as much about the conditions in provincial Peru as it does about the *pueblos jóvenes* of the capital (cf Aramburú 1981:53); but this is quite beside the point. The critical point here is that (voluntary) migrants do not tend to perceive themselves as victims of circumstance, but - rightly or wrongly - as free agents who have made a free choice. An appreciation of this psychological orientation is absolutely indispensable for a real understanding of the process of language shift in Lima. The characteristics of Andean migrants in their own eyes and those of social commentators are discussed in more detail below. For the moment, though, we may confine ourselves to noting the accuracy - *pace* Ojeda - of the following remark:

> Participationist pluralism - in which some ethnic 'content' is lost or altered - should not be seen as some blind turning away from roots, under pressure from an overarching majority. There is every indication that *groups desire change* (or, at least, the advantages which they hope it will bring).
>
> (Edwards 1985:107-8. Emphasis added)

To adapt or dispense with parts of one's culture is not, then, necessarily or simply a sign of subjugation, poor self-image or loss of "authenticity". Flexibility in a culture may be critical to its survival if it comes under pressure. Change may be willed; particularly, one might feel, by voluntary migrants to Lima, fired by their "deseo de cambio y progreso" (Cosamalón 1993a:214). And when culture changes - as in these circumstances it must - language, as an inherent part of the culture, automatically becomes available for re-examination and re-negotiation.

4 Language and cultural identity

There are those who would insist, like Ojeda, that "un pueblo que no usa su idioma desaparece como pueblo"(Ojeda y Ojeda 1992:248). But this almost atavistic belief in the straightforward, indexical relationship between language and culture, common though it is (Edwards 1994 produces a wealth of historical and contemporary examples) has no automatic validity. That culture and "groupness" *can* survive language shift (it by no means follows necessarily that they *will*) is demonstrated by ample cross-cultural, diachronic and synchronic evidence. Studies as varied as, for example, Pandharipande (1992) for Varhadi-speakers in Maharashtra, Hayden (1966) for speakers of Spanish, French and Ukrainian in the USA, and Li (1994) for Chinese-speakers in the UK all help confirm the essential accuracy of Fishman's (1972b:122-126) careful assessment: a culture does not necessarily vanish as "its" language decreases in importance, and language is not uniformly

considered a core cultural marker (and cf Smolicz 1992, Appel & Muysken 1987:14). For South America, Harvey (1987) cites the example of an Aymara worldview being rendered in Spanish through the creative use of language. Urban (1991), noting the range and complexity of possible relationships of language to culture, suggests that in Peru the general movement is towards one language (i.e. Spanish) indexing two cultures (and, one might suspect, more than two); while in Paraguay, two languages (i.e. Spanish and Guaraní) index what is in effect one relatively homogenous culture. In sum, "there is not necessarily an isomorphic relationship between language and culture" (Paulston 1994:15).

There is, indeed, evidence from Lima to support the view of Urban (1991) that elements of Quechua culture may survive even where the language has fallen into disuse. Certainly there seemed to be little real difficulty for respondents in the present investigation in claiming Andean identity even when they spoke little or no Quechua. Carmen Galarza comments:

> Me muestro serrana por el hecho de haber nacido, crecido y conocer algunas costumbres de la sierra [...] Costumbres como por ejemplo sus comidas, su vestimenta, puede ser. [...] Música. Pero claro, la música, el escucharlo, aunque no sé bailarlo completamente todo bien, ¿no? Después... en qué otra cosa puede ser, pues... [...] Aparte de que me faltó el idioma, pues, el idioma, eso.
>
> (Tapescript 44)

The lack of a linguistic marker of culture is here acknowledged, but is given no special importance. In fact the inability to control Quechua to any great extent appears to be placed on a par with a lack of skill in dancing traditional dances; cultural self-identification as Andean is dependent more on birthplace and family and community ties than on specific activities which to the outsider may appear indexical of and hence crucial to the culture (cf Smolicz 1992 on the importance, or lack of it, attached to language as a core marker of groupness). To some, the conscious maintenance of overt cultural markers in the capital is a romantic self-delusion, a misplaced identification of what is important:

> *Pero igual la gente sigue por ejemplo con sus trajes típicos, con su comida, con su huayno, todo ese tipo de cosa, ¿lo cierto?*
>
> Es un romanticismo parcial, me parece a mí. Es el afán de sentirse identificado ¿no? con.... sus raices pero...
>
> *¿Romanticismo nomás?*

Solamente eso, ¿no? No es algo serio, no es algo seriamente conducido. O sea yo he podido ver eso, ¿no?

(William Pérez, tapescript 18)

One imagines that William has in mind the organised *fiesta*, often held under the auspices of a *club regional*, of which presentations of music and dance are a key element. And this is indeed a highly stylised activity, framed and set apart from everyday life, and in that sense artificial (and doubtless approved of by anthropological purists like Merino). The dancers and musicians wear regional costume - their *paisanos* who attend most certainly do not. Culture, though, is not just deliberate outward show, a series of dance steps and costumes. It may also be manifested at much less obvious levels, in low-key patterns of shared behaviour: the offering of a few drops of alcohol from a newly opened-bottle to *mamapacha* (mother earth, or the earth mother goddess) may be observed even in quite middle-class environments. Equally the ritualised toasts and passing around a circle of men of a single glass and bottle, common in *barrio* drinking sessions, recall the elaborate reciprocity of Andean drinking described by, for example, Allen (1988:137-146; see also Harvey 1991 and Skar 1994). Only the (Quechua) words are absent, "tomakusunchis" ("let's drink together") and so on being replaced by the less elaborate - but still quite indispensable - "salud, pues" or similar. The intent and symbolism are intact, and the drinking is thereby affirmed to be a communal, social experience. Andean food is rather well integrated into life in Lima. Eating sitting in a circle, too, the normal way of proceeding in the *pueblos jóvenes*, recalls the world of the Andes rather than the middle-class, Europeanised dinner table.

Nor can accommodation to cultural hegemony be mechanically inferred from outward accommodation to linguistic or cultural norms. Buchowski et al (1994) document the existence of a kind of compartmentalisation in the minds of eastern Europeans living under Soviet-backed regimes, whereby "real" thought and meaning were separated from "official" versions. (Cameron 1995 cites some more, unpublished, eastern European work on a very similar theme). In a similar, if less dramatic way, Andean migrants, while as much as possible accommodating to urban norms of speech and behaviour, tend to retain a powerful sense of Andean identity, none the less real for being at times covert:

¿Se siente usted serrano?

[*Immediately*] Sí, sí, soy serrano. Como serrano, siempre añoro el lugar donde nací, las costumbres. Lógicamente que se siente uno algo alejado de esa realidad, pero en el fondo del alma siempre está viviente, o vive, ese fervor por lo que uno vio al momento de nacer y en la primera época de su vida, de su infancia.

(Marco Escudero, tapescript 48)

This is perhaps no more than nostalgia for childhood, as in the case of Rojas Pérez (1996), but it bespeaks a real and enduring attachment to the language and culture associated with childhood. The fact that a migrant does not speak, or no longer speaks, Quechua does not then necessarily imply thoroughgoing assimilation to the values and norms of the coast. Culture loss is inevitably *partial*, at least in the first generation: in availing him- or herself of *paisano* networks in the city, and in retaining certain patterns of traditional behaviour and modifying others, the migrant is effectively selecting those elements of culture which are seen as being of tangible economic, social or psychological benefit. As Edwards (1985:106) says of minority groups in general: "outright amalgamation or assimilation are not so evident as some might think; certain group markers can be kept for a long time." This is so, but the question of which markers are retained and which dispensed with is not simply a matter of bowing to the dictates of the dominant culture. (Though it is certainly partly this: if Andean food is common in Lima, the historically stigmatised coca is not, and commercial rum is often preferred to *trago*). Still less is it a matter of chance. While the discourse of static cultural determinism sees every departure from tradition as lamentable, in fact migrants give every impression of desiring and opting for change on their own terms. Those elements of Andean culture which are perceived as repressive, irrelevant or inimical to the much-desired process of personal advancement are left behind with a minimum of regret:

> No es... sólo el hambre lo que hace huir al joven del campo o de la familia cuando estos ámbitos constituyen relaciones de opresión. Cuando esta opresión es profunda y restringe la libertad íntimamente, ir a la ciudad es ir al mercado, donde la impersonalidad constituye un alivio, una descarga. El sello de la raza, de la lengua, del género, de la familia pueden difuminarse algo.
>
> (Iguiñiz 1995:687)

The characterisation Iguiñiz makes of the city is in some senses of course highly problematic. A utopian conception of the capital as a free market in which the individual's background, ethnicity and language cease to matter or are subordinated in importance to his or her wage-earning capacity is not one that many Andean migrants would easily recognise. There is ample evidence even in the present study to suggest that such elements do retain considerable importance, for better or worse. And yet Iguiñiz's point is well taken: the world of the Andes is no utopia either, and the Peruvian dictum "*pueblo chico, infierno grande*" carries a hint of the potential for oppression of the individual that is inherent in the tightly-knit communities of the *sierra*. Lima, for all its trials and dangers, offers a kind of liberation.[121]

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[121] While this discussion concentrates on the cultural factors involved in the decision to migrate, it is of course important not to lose sight of the basic economic factors. Pablo Minaya, an elderly man from rural Huancayo now resident in Tablada, compares life in the two places in the bluntest terms: "Hay una cosa tambien que se sufre por ejemplo, en básico, alimentos, así así diariamente por ejemplo, como por ejemplo verduras que tenemos acá, así no hay. No hay." (Tapescript 10). Hilda Otazú was equally realistic about the standard of education that she had obtained

5 *La liberación subjetiva*: language and the transformation of the self

Franco (1991) makes a point similar to that already made above in a slightly different context; while outside observers have attempted to explain migration in terms of "push", or "pull", or a combination of the two - i.e. in terms of objective, external factors - few have attempted to explain it from the angle of subjective factors - that is, proceeding from the starting point of the thoughts and feelings of those most involved in it. He hints - rather delicately - at the presence of a kind of unconscious racism here: Andean Indians are viewed as *tabula rasa,* herded around heedlessly by objective forces, mutely obeying economic laws, seemingly unable to choose or decide for themselves (Franco 1991:86).

The literature relating to language shift seems at times to suffer from a parallel myopia. It was noted in chapter 1 that Myers (1973) details exhaustively the possible answers, in a Lima *pueblo joven*, to Fishman's (1965) question: "who speaks what language to whom and when?" while making virtually no effort to explain *why*. In this sense traditional domain theory is entirely inadequate. To paraphrase the point made insistently by Cameron (1990, 1995), it is not enough to say that Person A uses a given language in Situation X *because* the person involved is A and the situation X; this explains next to nothing. People are not, as Cameron (1990:88) says, "sociolinguistic automata": wherever a choice of codes or styles is available, speakers are in *some* sense free to choose between them (and cf Scotton 1980, Giles & Johnson 1987).

If such choices are in fact governed by norms generated at the macro-level, then we must ask not only who decides on these norms and how, but also what are the intervening variables by which the norms are understood and translated into linguistic choices at the micro-level. One of these variables can be described (in the very broadest sense) as the speaker's real or desired self-image. That is to say, in making a decision on what to say and how to say it, speakers are not simply reacting to invisible pressures (though these pressures certainly exist) but are choosing to project an image of self (Johnstone & Bean 1997, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Language choice - here, the choice between speaking or transmitting Quechua and deliberately not doing so - is thus seen as being tied to (and in fact helping to create) an individual or community sense of identity. Assuming that this is reasonable at least in principle, we might then suspect that there is in the "typical" self-image of the Andean migrant to Lima some attitude or cluster of attitudes which militates against the use of Quechua. If we turn to an examination of what migrant characteristics and self-image amount to, it will become clear that this is substantially the case.

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in her village: "Los números, así, este, las letras, yo he venido cuando estaba en tercer año de primaria. Y recién... es... más atrasado es la enseñanza allá, del... de mi pueblo. No es como Lima o que el Cusco." (Tapescript 46).

Franco (1991), in attempting to construct a sociological characterisation of modern Peru, and in particular Lima, describes a state of affairs which he labels "la otra modernidad". This would be something akin to the sum of the worldview, the economics, the culture and the social reality of the urban "new Peru" (i.e. that of the 90s as opposed to that of the 50s). He suggests that the fundamental motor of the huge changes that have taken place in urban Peru is migration, and that this modernity is therefore *not* the same as the modernity either enjoyed or aspired to by the traditional *Lima criolla*, whether this is understood in terms of material social reality or of "culture", however vaguely defined.

Franco identifies a series of key features in the nature of the migratory experience which have had the cumulative effect of changing Peruvian society irrevocably. One to which he devotes particular attention, and which is particularly germane to our argument on language shift, is "la liberación... de la subjetividad de millones de peruanos del determinismo de la tradición" (Franco 1991:91). By this is meant not only the flexibility and openness to change remarked upon by many other observers of Lima migrants (Lobo 1982:66 is typical in noting that in the Callao settlements of Ciudad Chalaca and Dulanto "...change is seen as a daily potential to be seized when the opportunity arises and worked for with persistence") but something more thoroughgoing. His assessment of the motivations and personal qualities of Andean migrants is worth quoting at some length:

> En algún momento dramático de ese proceso simultáneamente sentimental y racional, ellos optaron por "migrar" [...] Una vez conocida su decisión... uno puede legítimamente inferir que entre la desconfianza en su capacidad y la confianza en sí mismos se decidieron por sí mismos; que entre el hábito y el cambio se inclinaron por el cambio; que entre la seguridad y el riesgo optaron por el riesgo; que entre el pasado y el futuro eligieron el futuro; que entre lo conocido y lo desconocido se aventuraron por lo desconocido; que entre la continuidad y el progreso prefirieron el progreso; que entre permanecer y partir, partieron. Lo cierto es que al optar por sí mismos, por el futuro, por lo desconocido, por el riesgo, por el cambio, por el progreso, en definitiva, por partir, cientos de miles o millones de jóvenes comuneros, campesinos y provincianos en las últimas décadas se autodefinieron como "modernos", es decir, liberaron su subjetividad de las amarras de la tradición, del pasado, del suelo, de la sangre, de la servidumbre, convertiéndose psicológicamente en "hombres libres". Y al hacerlo, sin ser conscientes de ello, cerraron una época del Perú para abrir otra.
>
> (Franco 1991:87)

As even a relatively superficial familiarity with *pueblo joven* culture will confirm, it is surely this kind of cluster of socio-psychological attitudes that characterises the migrant to Lima, just as much as - if not more than - the

more negative ones of loss of culture and fractured self-image that are observed by, for example Gugenberger (1994). It is perhaps surprising that Franco barely mentions language; but to slot language into this schema is almost suspiciously easy (and the observer must therefore proceed with caution). However, if Franco is even half-right about what drives the migrant, then it becomes apparent that, as has already been suggested, explanations of language shift in migrant Peru must be sought not just in the top-down processes of power and dominance but in personal choice and self-image, where choosing to speak Spanish is an "act of identity".

At the most superficial level, negotiation of self-image can be seen in the rejection of the old and an enthusiasm for what is perceived as the modern, global style. Carmen quite specifically associates adolescents' rejection of "old" ways of speaking (that is, of course, speaking Quechua) with their identification with global youth culture, represented in this case by rap and heavy metal music:

> Y es que demuestran, pues, que no me hables eso ¿no? No me digas cosas así, ¿no? Te estoy hablando... no sé si en la primaria, pero de los de acá de la secundaria, que son más raperos, metaleros, más que... ¿no?
>
> (Tapescript 28)[122]

Even allowing for the various and unpredictable relationships borne by language to culture and lifestyle, it should be rather clear that those who choose the national and global, the modern, the progressive, the untraditional in almost every field of their life are unlikely to wish to hold on to a language which - as was argued in the preceding chapter - holds associations of precisely the reverse. Even less are they likely to be keen to pass the language on to their children. Remaking themselves with such effort, why should they then wish to cast the new generation in an outdated mould? In this sense, then, it could be argued that the abrupt shift to Spanish in Lima, the reluctance to speak Quechua and to transmit it to children, is at least in part less a craven capitulation to the dominant culture - the famed *vergüenza* of popular opinion - than an expression of self-confidence and self-assertion, of faith in the future, whether on a personal or a group level. It might be characterised, in fact, as a rejection of traditional cultural determinism.

The pragmatic orientation towards the future, work ethic and self-reliance noted by Franco (1991) above are remarked upon time and again by observers and participants in the social changes taking place in Peru. Attempting to identify the salient characteristics of the "new" *limeños*, Cosamalón (1993a) suggests, inter alia:

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[122]A free translation of this segment could be: "And the thing is that they make it quite clear: don't speak that [*i.e. Quechua*] to me, you know? Don't say things like that to me, you know? I'm talking about... I don't know about the primary school children, but the secondary school children around here, the ones who are more into rap, heavy metal, more than... you know?"

...una alta valoración al trabajo... un deseo de cambio y progreso, siendo fundamental la experiencia de migrar; una iniciativa personal para lograr el éxito económico... el surgimiento de sentimientos nacionales, es decir, sentirse herederos de una tradición autóctona; un sentido práctico frente a la vida, lo que les permite adaptarse a diferentes situaciones y ser creativos...

(Cosamalón 1993a:214)

The migrant's mindset is pragmatic, opportunist, unsentimental, with a strong sense of personal autonomy; crucially, the present is more important than the past (Ortiz 1996, Franco 1991, Ascue & Esquivel 1993). Degregori et al (1986:22) speak of "una cierta actitud psicológica que acentúa la apertura a lo nuevo y la orientación al futuro". William, at once lamenting and celebrating the changes brought by urbanisation, sees "*un rechazo al pasado, a sus raíces*" (tapescript 18). This clearly has critical implications for cultural and linguistic attitudes, though it does not lead necessarily to the kind of wholesale abandonment of culture feared by so many Peruvian (and other) commentators.[123]

Edwards (1985), having reviewed a body of LMLS situations around the world, duly notes an element common to almost all, namely: "a powerful concern for linguistic practicality, communicative efficiency, social mobility and economic advancement" (Edwards 1985:85). This is echoed by Marco Escudero:

Y además este... porque no hay necesidad de que los hijos puedan aprender ese idioma. El sentido práctico fundamentalmente de... del idioma ¿no? ¿Para qué o de qué les serviría a los hijos aprender este... el quechua? No...

(Tapescript 51)

As a description of the mindset that helps drive massive cultural and linguistic change, this pragmatism does not in fact seem a million miles away from the fatalism, loss of belief in one's own culture and consequent acceptance of the power of the dominant culture which commentators such as Ojeda claim to see in Peru. But as we have seen, language loss does not necessarily imply culture loss or assimilation; and migration and its attendant linguistic, economic and social upheaval is not - in Peru at least - motivated *solely* by

[123]In an example from a very dissimilar part of the Americas, Kwachka (1992) discusses shift to English from Koyukon Athabaskan in Alaska (a case of shift amongst indigenous people rather than migrants, but one which, as she points out, appears to have more in common with migrant situations in terms of its speed and generational distribution). A strong sense of Koyukon identity has been maintained, claims Kwachka, in part *because* of the community's pragmatic and unsentimental attitude to language. With a historic flexibility and willingness to learn other languages, the community has not tied its cultural identity to Athabaskan; rather, traditional discourse structures and styles have been transferred to English, thus maintaining cultural continuity even where intergenerational transmission of the language fails.

pragmatism and desire for betterment. To view it in these terms is to rob the experience of its transcendent, even heroic, qualities, some of which were hinted at by Franco (1991, above). Skar (1994:41) neatly captures some of the extraordinary drama of the migratory experience when she calls it "a personal pachakuti"; the image of the migrant's world being turned upside-down, dismantled and re-assembled, is a commanding one.[124] Marco chooses a word with rather similar connotations:

> Es que revolucionarte... la revolución para los que venían de la sierra era justamente olvidarse de su... su... su estilo de vida, su forma de vida.
>
> (Tapescript 51)

What Marco seems to be getting at is the sense of heroism and achievement which migrants see in themselves - and which is reflected in the titles of books such as Degregori et al's (1986) "Conquistadores de un nuevo mundo". The politically-inclined have seen in migrants the visionary pioneers of a new society, whether this is construed in terms of revolutionary socialism (e.g. Reátegui 1971) or neo-liberalism (e.g. de Soto & Ghersi 1987). Idealistic as this kind of discourse may be, it encapsulates an important truth: the changes demanded and made in Lima are not perceived by migrants simply as a submission to *criollo* norms. Rather this is an active process of engaging with the capital, carving a new life out of it through one's own diligence and industry.[125] The city is regarded as a challenge, to be squarely faced and finally overcome; adaptation is not in any sense a surrender. As implied by Franco, it is a victory over the past - and this is surely what Marco means when he says: "*la revolución era justamente olvidarse de su... forma de vida*". Degregori et al (1986), similarly, speak of rebelling against one's destiny:

> [E]l sólo hecho de migrar constituye ya en la mayoría de los casos... un acto de modernidad. Por lo general no migra el resignado a su suerte, sino el que se rebela contra ella y busca cambiarla en el mundo exterior.
>
> (Degregori et al 1986:22)

If this sounds over-dramatic, it must be remembered that memories of migration are in fact often presented in dramatic terms.[126] Literally dramatic, in the case of Gregorio Huarca from Ayacucho, who sees endless parallels between his own experience and that of his namesake, the eponymous child hero of the 1980s Peruvian film "Gregorio".

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[124] *Pachakuti* in Andean philosophy denotes a point where one era ends and another begins; amongst other things it contains the ideas of the world turning, of the completion of a cycle and of a new beginning.
[125] Interestingly, Bradfield notes (1973:362 et seq) that, in terms of self-perception *and perception by others*, migrants tended to be thought of as more daring, independent, intelligent and studious than those who remained at home.
[126] Cf the stylised recollections discussed by Skar (1994:96), with their "hero figure", a semi-real *deus ex machina* who rescues the newly arrived migrant from fear and confusion and sets them on the right course in Lima.

> Yo me vine en el año 84. Y esa película se filmó creo en el ocho cinco. Yo me vine... la empresa se llama este... camión que transporta carga, yo me vine en eso también, Gregorio también se vino ahí. O sea esa película se filma con ese camión. Se llama Halcón. Me vine para acá... ¿tú has visto la película, no? Entonces más o menos yo cuando vengo, tengo dos hermanos mayores, que vinieron, se establecieron por allá por Villa... casi cerca de Villa El Salvador, en un arenal. Y también ellos andaban por allí. En un carro viejo. Y él cuando viene acá... se pone a limpiar zapatos. Yo también lustraba zapatos para costearme a estudiar la primaria y la secundaria. Algo similar también pasó con él.
>
> (Tapescript 13)

To see one's own drama replayed on screen is deeply involving; hence, presumably, the huge popularity in past years of *cholo* characters such as Chamochumbi (a young migrant struggling to make his way in the city, played by the late Héctor Manrique in the *telenovela* "Los de Arriba y Los de Abajo") and Nemesio Chupaca (the creation of the Quechua-speaking comedian and migrant from Abancay, Apurímac, Tulio Loza). Such characters may reflect a real or a desired sense of self. Tulio Loza claims that when Nemesio Chupaca was first thought of, in the 1960s, the television producers wanted him to be a backward and ingenuous character; Loza himself turned Nemesio into a more *vivo*, sharpwitted and resilient figure, and the character's public success was thus assured (see del Castillo 1993:340). Later media representations of the migrant figure have taken the process even further. A commentary on "la Chola Chabuca" (referred to in chapter 4) explains the success of the character thus:

> [S]e convirtió en... estrella... porque ha logrado identificarse con la gruesa masa de provincianos de nuestro país, que ya no son los provincianos de décadas atrás por supuesto, son provincianos protagonistas, tenaces, supervivientes, creadores de un nuevo estilo de vida y de consumo [...] Nadie como La Chabuca de las polleras coloridas y zapatos de grandes tacos... Nadie como ella para retratar el cambio de ese nuestro cholo, al final del siglo.
>
> (*Domingo* magazine, *La República*, 17/11/96)

There are other, less positive ways than this of interpreting the phenomenon of Chabuca, just as there are less positive ways of viewing the process of cultural change in Lima as a whole: as was stressed at the beginning of this chapter, it must be borne in mind that cultural and linguistic shift is taking place within a larger structure of historically-determined power and domination. And yet people encounter their own modes of resistance, and interpret symbols in their own way: to laugh at representations of oneself

might as easily be seen as evidence of cultural confidence as of self-loathing and insecurity.

6 *Urbanización + castellanización = criollización?*

Cerrón-Palomino (1989b) hints at the extent of voluntarism, not to say enthusiasm, present in language shift in Lima when he states - regretfully - that migrant speakers of Quechua and Aymara "seem to have taken the project of assimilation and made it their own" (1989b:27). Although we are now some distance from the conception of the Andean migrant as a helpless victim of socioeconomic circumstance, and although cultural assimilation "is a much more complex issue than language shift" (Paulston 1994:13), still the question alluded to earlier requires an answer: how far is the migrant's process of linguistic (and cultural) change really simply an accommodation to the norms of coastal *criollo* society? To find the answer it is necessary to look at the nature of the new, urban culture. The culture being created in the cities is in essence neither *indio* nor *criollo*; indeed, such a dichotomy seems, in modern urban Peru, merely anachronistic. Allen (1988:219) reminds us that *sierra*-dwelling *runa* are in culture and language neither Inca nor Spaniard, but a product of the encounter between the two; likewise, it should be clear that the migrants are not simply transplanted *campesinos*, but fashioners and recipients of a fusion of cultures. It is inadequate to polarise *adaptación* and *resistencia* as forms of dealing with the experience of migration, as some commentators have wished to do (see Altamirano 1985:2). In finding strategies of incorporation migrants place themselves at some point along a continuum, or create for themselves new social networks and modes of expression, as in the phenomenon of *cultura chicha*; and this applies particularly to the young and to those born or raised in Lima.

Franco (1991:95-96) claims that the new culture is positioning itself in quite new social space. He points out that the *pueblos jóvenes* do not calque the traditional concept of the city, but neither do they seek to eliminate it; the informal economic sector is not the same as modern business practice, but nor does it seek to usurp modern business practice; and so on. This model, applied to language, would perhaps produce something similar to what Huamán (1993) has in mind. He claims to see an egalitarian, nationwide Spanish, tied to no particular region of the country, open to all and encapsulating the values of the "new" Peru and particularly the young and mobile; he labels this code *peruano.*[127] In fact, it will be argued later that the language question appears quite resistant to such an analysis; rather, the social discourse historically built around language use in Peru seems to demand from the Quechua-speaking migrant the rapid acquisition of as criollised a Spanish as possible. In any case, before such a model of the cultural-linguistic situation in Peru could be accepted, or even subjected to

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[127]One analogy to this might be the way that Brazilians will sometimes refer to their language quite unselfconsciously as *brasileiro* rather than *português*.

serious critique, it would of course be necessary to demonstrate that *peruano* exists in a real sense. Unfortunately Huamán makes no attempt to describe the linguistic features of the code or to quantify its supposed availability; he merely asserts its existence. For the time being, then, and while the notion seems intuitively to have a certain measure of validity, it must be regarded as essentially utopian (and this is tacitly acknowledged in Huamán's title: "Utopía de una lengua"). This is an area, though, in which further research is indispensable: while work has been carried out on Quechua-Spanish bilingual speech, *motosidad* and the lexical, phonological and grammatical influence of Quechua on Andean Spanish (see for example Escobar 1990, Cerrón-Palomino 1989a, Aramayo Perla 1979), much remains to be said about the model of spoken Spanish to which Quechua-speaking migrants aspire.

This aside, much discourse on Lima dwells on a sense of newness, of an emergent culture that is as different from that of traditional Lima as it is from that of the *sierra*:

> Hoy, también, Lima es la "Ciudad de los Reyes". Pero ya han emergido otros monarcas, como "Chacalón", el Rey de los Cerros o "Gorrión Andino", varayoc del huayno migrante, padre de la "chicha", en su sirvinacuy con la cumbia... ¿Obreros?... ¿Campesinos? Su utopía, sus mitos, costumbres y léxico nada tenían que ver con la ideología del proletariado...
>
> (Néstor Espinoza, *La República* 19/2/96).[128]

The situation being described thus impressionistically is not, quite obviously, one of simple assimilation (and this is implied in Espinoza's use of the distinctively Quechua cultural terms *varayoc* and *sirvinacuy*). Is, then, the use of Spanish necessarily a sign of acculturation or assimilation to *criollo* society? There is in Andean culture a strong association of Spanish with schooling (see inter alia Briggs 1985, Muñoz 1993, Carpenter 1983, Hornberger 1987, 1988, 1994). There is also - and in the migrant perhaps especially - an equally strong association of schooling with material and social progress. This last is a concept which is only slowly beginning to be accepted in working-class *criollo* culture, traditionally wedded to the notion that the only indispensable criterion for social mobility was to have *vara*, that is, links with "gente bien ubicada" (Panfichi 1993). Interestingly, then, the possibility arises that in being hardworking and studious - which necessarily implies acquiring Spanish - one is not simply *assimilating* to the criollo culture, but in a certain sense *differentiating oneself* from it. This is not to say that everyone wishes to identify themselves proudly as *cholo* (though some do, and some *chicha* lyrics in particular reflect this cultural pride): this is in fact quite an ambivalent and difficult area (Cosamalón 1993a, 1993b; Acha 1993). It does, though, mean

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[128] A *varayoc* is a village office-holder, and here, by extension, a cultural or community leader. *Sirvinacuy* is the name given to the period of trial cohabitation, prior to formal marriage, still commonly practised in the Andes; Espinoza is hence depicting *chicha* music as a kind of cohabitation of *huayno* and *cumbia*.

that self-identification is considerably more complicated than the simplistic model of assimilation to an already-existing culture: the model for aspirational migrant families is not simply traditional *criollo* society, but something less tangible and more far-reaching.

One clue to the nature of migrant aspiration may lie in the names chosen for children, and in particular boys. Dressler (1982:325) notes that an early sign of language decay is the loss of the self-identification function (and cf Hill & Hill 1986 for Mexico).[129] Indeed, as might be expected, amongst the generations born in Lima shanty towns and *barrios* there are to be found very few of the quintessentially Andean names (albeit of Spanish origin) - Anastasio, Dionisio, Plácida, Saturnino, Agripina, Valentina and so on. However, very often the alternatives chosen do not imitate the preference of the middle and upper classes for traditional Spanish names, but leapfrog instead to names associated with Anglo-Saxon culture - Stuart, Patrick, Elizabeth, Peter, Joanne, Henry, John/Jhon, Jonathan/Jhonathan, James - or (less often) with Brazil: João, Washington, Edison, Nelson.[130] The sense that this is a cultural phenomenon that is relatively new, distinctively Peruvian, and restricted to the lower socioeconomic levels (i.e. in Lima, overwhelmingly those of migrant background) was reinforced by a televised event of August 1996. The popular Mexican comedienne "La Chilindrina" (María Antonieta de las Nieves), at the end of a season of "circus" performances in Lima, held one special free performance. This, unsurprisingly, attracted an audience consisting in its majority of the inhabitants of the *conos*. At one point in the show, when La Chilindrina was asking children their names and receiving a steady stream of "foreign" replies, she made a joking comment along the lines of "¡Ay, que la gente aquí tiene nombres raros...!" It might be inferred - cautiously - from this that she had not come across many such names in previous, paid-for performances.

Painter (1983) points out that in Puno, during the colonial period and even after, "many people found it to their advantage to adopt Spanish surnames along with the other trappings of Spanish culture"; adding that, seemingly, "the surnames function as a metonym for Spanish values..." (Painter 1983:33). This sounds convincing, and it is to be suspected that the given names of contemporary migrants and *pueblo joven* residents are intended to function in a similarly metonymic fashion, but not in relation to "Spanish" (in this case, read white élite) values. Rather, the phenomenon presumably reflects the widespread popularity of north American films and Brazilian *telenovelas* - and perhaps an enduring interest in European élites: famously,

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[129] Nor is this connection lost on those who *wish* to promote language shift. In the 1980s the Bulgarian government forced ethnic Turkish citizens to adopt Bulgarian names (Appel & Muysken 1987:57). The Thai dictatorship in the 1930s likewise ordered ethnic Chinese to adopt Thai names. Presumably in both cases the desired final outcome was total linguistic and cultural assimilation; names are a tangible and accessible starting point.

[130] These names were collected during the course of visits to the *pueblo joven* of 200 Millas in Callao and to Villa El Salvador. It is difficult in the extreme to estimate the proportion of "foreign" names in the *pueblo joven* population; when names were read out on a bus holding some 40 children I noted about 15 such (there were some borderline cases, of course). However, it is noticeable that the younger the children concerned, the greater the proportion. This impression was confirmed by informants who told me that such names had become very popular over the last few years.

one girl born in the 1980s was christened "Lady Di". The crucial point, though, is that the model - of modernity, of wealth, of progress, or whatever it may be - is emphatically not just the established Lima society to which migrants might be expected, by outsiders and even *limeños*, to aspire, but something beyond it, and different from it. In other words, cultural assimilation is not simply to the locally dominant society, but to an idea of the modern that is at once more global and more idiosyncratic, negotiated and defined by the communities themselves.

It is not only that migrant culture does not in general set out to ape traditional Lima culture; rather, that it positions itself at times in opposition to it. Many of the *criollos* who are so disparaging towards Andean migrants might be less than pleased to learn that they are in turn routinely dismissed by the *serranos* as being lazy, workshy and addicted to pleasure (Lobo 1982:72; Dietz 1976:40-41; del Aguila 1996). The explicit identification of the provincial migrant with a desire to progress through work and study - and its implicit hint that such an attitude is lacking amongst the urban *criollos* - is reflected also in the names of *asentamientos humanos* and *pueblos jóvenes* ("El Progreso", "Nueva Esperanza", "Los Constructores" and so on) and most particularly in the lyrics of certain *chicha* songs, the artistic expression *par excellence* of the urban migrant culture. There is a sense here of building a new world, either through study and professional training -

> Somos estudiantes/somos del Perú/Somos profesores/para nuestra niñez,/médicos seremos/para la orfandad./Somos ingenieros/para nuestro país/arquitectos somos/de nuestro destino.
>
> ("Somos Estudiantes" by Los Shapis)

- or through simple hard work and ambition, without, as implied here, the *criollo*'s advantage of well-connected relatives or family capital:

> Soy muchacho provinciano/me levanto bien temprano/para ir con mis hermanos/ayayayay a trabajar./ No tengo padre, ni madre/Ni perro que a mí me ladre/sólo tengo la esperanza/ayayayay de progresar.
>
> ("Soy Provinciano" by La Nueva Crema).

While *chicha* contains much sentimentalism about the beauties of the singer's *tierra* and the sorrow of leaving loved ones, the listener is left in no doubt at all that migration is an absolute necessity. It is, though, in the way seen above, represented less as a tragic submission to fate than as an heroic challenge, one fit for the stouthearted *serrano* with an appetite for work:

Te juro madre mía/yo tengo que triunfar/he de viajar a Lima/lo tengo que lograr,/soy provinciano humilde/con ansias de luchar.

("El Provinciano" by Los Brillantes).[131]

It might at first appear surprising that *chicha* music contains so few Quechua lyrics: indeed, virtually none. It is, after all, quintessential migrant music, played by and for those of Andean background. However, viewed in the light of the above discussion - the idea of individual and societal transformation through study and hard work, allied to the association between education and Spanish, *chicha* can be seen rather plainly to be *necessarily* expressed through the medium of Spanish. To use Quechua would be in some way to go backwards (cf Humberto and Lucho's *"ya no podemos regresar"*, quoted in chapter 5); and this is a culture which, as noted above, prizes constant forward movement.

More: to revert, as it were, to Quechua could be construed as a submission to the dominant classes. If this seems counter-intuitive, it should be remembered that alongside the history of imposition of Spanish (i.e. *castellanización*) and of resistance to this, there exists in Peru an opposite or parallel history of Spanish being withheld from Aymara and Quechua speakers, in order to help maintain the dominance of the Spanish-speaking white and *mestizo* élite. Indeed, much of the politico-linguistic history of the country from the Conquest onwards can be represented in terms of the ascendancy of one or the other of these currents of thought (Cerrón-Palomino 1989b, Mannheim 1984, Heath & Laprade 1982). It is therefore natural that the acquisition of Spanish has very often been considered a crucial element in the battle against *criollo* supremacy (Painter 1983 refers to real battles, with real deaths, being fought over Spanish language rights in Puno); and that language maintenance efforts are often regarded with deep suspicion (Hornberger 1987; and see Carpenter 1983 for Otavalo, Ecuador).

To this background might be added the proprietorial pride taken by the traditional *criollo* classes in their Spanish, and in their linguistic skill. Alfredo Gonzales - popularly known, for obvious reasons, as El Bocón - president of the Universitario football club and hence guardian of one of the most emblematic of *criollo* cultural institutions, announces: "Yo soy un criollazo... un empresario austero con mucho dominio del lenguaje".[132] The equation of this particular ethnocultural background with a facility with words is a familiar one. A sub-text to it is revealed by one of Panfichi's (1993) informants, Rubén, a young man from the traditionally working-class Lima

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[131] These and other popular songs can be found reproduced in Hurtado Suárez (1995). The same author offers a useful sociological commentary on the discourse of *chicha* lyrics; see also Quispe (1993) and Cornejo (1997).
[132] *VSD* magazine, *La República*, 08/11/96.

redoubt of Huerta Perdida. He disparages provincial migrants for their discourse style:

> El provinciano no sabe desenvolverse porque no sabe conversar con las personas, no sabe dialogar [...] El criollo es más entrador, más hábil, más hablador, o sea que si loreas bien y ahí mismo te ganas algo.
>
> (cited by Panfichi 1993:304)

Capitalino and *provinciano* are hence considered to be divided by language.[133] Valentín (1993) identifies a rather ambivalent strain in popular attitudes towards language in his analysis of the 1990 election campaign. Mario Vargas Llosa's perceived skill with words won him respect, but this same skill later aroused suspicion and distrust amongst the *clases populares* in shanty towns and rural areas, who considered that, as Valentín has it, "el dominio de la palabra, del verbo, puede embelesar, encantar, subyugar, pero también someter" (Valentín 1993:103). Of course this kind of ambivalence has always surrounded politicians (and since the García administration *demágogo* has been one of the most potent political insults in Peru). But in the Peruvian context particularly, where access to the *langue légitime*, whatever this may be perceived to be at any particular time, has since before the Conquest been viewed as conferring real power (Cerrón-Palomino 1989b, Harvey 1987, 1991), it is tempting to see the resentment of Vargas Llosa's "dominio de la palabra" as going hand-in-hand with the resentment of him as a *sobrante*, an arrogant and over-powerful representative of the metropolitan white élite (Valentín 1993:102-103).

In Peru to state that "language is power" is not merely academic hyperbole. It strikes a genuine chord with those who feel that their language, or their use of language, is linked to their oppression; and, conversely, with those who feel their language is linked to their privileged status. If the *criollos* see their superiority as resting to some extent on their use of language, then it is not unnatural that the area of language be turned into a battlefield on which this superiority will be challenged; not, in this case, by Quechua speakers cleaving defiantly to Quechua, but by Quechua speakers appropriating Spanish.

If this is once acknowledged, it becomes possible to see the kind of discourse represented by "El Bocón" and Rubén as essentially *defensive* - as if, having reluctantly accepted that "their" language has been appropriated by Andean migrants (i.e. at the level of code choice), the *criollos* erect barriers at the level of discourse style (and, it should be noted, also at the level of

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[133] A further aspect of cultural-linguistic differentiation should perhaps be remarked upon in passing. Note that in both the examples given above, *criollo* skill with language is linked with money-earning potential. Rubén, of course, makes the connection quite explicit (*"loreas bien y ahí mismo te ganas algo"*). Gonzales is less explicit but there is a clear implication that his *"dominio del lenguaje"* helps explain his vocation as *empresario*. Both are casting themselves in the mode of the traditional *criollo vivo*, relying on quick wits, verbal fluency, charm and persuasiveness to make a living, in direct contrast to the professed Andean virtues of stolidity, diligence and patient hard work.

phonology, as with the widespread disparagement of Spanish that is perceived to be *moteado*) in an effort to maintain their historic advantage. As Cerrón-Palomino (1989b) rightly comments, the Spanish of Andean bilinguals has never been considered good enough by the dominant sectors of Peruvian society. However, while he perceives linguistic shame and self-loathing to have been critical in the drive towards acquisition of Spanish (and while this has doubtless been the case at times), as an explanation of the preference for Spanish amongst migrants in Lima it is only partially convincing: it does not seem to sit easily with the marked self-belief and confidence that characterises migrant culture. Rather, it might be suggested that the preference for Spanish represents a refusal to allow the *limeños* to dictate the terms of the argument; a defiant appropriation by migrants of Bourdieu's *langue légitime* (cf Harvey 1987:121, who speaks of the desire to "adquirir o por lo menos neutralizar el poder por la apropriación de sus símbolos") and an assertion that it belongs to them as much as to anybody.

7 Summary: language choice and self-image

What is perceived of as loss of culture is perhaps better thought of as modification of culture; it is partial, in the sense that some elements survive while others are dispensed with, and it involves the formation of entirely new modes of social organisation and self-expression. Abercrombie (1991:98) refers to the "permanently interstitial cultural formations" generated by the meeting of cultures in the Andes; this is helpful in that it reminds us that cultural accommodation is not a one-way process. To see language shift in Lima entirely in terms of decay, of loss, is to miss the positive sense of dynamism and creativity that accompanies it.

Change is the essence of the migrant's worldview; a willingness to change and to leave behind old patterns of behaviour is part of the survival kit of any voluntary migrant, anywhere in the world. This is not to suggest that all migrants, anywhere in the world, abandon their language within a generation. Clearly many do not, and the speed of loss of Quechua amongst migrants in Peru is, comparatively, striking. But all migrants adapt in some way - if they do not, they will certainly fail - and one of the aspects of social behaviour available for change is language. In deciding - collectively, we might say - to abandon Quechua, these "new" *limeños* are not simply submitting mutely to forces beyond their understanding, but actively selecting which elements of traditional culture are likely to be of use to them. The valued elements of Andean culture are retained, the less-valued rejected. The self-image of the migrant as the self-reliant, hardworking pioneer of a new Peru, reflected in popular discourse such as *chicha* lyrics, is constructed in opposition to the popular conception of the *criollo* as lazy and self-seeking. To speak Spanish, then, is not to ape coastal ways but to appropriate that part of the *criollo* culture that is associated with modernity, progress, education and material advancement, even, as was suggested above, to challenge notions of *criollo* superiority. This is an expression of cultural self-confidence, of desired

change, rather than a mere acceptance of domination. The adoption of Spanish as the principal language of an individual does not necessarily imply assimilation to *criollo* norms. However, there is little doubt that the acquisition and everyday use of Spanish represents a key (perhaps *the* key) step in the migrant's odyssey towards the construction of a new self, one that is seen as objectively superior to the old. To argue for the retention of Quechua would, in these terms, be to return to powerlessness and mute obedience.

In essence, it is argued here that to interpret language shift in Lima *solely* in terms of oppression and domination is to adopt a crude determinism that denies the individual and communal ability to remake and re-interpret cultural symbols and, not least, to act in their own best interests. The willingness, even enthusiasm, to shift is something that must be acknowledged, even if it is regretted. Discussing the extraordinarily rapid shift from Irish to English up to and during the 19th century in Ireland, Edwards (1984b) quite correctly places the question of language choice alongside that of linguistic oppression:

> The reasons for the decline of Irish are many, but all have their roots in the interplay between an increasingly powerful language and a weakening one. This interaction is more complicated than many blinkered apologists for Irish would have us believe, and does not exist simply along an oppressor-oppressed continuum [...] Perhaps the element most often ignored is the acquiescence of the population in the shift...
>
> (Edwards 1984b:273-4)

This is so; and in the case of Quechua-Spanish shift in Peru, where blood has been shed for the right to learn and speak Spanish, the question takes on enormous significance. There have, as was noted at the beginning of this chapter, always existed contradictory currents in the discourse. Some have considered that Andean Indians are best served by zealous maintenance of their culture, language included, others that *castellanización* offers the best defence against oppression (Wölck 1973, Harvey 1987). In Lima, the question has been settled, probably for good. The *clases populares* have seized the language of power and adopted it wholeheartedly. This is not just, as Bourdieu (1991) might have it, a misrecognition of the symbol of power for power itself; rather, it is a clear-eyed recognition of the fact that Spanish offers possibilities that Quechua does not, and the consequent re-assignment of Spanish as a symbolic commodity to the status of something *nacional*, not the property of an élite (and cf Cosamalón 1993a, 1993b on the migrants' feeling that they alone are truly representative of the nation). Where von Gleich (1994a) sees fatalistic subordination to the logic of language shift, one might equally see confident self-assertion, expressed in the challenging of the dominant *criollos* on their own ground.

The reading of language shift as being driven to some extent by voluntarism, and of migration as being experienced to some extent as a route to self-fulfilment, should not of course be overstated. It was noted in chapter 2, section 1, that Quechua is popularly perceived to be embedded with extraordinary tenacity in the soil of the Andes. The sense of place with which some speakers associate their native tongue may be so strong (Mannheim 1991, Hornberger 1988), and the resulting system of territorial domain allocation so thoroughly ingrained, that these speakers may feel that to speak Quechua in the capital is simply - and literally - out of place. For such migrants, "choosing" to speak Spanish hardly represents a choice at all (if, indeed, it does for anyone). Certainly they would be unlikely to regard their linguistic behaviour in terms of a defiant appropriation of the dominant code; rather, it would be considered a straightforward response to the existence of quite clearly defined domains (as with Abel's *acá* and *allá*, referred to in chapter 5, part 1).

Similarly, for all that there exists in Peru a pervasive and influential body of popular discourse which represents the process of migration in terms of confrontation, struggle and eventual triumph, it is not to be doubted that for many migrants it is an altogether less dramatic and more traumatic experience. The insecurity, marginality, poverty, disorientation and cultural dislocation which can plague Andean migrants in Lima has been well documented (see e.g. Skar 1994, Matos Mar 1986, Lloyd 1980) and is reflected in the testimonies of several of the present respondents (e.g. Percy Otazú and Emilia Aguirre). Some, like Percy Otazú and Saturnino Aguirre, fail to settle at all, and move on (though it is noteworthy that neither was planning to return to his home village).

And yet for all this, it is hard to see the subjects of this study either as victims of circumstance or as individuals who have been unable to make meaningful choices. Returning to the example of language shift in Ireland, it is hardly to be doubted that, as Macnamara (1971:86) comments: "The *Gaeltacht* people and the working classes [in preferring English]... have, by their behavior, cut through a deal of middle-class wishful thinking and exposed it for what it is." That is to say, people will shift language if they perceive it to be in their own best interests, regardless of what their self-appointed representatives and supposed betters think they should do. In this they make a rational choice even though such a choice has perforce to be considered within the overall framework of political, economic and social power. It has been said of the migrant to Lima that "le gusta elegir, redefinir..." (Ortiz 1996). Language choice is the clearest possible expression of this: the Quechua speaker who becomes to all intents and purposes a Spanish speaker is not merely abandoning his or her culture, but redefining it and proclaiming a new sense of self.

Chapter Seven

"Somos tu futuro"

Quechua loss and the potential for reversing language shift

> What language is never merely a technical question. Language, power and voice are intimately related and tap into the deepest feelings of social identity. To speak or be denied a language has everything to do with one's sense of adequacy and power and space of operation in a given society.
>
> (Marshall 1991:100)

Introduction

This final chapter attempts to summarise the discussion up to this point, bringing together some of the disparate strands of the process of Quechua loss in Lima, and to place the question of changing language use in its broader social context. Building on the conclusions thus arrived at, a prognosis is offered for the future of Quechua in Lima, and the possibility of a revival or revitalisation of Quechua is considered within the context of changing attitudes to language and culture in contemporary Peru.

1.0 The causes and process of Quechua loss: an integrative summary

It has been argued here that the roots of language shift lie in the social, political and economic structures that history has bequeathed to Peru. The Spanish conquest and its aftermath locked Andean peoples into a position of inferiority, while extending the use of Quechua to ever more of these peoples (Torero 1974, Mannheim 1991). The development of a colonial "dual culture" (Escobar et al 1975) ensured that social realities were predictably replicated in language distribution. To speak Quechua was both to advertise one's powerlessness and to further it. While contemporary patterns of language distribution are very different to those of the colonial period (and are demonstrably undergoing rapid change), it is argued that the effects of this dual culture live on in Peru in the form of a set of linguistic attitudes and practices which continue to marginalise Quechua from national, and particularly urban life, and to discourage its use and transmission. These intermediate factors, carried by and experienced through the speaker's social networks, might be seen as the link between macro-level social forces and individual linguistic behaviour.

This study has attempted to isolate and describe some of these factors, showing how they are perceived or experienced by ordinary speakers, and thus how the process of language shift in Lima is driven forward. While it is not pretended that the set of features presented is exhaustive, the contention is that, taken together, they form the basis of what Quechua-speaking migrants (and the children of migrants, and those who may be expected to migrate in the future) experience as an all but irresistible pressure towards, finally, sole use of Spanish. The major features that have been discussed are here reviewed briefly, the connections between them highlighted, and their effects on the process of language shift considered.

1.1 The associations of Quechua

The socio-psychological associations of Quechua, in the minds of speakers and non-speakers alike, play a vital part in its marginalisation from the life of the capital. Quechua is perceived to be deeply rooted in the culture and environment of the Andes (Mannheim 1984, 1991); while this perception doubtless helps to explain the resilience of the language in its historic heartlands[134], it means that the language is not easily thought of as transferable, or mobile, in geographical terms. Social mobility, most importantly, is a feature which is perceived as being incompatible with the maintenance of Quechua. The language is associated primarily with the poor and the powerless, with lack of education and lack of opportunity; social advancement is achieved not through attempting to raise the status of the language, but through abandoning it.

This cluster of associations alone may be enough to drive language shift; however, the process of shift is in addition a compound or circular one, so that each aspect of the process feeds into and accelerates the others, placing the language on a vertiginous downward spiral, in the way described by Dressler (1982:325) in his discussion of language decay. Once the process of intergenerational language shift is begun, its natural demographics bring about a further marginalisation of the language: it has been shown here that the migrant speaker may often think of Quechua as a code used in childhood, and that the migrant's children, hearing it primarily from grandparents, think of it as being a code of the elderly.

This association of Quechua with the past is compounded in the minds of many Peruvians by the style of much "official" (or dominant) discourse on the language. Quechua is indelibly linked to the Inca empire, and is routinely referred to in terms such as "el idioma de los incas". Elite bodies such as the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua lay enormous emphasis on this supposed linguistic heritage, unambiguously identifying Cusco Quechua (and

[134]Or rather, what are thought of as its historic heartlands. The modern finding that Quechua had its origins not in the southern Andes but on the coast (Torero 1974, Rojas 1980) has yet to gain any measure of acceptance in the public mind; indeed, it is almost completely unknown.

more specifically, their own sociolect) as the "original" and "legitimate" variety (Itier 1992b, 1992c, Niño-Murcia 1997). Scholars (Peruvian or foreign) who challenge the notion that the language originated in Cusco and that the speech of the Academicians is the purest expression of incaic style are reviled as self-hating, traitorous or simply ignorant (Itier 1992c).[135]

The ideological intent behind such status planning is clear enough; its effects on language use and language attitudes, though, are a relatively more complex matter. The equation of Quechua with the Incas, while understandable in terms of attempting to raise the prestige of the language, inevitably casts it in a historical, rather than a contemporary light; Quechua comes to be thought of as a relic of the past rather than as a modern, living language. So pervasive is this discourse that it has seeped even into overseas perceptions of Peru. A glossy tourist guide published in London says of Cusco that:

> Indian vendors speak Spanish to tourists and Quechua to each other. Catholic nuns live in buildings once inhabited by Inca vestal virgins [...] Cuzco is a city where past and present collide in an uneasy mix.[136]

The Incaic "vestal virgins" or *akllakuna* have long since passed into oblivion; Quechua continues to be the native tongue of millions. And yet the two are conflated and represented as symbols of the past, in uneasy "collision" with the present.

There is no doubt that nationalist and regionalist ideologues have succeeded in raising Quechua to the status of a symbol of *peruanidad*: however, it is often perceived as being *no more than* a symbol. Positive attitudes to a language, it has been stressed here, do not necessarily translate into a desire to speak that language, especially if it is associated with past, rather than present glories (see e.g. Fishman 1991:91). And indeed, it might be inferred from the data from younger urban speakers presented here that, while Quechua continues to be an important cultural symbol for many Peruvians (and especially for those of Andean origin, and especially for those from the Cusco area), this broad support for the maintenance of the language does not necessarily extend to a desire to learn, speak or transmit it. The essential distinction to be made here, of course, is between language as a communicative system, and language as a cultural artefact, a repository of symbolic values. (This distinction is drawn clearly by Edwards e.g. 1984:274. Edwards' views on the question of language, culture and ethnicity, which

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[135]Those who question the Academia's view of history and linguistics may even be accused of acting, like mercenaries, for gain. The President of the Academia, referring to a well-known Lima linguist, told me: "Entonces hay individuos que aparentan - *aparentan* - ser investigadores. Se dedican a escribir libros, pero con fines netamente comerciales, para ganar solamente plata. ¿Lo cierto? Para hacer fortuna. Pero no con esa buena intención de defender una cultura. No con esa buena intención de hacer verdaderamente ciencia" (Dr Juvenal Pacheco Farfán, tapescript 49).

[136]Insight Guide Peru, APA Publications 1997, p 183.

chime to a large extent with those expressed in this study, are summarised very fairly by Romaine 1995:284-286).

In addition, it must be asked which model of the language (that is, *whose* language) is being selected for objectification as a symbol of the nation. The Academia, notoriously, identifies "legitimate" Quechua as being the *qhapaq simi* of their own class - that is, the sociolect of the group of élite bilingual speakers in the city of Cusco who identify themselves as the heirs of the ancient, noble Incas. The *runasimi* of modern peasant speakers, by contrast, is characterised as degenerate and uneducated, a kind of *lingua romana rustica* to the classical *lingua latina* of the Academicians. Thus the solidarity function of Quechua, crucial to the maintenance of many a minority language, is absent from this discourse. Or rather, if the solidarity function is present, "...it goes in the other temporal direction, not with today's masses but with the Inca Past" (Niño-Murcia 1997:149). In this sense, to try to encourage young Peruvians to speak Quechua on account of the greatness of the Incas is self-defeating: what young speakers quite understandably question is not the historical legitimacy of the language, but its relevance and status *in the present*.

The style, tone and assumptions of élite discourse disfavour Quechua in one other way. Where the Inca empire, centred on Cusco, is seen as the epitome of Peruvian national greatness, all that has followed it must be seen as in some way imperfect. Similarly, if Quechua reached its apogee of purity and legitimacy at that time and in that place, all other diachronic varieties of the language must have been in some way corrupt (the later ones being presumably more corrupt than the earlier, immediately post-conquest ones), and all contemporary regional varieties corrupt in addition because of their distance from the Cusco standard. As has been shown, this sense of decay and imperfection is a recurring feature in Quechua speakers' observations on their own language. The effects of this perception must be assumed to be pernicious; less confident speakers find their confidence dented even further, and even fluent speakers may have their belief in their own linguistic correctness severely shaken. As Dorian (1987, 1994) shows, an insistence on purity and authenticity (real or imagined) is not always helpful to the survival of a threatened language: speakers who doubt their own competence or are continually criticised by self-appointed language campaigners are apt to shift to sole use of the dominant language, which they may well feel much more comfortable with. Dorian says of the teaching of Gaelic:

> The effect of these efforts to promote Gaelic by teaching it can be seen overall to have been alienating rather than reinforcing, and this is a common enough result where a threatened language displays pronounced dialect differences and no established standardization tradition exists to temper the alienating effect of encountering authority figures who attempt to inculcate nonlocal norms.
>
> (Dorian 1987:59)

What is true of teaching "nonlocal" norms (and, we might add, non-contemporary norms, or those norms derived from an untypical sociolect) may surely also be true of promoting the status of such norms. This is particularly the case in Peru, because of the intense ideologisation of language which has been the traditional forte of the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua and its intellectual forebears. While campaigners such as the Academia, then, might be assumed to be having a positive effect (and the great majority of those Peruvians who are aware of the Academia do indeed assume just this - see e.g. Vega 1996), the reality is somewhat different:

> The purist discourse in Cuzco, although it appears on the surface to legitimize indigenous culture... in reality contributes to the marginalization... of the indigenous language and ultimately of its rural speakers, whose language is seen to be marked by the stigma of poverty and equated with a iack of culture.
>
> (Niño-Murcia 1997:157)

While it is not suggested here that the Academia has enormous influence (probably even in Cusco) on the development or maintenance of the Quechua language, it should be stressed that its position does represent the logical extreme of a very widespread strand of opinion in Peru. Official discourse constantly emphasises, and popular wisdom seems cheerfully to echo, the importance of the Incaic heritage of the language. Hence it comes to be seen not as a fully functional modern language, but as an anachronism; meanwhile, the varieties spoken by the bulk of its modern speakers are (implicitly or explicitly) characterised as lacking in purity and legitimacy, even, it sometimes appears, by these speakers themselves.

Taken together, the discourse on the Incas and imperial Cusco, and the associations with the past, childhood and old people referred to above, form the background to a perception of the language which is extraordinarily damaging to the prospects of its maintenance. Quechua, in the capital at least, tends to be regarded as old and outmoded, belonging to the past. It will be recalled from chapter 5 that Lucho Escudero commented: "*ya no podemos regresar al quechua*". This remark can be read in two ways. It may be intended to mean that Peru, as a nation, cannot bring back the ancient history of the Incas, and their language; or it may equally mean that Lucho and his brothers, and ambitious urban migrants like them, cannot go back to the language of their childhood. In either case, the ideologised conception of language underpinning the comment is the same. To move from Quechua to Spanish, whether historically, as a society, or personally, as an individual speaker, is in some sense a natural and uncontentious chronological evolution: a progression, in short. To do the opposite would be to fight against the laws of nature, to try to reverse the flow of time and societal or familial history. In terms of Peruvian language ideology, then, language shift is conceived of as driven by natural laws, and in this sense irresistible.

1.2 Migrant culture and the desired future

This ideologised conception of Quechua as a language of the past, while Spanish is a language of the present and future, is crucial to the process of language loss in Lima not just in itself, but because of its interconnection with another distinctive urban feature: the self-image of the Andean migrant as pioneer and builder of the individual, familial and societal future. It was suggested in chapter 6 that Lima migrant culture defines itself (to the extent that it is possible to generalise about what is at heart a rather disparate group of people) as forward-looking, modern and located at the very forefront of Peruvian social change. Los Mojarras, a popular rock/*chicha* group from El Agustino, summarise the feelings of first and second generation migrants in a stirring and affectionate address to the city:

> Ahí va la generación de pueblos de inmigrantes,/Que vivieron un mundo diferente al de sus padres, al de sus abuelos.../Lima limeña, Lima provinciana, Lima tu presente, somos tu futuro./En tus calles como ambulantes, en tus mercados como comerciantes,/En tus edificios, en tus pueblos jóvenes, desde el obrero hasta el empresario.../Lima limeña, Lima limón, Lima serrana, Lima provinciana...
>
> (From "Nostalgia Provinciana", 1995)

The nostalgia of the title is no more than an emotional reflex; it contains no real sense of desire to return to the Andes. (A return in space would also entail in some sense a return in time, a regression: to return to the *tierra* from the city is analogous to "returning" from Spanish to Quechua, and is therefore fundamentally both undesirable and unnatural, even though it is available to be sentimentalised and idealised in talk and song). The distinctive and characteristic voice of the migrant discourse on Lima is heard in the line: "*Lima limeña, Lima provinciana, Lima tu presente, somos tu futuro*". The association of Quechua with the past, already described, runs directly counter to the migrants' impatience with the "old" ways of doing things and their clear-eyed orientation towards the present and future (see e.g. Ortiz 1996). While migrants characteristically exhibit strong affective/emotional links to the *tierra*, they tend equally characteristically to reserve to themselves the right to define their own social and cultural identities: the cultural determinism inherent in the notion of preserving Andean culture is regarded with ambivalence and even suspicion, for the reasons reviewed below. As the Mojarras' song explicitly states, a fundamental element of the migrants' self-image is their very sense of living in a different way to that of their forebears, of constructing a new world. As Franco (1991:87) has it, the migrants "...eligieron el futuro".

Where Quechua is represented as belonging to the past, and migrants represent themselves as committed to the future, an ideological opposition is constructed which is almost guaranteed to produce a negative outcome for

the maintenance of the language. This dual feature of Peruvian language shift, forming the context within which all other pressures towards shift or maintenance are experienced, is of the very first importance in explaining how and why Quechua is lost. It is further considered below.

1.3 Dialectal differentiation and intolerance

Another socio-psychological factor discouraging the use of Quechua is more closely linked to the language itself, and to its relation to the history and culture of the Andes. As was noted in chapter 5, part 1, Peru has not seen the development of an all-embracing Quechua-speaking group identity, of the kind to be found to at least some extent in Ecuador and (for Quechua and Aymara alike) Bolivia. The metalinguistic discourse of Peruvian speakers typically contains a heavy emphasis on the differentness, strangeness and unintelligibility of dialects other than their own. In part, of course, this is a reflection of the variety of dialects of Quechua in Peru, of the absence of a common standard, and in particular of the historic division between Quechua I and Quechua II (Torero 1974, Mannheim 1991). It also represents a linguistic expression of the Andean sense of close identification with one's *tierra*, and of clear boundary-marking (both physical and psychological) between one community and another. The reluctance to acknowledge other varieties as legitimate or even comprehensible naturally results in a certain fragmentation where speakers of many dialects (as in the case of migration to Lima) are brought together. The result is that for many speakers, in many urban situations, not only the common, unmarked code but *even the code of solidarity* is often Spanish. This is so because to speak Quechua would be to draw attention to one's differences rather than to index solidarity; to emphasise one's provenance in terms of a certain village or province, not in terms of an overall Andean identity.

Given this background, it might be fair to suggest that Quechua speakers are in effect scoring an own goal: the "blame", if this is an appropriate term, for this factor in language loss lies less with the Spanish-speaking *costeños* than with the loyal *quechuistas* themselves. As Harvey (1987:124) remarks in taking issue with Bourdieu's characterisation of the *langue légitime*, the fact that a certain societal group appears to have won universal recognition for its variety may in reality be more a reflection of the fragmentation of the forces opposing it than of the undisputed hegemony of the supposedly legitimated variety. In other words, it may not be the case that the ideology which legitimates Spanish in Peru has driven all before it, but rather that Quechua speakers allow Spanish to remain societally dominant, as it were, by default. After all, the existence of differing dialects in a nation does not always and necessarily present an insuperable problem: Paulston (1992:66) quite correctly notes in this connection that the variety of its dialects has not prevented Swahili being implemented and accepted as a national language in Tanzania.

There is doubtless some truth in this: if ordinary speakers pay any great attention to the rancorous arguments surrounding, for example, the standardisation of Quechua (and it is a rather debatable proposition that they do), they are liable to end up confused and demoralised. In this sense, Quechua speakers are ill served by some of their supposed representatives. However, the fragmented state of the language as a social-cultural-political entity, which renders it so vulnerable in the Peruvian urban context, is not attributable merely to the inherited prejudices of its ordinary speakers or to the regionalist posturings of its "experts". There is also ideology here, derived from the social and political circumstances of language contact. That this is the case is suggested by Nancy Dorian:

> In beleaguered speech communities where there is competition from and heavy pressure in favor of some language of wider currency, it often seems also to be the case that tolerance of dialect differentiation in the threatened language is low. Perhaps the awareness that dominant-language speakers typically already have a negative attitude to the minority language makes the minority-language speakers hypersensitive to what seem to be aberrations within the minority-language varieties.
>
> (Dorian 1987:60)

This is potentially a very important point. Even amongst monolingual Quechua speakers who have little or no contact with Spanish speakers, and who have very limited experience of anywhere beyond their own immediate surroundings, *awareness* of negative attitudes towards Quechua is inevitable: it forms part of what might be termed the collective consciousness of *runa*. It is, in short, impossible to speak of Quechua in isolation; for some 500 years attitudes to the language have been conditioned by the central, inescapable fact of its contact with Spanish.

Dorian, in suggesting that the inescapable awareness of negative attitudes towards the minority language leads to increased sensitivity to what are perceived to be its norms, is careful not to attribute such feelings only to speakers of the standardised variety or to language "purists" (though she has much to say about them, too). Rather, it seems that she is arguing that any speaker of the minority language, of whatever dialect, may be prone to exhibit "interdialect intolerance" (Dorian 1987:60). The data from Peru presented here would certainly seem to bear this out: Quechua speakers do indeed appear often to be reluctant to engage (in Quechua) with speakers of other dialects, whether or not one or other of the speakers controls the supposed (that is, popularly legitimated) standard, Cusco Quechua. Certainly almost all variation seems to be regarded as "aberration", as Dorian (above) notes.

This said, the theoretical justification for this intolerance (in terms of socio-psychological attitudes to language use) is rather difficult to pin down - and

Dorian is therefore doubtless right to be as cautious as she is about the reasons for it. One readily understands that speakers of what is generally felt to be a standard might be protective (even purist) about it, wishing to erect a bulwark against the incursions of the societally-dominant language. It is less easy to see why speakers of less favoured varieties, some way away from the standard and aware of this, would have little tolerance of other, perhaps equally poorly thought-of dialects. A dogged determination to cleave to one's own dialect is finally, perhaps, a reflection of a certain lack of security deriving from the fact that (despite the supposed special status of the Cusco variety) few speakers are entirely sure what the "legítimo quechua" really consists of, or even what it might sound like. The existence of bodies such as the Academia notwithstanding, there is no established orthodoxy which legitimates a certain variety of Quechua in the way that the discourse of school, state and society legitimates standard (Peruvian) Spanish.[137] The language is still a prey to competing ideological discourses, and the incessant arguments amongst *quechuistas* about standard form and orthography might hence be seen less as a cause of linguistic insecurity amongst speakers (as has already been suggested, monolingual speakers at least probably have little or no knowledge of these arguments) than as a symptom of it.

1.4 Language status and the need for legitimation

This argument may be developed in one further direction. The absence of a clearly-defined and uncontroversial standard Quechua (a weakness in formal or informal corpus planning) is unmistakeably linked to the absence of an effective and uncontroversial discourse of legitimation (a weakness in formal or informal status planning). Both stem from the historically-derived subordination of the language and its speakers relative to Spanish. As was noted above and in chapters 2 and 5, what discourse of legitimation exists tends to tie the language to the past and/or to a certain group of élite speakers, and may therefore even become counter-productive. Legitimation may come from other sources, of course: public use of Quechua in Lima in effect becomes a realistic option (i.e. a relatively low-risk option) where the speaker or source has evident power and prestige deriving from personal, professional or institutional factors (in Bourdieu's formulation, symbolic capital). Thus a white or middle-class speaker, someone who is unlikely to be mistaken for a monolingual, may feel able to use the language in a number of public contexts; likewise teachers, politicians, the military and so on, secure in the prestige accruing to them from the state, may use or encourage the use of the language.[138]

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[137]Indeed, Quechua and other national languages are often simply ignored. Godenzzi (1992:64-65) notes that while 23 April is celebrated in Peru as "Día de la Lengua", only one language is thereby referred to. Even such a sensitive observer of the national scene as Mirko Lauer is able to remark, without a trace of irony, that: "las traducciones son indispensables sobre todo en un país que no es poligloto" (*Caretas*, 27/04/95), as if the Spanish monolingualism of the Lima middle classes were representative of the entire country, and (for he was referring to translations of European literature) as if being "poligloto" inescapably implied control of a number of *European* languages.
[138]Though as was seen in the case of the unfortunate vice-president Máximo San Román (chapter 2), this security is not absolute. Like much "real" capital, symbolic capital is subject to varying assessments of its worth.

As was seen in chapter 3, bilingual migrants typically rationalise their failure to pass the language on to their children by claiming that, for example, the teaching would be too time-consuming, that the children are not interested, or that language teaching is a job for qualified professionals, not ordinary speakers. Of course, all these problems would be solved, say the parents, if schools were to re-introduce compulsory Quechua, as in the days of the military government of the 1970s. It has been argued here that such rationalisations are an example of socially-constructed language ideology, and that what in fact lies behind the demand for Quechua in schools is the central question of legitimation. This is so because for "ordinary" speakers, lacking evident personal or institutional prestige, legitimation must come from outside. This, in effect, means from the state, through the agency of its schools, the site at which state attitudes to the value and importance of languages are most readily apparent (and as has been seen, people do indeed compare the school system's treatment of Quechua with that of English, and draw their own conclusions).

It is noteworthy, too, that such a demand implicitly entails the selection of a standard to be taught: it is not the "home" or "ethnic" language that speakers particularly seem to want to maintain (which would presumably be a fairly unproblematic task, despite what the parents say), but a "national" variety, carrying the symbolic weight of pan-Peruvian identity in a way that the fragmented dialects as currently constituted simply cannot do. This, in turn, leads to one other inescapable conclusion. The migrant parents who demand Quechua teaching in schools do not seriously expect that their children would thereby become "speakers" of the language in any real sense. There would not be (could not be, in part because of the thorny dialect problem) any substantial home reinforcement of the language; no-one genuinely thinks that Quechua could (or should) replace Spanish or English as a language of wider communication; it is inconceivable as things stand that young *limeños* would choose to converse with each other in any language other than Spanish. It has been pointed out that the demand for obligatory Quechua teaching is essentially symbolic, in that it aims at *legitimation* of the language, rather than at *transmission* of it. It should, however, be noted that most if not all of the discourse on Quechua maintenance amongst urban migrants (whether or not those involved are consciously aware of this) takes place at a level once removed from the question of language itself; for legitimation of the language stands, of course, for legitimation of the Andean element of the nation.

This implies that it does not matter, in the end, whether the migrants' children speak Quechua or not: if it really *did* matter, then they would surely teach them it, or demand or devise genuinely effective measures to address language loss. What matters is that the state should make a tangible gesture of recognition towards the language; and this matters because it would constitute a tangible recognition of the place of the Andean peoples and their cultural inheritance in the modern republic. Naturally, too, such a reading of the context in which language choices are made makes perfect sense when approached from the opposite direction: if Quechua is abandoned in Lima, it

is fundamentally because the place of the Andean inheritance of the Peruvian republic has never been adequately established or properly acknowledged.

1.5 The mechanics of marginalisation

The complex of social, psychological and cultural features outlined above, crystallised into a body of societally-sanctioned linguistic beliefs and practices which is transmitted through overlapping social networks, functions effectively to block intergenerational transmission of Quechua in Lima. These ideologised language attitudes are experienced by individuals in the form of tangible pressures to suppress Quechua in oneself or one's children.

Thus, the association of Quechua with illiteracy and backwardness (an association derived from macro-level historical and social factors) has given rise to the ideologised belief that an "ordinary" speaker (i.e. one who has no obvious source of legitimation for their use of Quechua) would use Quechua in public contexts only because their control of Spanish is inadequate. At the micro-level of individual language choice, the outcome of this belief is negative at all levels for the maintenance of the language. Outside the restricted available domains for Quechua described in chapter 2, use of the language becomes fraught with risk and uncertainty. To give Quechua to a stranger in public is to risk insulting the addressee or humiliating oneself, or quite possibly both. Conversely, then, to receive Quechua from a stranger in public is potentially demeaning or simply ridiculous. Scotton (1988:156) remarks that: "All choices, unmarked or not, are basically negotiations, requiring reciprocity from the addressee, making the construction of any speech event an ultimately cooperative enterprise". This is indeed the case, and the impossibility of knowing with any certainty how an interlocutor will interpret one's language choice means that most speakers will as a matter of course choose the least face-threatening (and in this sense, most cooperative) code. In this way Quechua is marginalised from the public life of the city: children, naturally enough, learn both to reject Quechua when it is addressed to them, and to avoid addressing it to others.

Quechua is also marginalised from public life by an ideologised belief in language purity, which holds that to mix Quechua and Spanish is to speak "*mote con cancha*" (i.e. to mix two unlike things) and hence strongly discourages code-mixing. In the environment of school-age children this is complemented by the firmly-held belief that to learn or speak Quechua will hamper the child's ability to learn Spanish. That these are ideological constructs, connected to entrenched attitudes towards Quechua and its speakers rather than to attitudes towards quality of language per se, is suggested by the fact that code-mixing with English is regarded as fashionable, and the learning of English at school alongside Spanish as not just desirable but indispensable. And indeed, as was seen in the case of Carmen and Vilma in chapter 4, both beliefs, while presented as objectively neutral linguistic facts, lead inevitably to the suppression of Quechua.

The stigma that surrounds Quechua (that is, the complex of ideologised societal attitudes towards it) and the consequent risks attendant upon its use, are understood early by speakers. The virtual absence of code-mixing in Lima bespeaks a thoroughly internalised system of domain controls; where this breaks down (as with Hilda Otazú letting slip the one word *ñoqa*), the social repercussions are apt to be immediate and potentially rather serious. It need hardly be added that this fact, too, contributes enormously to the marginalisation of Quechua from public space.[139] The logic of not allowing elements of the language to find their way into one's Spanish leads to the logic of not allowing one's knowledge of the language to be discovered. The phenomenon of denial of competence is enshrined in popular lore in the person of that quintessential urban folk "type", the *recién bajadito* who insists in heavily-accented and ungrammatical Spanish that he or she speaks no Quechua.

2 "*Nada hablan*": a note on semilingualism

It was noted in the introductory chapter that perhaps the most striking aspect of language shift in Lima is its very speed and completeness. The effects of this rate of shift, and the very real social pressures which bring it about and accompany it, are seen with some clarity in the case of migrants who are monolingual Quechua-speaking children. It is, of course, one thing for adult migrants to alter their habitual pattern of language use: particularly if, like many (if not most) migrants to Lima, they arrive in the capital with some previous knowledge of Spanish.[140] It is quite another for a child to be thrust into an unfamiliar linguistic environment, in which inability to adhere to established norms means social exclusion, and worse. It will be recalled that Hilda Otazú (chapter 4), when she started school in Lima as a newly-arrived Quechua monolingual, would retire to the lavatories and hide, weeping, from her tormentors; her young brother Percy, who had only been seven months in Lima at the time of fieldwork and was just beginning to gain some real competence in Spanish, complained of name-calling and hair-pulling from his classmates. Lorena, the Lima-born daughter of Margarita Contreras (from

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[139]Such is the effectiveness of these domain controls, and the sensitivity that surrounds giving or receiving of Quechua in Lima, that one may have no idea whether another person is a speaker or not (and as was remarked in the Preface, language use is not a thing which is discussed or perhaps even thought about very often in the capital). On one occasion I was having a private Quechua class with my teacher from Ayacucho in the house of Rosa Castilla, also a bilingual from Ayacucho. At the end of the class, as I was showing my teacher to the door, we continued speaking Quechua. Rosa heard us and, with obvious delight, joined in; a three-way conversation was hence taking place on the threshold of the house. At this point a neighbour arrived who had lived in the street and known Rosa for well over a decade. She exclaimed in amazement to hear Rosa speaking Quechua, and revealed that she herself was a native speaker of the language; despite their long acquaintance, neither had known the other was a speaker. It should be noted that this event was facilitated by the legitimating presence of a Quechua-speaking university teacher and a Quechua-speaking, white foreigner.

[140]It might even be said that in fact LS often commences in the generation before migration, as in the case of Carmen's family; as it was more or less expected that she would migrate, Spanish was encouraged as a family language at the expense of Quechua. Don Luis expained: "No pues, en nuestra manera ya no acostumbramos, porque ella [i.e. Carmen] iba a salir, iba a conversar más allá y la quechua como se dejaba de entender; así que nosotros hemos permitido que... que se acostumbre a castellano". (Tapescript 28). See Appendix D for a diagrammatic representation of this process.

Colcabamba, Huancayo) speaks with pity of the newly-arrived Quechua-speaking children whom she encounters in the *pueblo joven* of La Merced:

> No pueden comunicarse pues, tienen problemas también, en todos, en todos sentidos. Y a veces acá ya que un poquito te dicen ay, o sea pues, que serrano, que cholo, cualquieras tonterías, ¿no? Y son tan lindos...
>
> (Tapescript 54)

The impact of such experiences on the child's psyche can only be imagined.[141] Their effect on language behaviour, though, is observable. Every child psychologist or teacher of immigrant children is accustomed to the phenomenon of the "silent period", during which a child immersed in a new linguistic environment may simply observe and listen for a given period (typically, some months) before attempting to speak the new language: it is, though, generally assumed that, the child's circumstances being otherwise unexceptional, he or she will continue to use the mother tongue in the surroundings of the home, family or community. In Lima, however, it seems to be the case that silence may extend even to the home: the child, in becoming aware of the extreme stigma surrounding use of Quechua in the capital, opts to remove him or herself without further ado from the class of "Quechua speakers", by simply refusing to speak the language or, sometimes, even to acknowledge any competence in it. It is difficult to interpret in any other meaningful way the reported and observed behaviour of the two boys from La Merced, Edwin Muñoz and Jhonny Aguirre, which was described in chapter 3.[142] It is also suggested in popular conceptions of the monolingual migrant. Gustavo Martínez commented:

> Como dice acá mi hermano, llega a Lima hablando quechua, ayacuchanos también cuando llegan acá, no hablan ni el castellano ni el quechua. ¿Qué cosa hablan, ah? Nada hablan *[laughter]*. Entonces es eso.
>
> (Tapescript 29)

It is obvious that further research is urgently needed in this area, and particularly sustained, detailed and sensitive observation of home behaviour: the evidence gathered during the present study is not in itself sufficient to support any generalised claims about the language use of Quechua-speaking migrant children in the most private domains, and caution must therefore be exercised in commenting upon it. This said, the suggestion contained in the

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[141] M A K Halliday commented in 1968 that: "A speaker who is made ashamed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being; to make anyone, especially a child, feel so ashamed is as indefensible as to make him feel ashamed of the colour of his skin". (Cited by Edwards 1979:87).

[142] It will be recalled that both boys, recent arrivals in Lima and with very poor Spanish, refused to engage in conversation in or about Quechua. Their parents confirmed that this was the case even when they were at home with them alone. Valentina Méndez's nephew, too, newly arrived from the *sierra* and taunted with nicknames such as *papa huayro*, refused to speak his native Quechua to his aunt.

testimony of the boys, their peers and their parents, and reinforced by the limited amount of home observation of these families undertaken for the present study, is unambiguous: that such children abandon their Quechua virtually immediately upon arrival in Lima, and therefore of course *before* they have a chance to become fully competent in Spanish. Where the parents' Spanish, too, is inadequate - this is certainly the case for Jhonny, and to some extent for Edwin - the foundation is laid for a series of possible communicative, emotional and developmental problems.

The experience of such migrants as Edwin and Jhonny may serve to shed a fresh light on the debate concerning semilingualism (see e.g. Martin-Jones & Romaine 1985). While it may be true that "...a dubious concept from the first, semilingualism is now largely dismissed out of hand by modern linguists" (Edwards 1994:222), it should be noted that in *functional* terms (rather than in a cognitive-linguistic sense), "semilingual" may well be an appropriate way to describe such speakers at this stage in their linguistic development. Unable yet to function competently in Spanish in many contexts, they are however prevented by internalised social pressures from functioning meanwhile in Quechua, sometimes even in the most intimate domains. Bilingual, they are often left effectively without appropriate language: hence their silence. The story told by Emilia Aguirre (in chapter 4, section 1.1), about how she became lost while out buying bread for her employer, gives some idea of the loneliness and isolation of the non-Spanish speaker in Lima - but at least she was finally able to find a friendly Quechua speaker and talk to him. For less outgoing types such as Edwin and Jhonny, though, in the highly conformist and competitive environment of school and *barrio*, even this course of action is unavailable: they prefer to remain silent rather than speak Quechua.

Studies of language contact and bilingualism have used the principle of a proficiency continuum to show how individuals use the two languages. According to their proficiency or dominance in the languages, they might be situated at any point along the continuum (see Romaine 1989:72). For the present purpose, the demonstrable weakness of a proficiency continuum model is that it refers, reasonably enough, only to proficiency: the model does not attempt to accommodate speakers who do not *want* to speak one of the languages concerned, or are effectively prevented by overwhelming social pressure from doing so. Functional restrictions on language use must be thought of in relation to social restrictions: as always in a bilingual environment, it is indispensable to look at the social context of the languages, and in particular the social meaning of using one or other of the languages in a given situation.

3 Staking a claim: the social meaning of language loss and language gain

Thus far the experience of Quechua loss in Lima has been represented, inescapably, as mainly negative - and even, as in the case of the boys from La Merced, potentially damaging and traumatic. Migrants who, like Hilda and

Percy Otazú, Edwin and Celia Muñoz, or Jhonny and Emilia Aguirre, arrive in Lima with little or no Spanish, face social exclusion, ridicule and a period of wrenching adjustment to a new linguistic and social environment. Even those Quechua speakers who have attended school in their *tierra* or by some other means acquired some competence in Spanish routinely encounter prejudice: to speak with a *moteo* or to make the errors in Spanish typical of those who speak Quechua as mother tongue (see Escobar 1994) is to lay oneself open to mockery and worse. All speakers of Quechua, monolingual and bilingual, find that a shift in attitude is necessary. At the most basic and emotional level, it might be said that the language characteristically associated with all that is dearest and most valued in the Andean environment - hearth and home, family, *tierra*, landscape, childhood intimacy and so on - undergoes a dramatic shift of reference. In the harsh environment of Lima, it is the language associated with poverty, backwardness and unworldliness; it is therefore to be kept from public view, suppressed internally and externally, and restricted to use with trusted *paisanos* in a small and finite number of contexts. In this way the very *meaning* of speaking Quechua, in a personal and a social sense, is irrevocably altered, and remains altered. The *cholo* who, with a heavy Andean accent, insisted to Gustavo Martínez: "*señor, no, yo no hablar quechua, ya a olvidao*" (tapescript 29) comes across as a sad and deracinated figure, whose language has, as it were, been removed from him.

This being the case, it would seem little short of perverse to question the necessity and desirability of attempting to maintain Quechua in the capital, at least as a "hcme" language, functioning in complementary distribution to Spanish. As Fishman (who certainly does not himself doubt the desirability of language maintenance) remarks, in defence of his own careful rationalisation of the RLS project:

> Language issues in society are usually fraught with emotions, values, ideals and loyalties and, as with most 'matters of the heart', they seem so compelling that to pause for clarification may seem, to many who favor reversing language shift... to be not only unnecessary but unfeeling, uncaring and rigid.
>
> (Fishman 1991:10-11)

And yet, as Fishman concludes here, it *is* necessary to pause for clarification. It was noted in the preceding chapter that, all too often, discussion of language maintenance and shift takes place amongst outside "experts" and (quite possibly self-appointed) "representatives" of minority language communities, with minimal reference to the experiences, opinions and desires of the speakers themselves. Weber (1994), reviewing the successes and failures of bilingual education programmes in Ayacucho, states without further comment that:

> In one of the Ayacucho programs an obstacle the organizers had not expected was the reaction of the parents against the use of Quechua

> in school [...] The attitude was seen as the result of the generations of subordination to the Spanish culture.
>
> (Weber 1994:98)

It is defensible (if patronising) to read the parents' opposition in terms of their "subordination to the Spanish culture". Not to have anticipated this opposition, though, is a serious error, and must call into question the judgement of those involved. Apart from anything else, a cursory examination of the abundant literature relating to mother tongue or bilingual education would have shown that such reactions are commonplace amongst minority language speakers, both migrant and settled, in many parts of the world, and are in no way peculiar to Peru (see e.g. Edwards 1984a:281-283; the Peruvian situation is discussed at some length by Hornberger 1987). That these same bilingual education specialists likewise failed to foresee that speakers of Cusco Quechua would object strongly to having to use materials prepared for speakers in Puno (Weber 1994:97) suggests a grievous lack of familiarity with the cultural-linguistic terrain of the Andes. It might be added in passing that Weber's uncritical acceptance of the specialists' own rationalisations for these problems, and failure to engage in any depth with the speakers' own motivations for their opposition to mother-tongue Quechua teaching, only compound the impression that the debate - if such it is - on minority language maintenance is here being conducted in an academic vacuum. Of course, by no means all research and educational work in Peru is carried on with such disregard for the linguistic and social reality of its subjects; however, that any of it is, is disquieting.

It should hardly need reiterating that the speaker must be at the heart of the debate: that an abstracted or romanticised discourse on cultural maintenance carried on by outsiders and dubiously-qualified community representatives is of very limited worth. It hence behoves the observer to examine carefully and sympathetically what speakers themselves have to say about their language use. This is not, of course, to suggest that speakers are always accurate, unbiased or well-informed in their assessments of language and language issues: far from it. It is an established tenet of sociolinguistic research that ordinary speakers typically have rather limited knowledge of how they speak, rather than how they think they speak. Much of the present study, indeed, has been devoted to the analysis of how observable micro-level linguistic practices and attitudes in Lima tend to be filtered through layers of social ideology - derived from fundamentally social rather than strictly linguistic phenomena. And certainly, many of the beliefs held by Peruvians about Quechua (and, for that matter, Spanish) are incoherent, contradictory or simply wrong.

The question of language choice is, though, far removed from sociolinguistic observation of the classically Labovian type, dealing with, say, the realisation of a certain phoneme. In essence, the question at issue here is not along the lines of "How do you usually pronounce this word?" - where the formal reply given may or may not be at odds with observed behaviour - but along the

lines of "Which of these two languages is more likely to help your children earn a living?" And this is an area of sociolinguistic practice in which the speaker concerned is in all ways better equipped than the outside observer to provide an accurate answer. Lack of knowledge of linguistic theory does not prevent people from functioning as productive and fulfilled members of a community: lack of knowledge of the social value of one language as opposed to another, however, may well do so - which presumably explains why it is so rare as to be virtually non-existent amongst healthy adults. That is to say: people may well hold ill-informed ideas about the technical aspects of language; seldom, though, do they mistake the social, economic and practical realities of language choice, which are rooted in the realities of their own lives.

The linguistic behaviour of Quechua speakers in Lima is, then, conditioned by an acute awareness of the fact that their language is unlikely to be helpful to their own or their children's prospects in life. Outside observers can assemble a battery of theories to explain how and why such a state of affairs came about (and that, in essence, is what has been done here); some might even argue that the position can be reversed. To argue, though, like Ojeda (1992), that Quechua speakers (whether in Lima or elsewhere) simply "should" maintain the language - as if on moral grounds - is to ignore the reality of cultural and social change. Likewise, where it is suggested the language is being lost because naïve and sorely oppressed speakers are hoodwinked into believing that Spanish is somehow "better" - and this seems to be what Weber (1994) and her colleagues believe - one must consider whether it is not, in fact, the case that such speakers are making an informed and rational decision, based on their own material circumstances. John Edwards, a consistently clear-sighted opponent of romanticism and determinism in matters of language, points out that ethnolinguistic minorities undergoing language shift often do so for the most practical of reasons:

> To assume that they have been indoctrinated by some mass conspiracy is to credit them with little intelligence or self-interest; here the words and actions of cultural pluralists often have a very condescending and paternalistic tone.
>
> (Edwards 1984a:282)

The time-honoured principle of inquiring *cui bono?* is of course applicable here, as it is anywhere where social change is under discussion. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, while language shift in Lima is indeed a product of the historical and contemporary oppression of Andean culture, and is driven as much by ideology, obfuscation and prejudice as by linguistic logic, in the final analysis it is also, and simultaneously, a rational reaction to the situation *as it stands and as it is popularly perceived.*[143] Regrettable though it

[143] Godenzzi (1992:53) remarks that: "The chimera of a universal language does not aim at facilitating communication but at serving the interests of the powerful." The point is well taken: but this alone cannot be an

may be, Quechua speakers become Spanish speakers because they believe that this course of action offers the best long-term returns for themselves and their children. It is not *vergüenza* as such which drives language shift (as we have seen, certain other elements of Andean culture are selected for retention, at least in the first generation), but ambition and desire for progress based on an objective consideration of the real world as it appears from the point of view of the migrant. Shift may hence be "...not a traitorous repudiation of the past, but good sense" (Edwards 1984a:282).

As far as the above argument goes, the social significance of acquiring Spanish and abandoning Quechua in Lima is scarcely different, *mutatis mutandis*, from that of, say, shifting over a generation or two from Italian to English in New York City. However, the particular ethnic and social context of linguistic behaviour in Peru means that we must go rather further than this in attempting to understand what it means to "become" a Spanish speaker in Lima. As was suggested in chapter 6, in one very important sense, the shift from Quechua to Spanish is not only not a defeat, but constitutes a kind of cultural victory. In Peru the social meaning of speaking Spanish is constructed in part by the value that has been placed upon it, over the course of history, as the language of the powerful. Godenzzi (1992:62) makes the connection between access to language and power quite explicit, pointing out that: "En el periodo en que los señores terratenientes o gamonales controlaban al campesinado indígena... se prefería que los quechua o aimara hablantes permanecieran monolingües y analfabetos".[144] Spanish and literacy being historically linked in the Andes to formal schooling, the building of schools became (and remains) a key demand on the part of many Quechua-speaking communities. Those who believe that the interests of Quechua speakers are best served by their remaining Quechua speakers come what may, might perhaps reflect on the fact that, in Puno, the building of schools for the indigenous (Aymara-speaking) community in the 1920s provoked the Spanish-speaking élite to violence, as they saw that a keystone of their power, their monopoly over the language of power, would thereby slip away from them (Painter 1983:33). This would seem at the very least to indicate that, if speakers of these dominated languages simply "misrecognise" the powerful language for power itself, in the way that Harvey (1987:121) suggests they sometimes do, then Spanish speakers do much the same thing.

If, as Godenzzi (1992:70) claims, Quechua speakers are in some sense deprived of the rights of Peruvian citizenship, and if, in addition, there exists an historical tradition of attempts to prevent such speakers' acquisition of Spanish, then to become a Spanish speaker (and to bring one's children up as monolingual Spanish speakers, as much owners of the language as are the scions of the white élite) represents not so much a submission to superior forces, as a victory against the odds. It is of a part with the *invasiones* of

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argument for reversing language shift. Multilingualism, too (and most egregiously, diglossia without bilingualism), may serve the interests of the powerful.

[144] It will be recalled from the previous chapter that Ojeda (1992:249), supposedly defending Andean people and their culture, came to exactly the same conclusion as these "señores terratenientes o gamonales": cui bono? indeed

unoccupied land and establishment of *asentamientos humanos* described by, for example, Degregori et al (1986) and Golte & Adams (1987). When a group of migrants invade a piece of land by night, placing their *esteras* and Peruvian flags in the sand, they literally stake a claim to their place in the capital, often in the face of the disapproval and disdain of the coastal élites.[145] It is tempting to imagine that, by abandoning Quechua - condescendingly viewed by the élite as the language of picturesque peasants and serfs - and insisting on their right to speak "national" Spanish, they are staking a figurative claim of much the same order, demanding their rightful place in the life of the republic.

The feeling that these products and creators of the *chicha* culture, ethnically Andean but speaking Spanish, are the force behind the building of a new nation, is one shared by many observers and participants in Peruvian urban life. One commentator lauds their heroic efforts in the most lavish of terms:

> Nuestros chicheros... son el gran asedio, lento, pero seguro, no sólo al Perú, sino también a la América toda; son la identidad nacional, el tiempo redivivo del Inkarrí, a su manera, premunidos, nada más, ni nada menos, que de su resistencia irresistible... Nuestros chicheros están allí, dando manotazos cada día, en su necesidad de afirmación humana; y también urgidos, aunque sea al nivel de los sueños, de ser peruanos.
>
> (Néstor Espinoza, *La República* 19/2/96)

This final "*...urgidos, aunque sea al nivel de los sueños, de ser peruanos*" is rather reminiscent of Huamán's (1993) conception of *peruano* as a national (Castilian) tongue, discussed in chapter 6. The dream of a better future incorporates the idea of being included - being treated as a genuine citizen of Peru, a *conciudadano* rather than a peon; this presupposes a certain amount of social adjustment, expressed partly through language.

In the 1970s the military government's top-down language planning exercise attempted to raise the status of the Andean in national life by insisting on the teaching of Quechua to all. The ultimate goal was national integration. In the 1990s, an informal and self-generated language planning project, rationalised by social ideology and carried out more or less uniformly throughout the coastal cities of Peru, is aiming at the same goal. The means of integration, the way to "*ser peruano*", is at one level identical: it involves a realignment of national configurations of language use and language attitudes. At the level of language choice it is, of course, quite different: the reassignment of codes to groups of speakers consists of large groups of people placing themselves

[145] The sprawling shanty towns which surround Lima are surmounted by a forest of Peruvian national flags, as each new arrival, having erected a shelter, plants a makeshift flagpoles on its roof or beside it in the earth. The ostensible reason for this is to attempt to deter, through a display of patriotism and loyalty, the forcible *desalojamientos* which are routinely carried out by police and troops. In this the hopes of the new residents are often disappointed: it is nevertheless a striking symbol of the desire for inclusion in the nation.

irrevocably in the category of "Spanish speakers", and thereby rendering this truly the national language rather than, as before, the language of the socially and ethnically dominant. As was remarked in chapter 6, this process is given extra impetus by the association between education, Spanish and social mobility. The Andean migrant proves his or her worth by hard work and application, which of course involves learning the language of industry, commerce and education. To study, to learn good Spanish, to begin to compete with the *costeños* on their own terms, is a source of enormous pride; it is not fuelled by self-loathing, but by self-belief. Asked about the prejudice against Quechua speakers in Lima, Gregorio Huarca, the would-be medical student from Ayacucho, replies:

> Pero prácticamente para que tú puedas contrarrestar eso, ¿qué hay? Tienes que estudiar, tienes que superarte, solamente así de esa forma. Porque te puedes vestir como cualquiera, si tienes dinero te compras a cada rato, te vistes... Pero si en la cabeza no tienes cualidades, no tienes nada...
>
> (Tapescript 13)

Quechua loss in Lima, then, cannot easily be conceived of as simply negative - either for the individual migrant (no matter how traumatic the process may be for some monolingual individuals) or for the "community" (if such a thing exists) of Quechua-speaking migrants and their families. Losing Quechua is balanced against gaining Spanish; to bring one's children up as monolingual Spanish speakers is to stake a claim on their behalf in a society which values Spanish as a language of the future and of progress, while valuing Quechua (where it values it at all) only as a symbol of past greatness. As is noted above, while the loss of Quechua is certainly regretted at the personal, emotional level, shift to Spanish is seen as an integral part of a process by which provincial migrants have seized the capital, its culture and its language and made them their own. Certainly Lima is not the stronghold of the social and cultural élite that it once was. Los Mojarras rightly juxtapose "*Lima limeña*" with "*Lima provinciana*". The old *Lima criolla* now exists more as romanticised folk memory than reality, and a walk through the city's streets will confirm Seligmann's (1993:303) impression that "the isolation of the middle and upper classes is palpable". Nor, of course, has this change been lost on the old élite. Aurelio Miró Quesada, a member of the quintessential *criollo* family, owners of the long-established *El Comercio* newspaper, writes with a mixture of nostalgia and pragmatism:

> La llegada creciente de inmigrantes ha hecho que de la población que hoy tiene la ciudad, ya más de la mitad no es de Lima sino de otras regiones del país. Quienes hemos nacido en ella nos sentimos a veces desplazados, tenemos nostalgia del viejo cuerpo físico... Pero nos

satisfece que si Lima es en un sentido cada vez menos Lima, es cada vez más, por su vida y por sus gentes, capital del Perú.

(*El Comercio* 18/1/96)

This is not, of course, to suggest that the *criollo* élite no longer wields power: patently it does. But the question of language shift must be seen in the context of changing conceptions of what it means to be *limeño*, and even to be Peruvian. In constructing their own identity, the migrants are choosing their own voice: and while Quechua is still (at times rather sentimentally) revered, the authentic voice of the migrant experience is Spanish, the language of the desired, inclusive future. It might of course be argued that to regard Spanish as a modern, progressive tongue and Quechua as a backward and antiquated one is no more than an ideological construct: so it is, but it is one derived from experience of the real world. In making linguistic choices Andean migrants are in at least some sense deciding their own destinies; within the parameters laid down by social and economic realities, they exercise their limited freedom to choose.

4 Reversing language shift: summary and prognosis

4.1 The twin currents of Peruvian language shift

If the discussion up to this point is in essence accurate (that is, if it manages in a broad way to capture the social and cultural features which drive linguistic change - certainly it is not intended to be all-inclusive), then it is clear that language shift in Lima has two distinct, if related, faces. It is indisputable that the process which ends in the intergenerational loss of Quechua is rooted deep in the historical oppression of the Andean people and their culture. The institutionalised discouragement of the language at all levels, it has been suggested here, is linked directly to social and economic processes through a series of ideologised beliefs and attitudes about language. In this analysis, the perceived societal hegemony of Spanish (derived from the historical socioeconomic hegemony of speakers of Spanish) is so complete that all perceptions of Quechua are distorted. For some observers, indeed, the inequality of the two languages is so thoroughly ingrained that Quechua speakers may actually come to despise their own language. (This "strong" version of the theory is well presented by e.g. Cerrón-Palomino 1989b:26-31).

If this particular theoretical reading of the social processes at work in Peru is accepted as it stands, language shift amongst migrants appears as little more than a logical and predictable manifestation of social power; helpless to resist, Quechua speakers submit to the inevitable and surrender their cultural and linguistic heritage. Not, of course, that they are forced physically to do so: rather, the insidious siren voices of "modernity" and "progress" encourage

them to do so, through the kind of ideologised attitudes that have been examined here. As Fishman puts it:

> [I]t is precisely because most modern democracies engage in conscious or unconscious cultural genocide, and precisely because they do so via many of their most central and most prized and admired social, economic and political processes, that LS is so common and that RLS is so difficult to attain and so heartbreaking to pursue.
>
> (Fishman 1991:62-63)[146]

This is certainly the case; and yet in fact, as was seen in chapter 6 and above, the LS process appears to take place in Lima without any (or with very little) of the dislocation and disadvantage that Fishman (1991:55-65) predicts for such situations. Proponents of Fishman's position (that is, pro-RLS in almost all imaginable circumstances) would doubtless point to the case of "semilinguals" such as Jhonny Aguirre and Edwin Muñoz as evidence of precisely that kind of psychological and social dislocation. However, the case of "pivotal" shifters such as Hilda Otazú and Margarita Contreras (who also arrived in Lima with barely a word of Spanish) might be adduced in evidence to show that such dislocation - while not in any way desirable - is typically temporary, surmountable, and (in the absence of research suggesting the contrary) without long-term ill effects.

Crucially, language shift in Lima tends to be *willed*, in the sense that while the loss of Quechua is to some extent regretted, Spanish is greatly prized. It might be argued that the desire to abandon Quechua in favour of Spanish constitutes nothing more than proof of the irresistible weight of Spanish hegemony (this is the position of Ojeda 1992: Cerrón-Palomino [e.g. 1989b] at times comes close to it); but this is of course a circular argument, impossible to refute, and tends in addition to imply that Andean migrants are dupes or benighted innocents, so desperately oppressed that they no longer know their own minds. Franco (1991:86) has pointed out the patronising, and possibly racist, overtones of such discourse. The Quechua-speaking migrants who opt for a new life in Lima are not, of course, dupes; nor are they mute victims of hegemony, social dominance, or the supposedly inexorable forces of history. It is no accident that many commentators, and migrants themselves, talk about the vast population shift from the Andes to the capital in military metaphors (see e.g. Degregori et al 1986, Golte & Adams 1987). The *conquista* of Lima might be seen not as the unfortunate end product of the conquest of Peru - a simple assimilation to coastal culture - but as a kind of revenge for it, an occupation of the historical heart of *criollo* power and a demand for a share of that power.[147] In this way, as was

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[146] RLS is Fishman's handy abbreviation for "reversing language shift". See Fishman (1991).

[147] And note how Cerrón-Palomino (1989a:169) describes Quechua influence in the syntax of Peruvian Spanish as the "*venganza*" of the native tongue.

suggested in chapter 6, the shift to Spanish comes to be seen as heroic and empowering; conversely, to "return" to Quechua is to submit to being excluded from the life of the nation.

This is not to posit two antithetical readings of Quechua loss amongst migrants. Rather, the crux of what has been argued in this study is that the two currents in sociolinguistic change complement each other, in the sense that they lead separately (inasmuch as they can be distinguished as separate processes) to the same conclusion. Of all the intervening factors which have been discussed here - the ideologised beliefs and attitudes which link macro-level societal processes and micro-level language behaviour - perhaps the most influential is the Andean migrant's image of him or herself as modern, progressive, ambitious and industrious. (And sometimes, as was noted in chapter 6, this self-image can be thought of in opposition to the image of *criollos* as lazy and greedy). This self-image is quite deliberately linked with the matter of language; in choosing to speak Spanish, and choosing, in many contexts, *not* to speak Quechua, the migrant is making a statement about the kind of person he or she is, or wishes or expects to be. This is fundamentally similar to what Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) mean by an "act of identity", the theoretical construct which forms the basis of Johnstone & Bean's (e.g. 1997) conception of how individual and group identity may be expressed through language (see chapter 1). Seen in these terms, shift from Quechua to Spanish may be a product of the historically unequal distribution of economic and social power, but it is not *only* this. It is also and simultaneously a product of people's ideas and attitudes to themselves and their society.

Language shift in Lima is, in short, both forced and willed. It is the weight of the two processes taken together that makes the shift so overwhelmingly rapid, complete and - it would appear - irreversible.

4.2 Language revitalisation in the context of social change

The analysis outlined above would tend to suggest that shift is, indeed, irreversible, at least for the foreseeable future. While it would be foolhardy to make cast-iron predictions about anything in Peru - a hugely complex and dynamic country, which is experiencing tumultuous and accelerating social change - some general observations may be made with reasonable confidence. Most of these would seem to disfavour, for the present, a revival of the "language of the Incas" either in the capital or in the country at large.

For all that the domains of Quechua in Peru are extraordinarily clearly drawn (in the sense that Quechua is spoken *allá*, and Spanish *acá*), language shift does not simply occur when the migrant first steps off the interprovincial bus. Rather, the process of shift has often started in the generation prior to migration (or even earlier); and while certainly some people still arrive in Lima without any competence in Spanish (as did several of the informants

cited in this study), they at least know that Spanish is spoken there, and are very highly motivated to learn it. The concept of language shift is deeply embedded in the national consciousness; indeed, language shift is a national phenomenon, above all in the urban centres. Gugenberger (1989, 1994) reports that Andean children in Arequipa were growing up as monolingual Spanish speakers. In Ayacucho the loss of Quechua was detected in the 1970s:

> While some of our observations regarding the use of Quechua in 1978 can be quite reassuring, we should not ignore the fact that children of bilingual parents in suburban Ayacucho have been growing up entirely with Spanish since the mid-seventies... which is a clear warning of the growing tendency of language shift from Quechua-Spanish bilingualism to Spanish monolingualism.
>
> (von Gleich & Wölck 1994:49)

Indeed it is a clear warning: and if the process in Ayacucho is even vaguely similar to that in Lima, such a finding is more than sufficient to outweigh any "reassuring" observations at all (von Gleich & Wölck of course assume, quite reasonably, that language loss is a fundamentally negative phenomenon). It must be stressed once more that the intergenerational breakdown of Quechua transmission tends to be *complete*. It is not that the language withers away over a few generations, or that the children learn it imperfectly (and in this the case of Quechua in Lima differs from the general models of shift and decay described by, for example, Sasse 1990 or Dressler 1982): it simply disappears from one generation to the next, for the reasons and via the mechanisms that have been explored here. The threat posed to Quechua by growing bilingualism (again, see von Gleich & Wölck 1994) is not just a potential or abstract one: the Lima data presented here, taken in conjunction with the above-mentioned work on Ayacucho and Arequipa, suggests strongly that bilingualism in Peru (urban bilingualism, at any rate) tends towards extreme instability. Quite clearly, an outcome akin to the "tip" described by Mertz (1989) is a real possibility, whereby a language may pass from having very large numbers of bilingual speakers to having virtually none, in the space of a single generation.

When this background is taken into account, it becomes plain that even as modest an aim as the revitalisation of Quechua in Lima - which might be supposed to emphasise, not the intergenerational maintenance of the language as a first step, but rather the reactivation of Quechua amongst those who are native speakers but who rarely use the language - would require a change in national language attitudes and national patterns of language use. The kind of localised prescriptions for the early stages of RLS favoured by Fishman (see e.g. Fishman 1991:397-400) are hard to imagine functioning effectively in Lima, because language shift in Lima is no more than the sharp edge of a much larger process of cultural, social and demographic movement, all of which has tended up until now to disfavour the maintenance of Quechua. It will of course be argued that it is, then, precisely Lima speakers

who should be targetted in any maintenance effort: their behaviour is likely to be influential. However, as has been emphasised here, the self-image of the urban migrant as modern and forward-looking appears to be a central factor in the process of shift: those people who choose to migrate to Lima, and who choose to stay there, are the least liable to think in terms of attachment to native soil, tradition and language (see e.g. Bradfield 1973) and the most likely to have begun the transition to Spanish even while still living in their home communities (see e.g. Lloyd 1980:61; Salazar 1980:17).

A genuine will or motivation to maintain the ethnic language cannot, then, be assumed - even if, as in the case of Lima, speakers and non-speakers alike often insist, when asked, that they wish to see the language thrive and lack only an opportunity to learn or use it. Lindgren (1984) points out with reference to the Norwegian Kven that:

> Revitalisation would... require of the group in question first of all sufficiently strong motivation and will to effect a language shift and secondly enough influence on the course of their own affairs to be able to carry out a language policy... In the case of the Kven, it is unmistakably clear that the motivation is lacking.
>
> (Lindgren 1984:299)

Beyond this lies the question of whether RLS would be practicable even were such motivation to exist (or to arise at some time in the future). As has been seen, in the case of Quechua any revitalisation of the language in ethnically mixed urban areas would inevitably raise large questions of identity and cultural adherence: not just in the sense that speakers might be required to identify themselves unequivocally as "Indian" - which, as Paulston (1994:66) points out, is potentially a major stumbling-block, though not, I suspect, an insurmountable one - but in the sense that the question of interdialect intolerance would need to be addressed, and the umbilical link between dialect and *tierra* be, if not broken, then in some way fundamentally recast. To create "safe havens" where Quechua may be spoken (after-school clubs, community centres and so on) would be useless if Quechua did not become the preferred code there; not the preferred code, because it carries overtones of divergence and of attachment to one's own village or province, rather than the desired social overtones of convergence and solidarity. The fact that, as the data presented here has shown, Quechua has a public or semi-public presence in Lima primarily in the restricted domain of *regionally-based* clubs and societies - rather than in, say, community broadcasting, or in organisations dedicated to the dissemination of Andean culture in general - is an indication of the extent to which this aspect of attitudes to the language influences the social meaning of being a "Quechua speaker".[148]

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[148]This deep-rooted obstacle to RLS-oriented language planning in Peru may help explain why, as Cerron-Palomino (1987b) complains in exasperation, in those centres which exist for the maintenance of Quechua, Spanish is the working language. There are clearly, though, other, deeper aspects to this puzzling aberration: Edwards (1985:68) notes that a parallel situation obtains in Nova Scotia, where meetings of the principal Gaelic society are conducted in

As was noted above in connection with the theory put forward by Dorian (1987), even the problem of interdialect intolerance may be a function more of a language's oppressed or minority status than of, say, its geographical distribution. At heart - and this has been argued consistently throughout the present work - the problem which confronts Quechua is one of low prestige. Any attempt at RLS or language revitalisation must address this central *social* factor in the shift away from the language. Given this inescapable reality, debates about the number of vowels in Quechua orthography (see e.g. Itier 1992c, Samanez Flórez 1992) take on a kind of surreal superfluity, while the chief virtue of the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua's dictionary[149] - it has, unfortunately, few lexicographical virtues - must be considered to lie in its being produced at all, thus providing tangible evidence to the sceptical that Quechua can boast, like Spanish, an "approved" dictionary, compiled by a "real" Academy. Fishman is surely right to state, and to state as firmly as he does, that: "It is status planning, not corpus planning, that is the engine of all language planning success" (Fishman 1991:349).

One cannot rule out the possibility of a revival of ethnic pride amongst *limeños* of Andean origin, an "attitudinal halo-ization" (Fishman 1972a:55) of the "old" culture on the part of the third or fourth generation, as appears to have happened in the US in the 1960s and 70s (see Fishman et al 1985). Certainly this possibility exists in any situation of migration and cultural change, and may well have a linguistic dimension. Smolicz comments that:

> It is... possible for individuals who have never learned to use their parental tongue, to express a positive ideological attitude to the language concerned. They may also be aware of its core significance for the group, and wish that they did know it. If an opportunity arose to learn the language, such individuals' ideological attitudes could be turned into tendencies through the construction and use of personal ethnic linguistic systems.
>
> (Smolicz 1992:281)

However, it is not at all clear that, in Peru, such a revival *would* have a linguistic dimension. Indeed, it could perfectly well be argued from anecdotal evidence that the Lima-born children and grandchildren of Andean migrants already do exhibit a certain pride in their ethnic origins, and even in the ethnic language: they just do not want to actually speak it. Apart from anything else, it is essential always to distinguish between "tolerance and action in language matters... public goodwill cannot be equated with an active desire to promote the language" (Edwards 1984b:274).

English.
149 AMLQ (1995)

A real change in the status of Quechua in Peru will come about when there is a real change in the socioeconomic power and status of its traditional speakers. That this is in many ways a simplistic statement does not detract from its essential truth. A comparison has been drawn here at several points between the situation of Quechua and that of Irish; and indeed, the path that has been taken by Irish over the last decade or so may well indicate a likely future direction for Quechua. Determined campaigners fought to keep the language alive during its years of relentless decline; they had some successes (most notably at governmental level) and a possibly greater number of failures (Macnamara 1971). In recent years there has been something of a renaissance of interest in Irish, and the campaigners therefore have the right to congratulate themselves. However, it should not escape our notice that this success has coincided with an *economic* renaissance: modern Ireland - urban, enthusiastically European and increasingly middle-class - is a world away from the conservative, impoverished, rural nation of the early decades of independence. That is to say: renewed interest in the language has come about where a sufficient mass of speakers have felt economically, culturally and socially secure enough to contemplate such a thing. As Fishman (e.g. 1991) constantly emphasises, the pursuit of language revitalisation is very often a middle-class interest, appealing to those who, by dint of their economic and social position, no longer feel that the "old" language is likely to threaten their prospects of mobility and prosperity.

Could Quechua enjoy a similar success in Peru? At one level, the signs are already there: it has been noted at several points in the present work that middle-class, solidly-established speakers in Lima are notably more enthusiastic about the maintenance and public use of Quechua than are their fellow speakers in the *pueblos jóvenes*, still struggling to gain a foothold in the city and wary in the extreme of anything which smacks of a return to, as they perceive it, backwardness and marginality. There is a solid - if small - core of amateur and professional *quechuistas* amongst the Lima middle classes. However, it must be suspected that for Quechua to achieve the same kind of revival as Irish, Peru first has to attain a certain level of economic stability and prosperity, a "jumping-off point" at which language revitalisation comes to be seen by large numbers of people as feasible, relevant, progressive and attractive. As even the most optimistic observer of modern Peru will agree, such a point may be some distance away; real economic success continues to elude successive governments, and stability - a quite crucial element of the equation - is by no means guaranteed. This said, the presence in Lima of a core of committed *quechuistas* and of millions of Andean migrants means that, when and if this point does arrive, the language will be well placed to benefit from it.

As things stand, though, those Quechua speakers who are most likely to attain some measure of power and influence in the capital are often those most likely to wish to "become" Spanish speakers. Other than through an economic breakthrough of the kind considered above, how can this vicious circle be broken? The kind of linguistic Trotskyism which argues that nothing can be

done at the level of language use itself - that is, which holds, however correctly, that only fundamental social and economic change will bring about linguistic change - runs the risk of achieving, in the short term, nothing at all.

Given the history of language and power in Peru, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that, if Quechua is to be heard with any regularity in the streets of Lima - and if, in addition, the slow, long-term decline in the proportion of speakers in the nation as a whole is to be reversed - then the first, decisive action must come from government; that is, the project of legitimation of the language will start from above, and not from below. Such a project might include a reinstatement of Velasco's programme of compulsory Quechua teaching in schools and universities (and this is certainly what many speakers fervently hope for). If this is to be effective, it seems clear from the data presented in this study that the discourse which values Quechua primarily as the "language of the Incas" must be dispensed with.

There are other problems with official language promotion: for one, it naturally implies the selection - in areas, at least, where no one dialect predominates, as is clearly the case in the capital - of a new *quechua general*, a 21st century version of the Inca *koine*. This in turn renders it unlikely that many children would, in reality, learn what is thought of as the language of their parents and grandparents, and lessens the possibility of home reinforcement of the language taught at school. It is in any case surely most improbable that a programme of Quechua teaching would lead to the language being used in any meaningful way for communication by Lima-born young people. These are familiar arguments, often adduced to demonstrate the weakness of formal "top-down" language planning initiatives (see e.g. Edwards 1984b for Irish). It is easy to dismiss the 1975 *oficialización* as a purely symbolic gesture. And yet: in the Peruvian situation, as has been shown, a renewed *oficialización* could in fact have very positive effects, albeit in an indirect fashion, because in the context of Peruvian language attitudes and language use, the symbolic is of the first importance.

5 Language as symbol: some concluding remarks

Edwards (1994:210) asks: "Under what circumstances can desired change co-exist with cultural coherence? What are the chief items to be entered in any ledger of costs and benefits pertaining to language shift?" The answers that the Quechua-speaking migrants of Lima and their families have given to these questions are relatively straightforward. There is cultural coherence in Lima, in that a "modified Quechua culture" (Myers 1973:166) has grown up, within which recognisably Andean practices and attitudes co-exist with adapted elements of traditional *criollo* culture to form the distinctively Lima-Andean *cultura chicha*. The Quechua language, quite clearly, is not one of those elements of Andean culture which has been selected for retention. A key aspect of "desired change" for migrants is that they and their children be accepted as full members of the urban and national communities: given the

particular historical and social background to Peruvian language use and distribution, and the ideologised attitudes derived from this background, the attainment of this desired change has been felt to be incompatible with maintenance of the ethnic tongue, even as a second or "home" language. The migrant family transforms itself and becomes, quite consciously, an essentially Spanish-speaking entity. In terms of costs and benefits, the transformation is overwhelmingly positive: this is why it happens.

Importantly, though, even if the language gradually (or, often, not at all gradually) ceases to be used as a meaningful system of communication, it does not simply vanish from the cultural equation. The communally-constructed attitude of pride in Quechua is maintained from generation to generation: it is a major constituent of what it means to be Andean, Peruvian and *limeño*, and forms a link with the *Perú profundo* which still exists in the urban imagination as an emblem of national unity and cultural continuity. Vilma Galarza Churampi hinted at this in justifying her (entirely typical) suggestion that Quechua should be reintroduced in schools:

> Incluso me gustaría que en las... en los colegios, las escuelas haya un curso de quechua ¿no? Porque... porque no siempre uno va a estar en la capital, ¿no? Con el tiempo de repente regresamos a... a los pueblos.
>
> (Tapescript 23)

The unreality of the idea that "*con el tiempo de repente regresamos a... los pueblos*" is patent. Vilma's future is unmistakeably urban and industrial; within a few months of making this comment, in fact, she left Lima - not to return to her mountain village of Santa Cruz de Pacte, but to join the ranks of illegal Peruvian immigrants searching for work in Buenos Aires, Argentina. In any case, use of Quechua is fast declining in places like Pacte, and Vilma knows this very well. In language symbolism it is the thought that counts, and to express a wish for the language to be maintained, especially in what is sentimentally considered to be the heart of the country, the Andean *pueblos*, is as much an "act of identity" as is the act of speaking it. While such discourse should not be mistaken for a genuine motivation to learn, use and promote Quechua, it still plays an important role in the construction of the speaker's individual self-image.

As this reading of Vilma's words implies, this study, while confirming in essence the findings of Gugengerger (1989, 1994) and von Gleich (1994b, 1995) would put much less stress than Gugenberger does on the idea of *identidad quebrada* and than von Gleich does on assimilation or *criollización*. The Quechua language continues to function as a symbol of cultural coherence and continuity, even where it is no longer spoken. In addition, it is suggested here that Quechua speakers do not necessarily feel uprooted in Lima: the traumatic experiences of some migrants notwithstanding, the *chicha* culture is in many ways a rather supportive environment. Similarly, speaking

Spanish is not necessarily indicative of a desire to become *criollo*; quite often it is linked to distinctly non-*criollo* ideas, like studying, working hard and getting on in life through ones own efforts.

It was earlier remarked that to speak Quechua in Lima (in public at least) is not analogous to, say, speaking Aymara in La Paz. In addition to being not nearly such an unremarkable activity, it carries a quite different social meaning, and as an act, would have quite different constructions placed upon it. Clearly, in this, the capital of Peru is unlike that of its closest - both geographically and culturally - neighbour. Why should this be so? Part of the explanation for this apparent anomaly might lie in the notion (explored in chapter 2) of territorial domain allocation. Quechua and Aymara are languages felt by their speakers to be inseparably linked to the surroundings of the Andes: and while La Paz is a distinctly Andean city, Lima, with its beach culture and its flat desert wastes, is emphatically of the coast. It is perhaps therefore natural that Peruvians of Andean speech and upbringing are less likely than Bolivians to think of their capital as "their" city, or part of "their" cultural world, and more inclined to accept as inevitable a change in linguistic and cultural behaviour when they migrate. The tension between *costa* and *sierra* (and to a lesser extent *selva*) has been a constant in Peruvian history, and remains so to this day; the problem of their cultural, economic and infrastructural integration continues to exercise the strategic thinking of governments.

Another reason for the difference between the countries, though related to the question of national integration, is less obviously physical, and is to be found in their 20th century social histories. Peru has no movement for separate "Indian" rights analogous to the Bolivian Kataristas or their Ecuadorean counterparts. There is little demand for the recognition of an Indian "nation" in Peru, and little to compare with the influence that Bolivian indigenous peoples as a coherent, organised bloc have had over governments, political parties and labour unions. Peruvian politics tends to be based squarely upon class rather than ethnicity. While this may seem to imply that Peruvian Andean Indians are in a weaker position than their neighbours, in fact it also bespeaks a much greater level of social mobility and national integration. Migration to Lima (and to provincial centres) is on a scale almost unimaginable in Bolivia, while access to education in Spanish, with its concomitant possibility (whether real or illusory) of access to the benefits of the national society, has been steadily extended over the highlands for decades.[150]

As was suggested in chapter 6, migrants to Lima actively demand incorporation into the life of the nation and the capital (see e.g. Cerrón-Palomino 1989:27). Their demands are couched in the national language, Spanish; the rights they claim are those of Peruvian citizens, not those of

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[150] For a brief comparison of the two countries and an assessment of why Peru has developed no mass indigenous movement, see Peru Update, Jan/Feb 1998, p 7. (London: Peru Support Group).

"Indians" as a class apart. The much greater ethnic group consciousness which exists in Bolivia, and which is expressed through mass indigenous movements, springs in part from a fundamental lack of social mobility and of identification with the nation state: this leads, perhaps, to a higher valuation of the indigenous language as a symbol of separateness and a carrier of ethnic aspirations. Peruvian migrants have a quite dissimilar view of their nation state and its functions:

> [L]a extraordinaria importancia que los pobres de las ciudades atribuyen al Estado, sus competencias y recursos... los ha conducido... a demandar y aprovechar cualquier circunstancia para coparticipar [...] La suya es, por tanto, una modalidad participativa de la integración.
>
> (Franco 1991:105)

This desire for participation, for integration, naturally means that Quechua is likely to be valued less highly than "national", mobile Spanish; it helps explain why one does not speak Quechua in public in Lima as one would speak Aymara in La Paz. If Andeans in Lima lose their language, this might be considered as something akin to a victimless crime. We may conclude that language shift is part of a larger process of oppression of Andean peoples and their culture and yet note that, within the parameters established by Spanish or *criollo* hegemony, to become a Spanish speaker and to bring up ones children as monolingual Spanish speakers is viewed as a kind of victory against the odds. Migrants to Lima, by their language and their (notably dynamic and creative) culture, make a determined claim to the fruits of modernity, positioning themselves as full citizens of the republic. In choosing for themselves and their families the language which has traditionally been seen as the language of power, they express their aspirations in a quite concrete way (analogous, as has been suggested, to invading land and erecting a house and a Peruvian flag): it is at best inadequate and at worst patronising to claim that such people have somehow betrayed or been robbed of their culture, because that culture comes to be expressed through Spanish.

6 Epilogue: the language left at Ticlio

The pass at Ticlio, in the province of Huarochirí (department of Lima), lies at 4818 metres above sea level. It is the highest point on the Carretera Central, the road which connects the central highlands to the city of Lima. If one is travelling to the capital, this is the point at which the road stops climbing and starts to head downwards, out of the mountains and towards the coast. Generations of Andean travellers have paused at this spiritually-charged stage of their road to make an offering of coca leaves to the *apus* and leave a stone on an ever-growing cairn. Gustavo Martínez, it might be recalled from chapter 2, described the abrupt language shift amongst his fellow Quechua-speaking migrants thus:

Cuando se llega a la capital hermano, cuando se llega a la capital, yo encuentro hermano que hay gente hermano que han venido tierra adentro sabe Dios de los suburbios hermano del Perú, hermano ya no quieren hablar su quechua hermano [...] Oye, les avergüenza hermano. Hasta se ha olvidado, ¿sabe dónde se olvidan? En el cerro en Chontapás de un de repente, o en Ticlio cuando están bajando digamos a la costa. Qué pena da, hermano.

(Tapescript 29)

This is akin to metaphor: it is a strikingly physical description of linguistic behaviour, and one with peculiar resonance in the Peruvian Andean world. The reference to Chontapás is a purely local one, but Ticlio is rather more important than this. Skar (1994:62) refers to it when she writes of *Apu Tiklliu*, the mountain god associated most strongly with migrants from Matapuquio (in Andahuaylas) who are now resident in the capital. Skar brings out powerfully the physical sense of borders being crossed as migrants undertake their journey, with the concomitant rituals, spiritual obligations and psychological shifts of reference. The migrant bids farewell to relatives at the village's "weeping place" or *waqaipata* [sic], offers coca to the *apu* at the cross at Cruzccasa, and so on.

The process of Quechua loss amongst migrants to Lima is a complex and multilayered one: it is both willed and forced; regretted and desired. It involves large issues of power, ethnicity and identity, and it is fundamentally intertwined with the huge and unpredictable social changes which are under way in late 20th century Peru. And yet, as was noted in the preface, those speakers at the centre of this linguistic change do not tend to view it in complicated terms: if one asks why Quechua is not spoken in Lima, one is apt to receive the puzzled or shrugged response, only, that "*acá no se habla el quechua*". The fluid and turbulent processes which bring about this dramatic, complete and apparently irreversible intergenerational language shift are conflated and synthesised - and reduced to a notion of physical domain. To all involved it is obvious that, essentially, Quechua belongs to the world of the Andes. In Lima, by contrast, one speaks Spanish. Language shift is thus conceived of as being a natural process, or even a once-only occurrence, linked to movement (social mobility being linked symbolically, of course, to geographical mobility) and to place.

It is therefore the most natural thing in the world that speakers conceive of the linguistic change as happening at a certain point in space. Gustavo - himself a native Quechua speaker and migrant, deeply imbued with Andean notions of crossing borders, of moving from one sphere to another, one controlled by other forces and subject to other powers - connects the idea of crossing symbolic boundaries with the idea of changing language. As stones and coca leaves are left at Ticlio, so, in Gustavo's imagery, do migrants to

Lima pause to leave their language behind before continuing their journey downwards, to the new world of the coast.

Skar dwells hardly at all on the question of language shift. However, Gustavo's notion of a physical stage in the migrant's journey where one's language is abandoned fits neatly into the geographical-ethnographical schema that she sketches out. It is doubtless the case that Gustavo is searching for a piece of imagery sufficent in its vigour to convey the abruptness and completeness of language shift amongst migrants, rather than attempting to exemplify a feature of *runa* conceptions of identity and place. However, in succeeding rather effectively in the one, he seems simultaneously to achieve the other. The person who spoke Quechua in the Andes, now speaks Spanish in Lima: the language is left at Ticlio.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Brief biographical details of core informants

Aguirre, Emilia

Now aged mid-30s, migrated from Huanta (Ayacucho) aged 11. Was monolingual in Quechua on arrival in Lima. Learned Spanish to passable standard, but remains illiterate. Found work first as domestic servant in suburbs of Lima, now lives and has market stall in La Merced, Punta Negra. Married to bilingual from Ayacucho; their eight children monolingual in Spanish. A lively and fluent speaker, though grammar is highly inaccurate.

Aguirre, Jhonny

Nephew of Emilia, son of Saturnino. Aged 6, born in Huanta, was accompanying Saturnino for first time to Lima and had been there seven months at time of fieldwork. Arrived in Lima monolingual in Quechua; now strongly prefers Spanish, though range of expression is limited.

Aguirre, Saturnino

Brother of Emilia, also in 30s. Not an established resident of Lima, but has spent varying periods of time there. At time of fieldwork was employed as handyman at private beach club in Punta Negra. At close of season was planning to take up agricultural work in the *ceja de selva*. Single parent, father of Jhonny. Native Quechua speaker, barely adequate Spanish.

Alarcón, Efigenia

Bilingual, brought up in middle-class *mestizo* family on hacienda in Huancavelica. Now in her 40s, came to Lima as a teenager to finish secondary schooling. Married to monolingual Spanish speaker, lives in Pueblo Libre with elderly mother (with whom she often speaks Quechua). Two children, Leila and Lolo: Leila (teenage) has no Quechua. Lolo (aged in his twenties) has reasonable passive knowledge but claims not to be able to speak at all.

Alarcón, Ichaco

Sister of Efigenia, also full bilingual. Lives nearby in Breña, meets her sister and mother regularly, when they often speak Quechua together. Qualified as a teacher and works in an elementary school in the poor district of San Cosme.

Alarcón, Rosita

Cousin of Ichaco and Efigenia, of the same generation. Brought up in the city of Huancavelica, came to Lima as teenager; claims reasonable passive knowledge of Quechua but speaks very little. Also a teacher, working in La Victoria in a school where many children are of first and second generation migrant families.

Alegría, Flavio

Aged in his mid-20s, Flavio migrated to Lima in 1990 from his native village located some 50 kms from the city of Cusco, and has never returned since. Brought up in monolingual Quechua-speaking home, but learnt some Spanish at school. Lives in Villa María del Triunfo with his wife, who is a native speaker from the same province, and their two baby children. Hopes to go to university, but meanwhile is a self-employed taxi-driver.

Baldeón, Abel

Born in Llocllapampa (near Jauja, Junín), brought up mainly by bilingual grandfather José (below) and José's second wife, Fidela. Learnt Quechua from them and from Quechua-monolingual relatives. Now in his late 20s, migrated to Lima in his teens. Works as *cobrador* on a bus, lives in Villa El Salvador.

Baldeón, José

Born in 1920s in Llocllapampa, older cousin of Luis Galarza. Fluent bilingual who learnt local dialect of Quechua from monolingual parents; went on to learn other dialects during working life spent in part as peripatetic worker on construction projects in the central and southern Andean region. Now semi-retired, but continues to do agricultural work.

Baldeón, María

Granddaughter of José and cousin of Abel, born in Llocllapampa. Brought up by bilingual parents, but acquired little or no Quechua. Aged nineteen at time of fieldwork, moved to Huancayo two years before to finish secondary education and work in a shop.

Ballardo, Denis

Brought up by monolingual Quechua-speaking parents in Oyón, in the *sierra* of the department of Lima. Learnt Spanish at school, and as a child habitually used Quechua to his parents and Spanish to his siblings. Moved to Lima as a young man, now lives in the *pueblo joven* of 200 Millas, beside the Lima-Callao airport. Aged 43 at time of fieldwork, father of two. Occupied like many of the inhabitants of 200 Millas in the recycling of waste from the nearby river Rímac, but also runs a small shop.

Churampi, Elva

Born in 1930s in Santa Cruz de Pacte (near Jauja), where she still lives. Brought up bilingual by Quechua-dominant parents. Married Luis Galarza (q.v.), also bilingual; continued to speak mainly Quechua with her mother and with other local people, but use of Quechua with Luis gradually gave way to preponderant use of Spanish, particularly after children were born. All children except one, Nelly, have migrated to Lima. Does no paid work, but keeps livestock and cultivates medicinal herbs for sale at market in Jauja.

Contreras, Lorena

Daughter of Margarita (below), born in Lima. Now in late 20s, mother of two, married to jobbing mechanic and handyman. Has no active competence in Quechua, but claims to be able to understand some, having heard it spoken by her mother and relatives.

Contreras, Margarita

Born in monolingual Quechua-speaking environment of Colcabamba (Junín). She is not sure of her age but appeared to be in her fifties or sixties at time of fieldwork. Migrated to Lima in her twenties and brought up two daughters, now adults, as a single parent. Worked for some years as domestic servant, but now lives with daughter Lorena in *pueblo joven* of La Merced, Punta Negra. Claims to speak only Quechua when she meets relatives of same generation, some of whom live in Lima. Has had virtually no formal education, speaks highly ungrammatical Spanish with strong interference from Quechua.

Escudero, Marco and brothers

The Escudero brothers (Marco, Lucho, Humberto and Ricardo) were born and brought up in the 1950s on an *hacienda* in the province of Pomabamba (Ancash), which was later expropriated in the Velasco land reforms, leaving the family penniless. All are native Quechua speakers, and spoke only Quechua until they went to school at around age 6. Quechua was heavily discouraged at school, but they continued to speak it habitually to each other and to other local people well into their teens. All migrated to Lima in ones and twos in the 1960s and early 1970s; none has returned to Pomabamba more than once since, and some not at all. All four have married and brought up families in Lima, but have experienced differing fortunes. Marco and his family, for example, lived for many years in a poor area of San Martín de Porres, but in recent years have enjoyed success at work and been able to move to a new house in Surco. Marco is now a civil servant. Humberto and Lucho have also moved gradually up the social spectrum. Humberto spent many years in the army; Lucho has a white-collar job. Ricardo, by contrast, is a self-employed carpenter in a *pueblo joven* and in considerable economic difficulties. The brothers were in the habit for many years of meeting with the

express purpose of speaking Quechua; they no longer do so, and in fact rarely speak Quechua to each other even when alone. However, all are still competent speakers.

Falcón, Julia

Born 1940 in monolingual Quechua-speaking village in province of Víctor Fajardo, Ayacucho. Illiterate, with no formal education. Two daughters, born in Ayacucho, now adult. The three migrated to Lima together when the children were very young; they have some passive knowledge of Quechua but do not speak it. Julia had little or no Spanish before migration, and still speaks it ungrammatically, though fluently. Lives in poor conditions in an *asentamiento humano* in Tablada de Lurín; works selling vegetables in a local market.

Flores, Alicia (no relation to Flores family below)

Cousin of Carmen Galarza, born in the district of Jesús María, Lima, to bilingual parents. No knowledge of Quechua. Aged in late teens, now lives in Villa El Salvador.

Flores, Danny

Teenage son of Jorge (below). Born in Lima, has no knowledge of Quechua. Bright academically, he hopes to attend university in the near future.

Flores, Jorge

Distant relative of the Escudero brothers, also from Pomabamba (Ancash). Native Quechua speaker who learnt Spanish at school. Has reputation of being the most attached to Andean culture and language in the family; he is active in the *club provincial*, has a large collection of *huayno* music and is proud of maintaining his Quechua. Migrated as young man with wife Flor, also a native Quechua speaker from Ancash. Lives in poor conditions in Breña, on edge of central Lima, and runs a small shop.

Galarza, Luis

Born 1930s in Jauja area. Cousin of José Baldeón, orphaned at a young age, brought up in household of Quechua-preferring bilingual relatives. Became Spanish-preferring with period of military service in 1950s (part of which was spent in Lima) and, later, marriage to Elva Churampi. Settled in Santa Cruz de Pacte, six children. Still undertakes seasonal agricultural work.

Galarza, Carmen

Daughter of Luis Galarza and Elva Churampi. Born 1961 in Santa Cruz de Pacte, migrated to Lima as a teenager. Learned Quechua as a child, mainly from maternal grandmother and local people of that generation, but the language was discouraged by parents and the schoolteachers in Pacte; now has only residual passive knowledge. In Lima, worked until mid-1990s as a domestic servant in San Isisdro and San Miguel. With brother Ennio, invested savings in a three-room house in Villa El Salvador, where they keep a small neighbourhood shop.

Galarza, Vilma

Of similar age and experience to sister Carmen (above). Vilma was also living at the small house in Villa El Salvador, but in 1996 decided to join relatives as illegal worker in Argentina.

Huarca, Gregorio

Aged mid-20s at time of fieldwork, migrated in 1984 from the province of La Mar, Ayacucho, with a very basic knowledge of Spanish, acquired mainly at primary school. Parents were practically monolingual Quechua speakers. Two older brothers preceded Gregorio to Lima, where they set up as *transportistas* in Villa El Salvador. He joined this business and also worked as a shoe-cleaner in central Lima, financing the remainder of his primary, and his secondary education from the proceeds. Hopes to study medicine, and has applied unsuccessfully several times to San Marcos University. Still lives with brothers in Villa El Salvador, and drives a taxi to supplement the family income.

Martínez, Gustavo

Aged mid-30s. Born in Chongos Bajo, near Huancayo (Junín), brought up fully bilingual. Most of life spent working as a driver in the Huancayo area, but moved to Lima in 1993. Has bought a vehicle and set up his own business as a *transportista* in Ate-Vitarte. Returns regularly to home area (mainly through work), and likes to speak Quechua when he does so.

Martínez, Rubén

Brother of Gustavo, but some 20 years older. Also brought up bilingual in Chongos Bajo. First lived in Lima from 1973 to 1984, working as mechanic. Moved back to Huancayo for some years, but is now established in Lima again. Married with family, works as engineer/mechanic in Ate-Vitarte. An enthusiastic advocate of Andean culture, with something of a reputation amongst friends and neighbours as a *quechuista*.

Méndez, Valentina

Born 1930s in monolingual Quechua-speaking area of Cangallo, Ayacucho. No formal education, though gradually acquired some rudimentary Spanish via market, radio, children, etc. Brought up three children in Ayacucho, who learnt Spanish and became Spanish-preferring at primary school. All three children migrated to Lima in early adulthood; she joined them rather reluctantly in 1980s. Now lives with one of her sons in Tablada de Lurín. None of the children now claim any competence at all in Quechua. Doña Valentina still speaks, but admits lack of use is affecting fluency.

Muñoz, Celia

A mother of six in her mid-30s, migrated from Huanta, Ayacucho in 1990 (political violence of the time may have played some part in the decision to migrate, though this is rather unclear). Arrived as virtually monolingual Quechua speaker, now speaks adequate (though heavily-accented and ungrammatical) Spanish. Lives in La Merced, Punta Negra, and runs a small evangelical church attached to her house. Husband also bilingual native speaker from Huanta, works as handyman in nearby country club. Three children now live in Punta Negra, others remain with relatives in Ayacucho area.

Muñoz, Edwin

Son of Celia, born 1985 in Huanta. Came to Lima to join his parents and two brothers in 1995 as a monolingual Quechua speaker. Remains Quechua-dominant, with poor Spanish (and is a shy speaker, doubtless due in part to this), but now attends school in Punta Negra and prefers to speak Spanish with brothers and friends.

Otazú, Hilda

Born in 1978 in Accha, 6 hours from city of Cusco. Family are involved in agricultural work in Cusco area and the *ceja de selva,* and all children brought up monolingual in Quechua. Hilda claims her primary schooling (in Accha) was carried out entirely in Quechua. Went to stay with half-sister and work as servant in Pueblo Libre district of Lima in 1991, when she began to learn Spanish. Finished secondary schooling, working part-time, in 1996. Returned to Accha for first time shortly thereafter, supposedly for extended visit. However, stayed only a month (her sister reported that "*no se acostumbraba*"), and returned to Lima. Retains fluency in Quechua, but has no trace of Andean accent in her Spanish.

Otazú, Percy

Born 1987 in Accha, brother of Hilda. Also underwent primary schooling in Quechua only, and was monolingual upon arriving to join Hilda in Lima in 1996. At time of fieldwork was experiencing considerable difficulties in adjusting to life in Lima (he was being teased by schoolfellows for his lack of full competence in Spanish), and was considering going to stay with a relative in the Ayacucho region for a time.

Pérez, William and Gaby

Aged early 30s at time of fieldwork. As teachers of English in state school in Toquepala (Tacna), the couple are well educated and articulate, but of relatively moderate economic means. Both were brought up on *haciendas* in the Cusco area, and gained passive knowledge of Quechua (and William a reasonable active knowledge) from parents and employees. Open to "national" and foreign influences, but very enthusiastic with regard to Quechua and Andean culture. In some ways fit the stereotype of the semi-detached, intellectual supporter of ethnic culture and language.

Quispe, Ernesto and brothers

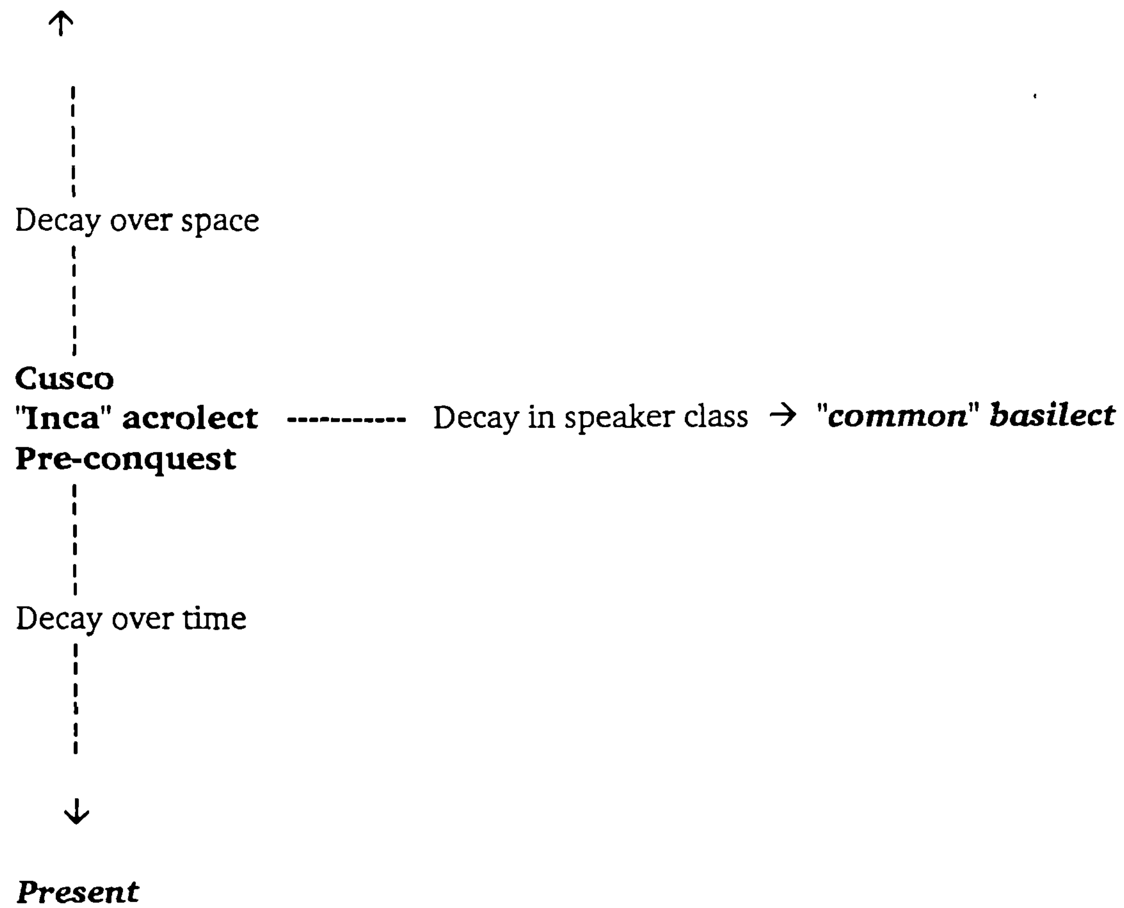
Ernesto, Ricardo and César Quispe were born in Ancomayo, Urcos (Cusco). Ernesto was born in 1975; the others are several years older. The brothers were brought up in a virtually monolingual Quechua-speaking household, though sometimes spoke Spanish to their father, who spoke a little. Having learnt Spanish at school, the boys took to preferring it amongst themselves. Ricardo and César left for Lima in the early 1980s, and now live with their young families in a poor area of Ate-Vitarte, where they run a business together. Ernesto was in effect seized by the army for military service at the age of 15, and spent the next two years on active service in *zonas rojas* of Ayacucho and Apurímac, during which time he spoke mostly Spanish. Since then he has divided his time between the homes of his parents, his brothers, and his uncle in the city of Cusco. He works as a journeyman builder and carpenter.

Yangali, Sócrates

Aged mid-20s at time of fieldwork, migrated from Huancavelica in 1992 (in part because of Sendero Luminoso activity) and settled in Villa María del Triunfo. Native Quechua speaker who learned some Spanish at school, married to another bilingual native speaker from Ancash, whom he met in Lima. They have a daughter of two. Does odd jobs and building work, and hopes to further his studies in Lima, but financial responsibilities have so far prevented this.

Appendix B

Model of perceived decay in Quechua



Appendix C

An elaborated model of intergenerational language shift

Wölck (1991) presents the following chronology for Quechua-Spanish language shift in the Andes.

$$M(Qu) \rightarrow B(Qu>Sp) \rightarrow B(Qu=Sp) \rightarrow B(Sp>Qu) \rightarrow M(Sp)$$

(M denotes monolingual; B denotes bilingual; > denotes dominance of one language over another; = denotes a balanced bilingualism).

While a span of five generations for complete shift would be typical, this process may take place over any number of generations; it may be halted at any stage, and there may be any number of bilingual generations. The process is accelerated by and correlates with urbanization (von Gleich 1994, Wölck 1991). Wölck's model is helpful, but for the case of migrants, at least, it is inadequate. It has a rather static, unbroken feel about it, in which each stage appears frozen in time, and one generation's language pattern appears to give way seamlessly to the next. Migration, of course, typically brings about dramatic changes in the individual's own lifetime, and has the effect in addition of disrupting continuity between generations, so that some of the above stages may be skipped entirely.

A representation of how shift occurs in the context of migration would need to address, too, the gradual change in language use before migration. As has been noted here, the expectation of migration can affect the way parents seek to socialise their children. These speakers might still use Quechua with their peers and the generation immediately before them, but will be eager to pass on Spanish to their children in the expectation that they will migrate in due course. Between themselves this generation might experience extremely unstable bilingualism, moving more and more towards sole Spanish as the children grow up and exert their own (predominantly Spanish) linguistic influence on the family. Thus both parents and children are moving in the same pro-Spanish direction, though Quechua-dominant or monolingual grandparents and other elderly relatives may be a braking influence for some time.

The model laid out below is intended to put some flesh on the bare bones of Wölck's model of language replacement, translating it to a migratory context and attempting to suggest some of the dynamism, fluidity and complexity of the process. It should be noted at once that it is merely a representation of what *might* happen in a family over the period of migration. It is not intended to be a comprehensive description of language shift, nor even an example of a typical case. This model is in fact based on a conflation of the experiences of the Escudero and Galarza families; a similar exercise performed for any of the

other families and individuals referred to in this study would doubtless produce rather different results.

Notes on the model of language shift

The model is laid out along the same left-right chronological orientation as Wölck's diagram above, and shows patterns of language change before and after migration. *Ego* denotes the migrating individual; *ego -1* hence represents the migrant's parents, *ego +1* the migrant's children, and so on. Immediately below this generational marker appears the pattern of language change which might expected to take place in these speakers' lifetimes, or these speakers' competence. Hence, for example, the formula M (Qu) → B (Qu>Sp) set below *ego -2* denotes a shift by the migrant's grandparents from monolingual Quechua to Quechua-dominant bilingualism: that is to say, these speakers acquired some competence in Spanish over their lifetimes.

On the vertical axis are shown some of the familial, geographical, educational, social and psychological factors (there would, of course, be others) which may be supposed to have helped bring about the change described; the probable effects in terms of favouring or disfavouring one language or another are noted. Thus, (-Qu) indicates that a particular factor might be expected to disfavour Quechua; (+Sp) that it would favour the acquisition or use of Spanish; and so on. It is perhaps worthy of note that, by the point of generation *ego +1* (the Lima-born generation), most factors seem not to favour Spanish as such, but rather to still further discourage Quechua. Spanish is thus seen to be taken for granted; if there is to be a further language in the configuration, it is most likely to be English.

In all of the below, reduplicated symbols indicate particular intensity. Thus, (++Qu) means that Quechua is strongly favoured; (Sp>>Qu) indicates that the speaker is heavily dominant in Spanish as opposed to Quechua. Square brackets, as in, for example, [Qu], indicate a vestigial passive competence.

Draft language replacement model

Generation	ego -2	ego -1	ego	ego +1
Shift	M(Qu) → B(Qu>Sp)	B(Sp=Qu) → B(Sp>Qu)	B(Sp>>Qu) → B(Sp/[Qu])	M (Sp)
Intervening factors:				
Fam	presence of monolingual parents/ grandparents (+Qu)	monolingual grand-parents (+Qu); Sp-dom children (+Sp); 1 spouse Sp-dominant (+Sp)	monolingual grand-parents (+Qu). Latterly Sp-dominant parents (+Sp) ?Spouse Sp-only (-Qu)	No living monolingual Qu relatives (-Qu)
Geog	Qu-speaking area (+Qu)	Qu-speaking area (+Qu)	urban Sp-speaking area (++Sp) ?return visits to *tierra* (+Qu)	little or no experience of Qu domains (-Qu)
Educ	??primary school (+Sp)	primary school (+Sp) ??secondary school	secondary school (++Sp)	secondary school ?tertiary (+Sp) ?English (-Qu)
Social	awareness of en-croachment of national society (+Sp)	expectation of migration for next generation (+Sp)	**migration** ?in teens (++Sp)	expectation of career solely in Lima (-Qu)
Psych	self-identification as Andean/rural (+Qu)	increasing orientation towards national society (+Sp)	self-identification as urban/ modern (++Sp) but recognition of Andean roots (+Qu)	self-identification as urban. Orientation towards national society and further afield (-Qu)

Appendix D: pilot questionnaire

Code
Link with

Sección 1 - Datos personales

1.1 Nombre (No es necesario nombre completo*).*

1.2 Ocupación actual *Si es Ud estudiante, dé detalles de sus estudios en la actualidad*

1.3 Domicilio, teléfono

1.4 Otras personas que viven en su domicilio *(*parentesco*)*

1.5 Fecha de nacimiento

1.6 Lugar de nacimiento

*Si nació **en Lima**, sírvase pasar directamente a la **Sección 3**.* *Si nació **fuera de Lima**, sírvase pasar a la **Sección 2**.*

Sección 2 - Migración

2.1 ¿Cuántos años tenía cuando vino a vivir a Lima?

2.2 ¿Quiénes vinieron con Ud?

2.3 ¿Ha vuelto a visitar en alguna oportunidad su tierra?

2.4 Si es así, ¿qué tan seguido lo hace o lo ha hecho? Favor de marcar una de las siguientes opciones:

- mas de una vez al año
- aproximadamente una vez al año
- aproximadamente cada dos o tres años
- aproximadamente cada cinco años
- menos de una vez cada cinco años

2.5 ¿Tiene familia o amigos residentes en Lima, a los cuales puede considerar paisanos?

2.6 Si es así, ¿qué tan seguido, aproximadamente, se relaciona con ellos? Favor de marcar una de las siguientes opciones:

- una vez al año
- cada seis meses
- cada mes
- cada semana
- todos los días

2.7 ¿Qué tipo de circunstancias hace posible el contacto con los mismos? (Por ejemplo, club provincial, trabajo, fiestas familiares, almuerzos, mercado, olla común, comedores populares, wawawasi, nidos etc.)

Sección 3 - Datos Familiares

3.1 ¿De dónde es su familia?

3.2 ¿Cuándo y en qué circunstancias llegaron a Lima?

3.3 ¿En su familia, alguna vez han hablado quechua?

3.4 Diga si sus padres (o parientes pertenecientes a esa generación) hablaban y/o entendían quechua.

3.5 ¿Y con respecto a sus abuelos?

3.6 ¿ Tuvo la oportunidad de aprender algo de quechua de ellos ?

3.7 Cuando era niño, ¿quiénes vivían en su casa? (Parentesco)

3.8¿Quiénes de ellos hablaban o entendían quechua?

3.9 ¿Tuvo Ud alguna oportunidad de tener contacto con el quechua fuera de su familia?

3.10 ¿Tiene Ud hijos o nietos?

*Si contestó afirmativamente, sírvase pasar a la **Sección 4**.* *Si contestó en forma negativa, sírvase pasar directamente a la **Sección 5**.*

Sección 4 - Datos sobre su descendencia

4.1 ¿Qué edades tienen sus hijos y/o nietos?

- **Hijos:**

- **Nietos:**

4.2 ¿Dónde pasaron su primera infancia?

- **Hijos:**

- **Nietos:**

4.3 ¿Alguno de ellos es capaz de hablar o entender algo de quechua? (aunque sea algunas palabras).

- **Hijos:**

- **Nietos:**

4.4 Si es así, ¿cómo lo aprendieron?

- **Hijos:**

- **Nietos:**

*Si Ud **no** habla quechua, sírvase pasar directamente a la **Sección 6.*** *Si Ud habla o entiende quechua, aunque sea un poquito, sírvase pasar a la **Sección 5.***

Sección 5 - Dominio del Idioma

5.1 Indicando con la letra respectiva, señale su nivel de competencia en el habla (H) y en el entendimiento (E) del quechua:

- **un poquito** - Entiendo y/o hablo algunas palabras y frases simples.
- **más o menos** - Puedo emitir y/o entender expresiones comunes y oraciones simples.
- **más o menos bien** - Puedo entablar y/o entender una conversación simple, sobre temas que conozco.
- **bastante bien** - Puedo hablar y/o entender con facilidad la mayoría de los temas que se me proponen.
- **perfectamente** - Tengo pleno dominio del idioma, por lo tanto puedo hablarlo y/o entenderlo sin ninguna dificultad.

5.2 ¿Dónde y cómo lo aprendió?

Sección 6 - Uso del Idioma

6.1 ¿Cuándo fue la última vez que Ud habló algo de quechua?

- hoy
- en la última seman
- en el último mes
- en el último año
- hace más de un año

6.2 ¿Dónde y con quién se dió dicho acto?

6.3 ¿De qué tema se trató?

6.4 Y en general, cuando utiliza Ud el quechua, ¿dónde y con quiénes lo habla?

6.5 En general, ¿qué tipo de temas se trata en dichas conversaciones?

6.6 Si tiene hijos y/o nietos, ¿les habla en algún momento en quechua?

6.7 ¿Qué tipo de cosas les dice?

Sección 7- Actitudes frente al idioma

Para cada una de las siguientes expresiones, diga si Ud se encuentra:

- *completamente de acuerdo (CA)*
- *de acuerdo (A)*
- *neutral (N)*
- *en desacuerdo (D)*
- *en desacuerdo completo (CD)*

Todos los peruanos deberíamos ser capaces de hablar quechua

Si se les enseña quechua a los niños, esto interferiría el aprendizaje del castellano

El quechua debe ser enseñado en los colegios, a nivel nacional

Si algún día dejara de hablarse el quechua, la cultura andina moriría

En Lima ya no se necesita el quechua

El castellano es más bonito que el quechua

Si el castellano fuera el único idioma del Perú, tendríamos un mejor país

Me gustaría que mis hijos puedan hablar quechua

El Perú no podría considerarse como tal sin el quechua

En el Perú, habría un mayor desarrollo sin el quechua

El quechua posibilita en mayor grado la expresión de emociones

Sólo quienes hablan quechua son capaces de entender la cultura andina

Sería más fácil si todos habláramos sólo castellano

La juventud, en Lima, no se interesa en la cultura andina

El quechua ya no es necesario para el Perú

En la sierra, deberían hablar quechua

El castellano es más útil que el quechua

Me gustaría poder hablar bien en quechua

Los quechuahablantes que viven en Lima deberían enseñar el idioma a sus hijos

La juventud, en Lima, no se interesa en el quechua

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