THE LANGUAGE OF QUECHUA RURAL TEACHERS IN BOLIVIA:
A STUDY OF BILINGUALISM – INTERLINGUALISM AMONG
RURAL QUECHUA NATIVE SPEAKERS

Ana Yraola Burgos

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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The Language of Quechua Rural Teachers in Bolivia: A Study of Bilingualism - Interlingualism among Rural Quechua Native Speakers.

by

Ana Yraola Burgos

A Thesis Submitted in application for the Degree of PhD in the University of St. Andrews.

Institute of Amerindian Studies
University of St. Andrews,
January 1995
ABSTRACT

THE LANGUAGE OF RURAL TEACHERS IN BOLIVIA: A STUDY OF THE BILINGUALISM/INTERLINGUALISM AMONG RURAL QUECHUA NATIVE SPEAKERS.

This is a study of the linguistic situation of contemporary Bolivia carried out between 1990 and 1993. It attempts to delimit a particular speech community (that of bilingual rural school teachers in the Quechua speaking region).

It started as a study for delimiting the Spanish dialects spoken in Bolivia, seeking explanations for possible deviations from standard Spanish in the influence and actions of the mother tongue, Quechua. However, as the analysis progressed, I found increasingly a certain systematicity in the characteristics of the presumed Spanish dialect. Although there existed a determined structural transference, this did not reflect merely a direct transcription from the mother tongue Quechua, since it was not always possible to determine whether it was the result of transference from this language, or if it could be explained in terms of the non-native language. Finding some analogy with the conclusions of Labov concerning the English spoken by blacks in New York, I considered that the best explanation would be to interpret the speech in question as the expression of a distinct code.

In summary, this thesis comes down specifically to the demonstration, by means of the analysis of the characteristic structures of the Spanish spoken by rural school teachers in the Quechua speaking areas of Bolivia, that the code they use as their habitual medium of communication is an interlanguage in the process of forming itself into a new code of the creole type, what we call a semilanguage.

The existence of the semilanguage could also be proved in the observation of a series of social and psychological factors which affect its speakers. We could see that the teachers form an intermediate group, which is the product of a process of adaptation, and in which the confluence of certain values and attitudes has provoked the rise of hybrid values and behaviour, tending to create a new order which involves a new culture and thus a new code of expression.
The research for this thesis was conducted between 1990 and 1993. The fieldwork period was carried out in Bolivia, in the departments of Chuquisaca (communities of Qhullakamani, Jatun Churikana, Misk’a Mayu, Saqupaya, San José del Paredón, Maraquri and Potolo) and Cochabamba (communities of Tipa Pampa, Raqay Pampa, Mizque Pampa, Santiago and Molle Pukara), between January 1991 and December 1992. It consisted of temporary stays in the above mentioned Quechua communities where the Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe was being applied experimentally. During these stays I gathered all the materials (notes, recordings, teacher’s writings, etc) with which I worked. I also visited different institutions, consulted libraries, participated in training courses for the teachers, etc. The writing of the thesis was developed in Madrid from January 1993 to July 1994 under the supervision of Tristan Platt and Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar from the Institute of Amerindian Studies at the University of St. Andrews. Finally, from July 1994 to January 1995 took place the translation and edition of the thesis which was originally written in Spanish.

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I, Ana Yraola Burgos, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 90,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

January 1995

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I was admitted as a research student in October 1989 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in October 1990; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1990 and 1994.

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0. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this work is to carry out an in-depth study of the linguistic situation of contemporary Bolivia, in which I attempt to delimit a particular speech community (that of bilingual rural school teachers in the Quechua speaking region) by means of identifying those linguistic characteristics that define it. This identification will enable us to understand what is, or are, its codes of communication, where they fit within the global linguistic panorama of Bolivia, and their social implications.

The choice of bilingual rural school teachers as informants for the investigation was not entirely a matter of chance but was governed by a number of factors. Firstly, it is clear that this is a group of people who play a very important role in the linguistic development of the rural areas. The school teacher is, in very many cases, the fundamental factor, or one of the fundamental factors governing the spread of the Spanish language. He, or she, is, for the great majority of the inhabitants of the rural areas, their first contact with urban culture and the primary agent of their linguistic formation. On the other hand, the teacher is also a representative of the hybrid sectors of Bolivian contemporary society, being placed between the countryside and the city, between Quechua and Spanish, and between the autochthonous and the acquired.

In the second place, the choice was influenced by coming into contact with a large group of these school teachers who were involved in an experimental project concerned with bilingual education. This was to prove advantageous to me in several ways: on the one hand, thanks to the facilities provided by the project officials (of both UNICEF and MEC), I could work, and maintain a close and continuous contact, with them as a group during their periods of training, and individually in the communities where their schools were located. Additionally, the teachers underwent a special linguistic training, albeit short and superficial, which provided them with a degree of sensitivity towards linguistic matters, which, on occasions, helped me to understand certain specific aspects of their speech which I would otherwise have interpreted erroneously.

My initial plan was to study their speech as a limit of the dialect of Spanish spoken in Bolivia, seeking explanations for possible deviations from standard Spanish in the influence and actions of the mother tongue, Quechua. I wanted to determine whether it was a case of the variety defined as
castellano andino (Andean Spanish), or of a Bolivian variety of Spanish. However, as my analysis progressed, I found increasingly a certain systematicity in the characteristics of the presumed Spanish dialect: although there existed a determined structural transference, this did not reflect merely a direct transcription from the mother tongue (Quechua) since it was not always possible to determine if it was the result of transference from this language, or if it could be explained in terms of the non-native language. Finding some analogy with the conclusions of Labov concerning the English spoken by blacks in New York, I considered that the best explanation would be to interpret the speech in question as the expression of a distinct code.

Thus, my idea was to demonstrate that we were dealing with an interlanguage transformed into a semilanguage, which should be understood not as a state preceding the complete conversion to a regional variety of Spanish, in the way that castellano andino has become established in Peru, but as a mixed code arising from a situation of languages in contact, similar to pidgin or creole. Hence, my approach has consisted of demonstrating that, if the interlanguage is a mixed code that is in the process of conversion into another code, the evolution of the interlanguage spoken by rural school teachers in the Quechua area is not directed towards a regional variety of Spanish, but towards a different code, that is to say, it would form not merely an interlanguage, but a semilanguage.

The tendency towards stability, and the frequency of use of the structures that appear most typical of this type of speech, would be evidence in favour of this hypothesis. At the same time, the existence of a certain variability in the system of the semilanguage with the alternation and/or combination of the rules of the codes in contact with the rules defined as its own, would also be an argument in support of the continuing evolutionary state of the code. If I can demonstrate that a new series of structures have started to become fixed, then these will in fact exist alongside others pertaining to the codes in contact, especially those from the non-native language, or target language.

In summary, this thesis comes down specifically to the demonstration, by means of the analysis of the characteristic structures of the Spanish spoken by rural school teachers in the Quechua speaking areas of Bolivia, that the code they use as their habitual medium of communication is an interlanguage in the process of forming itself into a new code of the creole type, what we will call a semilanguage.

The identification of the phenomena and structures has been made, basically, by contrasting
functional and semantic differentiation with respect to standard Spanish. In the semilanguage there exist a considerable number of words and grammatical categories the use of which become changed or modified with respect to standard Spanish. The functional modification is closely linked to semantics (i.e. lo, decir, casi, reflexivo) and this functional variation also usually modifies the relation which is established between the word in question and the others which together form the sentence; that is, the functional and semantic change brings with it a syntactic change.

In spite of being able to explain some of the characteristics of the speech of the school teachers by the influence of Quechua, in some cases, and by the conservation of structures pertaining to Old Spanish in others, it was possible to prove that the majority of these structures have, or have acquired, different functions to the equivalents in the languages from which they originate; in addition, there are cases in which structures specific to the speech in question have been created either by analogy, or by the expansion of the new functions and the mechanisms developed by them.

A complete description of the grammar of the semilanguage remains outside the scope of this study. Its transitory condition and permanent state of evolution convert it into a continuum from which, in place of an exhaustive grammar, it has been possible to define a series of general characteristics and tendencies. In this way, in addition to a description and analysis of the function and meaning of the most characteristic structures, it has been proven that the characteristics attributable to this semilanguage are becoming adjusted, albeit with some nuances, to those identified by Appel and Muysken for mixed languages originating from English.

On the other hand, although these proofs are almost exclusively linguistic, I believe that the existence of the semilanguage does not have a strictly linguistic explanation, but that it is a reflection of a series of social and psychological factors which affect its speakers, the school teachers. By constructing a profile of rural school teachers as a group, I was able to demonstrate that we are dealing with a fairly homogenous group with respect to origins, training, acquisition and mastery of languages, and style of life... They form a group with obvious integrationist attitudes, seeking to differentiate themselves from the Quechua speaking inhabitants of the communities in which they work, including, as often as not, their own parents, in order to become closer to the social group of Spanish speakers. Nevertheless, owing to their family and work ties, they are unable to leave behind either the rural
environment or their mother tongue and culture. The teachers thus form an intermediate group, which is the product of a process of adaptation, and in which the confluence of certain values and attitudes has provoked the rise of hybrid values and behaviour, tending to create a new order, which we could denominate an interculture.

If it were possible to demonstrate that this series of characteristics, attitudes and social values have sufficient force and autonomy to eventually create a conscious identity for members of the group, it would be possible to reconsider the social, and even ethnic, composition of Bolivia. However, it is also necessary to take into account the real opportunities that both the structures of power and the existing social structure concede to this type of hybrid group. If it were demonstrated that there is, or there are, sufficiently numerous groups, with a certain degree of unity or identity, as appears to be happening in the creation of new political formations (e.g. CONDEPA-UCS), the consequences would also appear in their language and the possibility that this could become a creole would not be so far off.
1. BACKGROUND

1.1 Methodology

Before getting down to the subject of this study, I believe it would be useful to present an analysis of the different steps that have been followed in the course of the investigation: namely, the processes by which the topic was selected, the methodology used, and the manner in which data was collected and analysed. Hence, I shall begin by explaining, in the first instance, the motivation behind this investigation, and secondly, by enumerating and describing each of the steps followed during its course.

One of the fundamental factors that influenced my choice of topic was the discovery that the Bolivian Ministry of Education and Culture, with the finance and support of UNICEF, was starting to develop a bilingual education project (Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (PEIB)) in several rural schools in the Quechua, Aymara and Guarani speaking areas. This project faced a series of difficulties, in particular, the lack of studies of the specific linguistic, educational, and social features of the rural Bolivian area. This absence forced the organisers of the project to base almost all of their programmes on the experiences of similar projects in the Department of Puno in Peru (an area that appears, idiosyncratically, to be very similar to Bolivia). Another problem was the lack of human resources within Bolivia to carry out specific investigations and studies into the problems of acquisition and use of Spanish by speakers of Quechua, Aymara and Guarani. It appears obvious, therefore, that the need was present to carry out research related to Spanish and its acquisition, bilingualism and the agents that give rise to it.

1.1.1 Background to rural education in Bolivia

Educational projects of this nature were first developed in Latin America during the 1950's, although they were not introduced into Bolivia until somewhat later. In Bolivia there have been previous attempts to develop a type of rural education more in keeping with life in the country, the aspirations and necessities of the peasants, and their use and interpretation of the reality in which they live. Karen Claure\(^1\) indicates that the first attempts to introduce formal education to the peasants of the altiplano

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\(^1\) Claure, Karen, *Las Escuelas Indigenales*, HISBOL, La Paz, 1989, 27. In this work the author makes a study of schools of the last years of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th, that were termed *escuelas indigenales*, and their part in the resistance of communities to the creole Spanish
took place between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. These were uncoordinated, scattered efforts arising from the recognition of the need for instruction by certain members of indigenous communities, who surreptitiously founded small scale schools in which the children of the community could be taught to read and write. In so doing, however, they were not seeking an education in their own language, but simply access to the education which they were denied by the Spanish speaking oligarchy. Nevertheless, in the words of Claure:

Aun en tiempos del Partido Liberal esta labor se prolongó y se encarceló y torturó a quienes siendo indígenas osaban organizar campesinos y niños indios para instruirlos.

The education of indigenous people was converted into a topic of political and intellectual discussion in the early years of the 20th century, and, in spite of the resistance of landowners, some dominant creole sectors defended the importance of indigenous education in order to enlighten and civilise the Indians, necessary for the progress of the nation. Once more in the words of Claure "solo tendrían que alfabetizar a la indiada, sin pretender hacer de ellos otra cosa que no fuesen productores". The great thinkers of the time knew how to conceal eloquently this radical attitude towards the Indians:

Hay que precisar a dónde tenemos que encaminarnos con la educación del indio. ¿A qué haremos de dedicar sus actividades? ¿Hemos de hacer médicos, periodistas, abogados, qué? Vayamos piano, piano. El indio, inimitable trabajador, constructor de sus casas, fabricante de sus alimentos y sus vestidos, laborero por siglos de sus viejas heredades. ¿Podría ser otra cosa que lo que eternamente ha sido, obrero?

Es una pregunta muy seria cuya idea fundamental ha sido repetida por muchos antes que yo. La respuesta no se deja esperar. El indio no puede ser sino obrero, nada más que obrero. Si erráramos en su vocación, sus manos perderían la santidad adquirida en la faena cotidiana, la madre tierra buscaría conmovida las broncíneas frentes que hacía ella se inclinaban sin el menor gesto de dolor.

El problema pedagógico de la civilización de nuestras masas aborígenes (...) no consistiría entonces en darle al indio aquella educación doctoral que más bien lo echa a perder, sino en transformarlo en un factor social de utilísima eficacia: esto es hacerlo especialmente obrero.

(Guillén, Alfredo; La Educación del Indio, Gonzales y Medina, La Paz, 1919, pp. 130-131).2

2 Quoted by Karen Claure, ibid. p. 43
In this type of discourse, one can see clearly the real aims pursued by those who wished to educate the peasants, aims that fell far short those of the peasants themselves regarding their education.

In the 1930's there arose renewed efforts from the communities towards their education, this time more forceful and extensive than previous attempts. One of the most important in this respect was the creation in the Aymara zone of what was known as Warisata\(^3\) also known by the name of escuela ayllu, a school created by a rural school teacher, but which was shortly afterwards transferred to the control of the campesinos themselves, and which was to break with all the traditional schemes involving the imposition of the Spanish language. From the school was created that which was termed a Parlamento de Amautas, an institution of communal government; all community affairs were concentrated in the school, which in turn reproduced community members. This was followed by the creation of a market and a commission of justice to deal with internal matters. It was not long before there came a reaction to this from the authorities: although, in the beginning, the peasants were allowed to progress, and were even given a certain degree of support, there soon arose fears that this would create a national and pro-independence consciousness, on the part of the Aymaras, which could have political repercussions extending throughout the land. A decision was taken to frustrate this attempt, and, little by little, the autonomies of the school were curtailed, until finally the Consejo Nacional de Educación ordered its closure.

Some considerable time passed after this experience before any other appeared on such a scale, although there were isolated cases in which peasants themselves paid school teachers to instruct their children.

The new projects, however, have not arisen from the rural areas but from official organs of government, and these concentrate on bilingual education in rural areas. Generally the financiers of these schemes have been foreign organisations who have provided means, ideas and programmes which have been undertaken, successfully, in some cases, and in others less so. The most serious problems have arisen when the financing institutions have ended their periods of co-

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\(^3\) A good and complete account of the nature of Warisata is given in the book by Salazar Mostazo, Carlos, Warisata mio!, Editorial Amerindia, La Paz, 1984. This consists of a series of articles by the author, in which he gives in-depth analyses of different aspects of the Warisata phenomenon.
operation, since the Bolivian Ministry of Education has not taken responsibility for the projects. Lucy T. Briggs, in an article concerning bilingual education in Bolivia, summarises the projects of this type that were carried out between the 1970's and the early 1980's, and Massimo Amadio and Madeleine Zuñiga offer a good panorama of the first attempts to introduce bilingual education in Bolivia.

It appears that the first attempts to introduce bilingual education into Bolivia arose in the 1960's when missionaries belonging to the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who had already applied this system in other countries, took it to Bolivia. This type of experiment had been applied, above all, in tropical areas, and similarly, in Bolivia, it was applied in the eastern tropical parts of the country. However, it was not a long lasting experiment, since it did not produce people capable of carrying on the work after the Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel departed, and, hence, it finally disappeared altogether.

Later, in the mid 1970's, the Bolivian government signed two agreements with different financial bodies for the implementation of two different bilingual education projects in rural areas. The first was an educational project using Quechua and Spanish in the Cochabamba department, known as Proyecto Educativo Rural 1 (PER-1), and was financed by USAID (aid from the United States), which involved technical assistance from the University of New Mexico. The treaty was signed in 1975 and was later authorised by D.S. 13472 on May 6 1976. Nevertheless, owing to delays in the formation of work teams, it did not come into effect until the following year. The second project was named Proyecto Educativo Integrado del Altiplano (PEIA), financed by the World Bank and administered by the Bolivian Ministry of Education and Culture, which was to be carried out in the department of La Paz in Aymara and Spanish.

The first project involved the application of a transitional model, in which a child would learn to read and write in its maternal language, in order that these skills could later be transferred to Spanish. It was planned to apply this in 22 educational nuclei in the department of Cochabamba,

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and there were subsequent plans to extend this to 75 schools in the departments of Cochabamba and Chuquisaca in 1980. However, owing to limitations in school supervision, the experiment was reduced to 6 nuclei, and, in addition, the coup d'état which took place that year caused a drastic budgetary cut in funds from the United States destined for Bolivia, which in turn led to the postponement of the project which was never reinitiated.

The PEIA, in turn, did not meet with any greater success. The project included the construction of new schools and houses for school teachers, the production of new materials and the use of radio as a complement to instruction. The construction of schools caused the implementation of the project to be delayed until 1979. It was then introduced into 15 schools, but the lack of experience in bilingual education on the part of those producing the material, along with the lack of a prior grass-roots investigation with a specialised technical/educational slant, resulted in it being inefficient, and its ultimate demise was finally caused by the coup d'état.

Finally, the Episcopal Commission of Education, with the support of the Ministry of Education in matters concerning teachers' pay, initiated in 1981 a project named Proyecto Texto Rural Bilingüe (P-TRB) in primary schools in nine Aymara speaking communities. This was a radically different project, in that it was an attempt to implement bilingual teaching throughout the entire period of education, that is, it did not follow the transitory model of other schemes. However, one or two years after its initiation it had to be suspended in 5 schools owing to constant changes in teaching staff and the rejection and lack of comprehension of the project on the part of members of the communities in which the schools were located, and also on the part of some of the teachers.

In spite of the different and isolated attempts to effect changes in the system of rural education, the system has not changed appreciably up to the present day. In the majority of cases we find that schools are situated in very small, isolated communities, normally of monolingual Quechua speakers, and are attended by children from the surrounding areas (who at times have to walk 10Km to school every day). The physical state of the schools (lacking doors and windows, and frequently with neither benches nor blackboard) lies outside the scope of this investigation, although it is an indication of the state of neglect in which rural education in Bolivia continues. Close by the school, or at times forming part of the same building one finds the school teacher's quarters, which
are, thus, to some extent isolated from the community, such that the teacher lives and works within the mini fortress that the school represents within the community.

The teacher, save in a few notable exceptions (that is, when his or her origins also lie in a rural community) has few dealings with the community members, and if he or she does, then it is in terms of inequality, that is, he or she frequently adopts a somewhat superior attitude towards the peasants. All of this indicates that the school is an element somewhat alien to other facets of community life, and this sense of alienation or distance is increased by what happens in the schools and especially within the classroom.

In traditional schools (that is, all schools apart from those which have entered into projects of bilingual education) the only language to be used, or which it is permitted to use, is Spanish. Naturally, some recourse to Quechua frequently occurs, but only when it is absolutely necessary for some sort of communication and understanding between the teacher and pupils.

Children, when they first enter school, have only in a few rare cases had any experience of the Spanish language, and it is even rarer that they should have had any experience of reading or writing. From the moment they enter the walls of the school building, they find themselves immersed in a totally new and different medium in which their habitual code of communication is no longer of use, or its use is prohibited, and where they are exposed to a series of new experiences totally alien to them (starting with books and their illustrations, the contents of which all reflect an urban life which bears no relation to that of the countryside).

The shock of all this is so great that during the first two years in school, children learn little more than to read, without comprehension, and to write, with great difficulty, their first names, surnames and perhaps a little more. They do not only fail to learn Spanish, but also learn to read and write in a mechanical manner, without fully understanding what the processes represent, and become what has been termed functional illiterates. The reaction of parents confronted with this situation is, very often, that of forgetting to send the children to school; they learn nothing there, and the parents need them to help in agricultural work. On the other hand, if they have already learned to

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6 Functional illiterates are those who, although they have learned to read and write, are not capable of doing so. As a consequence of not having acquired the habit of reading or writing, they frequently forget these skills.
write their names, they are going to need little more if they continue in life as peasants.

Absenteeism from school in the rural areas of Bolivia is extremely high\(^7\) and one of the fundamental causes of this is the low efficiency which schools have demonstrated, and demonstrate, in the education of children. For many peasants school represents the place where Spanish can be appropriated, Spanish being the language which can open doors for them, and will allow them to broaden there sphere of action and development. For them it is fundamental that their sons go to school and learn this language. Nevertheless, disillusionment often sets in before the foreseen opportunities are realised, and with that they are forced to remove their children from school, since they can be more usefully or profitably employed in the home or in the fields.

The PEIB which was mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, is the most recent experiment in bilingual education which has been undertaken in Bolivia, and is an attempt to break with the current situation of the rural school (that is, the lack of participation of the pupils, and absenteeism...) and also with the traditional methods of transitional bilingual education.

1.1.2. Hypothesis and goals of this study.

I started with the idea that in order to teach a second language efficiently, it is necessary to know what difficulties may be encountered, and where they are likely to occur in the new language, as well as the position that this language occupies in society, and, consequently the values that its members attribute to it. The Spanish that Quechua speakers aim to learn can be distinguished clearly from that of monolingual Spanish speakers and particularly from that spoken by those that form the middle and upper classes with regard to social status and level of education. The Spanish spoken by these latter groups is fairly uniform, and approximates closely to the Spanish spoken by equivalent sectors in other Spanish speaking countries (the differences in these cases are almost exclusively on the phonological and lexical levels); the Spanish spoken by bilinguals, however, is more heterogeneous and differs from that spoken in other regions. It is useful to denominate the

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\(^7\) According to data provided by PEIB (MEC-UNICEF), in an inquiry carried out in the Quechua speaking area, the majority of peasants do not complete their basic educational cycle (41.7%), only few complete their primary education (9.9%) and a tiny minority (3.1%) attend secondary courses, although they had not completed them. On the other hand, the number of interviewees declared illiterate was high (30.6%).

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Spanish spoken by the first group of speakers as castellano estándar, standard Spanish, or castellano estándar boliviano, standard Bolivian Spanish, when we are dealing with some characteristic exclusive to Bolivian use in the middle to upper echelons of society, in terms of social status and education, and that spoken by the second group as Spanish varieties, at least until it has been shown either that this is the case, or contrarily, that we are dealing with something of a different nature.

One of the most notable characteristics of language is its constant change; it is a living instrument which is adapted continually to meet the necessities of its users. If we attempt to map out completely the possible diversity of a language, then we find that there are both geographical and social differences, but that these differences cross cut each other and create new differentiations. Following this line of reasoning, we could propose that each person has his own variation of speech, his own idiolect. However, we cannot fail to notice that there are also tendencies towards unity: each person has his or her own variety of speech, but, at the same time, attempts to identify him or herself with a group of speakers. In the same way that it is possible to identify innumerable usages, it is also possible to distinguish numerous grades of unity and of identification.

If we take Spanish as an example, it cannot be denied that there are regional differences which vary, not only between countries, but also between regions of the same country, between villages within the same region, between neighbourhoods within the same community, and between families and occupations within the same neighbourhood. However, in a similar manner, there exists a process of unity and identification. For a study of a language as a social and collective reality, the variety in speech of each individual person is not so important, for as José Luis Rivarola has indicated, this variety is only useful in evaluating the idiomatic idiosyncrasies of the individual, whereas the regular and constant variety perceptible in the heart of a community is precisely that which enables us to identify the different varieties that exist within the same language.

Rivarola, José Luis; chapter 1, p. 14 of his work La formación lingüística de Hispanoamérica, Universidad Católica de Perú, Lima, 1990; in which he makes a brief analysis of the history of Spanish in the Americas, indicating the various stages of its evolution, and the arising of different varieties, paying special attention to varieties spoken in the Andean area.
There is a series of characteristics, which have been identified by Angel Rosenblat, which allow the identification of a Spanish variety that is distinct from the peninsular variety. This comprises a series of phenomena such as seseo (the pronunciation of both the letter c (before e or i) and the letter z as [s] ), the loss of the second person plural vosotros and loismo (the use of the pronoun lo instead of le), among others, which are all typical of Latin American Spanish. If we concentrate on vocabulary:

Fuera de una serie de voces que se remontan al siglo XVI (papa, cuadra... ) hay otras más tardías, que se han extendido por toda Hispanoamérica o por casi toda ella: manejar frente al conducir en España, apurarse frente a darse prisa, pararse frente a ponerse en pie, irse frente a marcharse, centavos frente a centimos, fósforos frente a cerillas, crema frente a nata, liviano frente a ligero, medias frente a calcetines (... ) no deja de ser impresionante la existencia de un conjunto de voces que diferencian el uso hispanoamericano general del uso español.

It is undeniable that there is sufficient unity to distinguish a Latin American Spanish from the peninsular variety. However, this unity is not incompatible with the existence of regional or local diversity; as was stated above, diversity is inevitable since it is an inherent characteristic of language, although this diversity does not impede the existence of unity. In considering the unity that exists within the Spanish language, Rosenblat indicates that the global unity of Spanish, that is, of that spoken by all Spanish speakers, is much more significant than, say, the unity of Latin American Spanish:

Esta unidad está dada, mucho más que por los rasgos peculiares del español hispanoamericano por lo que el habla de Hispanoamérica tiene de común con el castellano general: la unidad (unidad no identidad) del sistema fonológico, morfológico y sintáctico. Es decir, el vocalismo y el consonantismo, el funcionamiento del género y el número, las desinencias personales temporales y modales del verbo, el sistema pronominal y adverbiales, los moldes oracionales, el sistema preposicional...

Another proof offered in favour of the unity of Spanish is that put forward by Entwistle, which

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10 William J. Entwistle; *Las lenguas de España: castellano, catalán, vasco y gallego-portugués*, Istmo, Madrid 1988; 277.

'Hispanamericano no designa un dialecto o una lengua; ni siquiera un grupo de dialectos o lenguas; es un término abstracto encubridor de variadas tendencias que se ejemplifican en América (...). Sin embargo, todas estas tendencias poseen un denominador común: son
is that there exists a greater degree of identification between the different varieties of Latin American Spanish and peninsular Castilian Spanish than exists between peninsular Castilian Spanish and other historical peninsular dialects (such as leonés, asturiano and aragonés).

The highest degree of unity in Spanish is found in those contexts and between those people where there is the highest degree of contact, that is, in conferences, and within the university educated classes: it is the language of essays and scientists, and also the language of the press and television (especially of news and current affairs programmes which can transcend international boundaries). In summary, the greatest level of unity can be found in that which has been denominated habla culta, cultivated speech, or the speech of the cultured classes. Habla culta coexists with the speech variation of the different social sectors of each country, and, precisely because it is a universal code of communication, it has its base in the common denominator of all varieties of Spanish speech rather than in the popular and familiar speech, which is naturally diverse. It does not belong to a concrete group, nor is it the habitual, daily, common speech of any sector, but can be adopted by any of the groups for those uses and circumstances in which it becomes the appropriate code of expression. In this sense, we are reminded of the H variety defined by Ferguson in a situation of diglossia (see section 1.2.1).

When analysing any distinct variety of Spanish speech, it makes no sense to apply, as a criterium, corrections based on the grammatical norms of the Real Academia de la Lengua Española (Royal Academy of the Spanish Language), since, although, up to this present day, they are the rules that apply in all Spanish speaking countries, the language that they describe does not exist in the real world as speech, only as a written language. However, we do find a reference to which Spanish speakers resort and which is most obviously detected in the use of Spanish grammars such as Bello’s, Alonso and Henríquez Ureña’s or Camus’ for the teaching of the language at schools and for the elaboration of teaching materials describing the Spanish language. This implies the existence of a variety which is commonly accepted as a standard, the castellano estándar. In order to analyse an actual language it will be necessary to define, firstly, a group of

formas de la modalidad castellana del español, y no presentan divergencias tan fundamentales como las del leonés, los dialectos asturianos o el aragonés.
systematic characteristics belonging to the variety in question, and, secondly, how it differs from the common denominator, the habla culta which in this case we have denominated castellano estándar, or standard Spanish.

Another parallel, but independent, analysis would be one that takes into account the social admissibility of a certain variety of speech: to seek not the correctness, or incorrectness, of the structures, but the acceptance of some and the rejection or holding in contempt of others. This sort of speech categorisation does not have a linguistic base and explanation, but is determined by political, social and economic motives. One could say that the ideal of a universal Spanish language is accepted in all countries, but that each country has, in its turn, a series of its own local characteristics that, for various reasons that are not strictly linguistic, have been identified as defining the cultured speech of the nation, and, it is by comparison with these characteristics that an actual variety be either accepted or despised. When speaking of the cultured speech of Bolivia, this will be referred to as castellano estándar boliviano, or standard Bolivian Spanish.

On observing the Spanish of bilingual Quechua speakers in Bolivia and their social position, we are confronted with a form of speech that is differentiated and stigmatised by monolingual Spanish speaking society. We are dealing with a speech that, in many aspects, from phonology to morphosyntax, is far from the standard, or from the common denominator, and this has resulted in its negative valuation. Considering the possibility of finding a hidden complete and logic system as did Labov on studying the English spoken by blacks in New York, I wondered whether this distance and differentiation of the Spanish spoken by bilingual Quechua speakers could, in spite of having the superficial appearance of Spanish, be hiding a new system, perhaps even the germ of a new language. That is, whether the constant anomalies and contradictions in the use of Spanish might obey some new internal logic resulting from the confluence and conflict of the languages in contact. I have therefore found it necessary to study this variety in order to determine what has happened to separate it so markedly from standard Spanish, and to convert it into an agent of stigmatisation for its speakers. Once the characteristics of the speech in question were

recognised, it was necessary to attempt to seek out their origins, formulate explanations for them and the possible relations that exist between them.

On analysing this variety we will recognize the existence or non-existence of a teacher's speech community. By speech community we mean a group of individuals with shared language use (although not necessarily all) and shared attitudes and values regarding language forms and use. Thus a group of individuals with the same linguistic behaviour.

The choice of the speech variety of rural school teachers as study material was due to three basic factors: firstly, their important rôle in the introduction and spread of Spanish in the rural areas, secondly, the importance of a familiarity with the speech of teachers for the elaboration of programmes and material for bilingual education, and thirdly, the pyschosocial characteristics of rural teachers as a group.

1.1.3. Fieldwork Preparation

In order to establish contact with rural school teachers, I took the opportunity to attend a course of instruction for all the rural teachers giving primary and basic secondary courses in schools in the Quechua area where the experimental bilingual education project, organized by the PEIB (Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, MEC-UNICEF), was to take place. The course was given to 120 teachers, and had seven directors, four supervisors and nine departmental and national technicians, all of whom were also teachers. Their areas of work were divided between the departments of Potosí, Cochabamba and Chuquisaca. The course took place in Totacoa, department of Chuquisaca, and had a duration of one month. During its course, the teachers attended classes in Quechua (reading, writing and grammar), in teaching Spanish as a second language, in handcrafts, in socioproductive techniques and in Andean culture and traditions. This was the first time that I had the opportunity to live among the school teachers. In preparation for the meeting, I had prepared a written questionnaire in which I asked them questions about their linguistic background (the languages they spoke, their age on learning each one, where they were learned, their use of each language, etc.), their place of birth and what they understood by bilingual education (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire turned out to be too formal, many of the teachers
had difficulty understanding the content of the questions, had difficulty expressing their opinions, and some even had difficulty writing. It proved impossible with this questionnaire to obtain all the information asked for, but it was useful in that it gave me a first impression of the teachers and ideas about how to prepare materials for future work with them. Nevertheless, much of the useful objective data used to construct the profile of the typical rural teacher was extracted from these questionnaires, and from others prepared by the PEIB, to which I had access (see Appendix 2). The course, like others which I later attended, gave me the opportunity to get to know the teachers and technicians personally, which was to help greatly with later research.

After making this first contact, I had to select the schools and teachers around whom I was to base the research. For this I made consultations with PEIB technicians, who had visited all the schools and were acquainted with the characteristics of each one, and of the communities in which they were situated. I decided to choose schools in two different geographical areas where there were also differences with regard to the proximity of large urban centres. Nevertheless, before making the final selection, I undertook several journeys to different centres in order to both become familiar with the atmosphere, and to become acquainted with the characteristics of each area. During these journeys, I made recordings which were both random and varied (classes given in Spanish and discussions between teachers) from which I have been able to extract useful information, but which were not planned systematically in the manner of those made at later stages of the investigation, once the selection of schools and school teachers had been made. The visits to the countryside were of variable length: prior to the final selection they were of two to three days per community, whilst later visits oscillated between one week and twenty days per visit, with each community being visited on at least two occasions.

I also made recordings in three of the instruction courses that took place between January 1991 and October 1992. In these I collected discussions between teachers, spontaneous conversations, various performances and addresses from the participants, observers and sponsors. Although the work is centred around material that was recorded more systematically, at times I also make reference to these other recordings in order to illustrate some of the phenomena described and analysed in this study.
Twelve communities were eventually selected: seven in Chuquisaca and five in Cochabamba. Normally the schools are organised around a fairly large community, in which is situated a central school, or Escuela Central, on which depend a series of smaller schools which are known as Seccionales.\(^{12}\) In Cochabamba, the central nucleus selected was Raqay Pampa on which the schools of Molle Pukara, Mizque Pampa, Tipa Pampa and Santiago were dependent. In Chuquisaca I selected two central nuclei: Potolo, upon which depended the Seccionales of Maraquri and Saqupaya, and San José del Paredón, on which the Seccionales of Misk’a Mayu, Jatun Churikana and Qhullakamani depended. In Appendix 5 are presented tables displaying data for each community. This data has been organised in accordance with what I was able to observe and the information offered by the teachers who worked and lived there. On the basis of this data I have elaborated the following table from which it is possible to appreciate in outline the differences between the separate communities.

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\(^{12}\) Within the organization of rural school in Bolivia there exist two levels: the Escuelas Centrales in the charge of a director, which frequently offer classes up to the fifth grade, and sometimes to secondary level, and the Seccionales which are dependent upon the Escuela Central and which come under the same director. There are usually between seven and eleven Seccionales dependent on one Escuela Central. In this investigation, however, I considered that it would be more interesting to work in several different nuclei than cover all the Seccionales belonging to one Central. Thus, once the Centrales had been selected, I chose at random two Seccionales belonging to each nucleus, each of which turned out to be significantly different, from the other and also from the Central.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEOGRAPHICAL AREA</th>
<th>Highland: 9</th>
<th>High Valley: 2</th>
<th>Valley: 0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POPULATION</td>
<td>&gt;500: 3</td>
<td>&gt;300: 5</td>
<td>&lt;300: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTANCE TO</td>
<td>&gt;3 hrs: 6</td>
<td>&gt;1 hr: 4</td>
<td>&lt;1 hr: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEAREST TOWN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSPORT:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>Trucks: 8</th>
<th>Minibuses: 5</th>
<th>None: 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FREQUENCY</td>
<td>&gt; 1 / day: 3</td>
<td>1/day: 0</td>
<td>1-2/week: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMERCE</td>
<td>Market: 1</td>
<td>Shop: 4</td>
<td>None: 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see from this table, of the twelve communities selected, only three have more than 500 inhabitants, two of these being Raqay Pampa and Potolo each of which have populations of around 1000, and, as has previously been pointed out, are where central educational nuclei are situated. The third, however, is not the remaining nucleus, San José del Paredón, but the community of Jatun Churikana, which, according to the information I was able to obtain, has approximately 600 inhabitants. On the other hand, all of the communities are situated in relatively cold climatic zones, either highland or high valley, areas that are, generally speaking, the most isolated, and which have little contact with cities. Regarding the distance to the nearest major population centre, it should be noted that, although only two communities are situated at a distance of less than one hour's journey, there are four communities through which vehicles pass more than once a day, with the result that they are less isolated than others that are perhaps less distant from the nearest town, but through which motor vehicles do not pass, or only pass through once or twice a week. Lastly, it should be pointed out that only one of the communities, Raqay Pampa, has its own market at which, once a week, peasants from the surrounding area (including from Mizque Pampa, Tipa Pampa, Molle Pampa and Santiago) and trucks from Aiquile arrive to sell and
Escuela Seccional Típa Pampa. Raqay Pampa (Cochabamba)

Boys at the door of the School
exchange products. In the majority of communities, however, there is not even a small shop, which means that their inhabitants have to travel to the nearest towns or villages, sometimes up to six hours away, to purchase provisions which are not produced there (such as cooking oil, sugar, salt, paraffin, matches etc.); on the other hand, these are exactly the sorts of product which can usually be found in the small shops that do exist in some other communities.

Apart from the features that appear in the table, there is another series of characteristics which are common to all the communities. Firstly, in each community, the primary occupation of the comunarios\(^\text{13}\) is agriculture, and, secondly, it is extremely common for the men of a household, sometimes along with another family member, to migrate to other areas to find work once the harvest has been gathered, and, lastly, that the language spoken is Quechua; even though the regular seasonal migration that takes place is to Spanish speaking areas, only a few young people speak a little Spanish, whilst the remainder know just a few words, and can perhaps understand a little. When I asked the teachers which language they spoke when speaking to the comunarios, all replied that they spoke only Quechua, since the comunarios did not speak Spanish, and even when they spoke a little they would always use Quechua.

After having selected the communities, the choice of teachers became automatic, being those that worked in the chosen communities. Thus, although I have made use of material from many teachers, almost all the results are based on the nineteen teachers who worked in the communities described above.

1.1.4. Procurement of work material and analysis of data.

I have already made mention of some of the materials used in the investigation (such as the questionnaires prepared for the course of instruction). In this section I will give a full account of the materials and tools used, along with explanations of the manner in which they were obtained and the ends towards which they were used. Two different types of material were utilised, written and recorded.

\(^{13}\) I have used the term comunario here since, although it is not to be found in any standard dictionary of the Spanish language that I have come across, it is in Bolivia the most generally used term to refer to an inhabitant of a rural community (comunero or comunitario).
1.1.4.1 Written materials

- Questionnaires prepared by the Ministry of Education and the Project for Bilingual Intercultural Education. (Appendix 2).

Three types of questionnaire were distributed to sixty teachers working in the Quechua speaking areas of Bolivia, in the schools participating in the PEIB project. These questionnaires were completed during the instruction course which took place in Totacoa in March 1991.

- The first questionnaire was an enrolment form in which were included:
  - Personal details.
  - Professional details.
  - Sociolinguistic details.
  - Details of the place of work.

- The second questionnaire was an evaluation form, presented at the start of the course, in which a series of questions were put concerning bilingual education, the aim of which was to obtain information about the existing knowledge, worries and aptitudes of the teachers on this subject.

- The third questionnaire was another evaluation form, completed at the conclusion of the course, in which a series of questions were asked about the course itself, allowing the teachers to present their comments, and the organisers to receive some feedback.

All the teachers who completed questionnaires were working in the Quechua speaking areas (although two of them were born in other departments: one in La Paz, Colquiri, the other in Oruro, Santa Fe). They were from seven places of work, corresponding to seven educational nuclei:

- Raqay Pampa nucleus (Cochabamba) with 10 teachers.
- Tukma Baja nucleus (Cochabamba) with 9 teachers.
- San José del Paredón (Chuquisaca) with 8 teachers.
- Potolo nucleus (Chuquisaca) with 9 teachers.
- El Palomar nucleus (Potosí) with 9 teachers.
- Qhalapaya nucleus (Potosí) with 6 teachers.
- Jank'arachi (northern Potosí) with 9 teachers.
Grouping the teachers according to their place of birth, we have:

- 21 born in Chuquisaca: Sucre (5), Tarabuco (4), Tarvita (2), Potolo (5), Las Casas (1), Alcalá (1), San Lucas (1), Camargo (2).
- 9 born in Potosí: Llallagua (1), Charcas (1), San Pedro de Buena Vista (1), Quijarro (1), Catavi (1), Chayanta (1), Potobamba (1), Potosí (1).
- 27 born in Cochabamba: Cochabamba (1), Aiquile (9), Mizque (4), Punata (3), Tolata (1), Arani (1), Thoqa Thoqa (1), Villa Rivero (2), Tarata (1), Cliza (1), Ucureña (1), Vacas (1).
- 1 born in La Paz: Colquiri
- 2 born in Oruro: Santa Fe, Caracollo.

- My own questionnaires. (Appendix 1).

These were distributed during the same course of instruction in Tocatoa in March 1991, to the same sixty teachers. The idea behind these questionnaires was to gain a general idea of the sorts of experience that the participants had had as teachers, of the use they made of both Spanish and Quechua in their classes, of their perception of and attitudes towards the above languages, and of their interest in bilingual education.

- Practical exercise carried out by technicians, supervisors and directors of PEIB schools during a course of instruction of the teaching of Spanish as a second language, which took place in San Luis, La Paz in July 1993. (Appendix 3).

This was an evaluation exercise concerning some of the topics dealt with in the course 'The Spanish of teachers in the classroom', which was given by the author of this thesis. There were 25 participants on the course:

- 5 departmental technicians: 1 from Chuquisaca, 1 from Cochabamba, 1 from Potosí, 1 from La Paz, 1 from Oruro.
- 5 supervisors: 1 from each of the five departments.
- 10 directors: 2 per department, being the directors of the nuclei in which the
Although the exercise was planned for the course, it was also useful and illustrative for analysing the linguistic knowledge of the teachers (in this case, already directors or supervisors), as well as their written expression.

1.1.4.2 Recorded materials

- Recordings made of the teachers in their place of work.

(Appendix 4: transcriptions of the recordings).

These are a homogeneous group of recordings made of 19 teachers working in three different educational nuclei. Two nuclei in Chuquisaca: Potolo and San José del Paredón, and one nucleus in Cochabamba: Raqay Pampa. Three types of recordings were made of each one of the nineteen teachers.

a) A classroom recording of a Spanish lesson. In the case of second and third level courses, these classes were held in Spanish, but with occasional recourse to Quechua, while in the case of first, and, at times, second level courses they were held in Quechua, introducing only certain words of Spanish according to the material being studied. The average length of these lessons was between thirty and forty five minutes.

b) A conversation with the teacher about the community in which he or she worked, and his or her relations with its members. These interviews took place in the school itself during breaks, or in the house of the school teacher after classes had finished. The lengths varied between ten and fifteen minutes.

c) A conversation with the school teacher about personal psycholinguistic details (age at learning each language, and from whom they were learned...), and about his or her perception and attitudes towards Quechua and Spanish. These were carried out either in the school playground or in the teacher's house during or following meals, and were of a length that varied between fifteen and twenty five minutes.

Before the conversations of types b) and c), I prepared a sort of questionnaire in order to formulate the types of questions to ask, and the order in which to deal with them. Nevertheless,
A second course lesson. Escuela Seccional Molle Pukara. Raqay Pampa. (Cochabamba)
in order that the conversation could develop more naturally and spontaneously, at the time of the conversation I covered the list. The spontaneity, in some cases, enabled the interview to develop into a long conversation, in the course of which many more topics than those on the list were discussed, whilst, in others, it was reduced to no more than answers to those questions asked, in those cases where the interviewee showed little inclination to talk more extensively.

-Other recordings

The second group of recordings were more broad based and heterogeneous, and it is their diversity that increases their value. They were:

a) A meeting between teachers, directors and national PEIB technicians which took place in the Escuela Central in Potolo. The meeting was sixty minutes long, and during its course each of the six teachers present gave a presentation regarding the progress of his or her classes and of the difficulties encountered. The director introduced each teacher, and made remarks about each course, whilst the technicians made comments and observations based on what they had seen, and the problems put to them by the teachers. The meeting took place entirely in Spanish.

b) Recordings made during a training course in Azari in February 1992. These were of two basic types:

1. Recordings of the courses, which in turn were extremely varied, including:
   - Simulated first level Spanish classes, performed by the teachers attending the course. There are two recordings, both in Quechua, with some words or phrases in Spanish. One is twenty five minutes long, the other twenty.
   - Simulated third level Spanish class, which took place in Spanish. This lasted twenty five minutes.
   - Discussion between teachers of how to take a class of Spanish as a second language. Seven teachers make contributions of different length. Some hardly say a word, whilst others by contrast make interjections on several occasions. the
discussion was about twenty minutes long.

- Reading and interpretation by the teachers of texts concerning bilingual education and second language. There are four contributions, each of which consists of the reading of a paragraph and its subsequent interpretation. The recording is seventeen minutes long.

- Interpretation by the teachers of the books and manual produced by the PEIB. There are five contributions which involve explanations of the steps to follow in taking a class according to the methods proposed in the project books and manuals. This lasts approximately thirty minutes.

2. Recordings of different addresses given by various people in the closing session of the course.

- Address in Quechua from a representative of the Federation of Peasants of Chuquisaca. (8 minutes).

- Address in Quechua from a representative of the Federation of Rural Teachers of Chuquisaca. (3 minutes).

- Address in Quechua from one of the teachers participating in the course. (4 minutes).

- Address in Quechua from a representative of the Federation of Rural Teachers of Bolivia. (7 minutes).

- Address in Spanish from one of the participant teachers (3 minutes).

- Address in Spanish from a leader of the Confederación Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (Bolivian Peasants' Union). (5 minutes).

- Address in Spanish from the Secretary general for Education in Chuquisaca. (10 minutes).

c) Spontaneous recordings. These are the most heterogeneous and scant. Some only last for about two or three minutes, and were taken with the tape recorder concealed. This has resulted in some being of poor quality, and thus difficult to analyse in content. They comprise conversation
between teachers in the school playground, a domestic conversation, a discussion between teachers playing football in the playground, a brief conversation in a car between technicians, a director and the driver.

All of the recordings were transcribed, and through the transcription, with the help of the tapes, the use of Spanish was analysed. My hypothesis was that it should be possible to find in the variety spoken by the teachers a series of elements and recurrent structures, probably related to them, that could be organised and treated as a logical system, and not simply as a list of divergences. If the system were found to be sufficiently recurrent and congruent then we could be dealing with a system that is different from Spanish, or if it could be shown that there existed a certain recurrence, but also contradictory or changing elements, then we could be dealing with a system in gestation, a semilanguage.

In order to carry out the analysis of each recording, I extracted a series of structures (at times single words, at others complete phrases or even concatenated sentences and dialogues) which underlined some feature (in other works this type of structure has received the name of divergences or errors\textsuperscript{14}). The structures were organised into blocks that have common characteristics: sometimes morphosyntactic diversions from standard Spanish, others stylistic phenomena, others lexical use, others semantic implications, etc.

In order to confirm the systematicity of the phenomena that I had selected as most outstanding, I compared the structures selected in the different tapes, and organised new blocks containing the phenomena common to all of them, taking into consideration which were the most recurrent.

Once the structures that appeared to me most unusual and recurrent had been identified and organised, I thought to compare them with those that appear in the literature to which I had had access concerning castellano andino (Andean Spanish), and concerning the mutual influences of Quechua and Spanish on each other. It should be pointed out that several of the phenomena selected could not be found in the literature, and, on other occasions, although they had been

\textsuperscript{14} Used by P.S. Corder to determine the 'transitory competence' of non-native speakers, that which permits the statute of language to be recognised in this type of system. Corder, P.S., "Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis", in Schumann, J.H and Stenson, H. (eds.) New frontiers in second language learning, Rowley Mass, Newbury House, 1971, 100-113.
studied, I did not agree either completely or partially with the treatment that they had been given.

The recordings that recall the conversations between teachers give us, apart from material of a strictly linguistic nature, a large amount of information, which I have processed and analysed in a different manner in each case. Some are useful as descriptions of each community, with information about the population, distance to the nearest large town, etc., and also as indicators of the attitudes of the teachers towards the community and its inhabitants, and of the degree of integration of the teacher in the community. Others give useful supplements to the objective data about each teacher that I had obtained through questionnaires completed during the training courses, and have been used to complete the information from which I was able to construct the group profile of rural teachers.

It should be mentioned that there is a lot of inequality regarding the amount of information gathered about each teacher, since some were more willing to converse, and talk about their lives and daily practices, while others limited themselves to the specific information which they were asked. In this way, although I have been able to make a certain number of generalisations about the origins, training, lifestyle and aspirations of rural teachers, thus creating a social group and its delimitations, it would be dangerous to attempt to raise this level of generalisation further since the subjective data at my disposal is unequal in quantity and heterogeneous in content.

1.2 Theoretical framework and definition of concepts.

1.2.1. Bilingualism and diglossia

To speak of bilingualism is always difficult and complex, since there is more than one interpretation of the term. We are dealing here with a word that is of wide usage in society at large, where it is used to refer to a diverse variety of events and situations, and is present in the vocabulary of a large people rather than being the preserve of specialists. This breadth of use means that we are confronted with perceptions of bilingualism that range from those referring to individuals capable of using two languages with the same ease and aptitude, that is, as a native speaker (such as the definition offered by Bloomfield: 'the native-like control of two languages' \(^{15}\)).

to much wider definitions which consider bilingualism 'the simple contact and knowledge of a second language and the capacity to use it as a native language'\(^\text{16}\).

The problem with the definition hinges around the use of the word: on the one hand, it is a term that anyone can use in normal conversation, while on the other, it is a term used profusely in various disciplines; by psychologists in order to explain individual attitudes and reactions when confronted with certain situations and in particular contexts; by sociologists to explain the problems of the integration of an individual into a given community, and by linguists to analyse certain processes, deviations and tendencies in the use of certain languages. Nevertheless, what remains undeniable from whatever perspective, or in whatever definition, is that there exist individuals who, in their daily lives, express themselves in two languages, and that this frequently implies two cultures.

If we start, then, from societies in which there are two cultural groups who express themselves in two different languages, bilingualism arises from the need for interaction of the members of each group with society at large. This necessity is not homogeneous within the group of individuals from which the society is constituted, but is directly related to the interdependence that exists between one and the other. The fact that there are two cultural groups and two languages does not mean that all individuals have to be bilingual. Only those coming into direct contact with the other group will learn the other language or will create an intermediate code to facilitate mutual comprehension.

Within any society hierarchies become established, and when we are concerned with multicultural societies, normally a hierarchy is established between the groups, such that, one group imposes itself as the group that is dominant over the other(s). In the same way, the dominant group will be the one that imposes its code of communication on those dominated, which implies that the dominant language will be the only language used in spheres of domination: government, legislation, education, religion, etc., while the dominated language becomes relegated to the domestic sphere, and to those areas that have little political or national relevance.\(^\text{17}\) In spite of


\(^{17}\) I am using here the term 'nation' to refer not to nationalities, but to the 'Nation-State', in this case the Republic of Bolivia. I have spoken of societies on which a global society has been imposed; the global society referred to would be the nation, and it is on this level that one would see interactions, and where the contact between languages, cultures and ethnicities become important and relevant.
these general tendencies, in each actual case the relations of force between the different groups function in different ways to the social and political tensions that exist in the society at any given moment, and which results in incursions by the dominated language into areas where only the dominant would be expected. In the case of Bolivia, even if the general guidelines for the relation between dominant and dominated group are followed, Spanish being dominant over the autochthonous languages of each region, there still exist ways in which the dominated languages reach beyond the domestic sphere into areas of greater social and political repercussion (e.g. through radio or trade unions), which indicates, on the one hand the vitality of the dominated languages, and on the other, a permanent existence of a latent resistance to concealment.

When the distance between dominant and dominated group is very marked, each group will tend to cut itself off from the other, and to conserve its traditions and language, without having much exchange with the other group (it is in the most isolated rural areas that monolingualism prevails in the vernacular languages). Encounters between the groups only take place in those contexts and situations in which they are necessary for the purpose of exchange, when some element of the dominant culture has been imposed on the dominated group, or when some cultural elements of the dominated group have been accepted and adopted by the dominant. It is in such situations as were mentioned above that the necessity for bilingualism arises (it is when rural communities begin to develop and improve their communications with other larger centres that bilinguals begin to appear on a large scale). At the base of this bilingualism there lies a functional specialisation assigned to each language.

The analysis of functional specialisation of linguistic varieties caused Ferguson to coin a new term, diglossia, which could define the above situation. Originally, Ferguson fixed his attention on the fact that many speakers use different linguistic varieties depending on circumstances, there being cases in which two varieties of the same language have clearly delimited contexts of use. It was precisely this situation that Ferguson defined as diglossia, rather than those cases where

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18 See Weihreich, Uriel, Languages in contact, Mouton, The Hague, 1968, Chapter 4, 83-110.
there are two different languages spoken in the same community, each with its own specific function. Ferguson based his definition of diglossia on nine characteristics:

1. FUNCTION. This appears to be the most important criterium. In his definition, Ferguson considers two varieties of the same language, one that he defines as H (High dialect or variety) and the other which he defines as L (low dialect or variety). He gives various examples, among which is the example of Arabic, which has a classical variety (H) used in the press, in matters of international relations, politics, etc., and which opposes the different varieties of colloquial Arabic (L). The functional distribution of H and L is complementary, that is, there are situations in which one can only use H, and others in which one can only use L. The functions attributed to H being of a more formal nature (religion, politics, education, means of communication, literature) while L functions on a more informal level (in the home, with friends, some situations at work...). Ferguson makes special emphasis of the exclusivity of each variety in every situation, and points out that the use of the inappropriate variety results in ridicule.

2. PRESTIGE. In communities where diglossia exists, one variety, H, is clearly identified as being more elegant and correct, in other words, it is superior to L.

3. LITERARY HERITAGE. In such a community there frequently exists a literary tradition, probably an ancient one, in the H variety. Although there may also be a more contemporary literature in the L variety, this may not be recognised throughout society.

4. ACQUISITION. Ferguson points out that the L variety is learned automatically and unconsciously in the home. H, by contrast is learned in a more formal manner, normally at school. The different form of acquisition of each variety results in that those members of the community who do not have access to a certain level of education do not learn H particularly well, and find it difficult to achieve the same fluency in H as in L.
5. **STANDARDISATION.** Ferguson emphasises that although one might suppose that diglossia is a very unstable phenomenon, tending to move towards a more stable linguistic situation, this is not the case. Diglossia can persist through several centuries at least, and there are instances which show that it can persist for a thousand years (for example, the use of Latin in the Catholic church). He points out that the problems in communication that can arise in this type of situation can result in recourse to relatively uncodified, unstable and intermediate forms of language (such as Haitian type creole).

7. **GRAMMAR.** Although we are considering varieties of the same language, in practice, H and L possess quite different grammatical structures, in which H is considered more complex than L.

8. **VOCABULARY.** H and L share the same vocabulary almost completely, although frequently doublets are produced, that is, a term in each variety with meanings that are not necessarily different, but which have different distributions. On the other hand, there exists a certain vocabulary that is exclusive to H, such as technological terms.

9. **PHONOLOGY.** Regarding phonology, Ferguson points out that the two systems coincide, even though L will have the basic system, while the differences found in H will belong to a subsystem.

In accordance with these nine characteristics, Ferguson presents the following definition:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature, either of an earlier period, or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

As we see, in addition to the marked specialisation of H and L, one of the characteristics indicated is that the variety H is not the habitual code used by any sector of society, and likewise, that we are dealing with an extremely stable situation with little probability of change. Ferguson
gives as an example the use of Latin throughout several centuries with respect to the Romance languages, which were already in extended use in their different regional varieties; these were the languages in common use, whilst Latin was used only by the church, or for the writing and proclamation of laws, but never as a normal vehicle of communication between individuals. That is to say, Latin had ceased to be a language of social interaction.

Some years later J. Fishman expanded the term diglossia to situations that had not been covered by Ferguson. Fishman pointed out that diglossia does not exist only in multilingual societies that recognise officially the existence of several languages, or that use vernacular and classical varieties, but that it is also present in societies that use several dialects, registers or varieties of a language of whatever type. We see then that the term diglossia can refer to any type of linguistic difference: from small stylistic differences within the same language (registers) to two completely different languages. The important feature of their definition being that the functional difference between the two varieties be recognised within the society. This point, however is somewhat conflictual, since, when the varieties are simply stylistic, then the recognition of differences is perceptible only to users of H, being the only group that knows and uses the different styles.

In Fishman’s version, bilingualism would be the use of more than one code by an individual or a society, while diglossia would result from different valuations of the codes and functional divisions between them. This valuation necessarily has to be social and consensual, since it would be difficult to conceive that individual valuations would have repercussions in the use and social evaluation of any of the varieties existing in a given community. Taking into account the definitions that Fishman proposes, one phenomenon need not exclude the other. In expressing this concurrence, Fishman presents a table in which he summarises all possible variants of a speech community:

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21 "diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several "languages", and not only in societies that utilize vernacular and classical varieties, but also in societies which employ separate dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind" in Fishman’s (1972) Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction, Rowley Mass, Newbury House: 73-90.
For each situation, Fishman proposes as a model an existing community. Hence, in considering the case of Paraguay (where Guaraní and Spanish are spoken) the situation appears to be one of a combination of bilingualism and diglossia. In Paraguay a large percentage of the population, at least in urban areas, is bilingual, and uses the two languages in daily life, and even though not all the restrictions applicable to L apply to Guaraní (the language has a high prestige among its speakers), Spanish fulfils the functions of the language H, since it is the only language used for public functions, such as politics, religion and education.

A case of diglossia without bilingualism would be that of the countries of the East before the First World War. In those countries the use of French by members of the upper classes became fashionable, French being a language totally unknown to the remainder of the population. It cannot be said that the community was bilingual, since only one very reduced and specific sector of it used two languages, but it is possible to speak of it in terms of diglossia, since French played the rôle of a high level and prestigious code with very specific and delimited functions.

Bilingualism without diglossia is considered by Fishman as the situation that best reflects the quality of bilingualism as belonging to the individual and diglossia as a characteristic of the social adjudication of function to different languages or varieties. We are here dealing with an unstable and transitory situation, which reflect circumstances of rapid social change, of great social instability, or the extended abandonment of norms, before new norms have a chance to establish themselves (this can occur when the functions of each variety become mixed and are no longer clearly defined in use or social valuation, or when there exists a tendency to mix and equalise the codes). Situations which illustrate this case would be those of the children of immigrants in industrialised centres, or more generalised cases of pidginization and creolization.

Lastly, no bilingualism or diglossia is a situation that can only be encountered in small
isolated speech communities where there exists no social differentiation in the use of codes. This situation has not been identified in any actual case.

Following the analysis of the table, it becomes apparent that societies in which the phenomena are well defined and differentiated are very unusual. It is easy to conclude that, like any other element in society, the language(s) in use are not stable, but in a state of constant change, and, therefore, that any typological definition proposed will not cover the actual situation.

Fasold, recognising the extensions being made to the term diglossia, proposes the following definition:

Broad diglossia is the reservation of highly valued segments of a community's linguistic repertoire (which are not the first to be learned, but are learned later and more consciously, usually through formal education), for situations perceived as more formal and guarded; and the reservation of less highly valued segments (which are learned first with little or no conscious effort) of any degree of linguistic relatedness, for situations perceived as more informal and intimate.

Fasold points out that the concept of diglossia has been so expanded from the original idea that in reality it is no longer appropriate for descriptions in which two or more languages, dialects, registers or styles coexist. However, given the great historical value that it possesses, and the use that results from it, not in describing the situation but in considering certain aspects of it, in particular, the functional specialisation and the linguistic relation between the two varieties, it is worth the trouble to retain it.

On the other hand, Fasold attempts to tighten up the wide definition of diglossia, and proposes three subtypes:

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However, he points out that any distinction between the subtypes is relative, such that the relations of diglossia can change, as is the case in Tanzania, where, to begin with, English was the H variety which opposed Swahili, which formed the L variety. Now, Swahili is gaining prestige and becoming the accepted language in an increasing variety of contexts, and opposes a series of vernaculars which occupy the position of the L variety, that is, they are used in the home and informal situations.

I imagine that, as on the individual level, the process of acquisition of a second language on the societal level is progressive, and involves a series of stages (where it is possible to remain, or to get stuck at one of the stages, without ever completing the process). In this way, those differences between two codes which, at the beginning, may be drastic, with time may converge to become one code with stylistic changes, or conversely, may create a new and different code. In the same way that an individual can remain at one of the stages in the process, society can maintain the differences between the codes for a long period of time, although this does not necessarily mean that the cycle has not been completed.

A similar phenomenon has been noted by Bell in his analysis of creole, in which he argues that the existence of a continuum of codes, which converge on each other and between which it is not possible to establish a clear division, is not the preserve of creole speaking communities, but is a common phenomenon in language. That is to say, a language has a model of choices and functions within its code which change constantly, and which reflect and facilitate social changes in the community in which it is used.

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1.2.2 Mixed languages: interlanguages and semilanguages.

Situations of contact between languages can also result in another type of process, that which produces mixed linguistic codes, such as pidgin, creole, the semilanguages and interlanguages.

The languages which come into play in this type of situation are, on the one hand, one or more languages that can be termed indigenous or autochthonous, majority languages in terms of the number of speakers, and, on the other, a language, generally of European origin, which has been imposed on the community through the process of colonisation, that is, an imported language which, despite being the official language, is only the first language of a minority of speakers.

In the case of pidgin, the code arises in a context of exchange between several linguistic groups, through a process of the general simplification of one of the languages of these groups (the European). The exchange between the distinct groups is occasional or seasonal, so that the code which is simplified and altered by the action of the grammar of the other languages never comes to function as the first language or mother tongue (for example, the pidginization of Portuguese on the African Atlantic coast).

When Pidgin ceases to be used only occasionally, and becomes adopted as the mother tongue by a specific community in a plurilingual environment, a creole comes into being. Its vocabulary originates mainly in that of the dominant group (the European languages of international diffusion), but its grammatical structure derives from that of the autochthonous languages with which the European language has entered into contact. Creole becomes the language of the majority, and in some cases even becomes the official language and gains social prestige.

On the other hand, the term interlanguage has been used to denote the intermediate varieties of a language spoken by communities of speakers, or by individuals, in the process of learning a second language. Between 1971 and 1972 three separate authors, using different approaches, recognised as languages the varieties which occur in the process of acquiring a foreign language.

In 1971, Nemser called these languages approximate systems. For Nemser, these systems are characterised as deviations with respect to the target language; they are systems that change

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rapidly, and are subject to massive reorganisations; they can be identified with specific linguistic communities (groups of immigrants, pidgin speakers...). Nemser affirms that they are languages that should be studied as independent systems, since they have grammatical structures and sounds of their own which do not exist in the mother tongue of the speakers, nor in the target language.

Also in 1971, Corder defined what he termed idiosyncratic dialects. According to Corder, these were systems with grammars that shared rules with other grammars, but, additionally, had their own rules which were not to be found in the standard dialects. These dialects are differentiated from social dialects in that they may or may not reflect the behaviour of a social group, although this is not an important characteristic of their definition; they are defined fundamentally by their instability, and by the difficulty in interpreting some of their orations. According to Corder, there are four types of idiosyncratic dialect: poetic language, aphasic language, infantile language, and the language of those learning a second language. The last of these he terms transitional dialect, since it is characterised by an inherent instability. In differentiation from the deliberate deviations of poetic language and the pathological deviations of aphasic, the idiosyncratic utterances of transitional dialects cannot be interpreted as deviations or errors, but as the result of an underlying grammar belonging to the dialect itself.

It was Selinker who in 1972 first used the term interlanguage to refer specifically to an independent system operating during the process of learning a second language, in whose grammar there can be found rules different from those found in the mother tongue and from those of the target language. This type of system is differentiated from mother tongues in that it has no genetic programme, does not respond to a Universal Grammar, and does not respond to a speaker-listener ideal. In short, the principal characteristics of this type of code are instability, variability, and that they are not native systems.

Lastly, we have what we will term semilanguages, which in our definition are the results of a process similar to that which produces an interlanguage in that the initial objective is that of learning a second language, the official or dominant language, but in this case, during the process a variety

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develops which eventually has its own native speakers and develops both stable structures and rules of its own. This, I believe, is the concept that best illustrates the speech of rural school teachers in Bolivia, and this is what I aim to demonstrate by means of a linguistic analysis of this particular speech variety and by a psychological study of the teachers themselves.

In the same way that it is quite easy to distinguish which have been the processes or situations that have led to the formation of each mixed code, it is not so easy to identify the structural linguistic characteristics of each code. All in their initial phases share a series of characteristics, such as transference from the mother tongue, generalisation of the structures and rules of the target language, since all originate in the process of acquisition of another code. The structural difference between pidgin and creole can be seen in the greater complexity of the latter as a result of the broadening of the contexts in which it is used, until it passes from being an occasional code to a means of communication that is both habitual and native. The differentiation between an interlanguage and a semilanguage lies in the stability of the structures. On the creation of stable structures and rules, a semilanguage becomes closer in nature to creole dialects, with the difference that in the semilanguage there still remain structures of the language which at its inception was the target language.

The aim of this thesis is, therefore, to explore the applicability of these terms to the teacher’s language. We believe that there is a process of evolution from an interlanguage to a semilanguage and from the semilanguage to a creole type of code. Analysing the structures of the teacher’s language we will see what kind of mixed code we are dealing with or, considering it as a continuum, what are the extremes and the stages of it.

Having examined the different definitions and typologies which attempt to describe the coexistence of two languages in situations of contact, it becomes clear that this is not an easy task, since we are dealing with situations of constant change. Nevertheless, from the above it is possible to extract a series of conclusions and useful considerations for defining concepts pertinent to this phenomenon. In the first instance, Ferguson’s definition of diglossia is useful to take into account the fact that there is always a functional specificity when there exists more than one language or variety in play. The expansions to the definition made by Fishman are also useful in that they
differentiate between bilingualism in the case of an individual or a society and diglossia, and thus illustrate the manner in which social valuations assign functions to each language or variety. Lastly, the recognition of intermediate or mixed codes resulting from the convergence of two or more languages is fundamental in order to appreciate that we are not necessarily dealing with options between the two or more languages in contact, but that from this contact there can arise new systems, examples of which can be identified in practice.

1.2.3 Attitudes towards languages

Another important factor in the study of languages in contact and of their speakers is the attitude of the speakers towards each language, or towards bilingualism. Unquestionably, in the use of one or several languages and in their evolution and development, the attitudes of the speakers play an important rôle. However, once again we are confronted with a term that is not strictly technical, but forms part of everyday vocabulary. As was the case with the term bilingualism, attitude does not belong to the jargon of a specialised group, but is a term in habitual and common use. From among the scientific disciplines, that which has made most frequent use of the term is psychology, and social psychology in particular, whose practitioners have attempted to give it a more rigorous definition. For example, to the layman, attitude can often be used as a synonym for opinion, but in psychology one can deduce an attitude from an opinion.

The use of attitudes as a variable in this linguistic investigation has been useful in that through this analysis one can obtain indicators of the thought and beliefs of a community as well as to its preferences and desires. Through an analysis of attitudes it is possible to observe the changes in belief of a community, and to foresee, up to a certain point the feasibility and development of certain linguistic policies. As Colin Baker has noted, the success or failure of any policy regarding one or several languages is determined by the favourable or unfavourable attitudes of individuals. Similarly, change of attitude is a factor that always forms part, whether openly or not, of linguistic planning.

As we saw above, in the definition of a situation of diglossia one of the characteristics that

comes into play is the prestige of a given language within the community. The prestige of a language within the group can be deduced from the attitudes that speakers show towards the language in question. However, as we have also stated, all situations are variables that tend to change. Any situation of contact between languages is in continual development and evolution. The context and the situation cause changes in the reactions and behaviour of individuals, and in the same way, if attitudes towards a language restrict its use to well defined contexts, then changes in the political situation can change attitudes, and, consequently, the status that the language achieves within the society (such as the case of Swahili in Tanzania cited earlier).

With regard to the hierarchization of languages, Godenzzi\textsuperscript{30} points out, citing Bourdieu, that in verbal interactions one does not seek only to be understood, but also to be believed, obeyed, respected and recognised. If through historical and social circumstances a language has become dominated by another which represents institutional power (which is the case with Quechua in Bolivia and Peru), a generalised conviction arises, supported by those in power, that this language is of second order, or of inferior status. Godenzzi\textsuperscript{31} points out that \textit{‘una lengua impone su hegemonía no sólo por la fuerza, sino también, y de un modo tal vez más decisivo, apoyándose en el consenso más o menos generalizado’}. In defining a speech community, Labov\textsuperscript{32} notes that it is necessary to consider the existence of two types of norm: linguistic norms, that is, the existence of a shared corpus of structures and grammatical rules, and social norms, a shared body of attitudes towards the different modes that language acquires in social contexts. If we agree with this assumption, then we can say that it is the speech community that creates in the speakers of the less prestigious language a consciousness of submission, and the best way to escape from this state (or, at least, that which appears easiest to the speakers) is to appropriate the prestigious language and maintain an attitude of refusal and scorn towards the mother tongue.

We see, therefore, how certain ideological arguments create a hierarchy of languages, which

\textsuperscript{30} Godenzzi, Juan Carlos., \textit{“El recurso lingüístico del poder: coartadas ideológicas del castellano y el quechua"}, in Godenzzi (ed.) \textit{El quechua en debate}, Centro Las Casas, Cuzco, 1982, 52.

\textsuperscript{31} Godenzzi, J.C., op. cit., 1992, 66.

in turn is used to legitimise the superiority of one human group over another. That is, the attitudes towards a language can and often do reflect the attitudes towards certain ethnic groups within a society. Later we will see how it is possible to glimpse a new and more positive attitude towards Quechua in a significant number of the teachers forming part of the experimental project in bilingual education, put into effect by the Bolivian government, as a result of the new consciousness that is being created and extended over the values assigned to native languages and cultures.

When using an examination of attitudes as a variable for linguistic analysis, one must take into account that whilst, on the one hand, this can be very productive and orienting, on the other, it can also be very deceptive, so that much care is needed in the recording and evaluation of data.

Until now, as was stated above, the analysis of attitudes has been developed mainly by social psychologists. Within the tradition of analysis of attitudes there have existed two types of approach, as Fasold\(^{33}\) points out: the so called mentalists consider attitude as an intermediate state between stimulus and response, which prepares an individual to react to a certain stimulus in one way rather than another, while behaviourists point out that attitudes are found only in the replies that people make to certain social situations.

Both approaches present difficulties, since, if the mentalist approach is adopted, that is, if attitude is considered to be something internal, in order to establish what type of attitude we are dealing with, it is necessary to ask the person directly or to infer his attitude through behaviour. The problem is that, if one asks a person directly, it is not easy to obtain an objective answer. The solution may be to prepare questions or questionnaires in which the person is not conscious that his attitude is being investigated. On the other hand, in those approaches that analyse behaviour, the type of attitude is easier to determine (since it is inferred directly), but it does not serve us to predict other similar behaviour, as attitude always has to be deduced from the actual behaviour in a given situation.

It should be emphasised that it is far more frequent to find that mentalist approaches have been adopted by those investigating attitudes towards language (for example, Lambert, Gardner and

\(^{33}\) Fasold, R., op. cit., 1984, 147.
From within this approach, one can adopt two different perspectives: a more empirical perspective based on the preparation of materials (questionnaires, scales of semantic appreciation) or a more phenomenological perspective that makes more use of observation and deduction (interviews and observation). In adopting the first perspective the most common methodology is, as I have already pointed out, the preparation of scales of semantic appreciation in which the individual has to make choices of definition which range from good to bad, or from pleasant to unpleasant, etc. and the preparation of questionnaires which can be of two basic types: open questions to which the individual can respond freely and closed questions in which the individual must choose between options provided: yes/no, a/b/c/d, or assign punctuation, etc. Adopting the phenomenological approach, the methods most frequently used are interviews recorded, which are in the style of questionnaires with open questions, but without there being a prepared questionnaire. The interviewer can guide the interview towards the points of most interest, and also base the investigation on the observation, that is, the recording, of situations and behaviour or simply on the annotation of facts and deeds observed. This methodology is used to the same extent by mentalists as by behaviourists, but in each case different criteria are adopted in interpreting the information. For the behaviourists, the observation of attitudes is made directly by observing behaviour; for mentalists, from the observation of behaviour it is possible to infer attitudes.

One researcher who has analysed in depth the acquisition of second languages and attitudes towards them is Gardner who has developed a model for the analysis of attitudes in which three fundamental aspects are considered: firstly, the social and cultural environment in which the individual develops; secondly, the personal characteristics of the individual, such as, intelligence, linguistic aptitude, motivation and situational anxiety; and lastly, the context in which the second language has been acquired. That is, if it has been formally learned (in college, for example) or if, on the other hand, it has been learned in a more informal manner by simple exposure to the

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34 All three authors mentioned have used and designed methodologies with mentalist orientations in various studies. For example, Gardner, R.C. and Lambert, W.E., "Motivational variables in second language acquisition", in Canadian Journal of Psychology 13, 1959,266-272., and Fishman, J., Bilingual education: an international sociological perspective, Newbury House, Rowley Mass, 1976.

Together with the methodology proposed by Gardner, social psychology has established a series of factors which it considers always intervene, and determine attitude or attitudes towards languages. These are: age, sex, schooling, personal ability, and the linguistic and cultural background of the individual. In any description of bilinguals and their relation and attitude towards the languages we find these sort of criteria. The last two listed are certainly the most developed in the analyses that have been made of Andean languages, and in particular of Quechua in Peru (A. Escobar, A.M. Escobar, R. Caravedo36). In particular they take into account aspects of the acquisition and use of each language, such as, age at learning each language, language spoken with parents, language spoken with siblings and friends, language most widely spoken in place of birth, or at place of residence, language used most often, language with which the individual most identifies, etc. Through this type of information it is possible to gain an idea of the environment and education of the individual as well as the attitudes taken towards each language, inclusive of the necessity and motivation to use one, the other, or both.

In the Peruvian works mentioned above we can detect a different orientation than that usually found in studies of attitudes. These usually analyse societies with a higher level of technological development, problems of immigrants in societies of the first world or cases of scientific interest which concern human capacities and possibilities for bilingualism. In the Peruvian works mentioned above the type of society under investigation is very different. We are here concerned with contexts in which the linguistic differentiation is also an ethnic, social, and at times regional differentiation. In these cases the postures and attitudes of individuals cannot be measured, nor are of any relevance, the attitudes held by the group are the result of the options left open to them by society and are those which condition the use they make of each language.

As well as the approaches which have been used in the study of attitudes towards languages,

some mention should be made of the two broad types of attitude which have been defined as most common in the learning of a second language. These are, on the one hand, that which has been termed instrumental attitude and on the other, that called integrational attitude. The first is more personal and individual, and is concerned with the necessity to achieve an end. Attitudes of this nature can derive from vocational factors, from the desire to achieve a certain status or professional qualification, or simply as a means of securing a certain security, or means of survival in an environment that is hostile towards the mother tongue. By contrast, the integrational attitude is more social and of interpersonal orientation. It is related to the necessity to affiliate oneself or become part of a certain social group, and in some cases to reject one’s original group. When the individual attempts to adapt his or her speech to the linguistic system of another group, such that it becomes the habitual medium of expression, it is possible to detect a clear attitude towards integration into the new group. This type of attitude can be as much the cause as the effect of bilingualism: one becomes bilingual in order to become integrated into another group, or on integration into another group one becomes bilingual.

However, it should be pointed out that instrumental and integrational attitudes are not mutually exclusive, but can coexist in the same individual. In the case of rural school teachers in Bolivia both attitudes can be seen: firstly, the instrumental to enable them to achieve professional ambitions (the teaching qualification) which allows them to become integrated into the social group of Spanish speakers, the holders of power, that is, they also have an integrationist attitude.

Lastly, I believe that it would be interesting to mention the most recent controversies surrounding the difference between attitudes towards languages and attitudes towards bilingualism. Colin Baker37 explains how there are normally two generalised tendencies among individuals when considering the existence of two languages in the same community of speakers. On the one hand, there is a subtractive tendency which sees, in situations of the coexistence of languages, one language as detrimental to the other, that is, that one language prospers while the other decays. But on the other hand, the opposite tendency also exists, that which defends the coexistence of languages, in the belief that they can be of positive benefit to each other in a reciprocal manner.

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These two tendencies reflect two types of attitude: those that consider *attitudes towards a language*, being those that present the alternatives between one language and another; and *attitudes towards bilingualism* which accept the coexistence of both languages. This differentiation once again has been established for developed societies such as Canada. To my way of thinking, this distinction that Baker makes does not proportion much information in cases such as Peru and Bolivia, where, due to the education and socio-economic level of individuals, the type of attitude is fairly predictable. There is no formal learning of the dominated languages, and the acquisition of a second language (usually Spanish) is infrequent by appropriated methods and formal systems, it is, hence, difficult to think in terms of the coexistence and the mutual benefit of the two languages.

As I pointed out above, the acquisition of the dominant language is generally a necessity; bilingualism is not an option, but a prerequisite for integration into society. Only in those cases where the dominated language is the language acquired for some useful aim (such as by politicians or businessmen) is it possible to speak of a voluntary bilingualism, and thus also of attitudes towards bilingualism and not only towards each language. We can also consider an attitude towards bilingualism as a phenomenon of language integration in some idealist sector of the dominant group, or in some intellectuals who seek to carry forward this linguistic integration through a social change starting in the educational systems of the minority ethnic groups.

On analysing the attitudes that bilingual teachers take and express towards the languages, we will see how they interpret bilingualism and the values they assign to each of the languages that they know and utilise. We will therefore be able to examine what repercussions stem from attitudes towards linguistic behaviour, and consequently towards the codes they handle.

1.3 Quechua and Spanish in Bolivia: general panorama.

One of the most notable characteristics of Bolivia is its pluriculturalism and plurilingualism. Scattered throughout the country there are around thirty ethnicities with their respective languages, although only three of these languages have a large number of speakers: Spanish, Quechua and Aymara (with Guarani in fourth place, its speech community being of a smaller scale). Spanish is the only language spoken throughout the nation, and is the official language, and, thus, is the
language used most frequently in circles of government, politics, education, etc.. The other two, Quechua and Aymara both have a considerable number of speakers, but are not distributed uniformly throughout the country, that is, they are not national, but regional, or departmental. Quechua and Aymara are each distributed through well defined regions of Bolivia, Aymara in the departments of La Paz and Oruro, plus a small part of Potosí and the Alto Beni, whilst Quechua is spoken in La Paz, Oruro, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, Potosí and most recently, although on a much reduced scale, in Santa Cruz, owing to migratory movements from the Altiplano to the eastern tropical regions.

One should note, however, that on examining place-names throughout the country, one finds in all highland and valley areas a preponderance of Aymara toponyms that lead one to the conclusion that in former times a large part of the territory in which Quechua is spoken today was an Aymara speaking zone. In addition, in other areas, other languages were spoken, which today either continue, but on a much diminished scale, or have disappeared altogether; examples of these are Uru-Chipaya and Pukina. The spread of Quechua, at the expense of Aymara38 was a generalised process, which it is possible to observe even today in the departments of Oruro and Potosí, where there exist trilingual areas (Quechua-Aymara-Spanish) and in which Quechua is gaining prestige with respect to Aymara.

Of the 6.420.792 inhabitants of Bolivia, according to figures from the last populational census which took place in June 1992,39 1.805.843 inhabitants are Quechua speakers, 34.3% of the population, while 1.237.658 are Aymara speakers, which represents 23.5%. In this work, I am going to limit myself to the present day distribution and situation of Quechua and Spanish, which, as can be seen from the figures above, are the languages with the largest numbers of speakers.

38 Accounts of the linguistic evolution of the Altiplano are given by Thérèse Bouysse-Casagne in “Pertenencia étnica, status económica y lenguas en Charcas a fines del S. XVI”, in Tasa de la Visita General de Francisco de Toledo, Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, 1975, 312-328, and, by the same author in La identidad Aymara, HISBOL, La Paz, 1987, and Lluvias y Cenizas, HISBOL, La Paz, 1988.
39 Data assembled in the publication Bolivia resultados finales, by the Ministry of Planning and Coordination and the national Institute of Statistics, May 1993.
1.3.1 Human, social and geographic distribution of the languages.

As I have pointed out above, Quechua speakers represent some 34.3% of the total Bolivian population, but it is important to consider, along with this, that Quechua is one of the indigenous languages of the Americas that has a larger number of speakers, and, in addition, a distribution that extends throughout a wide territory, crossing several national boundaries. The language, which was adopted by the Incas\textsuperscript{40} in the advance and spread of their empire, and also served as a lingua franca for the colonisers in certain areas where there had been plurilingualism, has maintained, and in some places even extended, its territory during the centuries of combat with and resistance to persistent attacks from different sectors during the colonial period, and later from the criollos. An observer from without the Andean world, unfamiliar with autochthonous cultures, and more in touch with the higher echelons of society (westernised Spanish speakers) can be taken by surprise on finding millions of people whose first language, and at times only language, is Quechua (an estimate given of the number of present day Quechua speakers is 8.354.125\textsuperscript{41}, these being distributed through Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, Colombia and Brazil).

In an attempt to explain the present day situation of marginalization in which this language finds itself, we see that this has been the outcome of a series of contrary forces: some favourable to the maintenance of the language, others to its disappearance. It should be noted, however, that even those forces in favour of the persistence of the language, with few exceptions, do not encourage its development, but its stagnation and isolation.\textsuperscript{42} One of the movements which acted in the defence of Quechua was that which developed in Cuzco in the 18th century, although it could be interpreted as a reflection of the romanticism prevalent in the Western world at the time, which sought beauty and perfection in origins and in nature.

The hegemony of Spanish over Quechua, consolidated and conserved over centuries, has

\textsuperscript{40} There are several theories, which do not concern us here, concerning the origin and spread of Quechua before, during and after the flowering of Tawantinsuyu (highland origin, coastal origin, tropical forest origin, Ecuadorian origin) which are expounded and discussed by Rodolfo Cerron-Palomino, in Linguistica Quechua, Centro de estudios rurales andinos ‘Bartolomé de Las Casas’, Cuzco, 1987, 324-350.

\textsuperscript{41} RAYMI 13, Centro Cultural Jayma, La Paz, 1991.

\textsuperscript{42} Many of the efforts to maintain indigenous languages seek only to prevent Indians from learning the language of the colonizer, and thus, to deny them access to institutions of power and written laws, etc.
produced a series of topical considerations concerning the language that have had repercussions in its function. Bruce Mannheim\textsuperscript{43} notes two characteristics which derive from the situation of contact between Spanish and Quechua, and from the social hegemony of Spanish: firstly, that Quechua is treated as a stigmatised language which is uniform and undifferentiated. Even Quechua speakers consider Quechua dialects to be socially equivalent and without differentiation. Secondly, the fact that Spanish possesses a metalanguage with which to speak about and describe bilingualism and the characteristics that define the speech of bilinguals, whilst Quechua does not have any metalanguage to describe the linguistic variety of Quechua. This is one of the reasons why, at this present time, a situation of chaos, disagreement, and enormous difficulties has come about as efforts are made to normalise the language and produce from it a language that can be used at any level, or in any context.

In spite of its long historical tradition, and its human and geographic extension, Quechua has not managed to put itself on the same footing as Spanish, at national level, in any of the countries in which it is spoken. Spanish is the language that has managed to penetrate, and assume the rôle of generalised code, in every matter or position related to government and the state. Although recently this has begun to change (the current vice president of Bolivia, Victor Hugo Cárdenas, is an Aymara speaker), the image that Bolivia projects to the outside world is of a Spanish speaking country; all the leading representatives of the country are Spanish speaking, and it is these who represent the country abroad. It was the MNR (Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario, (National Revolutionary Movement)) that was the first political party to attempt to put forward, at least within the country, the image of a mestizo land. In recent years, however, a series of political parties have arisen, such as Conciencia De Patria- CONDEPA (National Consciousness) and Unión Cívica y Solidaridad (Civic Union and Solidarity) which are trying to put forward, firstly within Bolivia, but also to the outside world, the image of Bolivia as a cholo\textsuperscript{44} nation. This type of political party is,

\textsuperscript{43} Bruce Mannheim, *The language of the Inka since the European Invasion*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1991. See chapter dedicated to linguistic hegemony and variation in language, pp. 39-109.

\textsuperscript{44} Cholo and mestizo are complex terms in that they originate in the colonial period, but have continued to be in frequent use until the present day in a variety of diverse circumstances and to refer to a number of clearly differentiated situations. At this present time the terms could well be applied to the vast majority of the Bolivian population. In principle, both are terms that define the result of the
at this present time, gaining support only in the marginal quarters of the cities, but it must not be
forgotten that it is in precisely these areas that the languages Quechua and Aymara do prevail.
Until this present time both these parties have conducted their campaigns in Spanish, since none
of the leaders have been speakers of an autochthonous language, but, nevertheless, through their
populist character they are becoming defenders of all aspects of popular culture, and one of the
things that most characterises the popular sectors is the use of language: at times a variety of
Spanish, and at others an indigenous language.

1.3.1.1 Spanish

Within Bolivia the main Spanish speaking areas are, on the one hand, all urban areas, and on
the other, the departments of Tarija and of the eastern parts of the country, where, in spite of the
existence of many languages and ethnicities, since these are of a heterogeneous nature and exist
in only small communities, Spanish has managed to impose itself almost absolutely. In the valley,
Altiplano and highland areas the autochthonous languages (Quechua and Aymara) still prevail and
are in daily use in all types of exchange and communication. This is the situation above all in the
most isolated rural areas where daily life is of a very different nature to that in the cities or Spanish
speaking areas. If, on the one hand, it can be said that Spanish is gaining ground over Quechua,
on the other it is not less certain that, in spite of the huge limitations imposed upon them, Quechua
and Aymara are broadening their spheres of action, and are starting to penetrate the cities.

We can thus define two different situations regarding the use and importance of Spanish
within the country: the urban areas, where the political and administrative life of the nation takes
place, and where Spanish is almost exclusively the only language used, since the use of

mixing of the two ethnic and cultural identities of the colony (Spanish and native American), although a
distinction is made between them into which enter not only racial, but also socio-economic, values.
However, in contemporary usage, these terms are identified almost exclusively with styles of life and
economic potential, and only to a reduced extent with questions of origin. In contemporary society,
these terms are concerned with urban categories, that is, with those that live in cities or towns.
In the word of Silvia Rivera:
‘La diferenciación entre “mestizos” y “cholos” alude a la polarización interna de estas capas
intermedias según su grado de cercanía son uno de estos dos extremos: el “mestizo”
designaría a los estratos más próximos con lo español y el “cholo”, en cambio, aquellos
contiguos con el indio.”
in Violencia e identidades culturales en Bolivia, Taller de Historia Oral Andina, La Paz, 1992, 23.
autochthonous languages within the cities is limited to the more working class areas of society, and, the rural areas in which, depending on their relation and contact with the population centres, Spanish has little or no use. In these areas, it is the autochthonous languages that prevail and are used in daily life. However, in these areas, despite the predominance of Quechua (or Aymara), there is always a consciousness of the hegemony of the Spanish language; although it is not necessary for survival, it is important in relations with towns and cities, for buying and selling produce, and to enable one to work in other areas of the country (the eastern tropical regions) which is frequently necessary on a seasonal basis after the harvest is finished in one’s native community. Thus, although within peasant’s society and its daily life, Spanish is hardly present at all, there still exists the conscious knowledge that it is the language that permits one to leave and engage in commerce or exchange products with the inhabitants of towns and cities. It is, in addition, the language of those who direct the nation, and who write laws, and with the knowledge of this language one is less likely to be scorned or insulted.45

Following the division between the two different areas of influence of Spanish, we can also identify two broad types within the Spanish spoken in Bolivia. On the one hand there is the Spanish spoken in the Andean area, and of the other, that of the Orient. There are a series of phonological characteristics which support this differentiation between the two areas. José G.

45 Bruce Mannheim (1991,81) referring to the Peruvian situation, with respect to the relation between Spanish and Quechua, emphasises the hegemony of the Spanish language and the generalized consciousness in all sectors of the population of this situation:

“When I say that Spanish is hegemonic, I mean that the social dominance is reproduced in every act of speaking, diffusely, but inescapably. Social domination is a lived reality every day in the lives of every single Quechua speaker. It is reproduced in different ways in every act of speaking, be it in Spanish or Quechua; in the choices that bilinguals make to speak one or another language in a particular setting, even when the choice is to speak Quechua; in the gnawing closure that it places on the lives of Quechua monolinguals; in the silence of Quechua-speaking children in a Spanish-speaking classroom; in the pride with which a Quechua peasant writes his name; in the shame of a military draftee who cannot understand the Spanish spoken around him; in crude bilingual puns used in the marketplace; in the insults shouted at a monolingual Spanish speaker who cannot understand them, since that is the only way she can be insulted with impunity; and in countless other situations.”
Mendoza has identified the following:

Type 1. Andean Area

- Use of the phoneme /ɾ/ and the presence of /s/ after a vowel at the end of a syllable, e.g. "calle" [ka.ɾ.e] vs "yo" [yo]; "mesas" [mesas].
- Pronunciation of the variant fricative /z/ in place of the vibrant multiple /r/ in the initial position, or between vowels, e.g. "rojo" [zo.ɾo], "radio" [za.ɾo]
- Pronunciation of the affricative consonant /tɾ/ as an alternative to the consonantal sequence /tr/, e.g. "cuatro" [kwatr.o].
- Pronunciation of the phoneme /d/ between vowels at the end of the word, e.g. "cantado" [kanta.ɾo].
- Elision of the vowel between mute consonants (occlusive and fricative) at the end of the word, that is, the vowel of the so called diminutive suffix, e.g. "aquítos" [akísits].
- Voseo before the noun, alternance between tú and vos.

Type 2. Eastern area (and Tarija).

- Use of /ʝ/ and the omission of /s/, or its substitution by the slight aspiration /h/ as a variant after a vowel and at the end of a syllable, e.g. "calle" [ka.ʝe], "colla" [ko.ʝa]; "mesas" [mesa.ɾ]
- Pronunciation of the vibrant multiple /ɾ/ in the initial position, and between vowels, e.g. "rojo" [ro.ɾo], "radio" [ra.ɾo].
- Elision of the last syllable in phonological sequences with the phoneme /d/ between two equal vowels, with the lengthening of the final accentuated vowel, e.g. nada = [nà], cantado = [kanta.ɾo].
- Conservation of the vowel in the contexts described of the diminutive

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46 José G. Mendoza, Gramática castellano con referencias a la variedad hablada en Bolivia, UMSA, La Paz, 1992. He dedicates chapter 2 (pp. 23-32) to describing the dialectical typology of the Spanish spoken in Bolivia.
suffix e.g. "palabritas" [palabritas].

- Pronominal voseo as an alternance.

On the other hand, I believe it is possible to establish another division in Spanish spoken in terms of social characteristics. The higher sectors of society, and those that are strongest in economic terms, composed mainly of monolingual Spanish speakers, and whose general level of education is high, speak a Spanish that we would term standard, which is also that used in the press and literature, is that which is taught formally in schools, and is used in text books. This Spanish, except in idioms and phonetics, is almost identical to that spoken at similar levels in other Latin American countries. The middle classes could be said to speak a Spanish that is more variable, which in certain circumstances, situations and contexts perceived as more formal, approaches the standard Spanish of the upper classes, but in other circumstances has a larger number of non-standard characteristics (a greater number of idioms, and uses and structures peculiar to it) which make it a more differentiated variety that we could denominate Bolivian Spanish in order to differentiate it from that of other Spanish speaking countries. The upper classes in more informal situations also use this Bolivian Spanish. Lower sectors of society also have their own variety of Spanish, which is further differentiated from standard Spanish, and has characteristics in common with Bolivian Spanish, but with another series of characteristics of its own. Lastly, we could consider the Spanish spoken by peasants whose first language is Quechua or Aymara, to be an incipient Spanish which is very limited and uncertain, useful only for basic relations of exchange.

1.3.1.2 Quechua

Quechua, at this present time, is a predominantly rural language. Although, in the early stages of colonial rule, it was adopted on many occasions to settle legal and administrative questions, it can be clearly seen that, following the arrival of the Spaniards, Spanish gradually took over as the language of all administrative, legal and political functions, with the result that Quechua and other native languages were relegated to the margins of society, staying in use most persistently in the contexts of rural life, mining (although here coexisting to a greater extent with Spanish) and small scale commerce. However, as we have seen, and in spite of many difficulties, Quechua has
managed to stay alive and has even found its way into the cities, where it is spoken mainly in the marginal quarters, in peasants’ markets, and on public transport. Although, at this present time, it is only found in these contexts, that it has managed to break through barriers and penetrate a world far removed from its own does give us an indication of its strength.

If we turn to look at the distribution of Quechua in Bolivia, that which most calls our attention is that, during a definite historical period, hierarchies were established within the Quechua language which are perceptible through the existence of a series of linguistic varieties and which can be identified with speakers of different social status. This phenomenon has been observed by Louisa Stark and has more recently been analysed by other authors. The explanation offered by Stark is based on the large number of landowners (hacendados) whose education and style of life led to a close relation with Quechua. The children of the owners of large properties were born and raised together with the children of peasants on the country estate (hacienda), and, thus, learned their language from an early age. Their servants and nannies were also usually of peasant origin and Quechua speakers, so that they continued to use the language throughout their infancy. Knowledge and use of the indigenous language gave them a tighter control over their workers, and so they continued to use it later in life whenever necessary or convenient. Their Quechua, nevertheless, differed from that of the native speakers, since it was used from another perspective, that of dominance, and thus developed a series of structures and forms that are not found in the Quechua spoken by the Indians; these include the elimination of those suffixes termed courtesy suffixes, -ri, -ku, -pu, -kapu. Indigenous Quechua has always been described as a gentle language in that when orders are given these are formed through the use of a series of suffixes and circumlocutions that smooth over and tone down the expression. The Quechua of landowners, by contrast, was an authoritarian language constantly needing to fall back on authoritarian constructions and formulae, and hence becoming distanced and differentiated from that of the peasants. However, owing to the radical changes in the country’s economy, that amounted to the uprising of peasants and agrarian

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reform in the 1950's, the number of landowners fell so drastically\textsuperscript{48} that it could be said that they practically disappeared. Hence, nowadays, there are very few members of the middle and upper classes that learn and use Quechua.

In Bolivia Quechua speakers represent some 34.3\% of the total population of the country. They are scattered over a large area of the national territory, although it could be said that there are two groups of speakers, corresponding to two varieties of the language, which are clearly differentiated. One of these is the Quechua termed Quechua del norte (northern Quechua) which is spoken only in the department of La Paz in the provinces of Bautista Saavedra, Muñecas, and Franz Tamayo; the other, termed Quechua del sur (southern Quechua), is spoken by a larger number of people in several different departments: Potosí, Oruro, Cochabamba and Chuquisaca. As was mentioned above, in recent years Quechua has also been introduced into the department of Santa Cruz by the ever increasing migratory movements towards the more industrialised areas of the country. The Quechua variety or varieties that have arrived here originate almost entirely in the departments where southern Quechua is spoken. This Quechua, due to its wider distribution, can also claim the most linguistic varieties, although these are not so different from each other as to hinder understanding, or to establish different dialects. An analysis of the situations of each type of Quechua follows.

There are about 28,000 speakers of the variety termed northern Quechua, with the greatest concentration being in the province of Franz Tamayo. In this region there is little social stratification between Quechua speakers since it was not formerly an area of large haciendas. Quechua is spoken mainly in rural areas which are isolated and distant from large Spanish speaking population centres, with the result that the Quechua of this region has been influenced only to a small extent by Spanish. In many parts of the region, however, Aymara is also spoken, and frequently Quechua speakers, although they do not speak Aymara, can understand it. There are several areas, particularly in the department of Franz Tamayo, where the degree of isolation is such that knowledge of Spanish is of little use, since very few peasants have any contact with the cities or city dwellers, and, according to Louisa Stark, consequently, they have little interest in their

\textsuperscript{48} ibid, p. 533.
children attending school to learn Spanish. These areas, in spite of their isolation, are reasonably well off, and peasants do not live in fear of having to emigrate to Spanish speaking areas. Another interesting fact to note is the presence of the Kallawayas,\textsuperscript{49} practioners of herbal medicine who keep alive medicinal secrets from the time of the Tiwanaku civilisation, and transmit these only through the male line from father to son. The Kallawayas normally speak several languages, Quechua, Aymara, Spanish and their own secret language called \textit{Machaq Juyay}, although their normal daily language is Quechua. \textit{Machaq Juyay} appears to be a mixture of Quechua and Pukina vocabulary.

The variety termed southern Quechua (QS) is spoken in a much wider social spectrum, since it is spread throughout a much more extended and diversified territory in a large part of which there were large country estates, producing the phenomenon noted above of patronal Quechua. As has already been stated, QS is spoken in several departments, and in each of these the conditions and use of the language are different. In Oruro Quechua is not the most widely spoken vernacular, since Aymara has a greater number of speakers.

It is in Cochabamba department that Quechua has become most widespread, and has also achieved greatest prestige. After the peasant uprising and agrarian reform of the 1950’s it established itself as a symbol of self-determination and peasant identity. This has resulted in such city dwellers as politicians, traders and priests realising the usefulness and importance of the language which they have taken the decision to use in order to gain influence with the peasants. Quechua has come to be spoken in the cities, and, as a result, has had greater contact with Spanish than in other areas, so much, in fact, as to almost form another variety, which has been termed “quechuañi”, a Quechua punctuated with Spanish words and constructions.

In Chuquisaca the political movement was less strong, and, consequently, there has been less peasant consciousness of the symbolic and political values of the Quechua language. Although this owes much to the phenomenon of the landowners, who also cultivated the language in literature, these landowners are now very old, and almost all have lost their lands. Their children say that they learned Quechua in childhood, but no longer have the opportunity to use it, but

\textsuperscript{49} ibid, pp. 527-529.
remember only a few sentences which are useful in the market place. The remainder of Quechua speakers in this department are peasants, and, like in Cochabamba and Potosí, the vast majority are monolinguals who live in isolated zones where they have little contact with Spanish. When learned, Spanish is usually acquired in basic level schools, in the army, or through migration to other departments or to Argentina.

Finally, Potosí is perhaps the department with most Quechua speakers, and also with most monolinguals. Quechua, except in the case of the upper classes, is the principal language of the home and of commerce, in the cities and rural areas alike. Traders are bilingual, although Spanish is usually their first language, Quechua being learned later to facilitate communication with clients. Another socially important group in Potosí department are the miners, who are almost invariably bilingual, and, although they usually have a good command of Spanish, use Quechua in the home and also in union meetings, since it has become the language of trade union oratory. On the other hand, northern Potosí is perhaps the most isolated region of the country, where the number of monolingual Quechua speakers is highest, and the Quechua has been least influenced by Spanish.

It should be added that there now exists a Quechua speaking enclave in the department of Santa Cruz, although this has traditionally been thought of as a Spanish speaking area. This enclave, which is most notable in the northern regions of the provinces of Ichilo, Sarah and Obispo Santiesteban. The Quechua speakers of these regions are basically colonisers who have emigrated from the regions of the Altiplano and the heads of the valleys of other departments.

In order to illustrate the hierarchization of the language I will present below a table from the work by Louisa Stark, which demonstrates the different uses of Quechua and their corresponding social strata:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assigned Value</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>LOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language use</td>
<td>Spanish 1st lang.</td>
<td>Spanish or Quechua 1st lang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quechua used for aesthetic value</td>
<td>Quechua used for commercial value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Strata</td>
<td>Upper Classes</td>
<td>Middle Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>RURAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we can see from the table, we have three social strata of Quechua speakers:

1) An upper class which corresponds to the generation of elderly landowners described previously.

2) The middle classes, the majority of whom are traders, who have learned a second language for commercial purposes. In some cases their first language is Spanish, which is the case principally with those from the cities, in others it is Quechua, and in both the mastery of a second language has been necessary and beneficial. This group does not only include the owners of shops or businesses, but all those involved in commercial activities, including middle men between the rural communities and the cities and those involved in road haulage. The teachers could also be included in this group, although Stark does not include them in her table. Rural teachers are normally native Quechua speakers, who have learned Spanish through their studies and in order to carry out their work, although there are some who, contrarily, have learned Spanish first, and have had to learn Quechua in order to communicate with their pupils and with community members.

3) The lower stratum is composed of monolingual peasants who live in the rural areas in isolation from the Spanish speaking world, and who, sometimes, have a superficial knowledge of Spanish, acquired in school, the army, or through migration.

We can therefore see that, within Quechua itself it has also been possible to identify a series of social varieties, or sociolects, although this distinction has been made by linguistic scholars rather than by its own speakers. Quechua speakers themselves make reference to regional linguistic differences, but do not as a matter of course make other types of differentiation. The identification of Spanish as the language of power results in Quechua being identified with only one social level.

Related to the above phenomenon has been the description of Quechua as an oppressed language (lengua oprimida (X. Albó)\textsuperscript{50}), which is to say that it is perfectly acceptable, and even advantageous to be a monolingual Spanish speaker, or bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, whilst

\textsuperscript{50} Oprimido is the term coined by Xavier Albó to define the situation of the autochthonous languages of the Andean zone in his book, \textit{El futuro de los idiomas oprimidas en los Andes}, I.E.P., Lima 1977.
difficulties, and there would be no need to learn Spanish, since it would not be necessary in their environment. In this context the distance between the languages would be reinforced by territorial factors. However, on changing the context and migrating to the city, where their maternal language neither predominates nor retains any advantage, but becomes a hindrance to communication, they find themselves obliged to learn Spanish, and although Quechua may still be spoken in the home, in daily life they frequently have to adopt Spanish. The next stage, that of the subsequent generation, consists of teaching only Spanish, or mainly Spanish, to the children, so that this becomes the predominant language in the environment in which they grow up and develop. As Wardhaugh states, in the new context the functions of the mother tongue become curtailed, and in the following generations will surely be further reduced, so that finally they will become monolinguals in Spanish. We shall see later that the case of rural school teachers is even more radical, such that in spite of living and working in rural Quechua speaking areas, they will only speak Spanish with their children.

As has been stated in previous sections, Spanish is the principal language of politics, finance, religion and education at a national level. Anyone who tries to gain access to these circles, or who simply wants to obtain some direct benefit from them, necessarily has to have a good command of the Spanish language. A monolingual Quechua speaker, thus, does not really have any option when he decides to leave the environment of his habitual life. All those who find themselves obliged to emigrate to other areas in order to find work during certain periods of the year, find that they need to learn the language which will permit them to do this, and that this language is none other than Spanish. If this migration is seasonal, and the migrant is later to return to his community, then the acquisition of the language, like its development, will be minimal. Nevertheless, when the new context becomes the context of permanent settlement, then the acquisition of Spanish will be more conscious and careful.

It cannot be denied that, above all for the younger generations, the urban centres represent a special attraction, being seen as places where development and technology are concentrated, which leads many to consider the possibility of emigrating and establishing themselves there. It is in such

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52 ibid, p. 5.
circumstances that the idea of adopting another language takes root, since it is in the cities that the languages come into contact, and where a decision is taken to concentrate on one rather than the other. The adoption of the new language is, therefore, a result of new necessities that arise in the life of an individual. Normally, these new necessities are instrumental in the learning of the new language in that they create the sense that it will bring a series of advantages, be they social, economic, cultural, educational religious or political. The act of learning the new language, Spanish in this case, implies a certain predisposition towards learning it. This does not imply that Spanish is not seen as a threat to the mother tongue, rather that the necessity created by the environment creates a generalised consciousness of the benefits that learning the new language will bring.

1.3.2.1 Historical evolution of Quechua in contact with Spanish

I believe that a brief description of the Andean linguistic situation since early colonial times is indispensable in order to understand the present day rôle of the vernacular languages in Bolivia and the situation of their speakers. A brief analysis of the evolution of Quechua since the arrival of the conquerors and the situation of marginality in which its speakers have lived, and still continue to live today, will enable us to understand the difficulties it has had in developing and evolving to the same rhythm and in the same contexts (communications, science, technology) as the languages of the Western World. The scorn which Quechua people have themselves suffered, along with their language, has had an effect on its use, reducing this, as I have already mentioned, to limited social and geographical contexts and situations. This situation has led to the belief that the language does not have the capacity, as a living language, to create resources and structures that are renewed and developed at the same pace that society itself is renewed and developed; a belief which, in many cases, has been reinforced and expanded by the Spanish speaking oligarchy, to whom it is undoubtedly advantageous to maintain and reinforce the economic and social distance between the various groups and ethnicities of the nation.

Since the arrival of the Spaniards, although Quechua has extended its geographical area, its spheres of use have gradually been reduced, until it has become almost exclusively a rural and specific language, since it is used to refer basically to the reality that surrounds it. This does not
mean, however, that the language has gone into decline and is not capable of creating new forms and structures or new resources of reproduction and renovation, but that, through having been restricted to well defined contexts which are both scorned and stigmatised, many of the resources that it has have been forgotten through lack of use. The fact that the spread of culture and politics at national level takes place in Spanish has led its speakers to think that Quechua is not an apt language for development, technology or literature.

How, then, can the persistence of this language be explained? For this we must return to the first years in which Quechua and Spanish were in contact. As in so many processes, discourses developed in two contrary directions: one that favoured the continuance of the language, while another sought its absolute disappearance. This process was initiated, as I mentioned previously, with the arrival of the Spaniards, and went through different stages marked in some cases by the predominance of the defenders of indigenous languages, and in others by their detractors.

In the beginning, based on the theories of Nebrija that language must always accompany empire, a policy of castellanización (or the imposition of Spanish) was proposed, which would have done away with the local languages. The argument most frequently put forward for this was that the indigenous people had to be converted to Christianity, and that this could only be achieved in Spanish. However, the Council of Trent, which took place between 1545 and 1563, proposed the use of the so called vulgar languages (all languages with the exception of Latin) for religious instruction. This deed, together with the work of Nebrija and the normalisation of Spanish, made it possible for Spanish to enter fully into both politics and religion. This liberalising current which rejected Latin as the only language fit for worship contributed several years later to the phenomenon of priests operating in the so called ‘New World’ daring to translate catechisms and liturgies into the lenguas generales, (general languages), Quechua, Aymara and Pukina in the viceroyalty of Peru, which were designated as such by the colonisers who identified them as being the most extensive and widely spoken.

In the beginning, the work of translation was carried out by bilingual mestizo translators. 53

53 See Emma Martinelli-Gifre, Aspectos linguisticos del descubrimiento y la conquista, CSIC, Madrid, 1968, in which she discusses the evolution of the figure of the interpreter.
However, among the Spaniards and clerics there arose a fear that the mestizos would create a new order that could threaten the established one. They began to think that the mestizos, in their translations, could distort the divine message, and, as a consequence, the viceroy Toledo and Archbishop Loayza forbade the use of Quechua for catechisms and liturgies. This fear of 'mestizoism' was increased by the profusion of so-called colegios de caciques in which Spanish was taught to the sons of the indios principales (illustrious Indians). Once again, the learning of Spanish by the indigenous population was seen as a threat to the regime. Protectionism or paternalism is an attitude frequently found among those holding power, and who wish to hang on to it. The protection of a certain group can, in fact, lead to the protected group being excluded totally from the activities of the state. L. Loveday, although considering a very different era, presents an example of a similar situation in the British colonies of Africa. Loveday notes that the British Imperialists were demonstrably possessive of their language, and insisted on speaking Swahili with all Africans, even at those times when the Swahili of both parties was not the most apt language for communication. Citing Marzui, he writes:

It became a point of honour sometimes to maintain the linguistic distance between the Englishman and his coloured subject as a way of maintaining the social distance between them.

Between 1551 and 1552 there took place the First Council of Lima, and in the spirit of the Council of Trent, it was proposed to use the native languages in religious contexts. Priests were ordered to learn the indigenous languages so that evangelization and conversion could be more effective and reliable. The lack of comprehension between clerics and indigenous people had been making this work impossible, so the prohibition introduced by Loayza was lifted, and Quechua teaching began in Lima Cathedral.

Some years later, between 1567 and 1568, there took place the Second Council of Lima, in which Quechua was legitimized as an apt language for religious discourse. Father Acosta,

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57 For the description of colonial language planning policies we have followed Mannheim (1991, chapter 3:61-79).
coordinator of the council, ordered the compulsory learning of Quechua by priests, and prohibited
the use of interpreters once more, for fear of distortion of the evangelical message.

In the Third Council of Lima, which took place between 1581 and 1583, there was great polemic
over the use of liturgies and catechisms in the vernacular languages. It was observed that there
existed so many in so many different versions, that the unique message they carried could become
confused. Hence a decision was taken to entrust Padre Acosta with the preparation of a standard
catechism, confessional, and book of sermons to be used throughout the viceroyalty. There was
great concern about the translation: the use of the word ruray (to do or to make) in place of
kamay (order, organise) to translate crear (to create) from Spanish. On standardising religious
materials, a start was also made on standardising the language, so that it gradually became an
official language throughout the viceroyalty.

With this new found interest in the so called ‘general languages’, there began to appear
grammars and sermon books, and several Quechua courses were instigated in Lima. Interest in
indigenous languages reached a point such that in 1579 the viceroy Toledo founded a chair of
Quechua in the University of San Marcos de Lima, and decreed that all priests destined for the rural
areas should sit examinations in the language before leaving for their parishes.

However, while this expansion of the use of Quechua was taking place, opposition to its use
continued, and the belief started to arise that “la lengua conserva la identidad cultural de un pueblo”
(language conserves the cultural identity of a people). The conservation of indigenous languages
was a danger, given that they did not permit the assimilation of new (Christian) ideas, and
conserved autochthonous barbarities. Following this line of reasoning, Fray Antonio de Zuñiga
noted that the use of native languages permitted the maintenance of pagan rites and, additionally,
that such languages were not apt for evangelization, lacking the appropriate vocabulary for the
translation of Christian ideas. Inspired by similar ideas, and counselled by his administrators, Philip
III decided that previous linguistic policy had failed, and that a policy of imposing Spanish was
necessary in that it would allow a greater control of his subjects on the other side of the Atlantic.

58 The norms of translation were collected in the annotations to the Doctrina Christiana y cathecismo
para instrucción de los indios y de las demás personas que han de ser enseñados en nuestra santa
fé, Lima, 1584.
Hence, in 1634, he pronounced a royal decree imposing the teaching of Spanish. During the century that followed Spanish authorities maintained a similar position to this, dictating decrees promoting the use and learning of Spanish. This decree, nevertheless, could be deceptive in causing us to think that the aim of the Spaniards was to hispanize the Indians, whilst their real objective only becomes apparent when a decree dating from the end of the 17th century is considered. In this decree obligatory schooling in Spanish up to the age of ten was instituted, but was also forbidden beyond this age.

On the other hand, while the colonial authorities and clerics were losing interest in the vernacular languages, petty rural aristocracy was appropriating them as a vehicle for literary expression. This converted languages such as Quechua into symbols of a new nationality. The landowners in their vast majority were criollos and, in spite of having obtained their wealth through colonial commerce and exploitation of land and of the labour of Indians, they considered themselves to be Andeans and laid claim to their Inka past in order to reinforce their political legitimacy. This Andean heritage claimed by the creoles facilitated their hegemony over the Indians, who remained oppressed, now by those claiming to be of the same descent, and to speak the same language.

At the end of the seventeenth century there came into being a Quechua literary movement which continued into the following century, and produced dramas such as the well known Ollantay. There was a great profusion of these theatrical works (eucharistic plays, biblical themes and trivial themes) usually in the style of classical Spanish theatre (in three acts), and usually anonymous, although scholars assert that they were written by erudite mestizo clerics. This literary production was in the hands of landowning criollos who wished to defend the qualities of the Quechua

59 In the words of Mannheim (1991: 72-73):

"The appropriation of the native symbolism of power, including the language, supplied legal and political legitimacy to the landed criollo clases, at least in the broader context of the viceroyalty. (...) The idealization of the Inkas in the visual and literary art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was an important part of the resurgence. The new landed elites appropriated the memory of the Inkas as a source of legitimacy. They established continuity with the Inkas, but displaced them into the past, their past, not the runa agriculturalist labourers."

60 Teodoro Meneses, in his book Teatro quechua colonial, Lima, 1983, has collected and analysed works such as El hijo pródigo, Usca Paucar, El pobre más rico and La tragedia del fin de Atahualpa.
language through the medium of literature.

At the end of the 18th century, with the arrival of the Bourbon monarchs, the situation became more radical. Thus, in 1781, the visitador Arreche ordered that:

...para que estos indios se despeguen del odio que han conservado contra los españoles (...) se vistan de nuestros costumbres españoles y hablan la lengua castellana, se introducirá con mayor rigor que hasta aquí el uso de sus escuelas bajo las penas más rigorosas y justas contra los que no las usen.
(Mannheim, 1991: 75)

In the same way, he dissolved the Chair of Quechua at the University of San Marcos de Lima and prohibited the production of literary works in Quechua, and of works defending the language. In this way the works of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega were prohibited as well as the renowned play Ollantay, and there began a campaign of extirpation directed against the indigenous languages which was headed by the intendant of Arequipa, Álvarez Jiménez.

Nevertheless, this policy of total and obligatory imposition of Spanish imposed by the Bourbons failed due to the presence of contrary interests. The elite Spanish-Creole class, who, in their own interests, defended the qualities of Quechua, had understood that it was advantageous for consolidating their status and hegemony to maintain a linguistic barrier between them and the Indians since this was the greatest index of the existence of a hierarchy that was not only social, but also ethnic. For the Bourbon administration this linguistic barrier was an impediment to national unity, whilst, by contrast, for the landowners it was an insurance that allowed them to continue and to perpetuate their social control, and, following independence, their political control as well.

Given the importance, from the very beginning, of having a good command of Spanish, first the caciques, and then many others, saw that learning Spanish was the only way forward by which they could legitimately defend their rights and interests. However, as we have seen, learning Spanish was frequently denied to them. This situation has remained unchanged to the present day. There exists a consciousness that learning Spanish, even at elementary level, is indispensable for survival, although in the long term it forms a threat to their vernacular language.

Following independence and the formation of the different nations, the situation has not changed much. It was the criollo elites who came into power, and continued with their policy of maintaining
the linguistic barrier. During the last twenty years there have been various sporadic attempts to teach the vernacular languages in primary education, and as a means of teaching reading and writing in literacy programmes for adults. However, these efforts have never been consolidated, and also have mainly used the vernacular languages as a secure and efficient first step towards assimilation and hispanization.

At this present time, and as a consequence of the historical precedents, we could conclude by pointing out that the factors that have allowed the continuance of the situation described for colonial times until the present are: on the one hand, the interests of the dominant elites in maintaining their hegemony even at the cost of having an illiterate population, which can be seen from the non-existent or scant concern for the development of rural education. On the other hand, factors such as: 1) The rural nature of the areas in which the indigenous languages are spoken (principally those in which the aforementioned languages are spoken by the majority of the population) in which the presence of Spanish is not absolutely necessary. 2) The geographical isolation of the majority of peasant communities and 3) the exclusivity of the use of Spanish in both politics and education at the national level (even though at regional and local levels the vernacular languages do enter into the political arena).

1.3.2.2 Linguistic status of Quechua

From its position of a language stigmatised and oppressed by the economically stronger classes arises the polemic of whether Quechua is a language or a dialect. For many years feeble arguments were used to defend the position that Quechua could not be a language: because it is not written, because it is only used in the countryside, etc.; an attitude that is frequently encountered in contexts of the superposition of languages when it is wanted to deny the importance of one and defend the imposition of another, frequently the more alien, for example, in Spain the same type of discussion took place over the languages Euskera, Gallego and Catalán.

Even today it is possible to find people who insist that Quechua cannot be counted as a language and 'no es más que un dialecto'. This type of posture is a manifestation of the same phenomenon that has been noted in other parts of this thesis; once more we are concerned with
terms that have passed from the field of linguistics into general use, and, as such, have been used frequently to establish ethnic and linguistic categories without the support of linguistic explanations, relying instead on social and hierarchized values.

In order to establish the linguistic category in which Quechua belongs, as would be the case with any other code under study, it is necessary to define exactly what is meant by language and by dialect. The most commonly accepted definitions of these terms being:

**LANGUAGE:** The standardised written transregional variety.

**DIALECT:** The different regional varieties of a language.

If we accept this definition, which has been that traditionally employed in dialectology, Quechua would not be categorised either as a language or a dialect, since, although there are many regional varieties, there has not developed a standardised or transregional form. If we were to search for a reason behind this, we could argue that the standardised variety never developed because the Inka period in which the language was imposed was too short; in addition to being imposed on the languages originally spoken in conquered territories, it would have to have become consolidated into a standard and institutionalised form. Later, following the colonisation, and in spite of having been used as a *lingua franca*, Quechua passed into the situation of oppression and domination in which it has now been for several centuries, never achieving a state of hegemony over a wide territory due to the existence of that other hegemonic language, Spanish. The presence of Spanish removed the necessity, or, perhaps, the opportunity to create a standardised and written variety which could serve as a link unifying users of all varieties.

On the other hand, according to Wölck there is another definition of language and dialect which considers a series of characteristics particular to each variety:

1) A standardised language possesses:

   a) its own grammatical structure, although it lacks a definitive phonology, such that each individual can speak the standard variety, but with his own regional accent.

   b) it is the result of a mixing or the 'levelling' of dialects; it does not have a sole or uniform origin, but has its base in several dialects whose diverse elements have been assimilated and

integrated into a new transregional system (in the way that Spanish is the result of the levelling of aragones, leonés and castellano).

c) its users are normally from the higher socioeconomic classes.

d) it is written,

e) its use is spread over the whole territory of a country, and at times, internationally.

2) A dialect, by contrast, has:

a) a grammatical structure of its own at all levels, including the phonological.

b) no subdivisions.

c) oral usage.

d) regional or community wide distribution.

This type of definition is glotopolitical in that it takes account of human groups divided into politically delimited territories. There is, however, as Wölck points out an ethnolinguistic concept which considers as a language a grammatical system which is complete on all levels, and which has systematically describable varieties and which can be national or multinational. Following the ethnolinguistic perspective, it is possible to apply this definition to oral languages that lack a transregional form and a fixed orthography. The factor common to all these languages is their prolonged domination by administrative imperial languages that have prohibited the political development of the autochthonous languages, and so have frustrated the creation of a transregional variety with fixed orthography. In this case Quechua fits perfectly the definition of language.

If we consider a linear sociolinguistic analysis (Rotaetxe) we see that linguistic as well as geographic varieties have come to be called dialects, and that these distinctions usually serve to establish linguistic hierarchies in which a dialect is considered as subaltern to a language.

When we consider the case of the Romance languages, we see those which were geographical varieties of Latin changing status and passing from being colonial varieties to national languages with fully developed linguistic systems. This phenomenon can also occur in an inverse form, in that languages which were fully developed with recognised social status (such as Quechua, especially the Cuzco Quechua of the Inca empire) on losing this status find their codes themselves are

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affected. This lack of development of all the possibilities of a system can lead to its conversion into
variety with limited functions: marginalized (like Quechua) from the official organs of culture, so that
its vocabulary falls into disuse (it can be proven that the number of Spanish terms habitually
included in spoken Quechua is increasing\(^6\) ) the variety loses social prestige. Paradoxically, that
this phenomenon occurs is not solely in the hands of the speakers, as might at first seem to be the
case, but is also in the hands of those with political power, which they impose on the speakers,
limiting their development in every sense in accordance with their own interests.

Finally, I shall explain the more generalised and traditional distinction that is made between
language and dialect. Such analysis attributes the following characteristics to language:

1) normalisation, that is, codification by consensus.
2) autonomy, unique and independent.
3) historicity.
4) vitality.

Organising these variables in a table, Stewart\(^6\) describes all possible varieties which can be
formulated, and gives them names:

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\(^6\) A teacher from Raqay Pampa in Cochabamba states:
'Bueno, los pocos que estamos en el proyecto tal vez estamos un poco más queriendo
rescatarel quechua puro, pero no, la gente se nos ríe porque se escucha poco para ellos,
porque hablamos por ejemplo: "chuwa" ellos no dicen "chuwa" sino "platu" y así hay muchas
más palabras que incluso hasta nos dicen "estás hablando Aymara" y así se nos ríe aquí la
gente en el valle que ya está muy acostumbrado a mezclar ¿no?'

\(^6\) Stewart (1968)
This table, although it includes some disputable points, such as pidgin being differentiated from creole in that it has no vitality,\textsuperscript{65} demonstrates that there does not exist any hierarchy between the diverse varieties of code that are utilised. With the table, Stewart tries to demonstrate that, from a linguistic point of view, the characteristics do no more than define types of code, and do not endow them with any special type of status or hierarchy. Thus, vernacular varieties and dialects are not imperfect or impoverished versions of another system, but simply possess different characteristics. The classification and hierarchization of codes is a result of the social valuations that they receive, but does not imply that there really exist any internal or structural reasons for their hierarchization. It appears evident, as has already been noted in this discussion, that the different characteristics of codes are not essential, but circumstantial, they define a situation or state, and that when the situation changes, the code can also change, since other characteristics will define it, or the relations between the various characteristics will be different. It has been demonstrated in various circumstances that a creole is no more than the evolution and consolidation of a pidgin which has come to be used in a greater and wider range of contexts, and has thus developed the resources and structures necessary for its new uses. In the words of Loreto Todd\textsuperscript{66} a creole can evolve from a pidgin in two different ways: firstly, the speakers of a pidgin can find themselves in a situation in which they cannot communicate amongst each other using their mother tongues, such as occurred in the Caribbean during the period of slavery. Slaves originating in the same region would be deliberately separated in order to reduce the risk of subversion, so that often the only language they had in common would be the variety of the European language that they had learned

\textsuperscript{65} The only trait that appears to indicate that Creole has vitality whilst Pidgin does not is that the former has native speakers while the latter has none. As Bickerton and Todd have pointed out, both codes are used in daily life, and when a Pidgin code comes to have a more extended and generalized use it becomes Creole. I quote from each author:

Bickerton: ‘Pidginization is second language learning with restricted input, and creolization is first language learning with restricted input’,

Todd: ‘A creole language arises when a pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a speech community, the simple structure that characterized the pidgin is carried over into the creole but since a creole as a mother tongue, must be capable of expressing the whole range of human experience, the lexicon is expanded and frequently a more elaborated syntactic system evolves’


\textsuperscript{66} Todd, L., op. cit. 1990, 3

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on the African coast, on board ship, or working in the plantations. The children born into this situation learned pidgin as their first language, and hence creole was born.

Secondly, pidgin can also become a useful medium of communication, a lingua franca, which expands its area of use until it is used by people who have a common mother tongue. Some fathers, for example, may use pidgin so frequently during the day (in the market place, the church, offices, on public transport...) that it eventually becomes the language spoken in the home, and the children may then acquire it as one of their first languages. This phenomenon only occurs when, in multilingual areas there is an auxiliary language which becomes necessary for progress. In this example we see that codes with the same characteristics change when the relation that exists between the characteristics also changes. That is, pidgin and creole are codes which are differentiated linguistically in the breadth of their lexical and grammatical systems, and this stated difference seems to stem from the fact that there are no native speakers of pidgin, while there are of creole. We can conclude, therefore, that what determines the differentiation between codes and their valuations are factors that are primarily social and not intrinsically linguistic.

If, on the one hand, the presumed superiority of Spanish, as the code for expression and communication has been undermined, since Quechua is undoubtedly capable of developing and evolving in any environment, on the other, we can consider Quechua as a language in the ethnolinguistic sense since it possesses a grammatical system which is complete on all levels, and also has a number of varieties which can be described systematically (numerous dialectical varieties of Quechua have been described by Parker and Torero67 just as social varieties have been pointed out by Stark (1985)). The discussion of Quechua’s accessibility on a national level thus should be rethought and reconsidered in different terms.

1.3.2.3 Attitudes of Quechua speakers towards their language.

We can state that there are two ways in which the access of Quechua to the national level has been hindered. One has been the attempts made to wipe out the language by means of a total

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imposition of Spanish on the Quechua speaking population; the other has been the opposite, that is, Quechua has not been allowed to escape from its territory due to the imposition of Spanish in all spheres at a national level, while, at the same time, there have been no opportunities for Quechua speakers to either learn Spanish or use their native language outside their habitual environment. That which remains to be analysed now is what have been, or what are, the attitudes of the Quechua speakers towards this situation.

On the one hand, we are confronted with the attitude mentioned previously of a predisposition towards the learning of Spanish. This usually occurs in monolingual Quechua speaking communities, particularly in those that have most contact with towns and cities. In these cases the presence of Spanish is most obvious, as is the anxiety to have a command of it. At the same time in these cases we see that Quechua is the means of communication within the community, not only at the level of the family, but also in matters of social and political organisation within the community and between communities. At the present time, community organisation usually coincides, or is related to the organisation of the peasants trade union.

The peasants trade unions play a very important rôle in Bolivia. Their internal organisation is very complex and has as many levels of representation as there are political territorial divisions in the country. On the first levels, within the community, Quechua is the vehicle for communication and discussion. In the communities of Chuquisaca and Cochabamba where I was working, there were very few Spanish speaking community members, and for their internal discussions this was not necessary. However, the union leader of the community would know Spanish, and generally had a better command of the language than other community members. In fact, he would be chosen as the representative of the community precisely for his knowledge of Spanish, since, to be able to attend provincial or departmental meetings Quechua would not be sufficient. Quechua can become the code of discussion at provincial, or even departmental levels, although the latter occurs only occasionally. The discussions at departmental and national levels take place in Spanish. The explanation for this is very straightforward: in many departments more than one language is spoken, and the only language that all speak is Spanish. However, it is not only the peasants trade unions, but also workers from other sectors, such as the miners, that have adopted
their maternal language as a vehicle for the expression of their claims and the defence of their rights. I have mentioned previously the symbolic rôle played by Quechua in the peasants uprisings of the 1950's. At this present time, a consciousness of the reclaimed values of the Quechua language has become generalised among the speakers themselves and in certain political sectors.

In summary, we could say that in almost all social sectors one can detect ambivalent attitudes towards the two languages. Starting with the highest levels of society, we find two different attitudes: indifference to and total ignorance of the presence of any language other than Spanish in the country, and an exaltation of the values of Quechua or Aymara and the glorious past of the prehispanic cultures of the region. One can find people who, on the one hand, deny any national representation to Quechuas and Aymaras, and consequently to their languages, while on the other will boast in certain circumstances (when they wish to underline the differences between Bolivia and other countries of Latin America) of their knowledge of certain words or expressions in the same languages. It is in the middle class sectors (owners of businesses, officials, low paid professionals) where perhaps the most negative attitudes towards the autochthonous languages and ethnic groups are to be found. Without doubt, this is a result of many members of the middle class being the children of peasant migrants to the city or miners, and are also those who have suffered most directly the inconveniences and disadvantages of not knowing Spanish. Their parents would have continued using their mother tongue in the home, or would speak a very basic Spanish, while the children, in order to differentiate themselves from their parents and to demonstrate their progress would refuse to use, or even to learn the mother tongue, that of their parents, and would try to make their clothes, habits and customs more westernised. On the other hand, it is among the middle classes that we find most political consciousness of the defence of autochthonous values, even though here there are many contradictions: they defend the autochthonous as an arm in the social struggle, but at the same time, reject and scorn the customs, clothing and even the speech of the Indians. Lastly, among the economically weakest sectors of the population Quechua is valued most highly, it is their language, that of their fathers and forefathers, and serves them perfectly to express all their needs. Nevertheless, there also exists a generalised consciousness
of the usefulness of Spanish. In most of the communities where the experimental bilingual education project (PEIB, MEC-UNICEF) was introduced, the first reaction of the community members was to reject the idea that their children should learn Quechua in school, although once the project was explained to them it was generally accepted with no further problems. The argument used by the community members for not accepting the project was that their children already knew Quechua very well and so did not need to learn it, while they did need to learn Spanish. The school had always represented to the comunarios the most readily available means of access to Spanish, and if their children were to learn to read and write, then they should do so in Spanish since that is the language in which one reads and writes, while Quechua is not. Thus we can see that the interest in learning Spanish is not only present in those intending to leave the community, but is present as a more generalised consciousness of the importance of Spanish in the national society.

1.3.3 Bilinguals and bilingualism.

As has already been stated in section 1.2.1 it is very difficult to define adequately what is meant by bilinguals; the category includes individuals with very different characteristics with respect to the level of knowledge of the second language, the nature of its acquisition and also to social and cultural education. Among the various attempts to establish types or categories of bilinguals, the classic distinction that has been made defines two types: coordinated bilinguals who possess two linguistic systems, one for each language, which are completely independent and mutually exclusive; and compound bilinguals who have fused the linguistic systems of the two languages into one system. This distinction, however, has not proved very productive, and, as Loveday has pointed out, several studies have demonstrated, it is more useful to consider these two states of bilingualism as the extreme points of a continuum in the process of acquisition of a second language. The most realistic concept of a bilingual defines him as an individual who can function

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68 Loveday, op. cit., 1982, 8.
69 Ana María Escobar in her work Hacia un tipología del bilingüismo en el Perú, I.E.P., Lima, 1988; tries to establish just what exactly are the steps involved in bilingualization, and with which psychosocial characteristics each stage in the learning of a second language can be identified.
with a certain grade of efficiency in two linguistically different worlds. If we wish to refer to a real
life situation, then we must add that the most frequent type of bilingual is one whose knowledge and
use of the second language is not particularly well developed. This is due to the fact that societies
in which two or more languages coexist are mainly diglossic. Contexts, situations and interlocutors
condition the greater or lesser use of one or other language; the functions assigned to each one
vary (with H and L varieties cf. section 1.2.1.) and, thus, depending on the exposure to each
language, the degree of bilingualism, or command of the second language, varies, resulting even
in new situations and phenomena, as we shall see below.

In the case of Bolivia, except in a few rare cases, bilinguals are those people who have to come
into contact with the other linguistic group, and, as was stated in 1.2.1., these do not usually belong
to the dominant hierarchy. They are, rather, those who in one way or another, have or have had
relations with the rural areas (the rural areas being those in which the indigenous languages
predominate). The relationship can be one of several different forms, residence or birth in the rural
areas, or work associated activities that take place in the countryside, or are related to it. In each
of these cases there is an associated type of bilingualism that reflects the need to use each
language, and hence its specific function, just as there are varieties in the values assigned to each
one, and the attitudes of the speakers towards them.

Owing to the various needs, attitudes and values, it is most common for the knowledge and use
of one of the languages to be better developed than of the other. I consider that four different
categories can be distinguished.

a) Those who are born, live and work in the rural areas, but travel regularly for
whatever reasons (usually to sell produce) to the cities.
b) Those whose work takes them both to the countryside and the cities (middlemen
and transport workers).
c) Those born in the countryside, but who have left to live and work in the cities,
and those who, in spite of having been born in the cities, maintain strong links with
the rural areas (cholas).
d) Those born in the cities, or educated in the cities, but who work in the country
(such as the rural school teachers).

Within these four categories it is normally those from groups c) and d) who achieve the highest degree of competence in the second language, while those in groups a) and b) tend to have only a scant knowledge or basic use of it. Of these latter two groups, it is normally those of group b) who achieve greater eloquence and competence in the second language than those of group a).

It should also be pointed out that the percentage of bilinguals among men is much higher than among women, the exceptions to this being category d) where there is a much more equal distribution between genders, and perhaps also category c). In the remaining categories this imbalance results from activities normally associated with men. Middlemen and transport workers are almost invariably male, and within rural communities it is the men that travel to the cities to sell produce, or to other areas to seek work once the regional harvest has been gathered.

If we analyse how and when each language is utilised, we see that there are also differences between the groups that we have defined. Group a) uses only one language in daily life, that being the mother tongue, Quechua, Aymara, or some other language, depending on the area of the country. The second language, Spanish, is only used occasionally, such as when travelling to the cities or other areas of the country to work or to sell produce. The low frequency of use and exposure to the second language, together with the exclusivity of the contexts in which it is used result in knowledge of this language being superficial and deficient.

Group b) can either have Quechua or Spanish as their mother tongue (or in some cases both languages), although it is more usual for them to be native Spanish speakers, since they usually have origins in the cities. Thus, Spanish will be the language used in most contexts of daily life, except those in which the speakers need to communicate with peasants, in which case recourse is made to the second language. Frequently, even those with Quechua as first language, on going to live in the city and spending the larger part of their lives there, will adopt Spanish as their habitual language. In such cases it is also normal to use the mother tongue in more informal contexts, gatherings with friends, in chicherías, etc.

Group c) has Quechua as its first language, and this will probably be the language used in the home, with the family (although sometimes they will speak only Spanish with their children, at least

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this is what I have observed with the cholas of La Paz and Cochabamba), when they travel to the rural areas, in the market, with other like individuals and with the peasants who come from the country to sell their products. They use Spanish in the context of the city, where it is the only, or the most appropriate, language. Frequently this can be at work, in the schools attended by their children, in shops, in banks, in any type of office and with the doctor.

Lastly, group d), with which I have identified the rural school teachers, has its own characteristics. Normally its members have learned Quechua as their first language, or have learned Spanish simultaneously, however, through their academic training they have come to speak Spanish much more frequently and in almost all contexts. That is, in spite of Quechua being their mother tongue, Spanish is the language that they use with their husbands or wives, with their children and even with their parents, friends and in the market... Nevertheless, on having to carry out their work in a rural environment, they find themselves obliged to use Quechua in their places of work and residence, with the comunarios and the children whenever they wish to be understood. Thus, in spite of having adopted Spanish as their code of communication, they find themselves having to resort to their bilingualism in order to adapt to the environment in which they carry out their work and live their daily lives.

The analysis that I shall present in this work concerns the bilingualism of precisely this last group. Firstly, I shall present a more detailed profile of the group of rural school teachers, and then continue with a description of the characteristics of their Spanish. Lastly, I shall examine the possible explanations for the most characteristic phenomena of their speech.
2. GROUP PROFILE OF RURAL SCHOOL TEACHERS IN BOLIVIA

2.1. Introduction

In the preceding chapters I have made a number of references to Bolivian rural school teachers, in this present chapter I propose to present a more detailed description of them, in which I will describe, on the one hand, the rôle that the figure of the teacher plays in society, the teacher’s functions and how these are carried out; and, on the other, the human features of teachers (origin, education, psychosocial characteristics) and finally their attitudes towards the languages they speak.

In first place, in order to better understand the situation, I shall give a brief description of the teaching profession in Bolivia and the situation of rural teachers. In Bolivia, the teaching profession is divided into two large sections which are very sharply differentiated: those that teach in the urban centres and the rural teachers. The differentiation is not merely a descriptive reference to the place where education is applied, but defines two different governmental institutions which impart two different types of education. Within the Ministry of Education there are two General Departments (Direcciones Generales), the General Department of Rural Education (Dirección General de Educación Rural) and the General Department of Urban Education (Dirección General de Educación Urbana). This is not simply an administrative distinction, since each Department has its own Escuelas Normales, training establishments in which teachers are trained in accordance with the type of education in which they are going to work, hence, there are Normales Rurales and Normales Urbanas which have radically different curricula. The difference is even so great that it is reflected in the teachers’ political and trade union organisations; there are two different trade unions, the Confederación de Maestros Rurales and the Confederación de Maestros Urbanos.

What, then, is the reason for this dichotomy? It is simply a response to the situation of Bolivia, a country divided into two radically different worlds: the countryside and the cities. While the cities, in spite of their poverty and technological limitations, reflect a fairly uniform style of life that we could term ‘western’, the countryside is hugely undeveloped and ‘backward’ in terms of education and sanitation (among other things), both with respect to the cities, and with respect to the rural environment in other countries. Here, styles of life are far more diverse, different in each region,
as a result of the tremendous isolation that the regions experience. On studying the distribution of Quechua and Spanish in Bolivia (see section 1.2.1.) I have pointed out that in the cities the most widespread language, spoken exclusively in certain spheres, is Spanish. In spite of the constant migratory movements from the countryside to the cities, which result in the cities having more and more speakers of the vernacular languages, particularly in the marginal quarters, life in the city takes place in Spanish, and there is a general tendency to abandon the mother tongue, if not in the first generation, in those that follow (cf. R. Wardhaugh, 1989: 18). City schools, in general, meet the standards of the baccalaureate examination, that is to say, they provide education from pre-school to middle school. The school calendar is respected, attendance is regular and constant, and children that start in the nursery school invariably finish middle school.

In the countryside the situation is very different. Normally schools are very small, very isolated, and are attended by children from all the surrounding areas, which may include distances of more than ten kilometres. This last factor has resulted in timetables being very restricted, since they have to allow for the time that pupils spend walking between their homes and the school. Although the Escuelas Centrales may hold classes up to the fifth grade, in the Escuelas Seccionales, only basic schooling up to the third grade is provided, and the majority of the classes are of mixed grades, where one teacher simultaneously teaches different programmes to children of different ages. Attendance is very irregular, and depends upon the harvests and the domestic labours in which the children have to participate. The average age for a child to enter school is six, and for a child to leave school is nine. The courses are correspondingly irregular and inconstant. There is very little continuity in terms of pupils, and for this reason the teacher does not progress much with the contents of his classes, but each year tends to repeat the same courses. This fact together with the difficulties that life in the countryside presents for study (lack of electric light,

1 For the distinction between Escuelas Centrales and Seccionales see 1.3.3. note 12.
2 Mariano Baptista Gumucio, formerly an educational theorist at the Bolivian Ministry of Education has commented:
‘En cuanto al elevadísimo índice de deserciones escolares, éstas se producen particularmente cuando los niños son requeridos por sus padres para ayudar en las labores de siembra y cosecha. Porque lo increíble es que el año escolar rural en Bolivia coincide con el urbano. (...) La escuela rural no está organizada para servir a la comunidad, sino para escapar de ella, ni para respetar a las culturas nativas, sino para menospreciarlas’
En su libro Analfabetos en dos culturas, Los Amigos del Libro, La Paz, 1974,11.
3 Data provided by the directors of the various schools in which this investigation was carried out.
Inner view of a Escuela Seccional
libraries, bookshops and newspapers) is one of the reasons why rural teachers, once away from mainstream life, advance and develop their professional knowledge very little; on the contrary, they stagnate, begin to doubt their training, and end up forgetting it. The linguistic situation with which they are confronted contributes to this. In the rural areas of Bolivia it is most usual for communities to be monolingual in a vernacular; it is possible to find communities that are bilingual with Spanish (such as communities in Oruro department close to the Chilean frontier), but in the Aymara or Quechua areas it is almost impossible to find a community in which Spanish is the habitual medium of communication.

What is the result of this? Simply that the school teacher in a rural area does not teach reading and writing, like in the cities, but teaches a second language, which is foreign to the children, and to which they have had little exposure. In order that the teacher can communicate with the children, it is necessary that he or she knows, and preferably has a good command of the autochthonous language, the mother tongue of the children. Thus, the work of a rural school teacher is very different from that of his or her urban counterpart, not only having to teach courses, but to, first of all, ensure being understood.

Given the very different situations of teaching in rural and urban areas, it would be logical to expect that there should be curricular programmes and materials appropriate for each situation. However, this is not the case; the official teaching programmes for the rural areas are in Spanish, and deal only with the teaching of reading and writing in this language. The course materials, although theoretically for use in the countryside, are prepared in the city, and their contents reflect an urban lifestyle completely alien to rural children, be they Quechua, Aymara or Guaraní speakers. If attendance at school already represents an enormous effort on the part of peasant children (who have to get up at the crack of dawn, sometimes perform chores before going to school, then walk several kilometres...) and for the whole family (sending children to school involves constant expenditure, not only for their matriculation and for the fact that their labour will be missed, but also for the materials that school teachers constantly demand), the use of Spanish in the classroom and the city based books and materials represent new difficulties to overcome, and in their turn contribute to absenteeism from school on the part of the children.
However, rural teaching does not only differ from its urban counterpart in the type of pupils and school, but also in the conditions in which the teacher has to live. Firstly, lower salaries paid to rural teachers show that they are perceived as inferior to urban teachers, and living conditions are also much lower in the countryside than in the city. Although rural schools provide living accommodation for the teacher, this is little more than a room with no furniture, or with just a bed and a chair, where the teacher and his or her family have to live, and where there is no electric light or running water. Since this accommodation usually forms part of the school building, it is often isolated, since the school, in many cases, is not located in a group of dwellings or small settlement, but stands apart from the houses that comprise its community, these being scattered over the surrounding area, and there can be up to one kilometre between the school and the nearest inhabited building. The Escuelas Centrales, however, are usually located in larger and more concentrated centres of population.

While in the city the school teacher performs his or her duties during school hours, and out of hours lives a life unconnected with the school (at home, or in some other post, since having more than one job is very common), in the countryside the teacher lives in the school, living and working in the same building. After the school day has ended there is nowhere else to go, there are usually no shops, no market, nor any forms of entertainment or places to socialise, facilities to which the teacher will have become accustomed while living and studying in the city. Since the distance from the community to the nearest population centre is not usually small, the teacher usually does not get to travel there more than once a month, to collect his salary and to purchase those provisions, both food and other articles, that are unavailable in his community of work. There is not usually a particularly friendly relationship between the teacher and the comunarios (although there are instances when this is the case) and so visits are not exchanged with neighbours. In a way, the school represents an intrusion of the city into the countryside, and the teacher is established as someone foreign and different. Although he or she speaks Quechua, and in the majority of cases this is his or her mother tongue, Spanish is normally spoken within the family, and he or she is considered the primary means by which Spanish enters the community.

According to sociolinguistic studies carried out in the Quechua speaking area by the P.E.I.B
Teacher and students in front of the school

Weekly market in Raqay Pampa
under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and UNICEF the age at which most of those interviewed learned their second language coincided with that at starting school. The majority, in addition, indicated that the school teacher was the principal agent through which Spanish was learned, although only 22.8% identified school as the only factor; the remainder acknowledged the presence of two or more factors (radio, travel, work with Spanish speakers and the marketing of their produce). The position of the school teacher within the community is thus specific and differentiated from that of the other members, and, hence, his or her integration within the community is not complete. Although, perhaps, a comunario in origin, with parents or siblings that may still be so, the teacher’s studies and profession have set him or her apart, and this difference is underlined, above all, by linguistic use. We will see the repercussions this has on relations between the teacher and the community, and on the teacher’s attitudes to both Quechua and Spanish.

It is, however, worth pointing out the high proportion of women in the rural teaching profession, a fact which has a sociological explanation. It is certainly indisputable that the number of women who have completed their education is less than that of men, and this small percentage of women have far fewer options when it comes to seeking professional employment. Women from the rural sectors have few opportunities to leave and to learn Spanish; it is the men who travel to sell produce and work in other regions. A male peasant who leaves the rural areas with a minimum knowledge of Spanish can find work in several areas: construction, transportation, teaching, the army, or the police. If a woman from the countryside goes to the city she will almost certainly work as a domestic servant, or perhaps will be able to sell produce in the market. Women from small towns likewise have few professional options, but if they have studied to a moderately high level, and have a good command of Spanish, then they can study to become rural teachers, and thereby achieve a profession that is relatively well recognised, particularly in rural circles and among the less favoured sections of the population.

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4 Unpublished documentation which forms part of the archives and material prepared by the Bolivian Ministry of Education and UNICEF as a documentary and scientific base for the bilingual intercultural education project (PEIB) which has been in the stages of development since 1990. During my time in Bolivia I was able to consult archives and to work with the team carrying out the project.
To continue, I shall describe a series of psychosocial characteristics which are common to rural school teachers as a whole, specifically in the Quechua area. To begin with, I must point out that all the teachers with whom I worked formed part of the experimental project in intercultural bilingual education directed by the Ministry of Education and UNICEF, and all had attended training courses in intercultural bilingual education. Firstly, I will present general data obtained by means of enquiries and questionnaires from sixty of these teachers working in the Quechua speaking area, and complemented by observation and personal investigation.

Secondly, based on interviews, questionnaires and other recordings, I will attempt to define the parameters of value applied to languages by the teachers, the attitudes they express towards them and the attitudes they demonstrate in daily life. Through this we will be able to see the way in which they are influenced by participating in the bilingual education project.

2.2. Personal and social characteristics of rural school teachers.

Firstly, I will attempt to point out the magnitude and significance of the materials I have used and of the results I have obtained in this study. The sample used covers about 10% of the rural teachers in the Quechua area, and the study was carried out in successive stages during a period of fourteen months, covering approximately a third of the Quechua speaking rural areas. This was done in a somewhat random manner since the planning of journeys responded to several different factors (whilst I made plans to travel alternately to isolated and less isolated areas, the possibilities for travel depended on the time of year, and frequently on the arrangement of journeys organised by the PEIB).

One block of interviews, nineteen in number, was more detailed and in greater depth than the others.

These interviews consisted of 32 fixed basic questions (Questionnaire 1), beyond which there continued a completely open and wide ranging dialogue.

These more detailed interviews have been used as a reference, and enable me to show that the deviations from the mean in the data obtained in the more widespread survey (57 interviews),
that was more restricted in terms of information content (only ten questions, Questionnaire 2), were few and of little significance.\footnote{In statistical terms, it can be said that the data collected corresponds graphically to what is termed a normal distribution, or Gaussian distribution curve.}

We should not forget that for historical, political and social reasons which have been mentioned in several places in this work (cf. 1.2.3., 1.3.1., 1.3.2.), as much as for the characteristics of teachers themselves which I have described above, rural teachers as a whole necessarily form a fairly homogeneous group in several respects: in the vast majority of cases they are of rural or semi-rural origin, with all that this implies, the percentage of women teachers is much higher than the percentage of women in other professions, and both Quechua and Spanish are spoken outside the work environment, etc. That this homogeneity is apparent from the results of the survey is a good indication of the reliability of the remainder of the information contained therein, beyond the margins of error that may be applied statistically, which, it should be noted, are very small given the size of the sample.

As a consequence, the whole sample, some sixty interviews, can be considered verified and homogeneous in terms of its basic and direct data to within margins of error of less than 5%. Some facts taken in isolation, such as age ranges, for example, should be viewed more cautiously due to the small size of the sample in statistical terms. The Questionnaires utilised were as follows:
Questionnaire 1.

Name:
Place of work:
Age:
Place of birth:
Languages spoken:
First language learned:
Age at which Spanish learned:
Place of learning Spanish:
Studies completed:
Years of service:
Languages spoken by mother:
Languages spoken by father:
Language spoken with:
  Grandparents...
  Father...
  Mother...
  Brothers and sisters...
  Friends...
  Husband or wife...
  Children...
Language spoken in:
  Home...
  School...
  Community...
  Market...
  City...
Language used most frequently for:
  Speaking...
  Thinking...
  Dreaming...
  Joking...
Mobility:
  Where do you usually go...
  How often...
  Why...
Relations with the community:
Questionnaire 2
Name:
Place of birth:
Date of birth:
Professional title:
Years of service:
First language learned:
Age at which Spanish learned:
Language spoken with:
   Parents:
   Husband or wife:
   Children:
From the data obtained from the two questionnaires the following table has been produced showing the distribution in percentage terms between the different possibilities for a series of variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage %</th>
<th>Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 57</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 - 49</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Language</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42 - 46</td>
<td>Quechua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 29</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 29</td>
<td>Quechua and Spanish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at learning Spanish</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50 - 56</td>
<td>&lt;= 6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 - 42</td>
<td>&lt;=10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 8</td>
<td>&gt;10 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28 - 31</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 57</td>
<td>Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 17</td>
<td>City</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From these percentage ranges, a series of comments and clear definitions can be made that will help us to better understand the nature of rural teachers in the Quechua speaking areas of Bolivia. We see that, although there are more men than women teachers, the difference is not particularly marked, that is, the proportions of men and women are more or less balanced. Furthermore, the percentage of women is high when we consider the participation of women in the professions as a whole in Bolivia. It has already been explained above that this is due to the restricted number

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7 The term interino is used to denote someone who is not officially a maestro, but who takes the place of a qualified teacher. Interinos are not expected to be fully qualified, that is, to have passed through the Escuela Normal, but simply to have completed their basic education.
of professional options available to women, especially to those from certain social and economic backgrounds.

With respect to the first language, we can see that there are more who have Quechua than Spanish as their mother tongue, but we must also take into account that all those who stated that they learned Quechua and Spanish simultaneously specify that they speak Quechua with their mothers and Spanish with their fathers. This fact leads us to think that although they may have learned Spanish at an early age, their ‘mother tongue’ was Quechua, since this was the language spoken to them by their mothers, and spoken by their fathers to their mothers, that is, it was the language used most frequently in the home. If we accept this, then the percentage of those with Quechua as their mother tongue would be between 68 and 76, almost three quarters of the total number of teachers. Taking into account the differences between the sexes, there is shown to be no great difference between men and women with regard to their first language, and this would remain true if data were to be collected from all rural teachers.

The figures given for the age at which the teachers claim to have learned Spanish and those that indicate the first language of the individual correspond; that is, the majority learned Spanish before starting school, some as their first language, and others through the action of their fathers. However, it should also be pointed out that a large proportion learned the language after starting school, although, those that learned Spanish when more than ten years old are very few.

I believe that the place of birth is a significant piece of information, since this gives an indication of large differences in exposure to the Spanish language, contact with other population centres and opportunities for a more complete education, all of which depend on the size and degree of isolation of the place of origin. I have used the term community (comunidad) to refer to disperse groupings of population which have little or no articulation with other centres of population, and which have between 10 and 200 families, and in which there is generally present an Escuela Seccional. Town (pueblo) has been used to refer to a larger population centre with between 1000 and 2500 inhabitants, and with a network of communications that is reasonably well developed, with markets or small shops, and where there is usually a colegio, where it is possible to study to secondary level. According to the figures obtained, the majority of rural teachers are born in small towns,
where they have had sufficient access to secondary education to allow them to enter the Escuela Normal Rural where they train as teachers. In addition, the relatively high degree of articulation between these towns and other population centres, and commerce between them, facilitates contact with and penetration of Spanish, such that the teachers adopt it as their habitual mode of communication. A smaller percentage of teachers originates in rural communities, although this percentage is significant, given that the opportunities to continue in education are less favourable. The smallest percentage is of those born in the cities, who are invariably the children of first generation migrants from the countryside, and thus of parents who were peasants and spoke Quechua. Usually they live in the peripheral and most deprived quarters of the city. These individuals, although born and educated in the city, maintain strong links with the rural areas, and their language and culture, which makes it possible for them to consider living and working there.

If we consider the level of education of the teachers, it can be seen that the majority are regular teachers (normalistas), and thus have passed through the Escuela Normal, and hence through the city. Nevertheless, there is a considerable percentage of interinos, or ‘stand-in’ teachers. I have been able to show that the interinos tend to work in the most isolated schools where living conditions are most difficult, and where trained teachers do not usually want to be posted. I have also observed that there are more female than male interinos, and that the majority are under thirty years of age. There could be a sociological explanation for this. It has already been stated that, for women, the teaching profession is a relatively easy and well recognised opening in certain spheres, so that, if a woman has not had the opportunity to continue in education, but has studied to a basic level, she can become a rural teacher, and thus be in a relatively well paid profession. It is not surprising that this occurs above all among the younger generation, since, at a national level, more and more women are wanting to join the labour market, and young men, too, are seeking alternative occupations to rural work, which is harder, less stable and less secure than teaching. It is also significant that among the oldest group of teachers none is an interino, for, fifty years ago, anyone entering the rural teaching profession achieved professional status through study.

With regard to the ages of the teachers, it has already been pointed out that data in this respect
has a greater margin of error than that in other areas, since here we are dealing with a variable that can be broken down into many different ranges, and here only three have been selected (under 30, under 50 and over fifty). The small number of teachers in the over 50 age group can easily be explained; it is normal for an individual in the teaching profession to move on to more administrative educational positions before reaching fifty years of age, which generally implies promotion in the hierarchy of the profession. These positions vary from that of director of a school, or supervisor (which implies remaining in the rural areas, although no longer teaching) to lecturer in the Escuela Normal or administrator in the Departmental Office of Rural Education (Dirección Departamental de Educación Rural). In the case of teachers who reach about forty five years of age without having been promoted, these often leave the rural areas to seek alternative work in the cities. One reason for this is that their children will have reached the age for studying at secondary or university level, and hence need to live in the city, another is that life in the rural school becomes too hard after a certain age. It is worth noting that the average life expectancy in Bolivia is of around 50 years.

We can see, on the other hand, that the number of young people who have become teachers, although considerably greater than that of teachers over 50 years of age, is considerably reduced. As has already been stated, young people no longer want to live in the rural areas, and, hence, are looking for other occupations and professional openings. According to data from the last National Census (Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda) carried out in June 1992, the urban population has increased notably, inverting the proportions of rural and urban population that appeared in the previous census of 1976:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1976</th>
<th>1992</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Population</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Population</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
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Data extracted from the preliminary results of the population and housing census, published by the National Bureau of Statistics (INE) in June 1992.
As Mariano Baptista Gumucio⁹ states:

Dos caminos tiene el joven campesino para escapar del tedio enervante de la vida rural y ascender social y económicamente: ser maestro rural normalista o chofer de camión.

Nevertheless, from those who have been able to study at basic and intermediate levels, and habitually speak Spanish, only those with access neither to higher education nor to a sufficiently well remunerated occupation in the city decide to become rural teachers. On examining the ages of the interinos in the sample, we can observe that the vast majority are below thirty, a fact that corroborates the argument that, to young people with opportunities, the rural teaching profession does not these days have a very high standing. On the other hand, on examining the proportion of men and women in the different age groups we can see that the proportion is inverted between those under fifty and those under thirty, with the latter group showing clearly the tendency of the proportion of women to increase, while that of men correspondingly decreases. I believe that this observation is in agreement with general trends among the population.

Another significant piece of information is given by the percentage ranges corresponding to the languages the teachers claim they speak with relatives and friends. These confirm that it is generally the father who introduces them to Spanish, although, together with the mother, he is one of the people with whom they continue to speak the vernacular language, since we have seen that in the majority of cases the mother uses only the Quechua language. I have not included in the percentage table any figures for the languages spoken with spouse or children, since not all of the teachers were married, and hence the percentages would have to be calculated from a different total. Nevertheless, analysing the data available, it can be said that with the spouse and children the figures are reversed, that is, Spanish becomes the language spoken by the majority of the teachers with their husbands or wives and their children. If Spanish is used on any occasion with the wife or husband, then one can see a clear determination that the children should be brought up as monolingual Spanish speakers, since only those teachers with monolingual Quechua speaking wives admit to using two languages with the children. These children of rural school teachers spend the early years of their childhood and schooling in a monolingual Quechua speaking
environment, that of the community, and although they learn Quechua when playing with the peasant children, their parents make an effort to always speak to them in Spanish, and that this should be their first language.

In conclusion, when all the data has been considered, we could say that the rural school teacher is always bilingual, that is, speaks two languages, and, in the majority of cases, has been bilingual since infancy; he or she is of rural or semi-rural origin, or has strong links with the countryside; learned Spanish either, to some extent, in the home, or after starting school, and has achieved a fairly advanced level of education, which in itself implies a considerable command of Spanish, the language which has passed to be the teacher’s preferred language in daily life. We can also say that the number of women becoming rural teachers is tending to increase, and there is also a tendency towards there being more teachers, who form the majority of the younger members of the profession, and that this appears to be related to the general tendency of the population to abandon the rural areas and work in the countryside for the city and all that it has to offer. This tendency is undoubtedly related to the generalised choice of Spanish (with its close links to the city) as the language of the home, which is used to when speaking to the spouse, and for raising and educating the children.

2.3. Attitudes of the teachers towards the languages

In the first chapter I discussed the two most usual approaches to the analysis of attitudes: the mentalist approach and the behaviourist, and pointed out that it is the latter of these that has been followed most frequently in sociolinguistics. I have also opted for the second approach, in the understanding that attitudes are found in the behaviour of an individual confronted with a concrete situation, although it is certain that the atmosphere in which he or she is brought up within society will cause an inclination towards certain determined behaviours. It would be possible to say that there is a certain degree of predictability, although I do not believe that there exists an internal predisposition. In order that the results can be considered sufficiently objective, I have used varied methodology which comprises direct observation, prepared and spontaneous recordings, and the use of questionnaires with direct and veiled questions, the latter being those in which the reply
sought is not what the question appears to ask. In addition to the questionnaires 1 and 2 described above, I prepared a third questionnaire.

Questionnaire 3

Name:

Relation to the community:

Language used most frequently:

With whom do you speak the languages -
- Quechua:
- Spanish:

For what purpose do you use each language -
- Quechua:
- Spanish:

Bilingualism - Is it an advantage or a hindrance?:

Perception of types of Spanish -
- Regional:
- Social:
- None:

Is the mixture of languages good or bad?:

From the direct testimonies and opinions that have poured forth from the teachers on various subjects, and from the deductions that can be made from the values they declare or demonstrate towards the languages, their speakers and the cultures they represent, I shall hence attempt to define their attitudes.

In the analysis of attitudes there enter into play a series of varied factors which we are going to consider. In the first place, one must take into account the attitudes of the teachers towards the Quechua speaking communities in which they work, and how they react in other circumstances towards speakers of both Quechua and Spanish. From the observation of this behaviour it will be possible to deduce the stance assumed by the teacher within the society in which he or she
normally develops. In second place, one must consider the attitudes towards the languages themselves. For this it is necessary to discuss different factors that define and determine such attitudes: some factors refer to the use that the speaker makes of the languages he possesses, that is, the frequency with which he uses each one, with which people he uses them, in what situations, and for what subjects. Others refer to the valuations that the speakers make concerning their use, that is, how they define each language and their motivations for using each one. Still other factors concern the deeds or comments that make indirect reference to the languages, and, lastly, it is interesting to investigate their understanding of bilingualism, and their opinions on this phenomenon. We see then that whilst some quantities are objective and directly observable, others are inferred from behaviour and comments, and others are subjective, involving declarations made by the individuals themselves. I believe that the use of different types of data will yield more objective conclusions, although I am aware that when a study of behaviour of the self and others is concerned, objectivity is always relative.

2.3.1. Attitudes towards the speakers.

The results that I am going to present refer to the nineteen teachers with whom I have worked most closely, since it is from them that I have the most complete set of data. I have lived with these teachers, and have been able to observe them both in their work and as they go about their daily lives. From them I have a series of recordings, both spontaneous and prepared, and also written replies to questionnaires in which they were asked both for objective information about themselves and for opinions and interpretations concerning the languages, bilingualism and their work.

If we consider firstly the relations between the teachers and the communities where they work, we can conclude that, in general, these are neither good nor bad; it can readily be observed that the teachers are not integrated into the life of their communities and do not partake of their problems, meetings or festivals. The teacher usually communicates with the comunarios in order to acquire produce, or to talk on subjects related to the school and the children, and it is very rare
to find that any other type of relationship between the two exists.\textsuperscript{10} When asked about this relationship, nine replied that it was ‘good’, and from these four claimed that they had a relationship of ‘friendship with community members’. These are four special cases: one worked in a school (Misk’a Mayu) that had formed a cooperative with the community, two were of peasant origin, had monolingual Quechua speaking wives and claimed to understand well the problems faced by comunarios, and the fourth was a young man born in the city (Sucre) who had not studied to be a teacher, but had a great admiration for Quechua culture and traditions; he played the charango, and, through the music, had come to have a close relationship with the comunarios. The remaining ten teachers in this sample claimed to have a normal relationship with the community, and used the expression ‘la necesaria’ (‘as necessary’) to describe their contact with the community. On asking this type of question directly, the answers received tended to be of a fairly formal nature, and hence not very meaningful. However, when asked how often they met with the comunarios, the subjects discussed with them, reasons for these meetings, etc., I found signs of conflict: there was generally no relationship other than that demanded by the school, or that necessary for purchasing some product or other. With this taken into account, the expression ‘la necesaria’ takes on more significance.

Concerning the relations between the teachers and other Quechua speakers in other circumstances, it could be said that there is in evidence of a certain sense of superiority, or of having ‘done better’ than them. In reference to the language he speaks with his brother, one teacher told us:

\begin{quote}
Con mis hermanos ya ellos han tenido que superarse con el estudio que nos ha dao nuestros padres, entons, hemos estudiado, ya somos profesionales algunos son profesionales entons hablamos mayormente de castellano.
(S.G. Seccional Tipa Pampa, Raqay Pampa).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{10} Mariano Baptista Gumucio, op. cit., p.10, presents a more dramatic panorama:

‘(…) Mientras tanto el profesor se confina at galpón, llamado escuela, en el que imparte algunas inanidades (las que aprendiö en el Normal) y no se ocupa de lo que sucede más allá de sus narices; no le interesan los “desertores” que dejan el galpón para ayudar a sus padres, tampoco le conmueven los entierros de niños cuyas vidas se habrían salvado con unos pocos consejos que él mismo habría podido impartir. Nada de eso. Su mundo empieza y termina entre sus narices.’
It is also very common to detect a paternalistic attitude towards the peasants, above all when speaking of them in the city or in Spanish speaking contexts. On several occasions teachers have narrated to me how they have helped a peasant who did not understand Spanish, or could not read, and I have also come across teachers who present themselves as the help needed by peasants in order to better themselves:

Yo pienso que este idioma bilingüe es ventajoso porque aquí en el campo son monolingües ¿no?, o sea solamente saben el quechua y tenemos que darles, o sea, enseñarles también el idioma castellano porque solamente sabiendo quechua ellos no van a poder salir, emigrar a otros lados, solamente, o sea, ellos no van a poder pensar de diferente manera si solamente son monolingües. Para emigrar, por decirle de aquí vayan a un pueblo, y si no saben castellano no van a saber desenvolverse, o sea se van a callar.
(R. M., Seccional Santiago, Raqay Pampa).

This attitude of superiority taken by the teacher is not only reflected in paternalistic behaviour, but also in the suspicion shown when they feel that the distance separating them from the rest of the community is threatened. One teacher told me:

Por esta migración que existe en la comunidad, ellos vuelven ya considerados más capaces que nosotros, o sea que a nosotros ya nos tratan de más baja calidad, nos dicen que nosotros ya no podemos competir quizá con ellos, ¿no? O sea que si salen con su vestimenta típica vuelven de allá y con otra ropa, como nuestra ropa, entonces de por ahí eso es que el campesino ha empezado a subir más, entonces no podemos exigirles frente a esa presión que ellos hacen, no podemos exigir. Creo que tienen que darse de que ellos viven en una comunidad y que tienen maestros y por eso no podemos hacer nada tampoco.
(W. F., Central Potolo)

I believe, thus, that among the teachers there is a clear consciousness of superiority and social ascent which is reflected in the attitudes taken towards those they perceive as beneath them. These attitudes have direct repercussions in linguistic use, and in the valuation accorded to each language.

2.3.2 Attitudes towards the languages.

It has already been stated that it is necessary to take several different factors, both objective
2.3.2.1 Use of each language.

If we consider attitudes to be divided into instrumental and integrationist the frequency of use of each language can be a very significant source of information. One opts for one or other language depending on such factors as with whom one wants to be identified, and to which group one wants to belong, and this will be the language spoken with the greatest number of people and that taught to one’s children, so that from the beginning they will be members of the same human group. An integrationist attitude will lead to the adoption of another language to the extent that the mother tongue will be forgotten, or relegated to second place. An instrumental attitude, although it implies the adoption of a second language, does not imply that this becomes the principal code of the speaker, but that of the circumstances, and with the people, where it is necessary. We can see with the teachers that, in general, there is an integrationist attitude: the majority of them have come to use Spanish in most situations, and all teach this language to their children as a first language.

Only three of the nineteen teachers interviewed admit to using Quechua more than Spanish, and these three also have other characteristics in common: they come from small rural communities and are married to monolingual Quechua speaking women. Of these only one has children, and although these speak Quechua with their mother, they speak only Spanish with their father. There are, on the other hand, four teachers (two women and two men) who say that they use both languages to an equal extent, and are those that have the strongest links to the rural areas. The parents and siblings of the two women and of one of the men live and work in the countryside. The other, born in the city, has a good relationship with the members of the community where he works, and his admiration for peasant culture leads him to spend a lot of time with them, and, necessarily, to speak Quechua.

Although it could be thought that, in the beginning, a teacher would adopt Spanish as a means of developing his professional career, that is, would have an instrumental attitude, it appears that

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11 This division was explained in the first chapter. To recapitulate, instrumental concerns the adoption of a new language with the aim of achieving some concrete end, such as, a job, entry into a profession, achievement of a particular social status, etc., integrationist concerns the adoption of a new language as
once this professional, and consequently social, status has been achieved, he feels somewhat removed from his origins and integrated into a new group, and for this integration to be complete has to adopt the linguistic code of the new group. This can be observed on analysing with which people each language is spoken. All affirm that they speak Quechua with the comunarios, thirteen claim that they speak Quechua with their mothers, while only four speak it with their fathers.\textsuperscript{12} There are two cases which I consider to be very significant, which concern two women teachers who speak Spanish to their parents, although the parents speak to them in Quechua:

\begin{center}
(mis papas) Hablan ellos quechua pero bueno, yo les hablo en castellano.
(C.F. Central Raqay Pampa).
O sea mi mamá nos habla en quechua pero nosotros lo hablamos en castellano.... Todo en castellano, o sea, nosotros les respondemos en castellano, ellos (los padres) nos hablan en quechua y nosotros les repondemos en castellano
(D.G. Seccional Mizque Pampa, Raqay Pampa).
\end{center}

I believe that this forms part of a conscious and determined effort on the part of the teachers to adopt Spanish as the sole code of communication. Although the attitude is not so radical in all the teachers, in that the majority respect the language of their parents and address them in Quechua, which is their mother tongue, it is possible to detect the same attitude in all of them since they use Spanish with almost all their interlocutors. The majority speak Spanish with their husbands or wives, with friends, and with their brothers and sisters, and all speak it with their children. There are also a number of teachers who say that they speak Quechua with friends, but only with some friends and not on all occasions. None of the women teachers speaks Quechua habitually with her husband; they use the language only to joke. There are, however, three male teachers who speak

\begin{footnote}
Statistically, it has been proven that illiteracy is much higher among women than among men. According to the data provided by the Bolivian Ministry of Education, of every 100 Quechua women living in a rural environment 41 are illiterate, 38 have not completed their basic level education, 8 have completed the basic cycle, 2 have started, but not completed, the intermediate cycle, and 1 has reached middle school, but has not completed it. If travel is also considered, it can be seen that women tend to leave their communities less than men. For these and other reasons, in general there are many more men who speak Spanish; the majority of women are monolinguals, and there is a tendency in Quechua society to not allow for the father to be the person who introduces the children to the Spanish language.
\end{footnote}
Quechua with their wives, the wives in these cases being monolingual Quechua speakers. One of them told me:

Mi esposa es del idioma quechua y yo quiero enseñarle castellano, pero ella se molesta, no quiere hablar castellano, hablamos quechua.
(F.C., Central Raqay Pampa).

The tendency I detect is for Quechua to be reserved solely for communication with monolinguals and with older people, including parents, and with the mother in particular, since the older generation is certain to still use Quechua as the language of the home.

2.3.2.2. Opinions about the languages and their use.

When I asked the teachers why they used each language the replies were fairly homogeneous, especially with respect to Quechua. The most generalised response was, 'because Quechua speakers do not understand Spanish'. To speak Quechua was therefore a necessity, although four recognised that they liked to speak Quechua, and above all, to joke and sing in that language. One told me that he spoke Quechua because he was in the countryside, making an identification of each language with an environment: Quechua-countryside, Spanish-city. Finally, only one said that he spoke Quechua because it was his first language, although when asked directly which was their first language, the majority gave the answer 'Quechua'.

Regarding Spanish, I got less response to my questions; the majority did not offer an explanation of why they used it, as it appeared to them only natural. One told us 'because it has to be', another that it is the language of progress, and two made reference to their status as teachers, that they had risen in society and were professionals.

From the responses it appears that teachers have assumed Spanish as their language, not their only language, but their principal and habitual one. The use of their first language, Quechua, although now relegated to second place, is seen as a necessity because there are people who cannot speak Spanish, or as a means of changing register for joking, playing or amusing oneself. By contrast, the language of communication which identifies them as teachers and with which they...
must educate their children is Spanish.

The same type of attitude can be detected in the valuations that they give to bilingualism. When I asked the teachers whether they considered bilingualism to be an advantage or a disadvantage for them, the majority affirmed that it was an advantage; only one pronounced it a hindrance, two said that it was an advantage at times and a hindrance at others, and one abstained from answering. On analysing the explanations, we can see that there are two very different perspectives given by those who think that it is an advantage. On the one hand, there are those who take up the position of Spanish speakers, and consider Quechua useful, primarily, for working in the countryside as a rural school teacher, and secondly for communicating with the peasants and to help them leave the rural areas and learn Spanish, and finally to enable them to retrieve their traditional culture. On the other hand, there are those who position themselves as Quechua speakers who have learned Spanish, and see this language as useful since it has enabled them to go to the cities and to be understood, and because it is good to speak two languages. Surprisingly, the majority take the perspective of Spanish speakers, and only three that of bilingual Quechua speakers, although, in reality, the majority learned Quechua first, and owe the advantages which their position accords them to the fact that they have also learned Spanish, which has allowed them to study and, later, to work in the countryside. It seems to be the case that they adopt the position of Spanish speakers because this is the group to which they would like to belong, and one way of integrating themselves totally is to be perceived as Spanish speakers who also know Quechua. Assuming the perspective of the other group (that is, of the Spanish speakers) reaffirms the differences between them and the Quechua speaking comunarios, and even between them and those who have learned Spanish.

The teacher who pronounced bilingualism to be a hindrance pointed out that being bilingual prevents learning Spanish well. The damaging language, from his point of view, is clearly Quechua, which interferes and prevents people from gaining a good and grammatically correct command of the more important language. Perhaps it is because of this that teachers have decided to educate their children in Spanish. Following the same line of reasoning, but without giving priority to either of the two languages, two teachers have declared that, at the same time as being an advantage,
bilingualism is a disadvantage because it is difficult to learn two languages, or because they become mixed.

I also asked the teachers if the mixture of the two languages was a good or bad thing. The vast majority agreed that the mixture of the two languages was a bad thing because it hinders the correct use of language. Some of those who offered the opinion that the mixture was bad explained that Quechua ruins Spanish:

El castellano se malogra, porque hay muchas palabras prestadas del castellano para el Quechua.
(E.C., Seccional Pukara, Raqay Pampa).

Of the remainder, three, although they thought it was a bad thing, said that it was inevitable and necessary in order to be understood. These replies produced in me the impression that, in general, there is not much consciousness of the interference or ‘mixture’ of the two languages, since only one teacher spoke of this in referring to bilingualism, and only three recognised it in their speech. When they were asked if Quechua could interfere with Spanish or vice versa, the reply was usually negative:

No creo porque yo aprendí desde mi niñez el quechua y el castellano.
(F.D., jatun Churikana, S.J. Paredón).

This impression is reinforced by the scant consciousness of linguistic variation that the teachers have in general, although there is one instance which appears to indicate the contrary:

No se malogra, sino que hasta el momento no se tiene un método para la enseñanza paulatina del castellano y cada persona de habla quechua aprende a expresarse el castellano sin darse cuenta que existen reglas gramaticales. El quechua por la influencia del castellano presenta manifestaciones o expresiones mezcladas. (L.P., Potolo).

But this is an isolated case, since the majority cannot, or do not want to, recognise interference, influence or mixing between their two languages. This recognition would lead them to doubt the status they have reached and would make it difficult for them to enclose themselves within a socially and culturally defined group.
2.3.2.3 Perception of linguistic variation.

In order to discover what type of distinctions the speakers establish within each language I asked them whether there were different sorts of Spanish and Quechua, and, if so, what were these types. The word ‘type’ (tipos) was systematically rejected, all stated that there were no types, that there was only one Spanish, and any differences were just variations. Nevertheless, in spite of recognising that there was only one Spanish, the majority recognised differences in pronunciation which they explained by variation between regions, or between countries.

On seeing that the indirect question did not achieve much response, I tried a new question, more direct in that it implied a reply that would recognise sociolectal variation. I asked them where the best Spanish was spoken, and by whom it was spoken. Many did not respond, but by contrast there were other replies that indicated a certain level of social variation in the language:

Porque el castellano mal hablado hay personas que lo hablan y que no están seguramente... tiene fallas. Mayormente en el campo porque recién están aprendiendo, entonces, hay muchas fallas, especialmente entre las vocales.
(H.G., Central Potolo)
Bueno, eso pienso que es de parte de la educación que uno recibe.
(G.V., Seccional Maraquiri, Potolo).
Hablarian mejor castellano los que están en las oficinas.
(J.H., Seccional Qhollakamani, S.J. Paredón).
Los de la ciudad hablarían mejor y los del campo no porque ellos no están en la ciudad, mayormente están..., no hay escuelas ni colegios.
(F.D. Seccional Jatun Churikana, S.J. Paredón).
En la ciudad se habla mejor.
(C.F., Central Raqay Pampa).
Por ejemplo, los que van a estudiar a la universidad, ya tienen más que nosotros ¿no? Más que nosotros saben.
(D.G., Seccional Mizque Pampa, Raqay Pampa).
El castellano que nosotros hablamos está mal hablado porque hay algunas cosas que lo mezclamos, no sabemos el significado pero hablamos ¿no es cierto?.
(R.M., Seccional Santiago, Raqay Pampa).
Los que tienen más jerarquía hacia arriba hablan mejor castellano.
(H.F., Seccional Saqupaya, Potolo).

Several make reference to education, because of their profession and because it is basically education that differentiates them from the peasants. The teachers recognise in education and in the university a means of elevation, and hence of social differentiation. Others establish the
learned late and is bad; in the city, the city dwellers, in offices, use Spanish as their habitual code of communication, and hence speak it well.

It appears that they do not want to recognise openly that there are different varieties of Spanish which do not correspond to geography, but to differences in origin, training and education; at least that is what I have found. Nevertheless, it seems inevitable to speak of these distinctions when looking for an example of ‘correct speech’. This tendency to avoid recognition of the social and educative differentiation within the Spanish language could easily be related to the teachers’ wish to become integrated with, and members of, the Spanish speaking community. The urgent and determined appropriation of Spanish as a means of social ascent and of integration into another human community leads them to the conviction (sometimes inevitable) that the language they use habitually is Spanish and the only Spanish ‘el único’ as they say, whatever be their competence in it. Nevertheless, the social and cultural change that is produced in them during the process of integration is inevitably reflected in their speech. If they have managed to pass from one group to another, they will surely use the language of the other, but if, on the other hand, the process of adaptation has produced a type that is either intermediate or simply new and different, their language will have characteristics that identify it as an intermediate code or a new and different code.

2.4. How do they understand Bilingual Intercultural Education?

Closely related to the attitudes of the teachers towards the two language is their interpretation of what is meant by Bilingual Intercultural Education. Their own interpretation of the work they perform is another indication of what they are aiming for and of how they see themselves in the educative system of the society in which they develop.

As was noted previously, the teachers with whom I was working formed part of an experimental project in Bilingual Intercultural Education (cf. 1.1.), some of whom, additionally, had been part of the project since its inception, that is, for three years, with the result that all of them, to a greater or lesser degree, were familiar with its concepts.

In the questionnaires prepared by the PEIB (appendix 2) during one of the training courses they
were asked to define the concepts of *intercultural* and *bilingual*, two of the key concepts of the project and of the type of education they were imparting or were going to impart. In contrast to the questionnaires which were described in the previous section, these were written, which leads us to presume that their contents were more reflexive, being not spontaneous but written definitions for which they had a more extended time available.

In continuation I will reproduce some of the definitions because I believe that they are most illustrative in that they provide a large quantity of information regarding the way in which the teachers have understood the concepts central to the PEIB, and the values they assign to this type of programme.

**Definitions of bilingual education.**

There are, in the first instance, a large number of definitions (from about two thirds of the teachers) which are very simple, in which it is explained only that the education is 'of' or is 'in' two languages:

- Se entiende la educaci6n *en* dos lenguas. (Y. C., Central Raqay Pampa).
- Bueno se entiende pro educaci6n bilingüe *en* 2 lenguas una el castellano y otro kechua o sea que son las 2 lenguas. (U. S., Seccional Ichuqhata, Raqay Pampa).
- Por educaci6n bilingüe entiendo que vamos a pretender a leer y escribir correctamente en dos o más idiomas a trav6s de nuestra coordinaci6n para luego transmitir a nuestros alumnos. (L. E., Central Raqay Pampa).
- Es la enseñanza de las dos lenguas. (E. T., Seccional Lampecillos, Tukma Baja).
- Se entiende educación bilingüe a lo que se enseña en dos lenguas como es quechua y castellano. (R. B., Seccional Pisili, S. J. del Paredón).
- Educación bilingüe es el uso y comprensión de 2 lenguas (comprender, hablar, leer, escribir). (T. F., Central, S. J. del Paredón).
- Que la educación bilingüe se presenta una enseñanza de dos lenguas. (F. P., Seccional Tumpeta, Potolo).
- Enseñanza de dos idiomas. (L. P., Seccional Chanaka, Potolo).
- Que debemos enseñar en los dos idiomas quechua y castellano. (C. F., Central Potolo).
- Yo entiendo que se debe enseñar en los dos idiomas que son quechua y castellano. (B. T., Seccional Pukara, Raqay Pampa).
- Educación bilingüe se entiende a leer y escribir en ambos tipos de idioma expresarse correctamente. (E. E., Seccional Puka Puka, S. J. del Paredón).

In addition to these there is a further series of definitions in which, in addition to considering the teaching of two languages, explain the procedure employed by the PEIB, that is, the order in which
the two languages are taught or learned:

- Educación bilingüe significa enseñar a los alumnos en su lengua materna y luego en castellano. (E.C., Seccional Santiago, Raqay Pampa).
- La educación bilingüe es enseñar a los alumnos en dos lenguas, en este caso sería en quechua y castellano para que el alumno tenga mejor comprensión dentro el marco de la educación. (A.Z., Seccional Santiago, Raqay Pampa).
- Educar o enseñar primero en su lengua madre en este caso el quechua y luego que se ha aprendido enseñar en la otra lengua que sería el español. (N.A., Central Tukma Baja).
- Se entiende como la enseñanza aprendizaje del quechua sin dejar a un lado el castellano, o sea ambos tienen que caminar juntos de ese modo el resultado sea positivo. (G.M.S., Central Tukma Baja).
- Se entiende una educación en dos idiomas pero siempre dando prioridad a lo nuestro. (F.C., Central Raqay Pampa).
- Enseñanza primeramente en su lengua materna L1 y luego el castellano de acuerdo al dominio de la lengua. (J.H., Seccional Qhollakamani, S.J. del Paredón).
- Impartir una educación respetando su lengua materna y una segunda lengua que en este caso sería el castellano. (W.F., Central Potolo).

There are also some definitions, however, in which there is absolutely no mention of education, reference is made only to the act of speaking two languages or simply to the existence of two languages:

- El habla de ambos lenguas o sea el castellano y el quechua (T.L., Central S.J del Paredón).
- Se entiende por que aquellas personas que hablan dos idiomas. (N.V., Seccional Mizque Pampa, Raqay Pampa).
- Se entiende por educación bilingüe al abla de los dos idiomas el quechua y el castellano. (F.D., Seccional Jatun Churikana, S.J. del Paredón).
- Hablar dos lenguas perfectamente bien, castellano y quechua. (C.Ch., Central Potolo).
- Por Ed bilingüe se entiende el uso de las dos lenguas el quechua y el castellano. (J.F., Central Potolo).
- Se entiende por la educación bilingüe aquellos pueblos que manejan en el habla castellano y quechua como en las escuelas educativas. (O.R., Seccional Uchama, Tukma Baja).
- La existencia de dos o más lenguas por ej. L1 quechua L2 castellano. (G.V., Seccional Maraquri, Potolo).

In other cases it was defined as the teaching of one language, that is, the native language. An explanation for this could perhaps be found in the idea that the teaching of Spanish is not considered as the teaching of a language but simply as teaching. Traditionally to educate was to teach Spanish, and, thus, the only innovation being made by the PEIB, in the eyes of some of the
teachers, is the teaching of a language, that is, Quechua:

- Se entiende por educación bilingüe hacer conocer una lengua. (S.R., Seccional Quebrada Honda, Raqay Pampa).
- Se entiende por educación bilingüe intercambiar palabras, saber el idioma nativa en el lugar en que vivimos coordinando con la niñes campesina. (E.R., Seccional Tipa Pampa, Raqay Pampa).
- Educación bilingüe es aprender una lengua nativa y luego enseñar a los niños en su idioma nativa. (J.S., Central Raqay Pampa).
- Hablar en sus idiomas a pueblo o comunidad para una buena educación y así de ese modo vamos mejorando el aprendizaje enseñanza. (H.F., Seccional Saqupaya, Potolo).

Lastly, there are a series of varied and more creative definitions, in which opinions are put forward, or interpretations are offered, about the aims of bilingual education, without expressly explaining of what it consists.

- Se entiende por educación bilingüe por que ara reconoser la lengua correcta ya sea en castellano o en quechua. (R.Ch., Seccional Quebrada Honda, Raqay Pampa).
- Se entiende que es necesaria cambiar ideas en lengua 1 y en lengua 2. (F.V., Central Raqay Pampa).
- La enseñanza del proceso-aprendizaje al educando mediante hechos reales ej. L1 y L2. (C.P., Central Tukma Baja).
- Sería necesario aprender los dos tipos de idioma para afrontar a nuestra vida y por eso sería interesante la educación del bilingüe. (R.O., Central Tukma Baja).
- Adquirir experiencias sobre el dominio de la metología bilingüe en la enseñanza lectura y escritura en quechua como lengua 1. (A.B., Seccional Buena Vista, Tukma Baja).
- Se entiende la relación de L1 y L2. (S.C., Central Potolo).

Definitions of Intercultural Education.

Definitions of this concept are also varied, although it is noticeable that a large number of teachers in defining *intercultural education* make reference only to languages, without considering any other element of the culture. I believe that this is a clear indication of the importance they assign to language, or to languages, as an expression of culture; their own identification with another, or with two, cultures is fundamentally a result of having appropriated another language. We can see that these definitions are very similar to, or can be identified with, those offered for the concept of *educación bilingüe*. 
- Bueno a mi manera de entender educación intercultural es enseñar al niño en su propia lengua materna, según a su región. (R.R., Central Potolo).
- Educación intercultural bilingüe es enseñar a lo alumno en su lengua materna. (E.P., Seccional Caraviri, Potolo).
- Por educación intercultural se entiende el intercambio de idiomas o lenguas o la relación de idiomas. (G.S., Seccional Misk’a Mayu, S.J. del Paredón).
- Se entiende que estamos enseñando los diferentes países en lengua quechua la educación. (J.C., Seccional K’uri Bajo, Tukma Baja).
- Se entiende por intercultural al cambio del abla del niño y el profesor. (R.O., Central S.J. del Paredón).
- La educación intercultural bilingüe debemos conocer todo los maestros todas las lenguas. (J.I., Seccional K’uri Alto, Tukma Baja).
- Se entiende que puede ser un buen resultado en cuanto a la educación, ya que es necesario aprender nuestro idioma nativa. (R.O, Central Tukma Baja).
- Se entiende por educación intercultural conociendo los diferentes idiomas de nuestro país. (E.R., Seccional Tipa Pampa, Raqay Pampa).
- La enseñanza que sea practicada en su lengua materna y en castellano. (J.H., Seccional Qhollakamani, S.J. del Paredón).
- Se entiende intercambiar las relaciones de las dos idiomas. (S.C., Central Potolo).

In some definitions, by contrast, although intercultural education is basically explained as the teaching of two languages, the term culture is also included, although in almost all cases it is linked to linguistic use or to languages:

- Que la educación es en nuestra cultura, es decir que se enseñará a leer y escribir en nuestra lengua nativa. (C.P., Seccional Tukma Alta).
- La educación intercultural donde el maestro debe dominar la cultura lengüística. (J.S., Central Raqay Pampa).
- Se entiende como su nombre indica la enseñanza de lectu y escritura de dos lenguas 1 y 2 y sobre todo tratar de recuperar la cultura antigua, mantener, cultivarlo. (H.M., Seccional Chullpas, Potolo).
- Es una parte de la afirmación de la identidad cultural y social y se entiende como cultura propia que existen relaciones de lenguas. (G.V., Seccional Tukma Alta).
- Se entiende que la enseñanza viene de su misma lengua de su misma cultura y de su misma tradición. (P.T., Seccional Tukma Alta).
- Yo entiendo que educación intercultural es que todos los maestros debemos conocer otras culturas y más que todo las diferentes lenguas ya que para cada maestro rural es necesario. (N.O., Central Tukma Baja).

However, contrarily, other definitions give priority to the cultural component, although there continue to be a diversity of interpretations. Some speak only of an ancestral culture, or their own culture, referring always to Quechua; others speak of several cultures, recognising the diversity that exists; and others of the relations between cultures:
- Que van a ser educados con culturas diferentes. (F.P., Seccional Tumpeta, Potolo).
- Educación de dos culturas, interpretación y valoración de dos culturas diferentes. (L.P., Seccional Chanaka, Potolo).
- Porque otra vez de las dos culturas se darán conocimientos integrales al educando. (J.F., Central Potolo).
- Educación intercultural se entiende que nuestra cultura, nuestro acento no desaparesca tanto en su idioma, costumbres vestimenta. (E.E., Seccional Puka Puka, S.J. del Paredón).
- La educación intercultural respeta las cultura de cada país, zona o región, es decir que el conocimiento está basado sobre su propia vivencia, sus costumbres, folklore, tejidos, construcciones. (T.F., Central S.J. del Paredón).
- Se entiende que nuestra cultura no debe desaparecer por la incunciión de otras culturas. (T.L., Central S.J. del Paredón).
- Es la relación de costumbres y tradiciones de un grupo o comunidad. (C.P., Central Tukma Baja).
- Expresa nuestra propia cultura autoctona y la otra oficialista. (N.A., Central Tukma Baja).
- Intiendo de la educación intercultural bilingüe es saber identificarse por su cultura y no despreciar ni abergonsarse de su identidad. (J.R.R., Seccional Uchama, Tukma Baja).
- Entiendo en cambio de culturas. (Y.C., Central Raqay Pampa).
- Bueno sería enseñar nuestra educación aquello que es nuestro. (U.S., Seccional Ichughata, Raqay Pampa).
- Está educación se refiere al intercambio de cultura y experiencia entre dos personas o más. (A.Z., Seccional Santiago, Raqay Pampa).
- Por educación intercultural entiendo que habrán cambios de ideas, opiniones distinta para mejorar nuestra cultura de antes con la actual. (L.E., Central Raqay Pampa).
- Se entiende por educación intercultural el intercambio de ideas o de conocer las culturas que ya se iban perdiendo. (C.P., Seccional Molle Pukara, Raqay Pampa).
- Se entiende un cambio de educación que estuvimos utilizando una cultura prestada y ahora entramos a nuestra cultura. (F.C., Central Raqay Pampa).
- A la proyección de impartir una educación de rescate cultural. (W.F., Potolo).
- Entiendo que hay que hacer revaloriza las culturas de la comunidad. (B.T., Seccional Pukara, Raqay Pampa).

We can see that there is much diversity, although, in general, the definitions are imprecise, and, in addition, in many cases there does not appear to be a clear distinction between the concepts intercultural and bilingual.

How are we to interpret this? It seems significant that, as was noted earlier, interculturality is felt to be so closely linked to bilingualism, that is, to the command and knowledge of two languages. If they see themselves as protagonists of interculturality, then this is precisely because of their ability to communicate and express themselves in two languages.

Many definitions make use of a series of terms that the teachers have heard repeatedly, but of which they have no clear understanding, and which they have not interiorized. In many places this
and has led to definitions that frequently appear incomplete or incomprehensible. Nevertheless, it seems clear that in their intuitive knowledge language plays a fundamental rôle.

The teacher, protagonist of interculturality, has not yet been able to distance himself from his origins and situation sufficiently to understand the social reality in which he exists and in what ways he can act within it or modify it.

In the chapters that follow I will concentrate on the analysis of the Spanish spoken by school teachers in the rural Quechua speaking areas of Bolivia. I will examine its characteristics and attempt to explain them. I believe that through the identification of their habitual code of communication we shall be able to understand better some of their personal and social ambiguities.
3. DESCRIPTION OF THE SPANISH OF BILINGUAL RURAL TEACHERS

3.1 Introduction

Bilingualism is a phenomenon which affects the majority of countries in the world, and, above all, the new nations of the third world, where, as a consequence of the process of colonisation, there exists, in addition to the original languages, a Western language, which is often the country’s official or coofficial language. However, in these countries the analysis of bilingualism and the study of its social repercussions have not been developed in a serious and systematic form until relatively recently.

The case which interests us here is that of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, which, in a general way, affects three countries: Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. The treatment which the phenomenon has received in each of the three countries has been very different, but it is in Peru where studies in bilingualism as well as projects and programmes centred on the social repercussions of the phenomenon have first been developed, and where they have been the most numerous.¹

One of the chief areas of application of studies on bilingualism has been, and still remains, the field of education. There have been a multitude of works on the subject of bilingualism, the adoption of second languages, etc., which are related to educative projects and programmes. Bilingual education programmes which, in both Peru and Ecuador, began some years ago in the Amazonian regions, were applied later in highland Quechua speaking areas, and this has led to greater interest in, and a profusion of studies about, plurilingual regions, the coexistence of different languages and the processes of bilingualism.

The case of Bolivia, by contrast, is different, in that both studies about the Quechua language and bilingualism, and programmes and projects that take the phenomenon into account have been very scarce; it is only recently that they are beginning to acquire greater importance and magnitude. But in spite of the boost that they seem to have had in recent years, documentation and specialised studies about the country are very few and far between, if not nonexistent. Usually one has to refer

¹ The first bilingual education project in Peru was carried out by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Amazonian region under the government of president Bustamente y Rivero, in the years 1943-1945. See
to documentation and works prepared in Peru. The explanation for this lies basically in the fact that
the majority of Peruvian works have reached the conclusion that there is much similarity between
the situations that occur in most, if not all, parts of the Andean region. Phenomena that originally
were noted in specific areas of Peru were later found to occur in other areas of the country, and
also in neighbouring countries, above all in Bolivia. This created a tendency towards generalisation.
One example that illustrates well this tendency is the name castellano andino which is given to
the variation of Spanish that shows the underlying influence of the Andean languages (Quechua
and/or Aymara), and since these are, at least in origin, the mother tongues of the speakers of the
variety, this has been considered as an interlect and interlanguage. As we see, this denomination
andino refers to an area wider than just Peru, a definition that I do not believe to be the result of
carelessness, but to be intentional, since the identification of countries as within the Andean region
is not only recognised in the adoption of Spanish by their inhabitants, but also in many other
aspects of their culture. However, although we cannot deny the similarities and coincidences
between different areas, I believe we should also search for and point out regional peculiarities and
differences. This analysis is based on data and materials collected in Bolivia. Reference is made
to Peruvian studies, and there are situations which are similar or identical to those described for
Peru, however, I will attempt to point out what is specific to Bolivia as a small contribution to the
body of investigations on the subject in this country, and in particular in the departments of
Cochabamba and Chuquisaca.

My investigation has been centred on the analysis of Spanish spoken by individuals most of
whom have learned Quechua in their infancy as a first language, and have learned Spanish later,
normally after starting school; there are however some cases in which the acquisition of both
languages was simultaneous, and one in which Quechua was learned as a second language. The
acquisition of Spanish and the later development of this language have taken place in specific
circumstances and environments which have given the speech certain well defined characteristics.
In the processes of adoption of the new language, integration into the world to which it corresponds,
assemblage, and abandonment (although not total) of the world of the mother tongue, a series of
psychological and social factors come into play, which in turn have their repercussions in speech.
It should be pointed out that although Quechua was their first language, in almost every case investigated Spanish has become the language used most frequently.

Characterisations and descriptions of the speech of groups similar to the one I have selected have been made in several instances, not so much in Bolivia, but more in Peru, as I have indicated previously. Nevertheless, the purpose of this study is not only to establish the similarities and differences with other similar cases, or the relation between the mother tongue and either standard or received Spanish, but also to demonstrate that this speech, which at the first impression seems quite strange and chaotic with respect to other varieties, can be reduced to a logical and structured system in which many apparently divergent phenomena are explained by means of rules and become typical cases of the grammar of this variety itself. That is to say, I will attempt to describe some aspects of the grammar in the terms of that by which the structures of the speech under examination are created. What I mean by this is that the phenomena and structures which seem irregular when analysed from the perspective of Spanish grammar are no longer so if we postulate a new grammar which gives them coherence and provides them with functions in each case. If it were possible to create or uncover the rules by which this variety of Spanish is governed, we would not be dealing with just a variety of Spanish, but of an interlanguage or most probably a semilanguage of a similar nature to creole. This point could be argued by the fact that the variety in question can be learned directly without the necessity of having previously learned Quechua. A child of bilingual parents, brought up in an atmosphere where the Spanish is of this specific variety, learns it in a systematic manner, recognising little by little, and assimilating gradually, each element and the rules that combine elements and make them work, etc. This indicates that we are dealing with a complete and congruent system with elements, rules and structures which possess clear functions of their own, and, are thus recognisable and explicable.

To create a complete grammar is outside the scope of this work; however, based on the materials collected in this investigation I shall try to define at least some of the rules of a series of

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2 Many authors have studies the Spanish spoken by bilinguals from different perspectives and to different ends. Among those that deserve mention are: Cassano, 1974; Cerron Palomino, R., 1989, 1990; Cutts, P., 1973; Escobar, A., 1978; Escobar, A.M., 1990; Farfan, 1957; Godenza, J.C., 1988, 1991; Herrero, J., 1974; Rocho, Justicia de la, 1980; Lofeuco, 1979; Mendoza, J.G., 1991; Minaya Portella, L., 1974;
concrete phenomena, sufficiently precise and frequent, to demonstrate that my thesis is correct. Many of the phenomena that I am going to explain have been described on different occasions by several authors\(^3\) as characteristics of the Spanish spoken by bilinguals in Peru and Bolivia. The innovation of this focus is, in addition to indicating the phenomena, to explain the reasons for their production and the relations that exist between them; to demonstrate that we are dealing with a new system, and with rules and norms to which all the structures fit that stand out as anomalies from the perspective of standard Spanish.

Before passing on to a description of the possible rules and to explain the workings of this new code, it is necessary to recognise, in the first place, what structures characterise it, and, in second place, what relationship it has with the languages that confront the speaker: with the mother tongue and with the target language. For this I shall present a list of all the phenomena that I identified as characteristics or peculiarities in my first contacts with this speech. I shall illustrate the list with examples of each structure taken from recordings made during my work in the rural areas. To describe each structure I shall give the definition of the phenomenon as understood at first, that is, from the perspective of Spanish grammar.

In continuation, I shall present a comparison of the structures of Quechua, the mother tongue of the majority of the speakers selected, with that of the Spanish of these speakers. This will enable us to see in what ways the mother tongue is reflected in the second language, and finally, I shall indicate the mechanisms by which structures and conceptions from the mother tongue have been adopted in the new language, interlanguage or semilanguage. On demonstrating that we are not simply dealing with the translation of structures from Quechua to Spanish, but with the creation of a series of processes which allow them to reproduce, in their new code, structures and functions similar to those of their mother tongue, the hypothesis that we are dealing with a code that could

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\(^3\) There are several authors who have analysed the influences and interferences between Quechua and Spanish, although in general these studies have been limited to analysing particular aspects of this influence. More complete enumerations can be found in: Alberto Escobar, Variaciones sociolingüísticos del castellano en el Perú, I.E.P., Lima, 1978, 108-112; Penelope Cutts, Peculiarities of Andean Spanish, Department of Puno, Working Paper no. 22, Institute of Amerindian Studies, University of St. Andrews, 1973, 87-180; José G. Mendoza, El castellano hablado en La Paz: sintaxis divergente, UMSA, La Paz, 1991, 103-167 and Gramática castellana con referencias a la variedad hablada en Bolivia, UMSA, La Paz,
be interpreted as an interlanguage or probably a semilanguage evolving to a creole type of code is reinforced.

3.2. Characteristics of the Spanish of bilingual teachers.

The way in which I initially organised the material, taking Spanish grammar as a base, was to group all the interesting cases under five different headings, each of which was in turn divided into a series of subheadings according to the element which appears to stand out functionally in the structure in question. The terminology employed responds to a perspective of analysis centred on Spanish, which was the way in which I began this investigation. This perspective has turned out to be very useful and illustrative for the discovery and recognition of the independence of the presumed variety of Spanish with respect to the forms and norms of standard Spanish. 4

The headings are as follows:

* Order

* Absence: - Articles
 - Prepositions
 - Pronouns

* Redundancy: - Adjectival
 - Pronominal
 - Adverbial
 - Orational

* Lack of agreement: - Nominal
 - Verbal

* Use or construction difficult to classify: under this heading are grouped a series of anomalous or irregular phenomena which do not fit under any of the previous headings (use of some preposition, misuse of a certain word, strange verbal behaviour.....).

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4 On the other hand, although it would also be interesting to give descriptive definitions in terms specific to the presumed variety, I believe that this is outside the scope of this study, in that it implies the existence of a variety which is not yet identified.
The classification takes the morphosyntactic level as a frame of reference, since it is on this level that most structures can be described and classified. Nevertheless, there appears another series of phenomena which are not directly analysable on this level. In the following pages I shall describe each of the phenomena on their own, with one or more representative examples of each case; the possible explanations for each one (including in a footnote, when available, those offered by other authors) will be presented later.

3.2.1. Word order

The change in order of the elements in a sentence was one of the phenomena that first called my attention. This change of order is shown most clearly in the tendency to situate the verb at the end of the sentence, placing before it all or several of the complements (e.g. 'de eso posteriormente un poquito vamos a hablar aquí') however it can also be seen in the order that is taken by elements within a syntagm (the adjective before the verb, e.g. 'lindo canta'; 'bárbaro es para jugar'; 'grande es'; the adverb before the verb, e.g. 'tengo fotografíass, harto tengo'; 'bien hablan').

We know that although the order of elements in Spanish is: subject - verb - object, this order is not very rigid, and it is possible to make changes to it, particularly in oral language. Nevertheless, we should not forget that in many cases the grammar has created the necessary resources such that, when there is a change in the normal order, this can be recognised by the means of some sign. In this way, for example, when the direct object complement precedes the verb the presence of a new element (anaphora) is required which indicates in some way that we are dealing with a marked structure (A tu prima me la encontré en el cine).

If the change of order is admissible in Spanish, then it should not appear strange to us that it also occurs in the variety with which we are confronted. However, what is surprising is that when we examine the frequency of the change, we find that the verb is positioned at the end of a sentence more often than it is placed in its normal position, and that when other elements change position and a marker is required, this does not appear. All the speakers of whom I made
recordings position the complements before the verb on numerous occasions, not only when the complement is simple, formed by a noun or a syntagm (e.g. ‘tejas hacen ‘; ‘soda trae ‘), but also when it is composed of more complicated structures, that is, when the complement is a clause or when there is more than one complement:

‘Lo que estoy indicando tienen que mirar ‘
‘Todititas esas palabras que han escrito sus compañeros vamos a leer ‘
‘Lo que ha escuchado tiene que visualizar en el gráfico ‘
‘Una vez ayudado con estas oraciones al niño a describir’
‘tan perfectamente el castellano no habla’

It is also common to find dislocations of elements within an sentence without the presence of the corresponding grammatical marker (anaphora):

‘¿Esta letra θ conocemos? No θ conocemos.’
‘la boca no hay que cerrar θ.’

3.2.2. Absences.

Another of the characteristics representative of this variety is the absence of certain elements. In particular there are four elements whose absence is most common:

3.2.2.1 Articles.

The omission of articles is not a constant phenomenon, but is a phenomenon that occurs with a certain frequency, and as often with the definite article (e.g. ‘θ Página siete busquen’; ‘Ayuda a hacer θ desayuno ‘; ‘θ Primer año que he egresado’) as with the indefinite (e.g. ‘En este caso juega θ papel importante el sentido de oído ‘; ‘Ahora en movilidad es θ cuarto de hora ‘; ‘Están jugando con θ pelota ‘).

However, although we can say that this phenomenon can be detected at least once in the case of each informant, it is not produced with the same frequency by all. Some omit articles very often, while others only omit them in rapid conversation, and frequently correct themselves on realising

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6 cf. on Peru, Escobar, A.,1978, 108 who only describes the omission of articles in the case of the direct object; Godenuzzi, J.C., 1988, 208-211, and Minaya, L., 1978, 468 and 474, and, on Bolivia, Mendoza,
they have made the omission.

'Ø Puntito falta, pues, el puntito'

'¿Cómo es θ botella, la botella?'

3.2.2.2. Prepositions.  

The omission of prepositions is more frequent than that of articles, and can be observed most often in the cases of verbs that require prepositions. One of the cases repeated most frequently is the omission of the preposition 'a' in the verbal periphrasis ir a + infinitive:

'Va θ escuchar esas cosas'

'A nuestras escuelas vamos θ aplicarlo esto'

'Ni siquiera no va θ poder pronunciar'

'Van θ aprender a hablar quechua pura'

In all these cases it could appear that what has occurred is simply the assimilation of the preposition 'a' into the vowel of the verb that either precedes it, i.e. 'va', or that follows, e.g. 'aprender', 'aplicar'. However, it can be shown that this is not the case, since there also exist cases which cannot be explained in terms of assimilation, and in which the preposition still does not appear:

'Todavía le vamos θ causar un poco de confusión'

'¿Con qué vamos θ trabajar?'

'Van θ sacar su libro, este de castellano van θ sacar'

I have also many times found prepositions missing from other verbs that require them: fijarse en (e.g. 'θ Esto quiero que se fijen '; 'θ Eso fijense '; 'θ Fijense todo esto '); Darse cuenta de (e.g. 'hay que hacerle darse cuenta θ las vocales '); hablar de / sobre (e.g. '¿θ Qué hemos dicho que vamos hablar? '); aprender a + infinitive (e.g. 'A los seis, siete años he aprendido θ hablar como segunda lengua castellano '); optar por (e.g. 'Si es que no optamos θ ese camino '); disponer de (e.g. 'me dispongo θ bicicleta '), and many more.

However, the presence of a preposition is not only required by the verb, but also by a series

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of adverbial locutions and expressions; the omission can also be seen in these cases (e.g. 'dentro
θ un contexto que es real para nosotros, dentro θ un contexto de pobreza ’; ‘De hoy θ adelante
’; ‘A pesar θ que ahora, si la gente estaría...’).

Lastly, the case of the preposition ‘a’ should be mentioned when this is used to introduce the
personal direct object complement. This is a grammatical rule specific to Spanish which demands
that the proposition ‘a’ is positioned before the object when that object is a person, or at times an
animated being. In these cases the preposition is again omitted (e.g. ‘θ Algunos les facilita también
hablar ’; ‘para poder ganar algo para sustentar θ su familia ’; ‘θ Todos nosotros nos toca de
unificarnos ’).

3.2.2.3. Clitic Pronouns.

Under the heading of order it was mentioned that Spanish has a facility for marking the
dislocation of object complements of the verb to a position other than their usual place in the
sentence. As was stated, this consists of the use of an anaphora which is normally a clitic pronoun.
The absence of clitic pronouns is particularly notable in this case, since, as we shall see later, the
variety constantly uses, and even abuses, this type of pronoun; by contrast, they do not appear
where they should function as markers of changes in order ( e.g. ‘Para vender sus productos θ
sacan ’; ‘¿Esta letra θ conocemos? No θ conocemos ’). They are also omitted, on occasions,
when they function as anaphoras although not necessarily marking changes in the usual order (e.g.
‘Absolutamente castellano no se utiliza, nadie θ utiliza ’; ‘No es tan grande sino mediano, claro que
antes θ era ’).

3.2.2.4. The conjunction “Que”.

There is also a tendency to unite subordinate clauses without the use of a conjunction,
especially when the link that should appear is the conjunction ‘que ’,(e.g. ‘Es por esta razón θ hay
mucha deserción ’; ‘Y eso lo hemos subsanado con otros movimientos θ también se han dado ’;
‘Absolutamente castellano no se utiliza, nadie se utiliza, nadie utiliza, ni en los ratos θ me van a
comprar o vender'). The absence of this conjunction is also common when part of a verbal locution such as 'tener que' (e.g. 'De Sucre tenemos que traer de todo'; 'Sus hijos necesariamente tienen que quedarse con la madre').

3.2.3. Redundancy or reiteration.

Another of the phenomena which are typical of this variety of Spanish is redundancy or reiteration, which takes two forms; on the one hand, on the morphological level there is the systematic redundant or superfluous inclusion of certain types of pronouns and adverbs; on the other, on the sentence or discoursive level, there is the creation of iterative structures in which part of the sentence is repeated, or in which its content is repeated by means of a symmetrically parallel structure.

Before passing to the cases of adjectives, pronouns, adverbs and sentences, I would like to mention a case that we could call 'lexical redundancy', and which I have noted in the speech of all of the informants. This concerns the juxtaposition of the common noun 'día' with the names of the days of the week (e.g. 'Más conviene comprarse el día jueves'; 'Solamente viene la ambulancia los días jueves'; 'Retoman el día domingo para seguir el día lunes con el trabajo'; 'Los cursos han empezado, ¿no ve? el día lunes'; 'el día domingo era mi cumpleaños'), the inclusion of 'día' is superfluous since the concept of 'day' is already included in the names lunes, martes, miércoles, jueves, viernes, sábado and domingo.

3.2.3.1 Adjectival redundancy.

Possessives. One of the most typical cases of adjectival redundancy occurs in constructions of possession. In these the idea of possession is duplicated through the use of the genitive form, with the preposition 'de' with the possessor, and the possessive adjective with the object possessed. On occasions there is also found the double use of possessive adjectives, the first with the possessor and the second with the possessed. This redundancy occurs sometimes with the order
of the elements altered (e.g. ‘de mi madre su hermana’; ‘¿Qué se había llamado de Antonio su amigo?’; ‘Vamos a aprenderlo cómo se llama cada uno de esto, de esto su nombre’), and other times with no change in order (e.g. ‘Fue su cumpleaños de mi mamá’; ‘Su objetivo de esto clase sería nombrar algunos animales’; ‘¿Qué es su nombre de ella?’).

3.2.3.2. Pronominal redundancy.

Reflexivos. Another pronoun that frequently appears redundant in a different way is se. Reflexive verbs, and intransitive verbs formed from the base of a transitive verb, have the pronoun se joined to the root (e.g. ‘lavarse’, ‘acordarse’). In the speech variety in question, we find that the reflexive pronoun becomes united to the roots of transitive verbs that in standard Spanish are never converted into intransitives (e.g. ‘Cuando nos faltamos a clases...’, >Faltarse; ‘A pie tenemos que transportarnos’, >Transportarse; ‘Solterita te sales a la hora que quieres’, >Salirse). However, we also find transitive verbs converted into intransitives through the action of the pronoun ‘se’, followed by a direct object complement (e.g. ‘La gente ha multiplicado y ha tenido que disminuirse las comunidades’, ‘Mi sugerencia es de que los profesores se pongan un poquito más de su interés’, ‘Me dispongo para trasladarme bicicleta’, ‘Me siento un orgullo satisfecho’).

On other occasions we find another type of redundancy which is produced by the duplication of the reflexive pronoun. In addition to the pronoun joined to the root verb, another is placed before the verb. (e.g. ‘Era una comunidad grande pero se fue dividiendo’; ‘Ese día se está cumpliendo el primer bimestre’; ‘¿Quién me puede recordarme de ayer lo que hemos hecho?’).

Impersonal pronouns.

The same phenomenon occurs with the impersonal homonym se which normally appears before the verb, but which I have found duplicated before and after the verb (e.g. ‘Con la práctica de la casa se ha ido nomás avanzando’; ‘Entonces se debe concluirse que...’).
Clitic pronouns.\textsuperscript{11}

It has already been mentioned that in this variety of Spanish there is a profuse use of object pronouns \textit{le, la, lo, les, las, los}. These uses are not always in accordance with the norms of standard Spanish, and in addition to redundancy we find examples of lack of agreement, with regard both to gender and number, between the pronoun and its antecedent. One of the most common cases is the duplication of the object, with the placing of a clitic pronoun before the verb and the nominal complement syntagm after it. The clitic used for this type of construction is \textit{lo}, whether the complement be masculine or feminine. This type of construction is so common that it is difficult to find examples in which the redundancy does not exist (e.g. 'Lo alejan a la gente'; 'Yo lo voy a enseñar a mi hija a hablar'; 'Eso lo viene a ser una solución'; 'De esa forma lo hemos entendido la lámina'; 'El colega Frederico lo va realizar el segundo cuadro'; 'En Sucre lo he realizado mis estudios'; 'Más lo hablan el castellano que el propio quechua'). Sometimes the clitic does not precede the verb, but is joined to it, and is, thus, placed next to the other complement (e.g. 'Al volver en esta gestión a nuestras escuelas vamos a aplicarlo esto'; 'Tiene que saberto bien el quechua'). This redundancy can also occur when the object complement is also a clitic, producing the double appearance of the pronoun (e.g.'solo que ellos no lo pueden traducir'). On the other hand, although, as we have been able to observe, in none of the examples given in this section is there any type of agreement between the clitic and the antecedent (that is the name that it usually receives, although in those examples it appears always after the pronoun), I have found some cases in which there is agreement with respect to number and gender (e.g.'\textit{Los he conocido a los padres de familia}'), but, given that this only occurs in the form of the masculine plural direct object, it could also be considered that this \textit{los} is a form very similar to \textit{lo}.

A structure that also occurs frequently, which is very similar to that which I have just described, and which also results in pronominal redundancy, is when, in addition to the clitic \textit{lo} and the

\textsuperscript{11} cf. on Peru: Escobar, A., 1978, 110-111 who glosses over, in several instances, that which I have identified as a specific tendency (i.e. the exclusive use of the neutral cf. \textit{2.3.2.1.}) and Godenzzi, J.C., 1988, 213-217, and on Bolivia: Herrera, J., 1975, 140-141.
complement syntagm, there also appears an indirect object pronoun. Normally this pronoun is the clitic *le* in its form *se* since it is followed by *lo* and to avoid cacophony, (e.g. *'Aunque no se puede pasar el recreo se lo dan permiso* '; *'se lo llenaba su bolsa* '; *'Yo se los leo la frase y no puedo lograr mi objetivo* '; *'¿Cual quieres que te lo indique?* ). We can see that the duplication of the complement is produced both when the complement is in its unmarked position, after the verb, and when, through a grammatical process of interrogative inversion it appears before the verb; in this last case the pronouns remain in the same position before the verb.

### 3.2.3.3. Adverbial redundancy.

This is not as common as pronominal redundancy, but is also heard quite often, and consists normally in the duplication of the adverb. This duplication happens in different ways: adding the suffix *-mente* (which is used to convert adjectives into adverbs) to adverbial roots (e.g. *'con los papás de los alumnos me llevo bastantemente bien* '); also very common is the use of quantifying adjectives together with others of absolute value that cannot be quantified (e.g. *'Yo llegue más antes* '; *'Estas palabras pienso que debían enseñarse ya más antes* '; *'más despues vamos a hablar* '); this same phenomenon is produced with superlatives12 which also have absolute value and cannot be modified (e.g. *'son más enormes las ventajas* '; *'las ventajas son más mayores* '; *'El proyecto es muy maravilloso* '). We also find redundancy in locative adverbs13 in that they seem always to be accompanied by a locative preposition (e.g. *'¿Qué dice en allá?* '; *'Con premios es en allá* '; *'Cuando ya no hay trabajo en aquí, entonces se entran al Chapare* ').

Another form of adverbial duplication is produced in negative sentences.14 Standard Spanish accepts the double negation when the verb has already been negated with the particle *no* and the sentence is completed with an adverb of negation (e.g. *'mi hermano no supo llegar tampoco*').

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13 cf. Godenzzi, J.C., 1988, 224 and Miranda, L., 1978, 482 on Peru, and Mendoza, J.G., 1991, 77 and 111 on Bolivia. Both Godenzzi and Mendoza present this structure as being of extensive use on all levels of society even though it does stand out with greater frequency of use among the popular sectors, especially among those influenced by Quechua and Aymara.
What is not admissible is a double negation before the verb, and this is precisely what is heard in this variety of Spanish (e.g. 'El niño totalmente quechuahablante ni siquiera no va poder pronunciar' ; 'En la otra oración ‘los chanchos corre en la pampa’ tampoco no puede ser' ; 'Aquí no hay mercado, nada no hay' ; 'nadie no ha comentado del paro'). What calls our attention is the fact that precisely where received Spanish accepts the tampoco as a double negation, we do not come across tampoco but también (e.g. 'Vd. no ha cambiado también la ficha ¿no?' ; 'Yo, a veces, como no entiendo también, a veces el quechua').

3.2.3.4 Sentence and discursive redundancy.

I have given the title of sentence and discursive redundancy to a series of structures in which, in my opinion, a repetition is produced. On occasions the repetition is of one word, or of a group of words within a sentence, and results in potentially reiterative statements which are equivalent to other simpler sentences or sentences in which the repetition is not present. One clear case is the juxtaposition of symmetrical sentences which could be simplified by the use of a conjunction (e.g. 'A pie he ido también, también en movilidad = he ido a pie y en movilidad ; 'especialmente para mí porque castellano hay que enseñarlos, quechua hay que enseñarlos' = especialmente para mí porque castellano hay que enseñarles castellano y quechua ; 'Algunos bien, algunos mal también' = Algunos bien y algunos mal ; 'Esto dicen igual, esto también dicen igual' = Esto y esto lo dicen igual ). One proof that there is a preference for reiteration is that, even when coordinated copulative sentences are used, all components are repeated in each sentence (e.g. 'Podría ser quechua y castellano podría ser' ; 'Van hombres y mujeres también viajan' ; 'En tiempo de siembra ya no hay viajes ni en tiempo de cosechas ya no hay viajes' ; 'El castellano debía ser puro y el quechua también tenía que ser puro'). At times pleonasms, that is, the use of more words than are necessary to convey the intended sense of the sentence, are present in one of the two sentences coordinated, producing the effect of symmetry or repetition (e.g. 'Entonces casi mezclamos y casi a mitades' ; 'Como allá también van aquí también vienen así' ; 'Tampoco en
Another way in which this effect of reiteration is produced is by consistently repeating the same introduction to the sentence, or part of the sentence, when there exist alternatives in Spanish (e.g. algunos / otros, ‘dos caminos algunos veces sí y algunos veces una sola vez’; unos / otros, ‘Hay mucha deserción de niños que otros vienen, otros a la semana unito vienen, otros dos días, y sobre eso, otros me agradecen y otros hasta que regalos saben traerme’).

Reiteration can even be found at the level of discourse. In these cases the introductory part of a sentence can be a verb, or some other short sentence, and this entire part is repeated throughout the length of the locution, and will also be used to close it:

- ‘Yo voy también de visita, les hablo más que todo por este cólera que hay, les digo que aseen su casa sobre todo, voy así un rato a verlos, siempre voy.’

- ‘Donde trabajo debe tener una extensión de unos cien hectáreas más o menos ¿no? De amplitud de terreno debe tener.’

- ‘Vienen a hablar de sus hijos, vienen a averiguar cómo están, qué situación, también vienen a visitarme a mí cómo estoy, si me falta alguna cosa para comer, eso vienen a ver.’

- ‘Vienen siempre a preguntar. Vienen a averiguar de sus hijos cómo están, qué cosas necesitan, qué material o si hay alguna fiesta qué cosa les hemos pedido, esas cosas vienen a averiguar.’

- ‘Radio FIDES escucho para escuchar información, Panamericana, en quechua escucho Radio ACLO, San Rafael de Cochabamba, esa radio escucho.’

- ‘Nosotros debíamos saber separar en las idiomas y debíamos damos cuenta en qué momento estamos empleando quechua o castellano debíamos separar, debíamos saber separar.’

Lastly, entering fully into the dimension of oral conversation, we also find in dialogue a type of structure which is reminiscent of repetition or redundancy. This is the tendency to answer a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ type question by repeating the verb used in the question. This sort of structure is neither found in other varieties of Spanish, nor in received Spanish, but is, nevertheless, very common in
the dialogue of bilinguals:

- '¿Viajan los peesants?' "Viajan."
- '¿Tienes familia?' "Tengo."
- '¿Vienen todos los días?' "Se vienen."
- '¿Los niños faltan?' "Faltan."
- '¿No hablan castellano?' "No hablan."
- '¿Es por aquí cerca?' "Es."
- '¿Tu marido es muy celoso?' "Es."

At other times it is not only the verb that is repeated, but the whole sentence, even when the answer is simply a 'yes' or a 'no':

- '¿vienen por cualquier motivo?' "Por cualquier motivo vienen."
- '¿Y tiene hermanos?' "Tengo hermanos."
- '¿También aprendiste el quechua antes que el castellano?' "Sí, aprendí primero el quechua antes que el castellano."
- '¿Es el idioma que más te gusta?' "Es el idioma que más me gusta."
- '¿Quechua también?' "Sí quechua también."
- '¿Es la que más usas ¿no?' "Más uso, sí."

3.2.4. Lack of agreement.

It is in relations of agreement that structures typical of this variety of Spanish are most abundant and can most easily be observed. As we know, in Spanish there are two types of agreement: nominal agreement between the noun and its determinants and modifiers, which concerns gender and number, and verbal agreement, which is a numerical agreement, between the verb and its...
subject. Bilingual speakers of the variety under consideration know the rules of agreement perfectly well, and are capable of using them correctly, after all, they are teachers, and have to teach Spanish and grammar to their pupils; nevertheless, in their habitual conversation there are frequent violations of these rules.

3.2.4.1. Nominal agreement.

As mentioned above, this is a double agreement involving both gender and number. I have found innumerable examples of violation in both respects. Lack of agreement between the noun and its determinants is not so common as that between the noun and its modifiers, but there are, nevertheless still some cases. Lack of agreement between the article and the noun is not something that I have found with all the informants, only with some, but when it does occur it is systematic. (e.g. ‘serán unos quinientas personas’; ‘Es casi unos cuatro horas’; ‘Pienso que es ese nomás el lengua castellana’; ‘Sería bueno aprender el bilingüismo, las dos idiomas’). When demonstrative pronouns are used in place of articles, the number of speakers who fail to make agreements increases. I have observed that the feminine demonstrative pronoun is hardly used at all (e.g. ‘lo que se encuentra en este lamina’; ‘¿Quién es este Señora?’; ‘Estes instrucciones son rígidas’; ‘No tendrían ese timidez de hablar’; ‘Este se llama profesora’; ‘Este es una profesora’). In addition, it can be seen that the confusion between masculine and neuter is universal (e.g. ‘Esto se llama Antonio’; ‘Esto es Antonio y esto es la mamá de Antonio’; ‘¿Qué están haciendo estos niños?’; ‘¿Qué son pues esto?’; ‘Estos dositos nomás van, estos dos van, estes dos van como hermanitos’; ‘Este es lo que perjudica a ellos ‘; “Si entráramos en esos procesos’), and that there seems to be a tendency to form a plural from este in a regular way, adding s without taking into account the irregularity of standard Spanish in this case.

I have also found numerous examples in which there is a lack of agreement between the noun and its modifiers, whatever type of modifier this may be, qualifying adjective, numeral, indefinite article, possessive...etc. Sometimes this is related only to gender ( e.g. ‘Este año hemos tenido muy poca producción en la comunidad mismo’; ‘Hay otros movilidades’; ‘uno de las señorases’; ‘Todos estas palabras pienso que debían enseñarse’; ‘Tengo harto medalla’; ‘Van aprender a
hablar quechua pura y van a aprender a hablar castellano pura'; 'En nuestros países se debe producir cultura mismo de Bolivia'; 'Quiere dejar las costumbres mismo'; 'deberían de aprender nuestra idioma propio de nosotros'; 'Vamos a seguir con ese lenguaje mezclada'). At other times there is no numerical agreement (e.g. 'Las partes más difícil'; 'puede ocurrir de que se hagan dos grupos heterogénea'; 'Cualquier vivieres que les falte'; 'mis gran decepciones').

There is a systematic lack of agreement between clitic pronouns and their antecedents. It is frequent that the masculine pronoun lo is used when the antecedent is a feminine direct object (e.g. 'La cartilla de aprestamiento lo han desarrollado ya'; 'Conversación así yo lo hago en quechua'; 'A la señora lo tomarán en cuenta o no'). The opposite does not occur, that is the use of the feminine pronoun la when the antecedent is masculine. On other occasions the lack of agreement between antecedent and pronoun concerns number (e.g. '(A) Esos chicos se le está dando un tratamiento especial'; 'Las graffias ya lo recapitularlo'; 'Para que ellos estas oraciones lo realicen de manera escrita ya en sus cuadernos'; 'Yo no tenía ni las llaves de la escuela, la otra profesora se lo llevó'; 'Son criterios que le hemos ido manejando desde hace muchos años atrás'). We can see that the most common occurrence is to use the masculine singular pronoun when the antecedent is plural, and even when it is feminine. On observing these examples and comparing them with the case of the clitic pronouns, described above, we can detect a clear predominance of the form lo whenever a direct object pronoun is required. This seems to be a significant fact, and will be analysed later.

3.2.4.2. Verbal agreement.

As was stated above, this is the agreement that is established between the subject and the verb in a sentence. The omission of this type of agreement is even more frequent than the lack of nominal agreement. It occurs both with copulative and other verbs, and usually the subject is positioned after the verb, although I have also come across the occasional case in which the subject occupies its normal position and there is still no agreement with the verb:

'No van a contestar nadie'

'Aquí viene cada jueves los camiones.'
3.2.5 Uses and constructions difficult to classify.

Under this heading I have grouped a series of phenomena which are difficult to classify. The only common denominator to the group seems to be a change in meaning, and consequently in function, of a word with respect to the meaning and function it has in standard Spanish. On the one hand, we have a series of words, adverbs (such as, *siempre, más, también, qué*) and others that function as adverbial locutions (such as, *lo que, de lo que*), which have been given new meanings and functions, or ones that are different from those in standard Spanish, whilst others appear to have lost their meanings and are used repeatedly as sentence or discoursive “crutches” or supports but with no specific content or function (e.g. *casi, también*). On the other, there are a great many peculiarities in the use of verbs. Some forms of the verb receive new contents and functions (e.g. the pluperfect indicative and continuous forms of the verb), the same happens with some verbs themselves (e.g. *saber, decir*), and, in addition, some new syntags and verbal locutions are created (e.g. *llevar a + infinitive, hacer + infinitive*). The use of certain prepositions which is very different from that of standard Spanish is often related to these verbal changes.
3.2.5.1. Adverbs

One of the most characteristic cases, typical not only of the bilinguals that are the subject of this investigation, but throughout Bolivia and much of the entire Andean area, is the use of the adverb **siempre**\(^{17}\) to emphasise or confirm some previous deed or affirmation (e.g. 'Algunos están de acuerdo, pero otros alumnos **siempre** no les gusta el castellano'; 'Por ejemplo esta época que no hay nada **siempre**'; 'Las movilidades públicas del lugar **siempre** no existen'; 'De los de España **siempre**, no de los del lugar'). This new value accorded to the adverb, in spite of being of wide geographical extent, and of fairly wide social spread, is completely unknown in peninsular Spanish and in other Spanish speaking areas. If the preceding examples seem strange to those familiar with the Spanish of other areas, then others, which appear contradictory or incoherent to anyone who only knows the original meaning of **siempre** will appear even more odd (e.g. 'Castellano **hay veces siempre** se viene cuando estoy hablando quechua'; 'Con eso **siempre** ellos están haciendo todavía'). At other times the word appears to have been confused with the negative adverb 'nunca' (e.g. 'No lo he visto **siempre**'; 'No hemos practicado **siempre** canciones en quechua').

Another very similar case is that of the adverb of quantity **más**\(^{18}\) which in this variety is used not only as a quantifier, but to indicate the addition of some element to a series or an enumeration (e.g. 'Vamos a hablar con la profesora, con Antonio y con la mamá **más**'). This example, when interpreted from the perspective of standard Spanish, would mean that the speaker was going to speak more with the mother than with the others mentioned, however, in the variety under examination, that which is intended to be understood is simply that the speaker is going to speak to the mother as well. Like **siempre**, this use of **más** is extended widely over the Andean area, and is not restricted to bilingual speakers. Some more examples are '**Hay veces** viajan con las mujeres **más**'; 'Incluso me aumento con papas **más**'.

A change in value and function also occurs with the locutions **lo que**, **de lo que** which are used to introduce subordinate adverbial clauses, whilst in standard Spanish they are used to

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\(^{17}\) cf. Herrera, L. 1974. 4 on Bolivia.
\(^{18}\)
introduce substantive clauses (e.g. 'No debes olvidar lo que te dije '; 'Ellos formaban parte de lo que puede ser un gran equipo '). In the speech of the bilinguals we find the same locutions, but with new values, sometimes equivalent to those of the definite adverbs in standard Spanish (e.g. 'Es igualito que su papá, hasta lo que anda, lo que se peina '; 'Lo que nosotros hemos aprendido primero el quechua y luego el castellano eso ha sido también pues, un factor negativo para que uno hable bien exactamente el castellano '; 'Cuando se los deja en casa con los abuelos, ellos ahí es lo que faltan, no obedecen '; 'Es lo que estoy ayudando, no es pariente, nada. '; 'Pienso que hay un solo castellano, puede ser variantes de lo que no pronuncian, de lo que hay diferentes pronunciaciones'; 'De lo que no quisimos acompañarle se ha enojado ').

Lastly, I will describe two ways in which questions are formulated that are typical of this variety, although, like other phenomena mentioned previously, these structures have an extent that covers all Bolivia and other parts of the Andes. In this variety they are characteristic, since they are unique forms, that is, they do not alternate with other forms, whilst in other speech varieties in Bolivia, like castellano estándar boliviano there are alternatives. The two forms, particularly abundant in the speech of the teachers are: '¿Qué?' in place of '¿Cómo?' and '¿Qué cosa?' in place of '¿Qué?' ( e.g. ¿Qué se había llamado? '; ¿Qué se llama esto ? '; 'Tu Papá ¿Qué se llama? '; '¿Qué cosa dice aquí? '; '¿Qué cosa hay en ahí? '; '¿Qué cosa maneja el amigo de Antonio? '; '¿Qué cosa más hacemos con el cuchillo? ').

With other adverbs, what has occurred is that in place of amplifying or changing their meanings, the meanings have been lost and the words have passed to being simply discursive supports, or "crutches". This is what has happened in the case of the adverb casi (in standard Spanish "almost"), (e.g. 'Casi diríamos en caso de enfermedades salimos'; 'Mamá era casi quechua y papá netamente castellano '; 'Sí hace mucho frío, casi el clima de Potosí mismo casi lo siento '; 'El viaje casi continuo hacemos nosotros'; 'El cruceño también la 's' ellos no pronuncian, entonces casi cortado es '; 'El castellano mezclado con quechua casi es; casi mezclamos y casi a mitades '; 'Ellos durante casi este tiempo más que todo están viendo '; 'Casi falta, no sé, algunas cosas';'pero llegar al día de la feria tienen que cosas y ahí ponen casi unas cuantas').
tiendas de abarrotes”; ‘Se trasladan casi mujeres y hombres’; ‘Casi viajamos cada dos meses’; ‘Casi quieren ganar de cada libra de arroz’; ‘también casi un poco de porcentaje nomás hablan castellano’; ‘Con poco interés las cosas nos salen casi mal’). I have presented the long list above in order to demonstrate the frequency with which this word is used in discourse. All of the informants have used it on more than one occasion in their speech utterances. We can see that it is being used simply as a “crutch” since eliminating it from the sentence causes a change neither in form nor in meaning.

Something similar occurs with the adverb también, although, in this case, the word sometimes occurs alone (e.g. ‘Algunos hacen dos meses y después vuelven también y también van a Santa Cruz’; ‘Hay veces también carros que van; si llevan hasta el pueblo entons un poco más pagan también, pero sin embargo el transporte que llevan también es casi un día ¿no? de ese viaje que sacan en burros entons ellos también es la camino que hacen’; ‘También se habla castellano, pero diría no tan correcto, ¿no? como hablamos en quechua también mezcla castellano estamos hablando también hay una mezcla también’), and sometimes, in other more complex contexts, combined with other words (e.g. ya también – ‘Parece que Tarija ya un poco también varía’; ‘Para el tiempo de siembra llegan nomás ya también’; ‘El otro responde, el otro ya también; el otro ya también pregunta’; ‘Vos ya también pregúntale de la oveja’; ‘Otro ya también va venir a escribir’). As we see, both when it occurs alone, and accompanied by another adverb, the word contributes nothing concrete to the sentence, and, as in the case of ‘casi’, we are dealing here with a simple discursive support.

In the discourse of bilinguals we find another series of words that are constantly repeated, and function exclusively as supports: ¿no?, pues, más que todo. The first two normally appear inserted into sentences to make the discourse more entertaining, to emphasise a point, or to create a pause. Más que todo is often utilised in more formal communications, in which its function is to initiate a sentence or introduce an opinion.

3.2.5.2 Verbs

If we move on to consider the category of verbs, we notice that the Spanish of the bilinguals under consideration has created new syntagms and has given greater prominence to certain verbal
forms that are infrequent in standard Spanish, or used only in specific contexts. It is noticeable that the bilinguals' Spanish has a preference for syntagmatic verbal forms, and makes constant recourse to the continuous aspect, where, in standard Spanish simple indicative forms would be utilised.

-IR + -NDO. -'Vayan sacando sus libros' (saquen)
-ESTAR + -NDO -'Estén mirando sus cuadernos' (miren)
-'Estén buscando el nombre del dibujo' (busquen)
-'¿Me están entendiendo?' (me entienden)
-'Están viendo ¿no?' (ven)

IR A + ESTAR + NDO -'No van a estar hablando quechua, ¿están escuchando?' (no van a hablar)

HABER DE + INF + ESTAR + -NDO -'Hemos de estar manejando las guías'
(manejaremos)

-SABER + INF²⁰ -'Sabía decirme' (me decía)
-'Algunos han sabido subir a otras comunidades' (suelen subir)
-'En mi escuela siempre estuve, no sabía faltarme' (no solía faltar)
-'No sabemos hacer visitas, nada a las casas particulares' (no solemos)
-'Mis padres sabían hablar quechua' (hablaban)

As we see, in this case we are not speaking only of a syntagmatic form, but of a new value being assigned to the verb 'saber' = habitual action.

There are other verbal forms which, although not of a durative nature, show a

²⁰ cf. Mendoza, J.G., 1991, 160 on Bolivia. Mendoza describes the structure as a verbal periphrasis, and points out that is is considered a very common construction both in the Spanish of the popular sectors and that of the educated classes of La Paz. The difference in use between these two sectors is in the preferred tenses of the verb: the popular variety most frequently makes use of the simple present tense forms of SABER, even though making reference to habitual events of the past, while the educated variety
preference for compound forms:

- ‘Cuando yo he nacido’ (naci)
- ‘Todo es cancha para mi desde que he nacido’ (naci)
- ‘Cuando ya estuve en la escuela he aprendido a hablar el castellano’ (aprendí)

Another compound verbal form utilised frequently in the Spanish of the bilingual teachers (and which is common not only throughout a large section of the Bolivian population, but, it appears, in much of the Andean area) is the pluperfect indicative21 although this has acquired new values of meaning and function. This pluperfect does not necessarily refer to the past, as in standard Spanish, but indicates that the speaker’s knowledge of what is being said, or has been said, has been, or is, indirect, or is used to express surprise at the confirmation of a fact.

- ‘¿Qué se había llamado de Antonio su amigo?’ (¿Cómo se llamaba el amigo de Antonio?)
- ‘La papa había sido rosada, bonita, grandes había sido.’ (era)
- ‘Ese tampoco había sabido quechua’ (sabía)

Another case which is notable in this variety of Spanish is the use of the verb decir.22 In the speech of the bilinguals, there is no indirect style, so, in order to speak of some past dialogue, the dialogue is reproduced in its entirety, either introduced or closed by the verb ‘decir’:

- ‘Mi hijo no sabía escribir ni un vocal, dice, nada pero ahora doy gracias que escrige ahora escribe, diciendo, está bien un poco más ya enseñámelo así, quiero que sepas mi hijo, dice.’
- ‘Bueno ellos no quieren saber de quechua, dicen, ¿por qué no nos enseñas mejor en castellano? No queremos ya quechua porque nosotros

ya no vamos a quedar como nuestros papás, vamos a salir al pueblo y queremos hacer algo, dicen los chiquitos. Pero yo les digo, a fin de año, osea ya cuando todo termine y cuarto curso pasemos, entonces ya van a saber hablar los dos idiomas, les explico.

'Por eso, dicen, yo no quiero estar trabajando de esta manera, pero eso es falso, absolutamente falso.'

'Una madre venía ¿Cómo está mi hijo? decía, pero fuera de esa madre no he visto más.'

'Vos vas a preguntar "¿Qué es esto?" diciendo a cada uno.'

New syntagms are also created when verbs, which are not normally auxiliaries in standard Spanish, such as llevar and hacer are used in this way23 (e.g. 'A ver, haganme ver todos la mesa'; 'He llevado a saber al médico'; 'Este último quiero hacerles recuerdo').

Lastly, it is worth pointing out the frequency with which the uses of the verbs ser and estar are confused (e.g. 'Él está ya de alta sociedad'; 'Dentro de las comunidades está grande'; 'Los que no tenemos hijos pequeños somos sueltos y podemos viajar'). On other occasions they are not confused with each other, but acquire new values, or values that in standard Spanish are taken by other verbs (e.g. 'Aquí es una escuela como nuestra escuela'; 'No estoy mucho tiempo todavía').

3.2.5.3 Prepositions24

Another characteristic of the variety of Spanish under consideration is the unusual use made of prepositions. We have already seen above that some are omitted, but we shall now see that others are not omitted but appear in contexts that are inappropriate from the perspective of standard Spanish. The preposition a constantly appears where standard Spanish would make use of another (e.g. 'Soy delegado al proyecto'; 'los maestros participantes a este seminario'; 'Tome a su asiento'; 'Voy a repartir a cada uno a un libro'; 'Pongan a sus bancos sus libros'). In other cases, the preposition de appears in unusual contexts (e.g. 'Con la vista van a seguir de calladitos'; 'Vas

a preguntar del perro'; 'De castellano teníamos que hablar, no tenías que hablar de quechua';
'Depende la persona de quien estoy comprando '; 'A Aíquile, a veces, salimos de un mes, de dos
meses'; 'Hace más frío que de los valles '; 'Ahora voy a hacer trabajar a los niños de pareja ').
The same occurs with other prepositions, although somewhat less frequently (e.g. 'Nosotros
debíamos saber separar en las idiomas '; 'Van a preguntarse entre dos '; 'Lo hizo ver con el
médico'). It would appear that all, or almost all prepositions acquire new values and functions in
this variety of Spanish.

The list which I have set out is long and covers the phenomena that occur most frequently and
those that are of greatest interest. It is inevitable that some structures, no less characteristic of the
speech in question, will have been omitted. I believe, nevertheless, that I have laid out a
reasonably complete description of the most frequent phenomena, and that what remains to be
done is to establish the links and relationships that exist between them in order to make the speech
variety as a whole appear more coherent.

In the following chapters I shall attempt to analyse all the structures described above, in order
to establish their origins and the reasons for their existence. I shall start by considering the
influence of the native language of the speakers, and then continue with other possible
explanations.
4. ANALYSIS OF THE FEATURES OF THE SPANISH SPOKEN BY BILINGUAL RURAL TEACHERS

4.1 Explanation of the characteristics in terms of the influence of Quechua.¹

In the following pages I am going to examine the relationship between Quechua and Spanish, and to present a study of the ways in which the two languages have influenced each other. We shall see that several of the structures described in the preceding chapter can be explained from the perspective of the influence of the mother tongue. The subsequent stage in this analysis will consist of proving that they are not just isolated phenomena that result from the interinfluence of the two languages, but that this interinfluence has brought forth the creation of a new system.

Quechua has been in contact with Spanish for several centuries and this situation of contact has produced a large number of speakers who are bilingual, to a greater or lesser extent, and a series of linguistic characteristics that demonstrate the influence of both languages. This interinfluence, however, does not extend equally in both directions. It could be argued that Spanish has had a generalised influence over Quechua, particularly in recent years with the proliferation of radio stations broadcasting in this language. By contrast, the influence of Quechua on Spanish has been restricted almost exclusively to bilingual speakers, and, in general, to the lowest sectors of society, although, as we shall see later, on the lexical level there are numerous terms deriving from Quechua that have come to form part of the Spanish of monolinguals, even in the most wealthy sectors.

The influences of the two languages on each other can be observed on all levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical, although it should be pointed out that the susceptibility to these influences has proved greater on some levels than on others. On the phonological level there has been the phenomenon of the adaptation of phonemes which are non-existent in one or other of the languages, with the consequent problems of mistake and overcorrection. There has been less

¹ All the examples presented in this section, as in the previous one, were recorded in the course of this investigation. The alphabet that I have used for the transcriptions is the official Bolivian alphabet according to the Supreme Decree of 9 May 1984. This is the alphabet used by the PEIB in their teaching and publishing of their Quechua publications, and by the teachers in the classroom. It is also the most
influence on the morphological level: the huge morphological distance between Quechua and Spanish has been a decisive factor in restricting the amount of interference. Quechua is an agglutinative language that relies on the use of suffixes, that is, concepts and grammatical relations are expressed by the addition of suffixes to radical stems, whilst Spanish is an analytical language in that most grammatical relations are expressed through the use of relational words. On the syntactic level, if one considers the order and relations of components in speech utterances in Quechua and Spanish, there are also large differences between the two languages. Following the traditional typology of languages, based on the order of the elements, Quechua would be classed as SOV (subject, object verb), whilst Spanish would be of the type SVO (subject, verb, object). The lexical level in any situation of languages in contact is likely to be that on which the mutual influences between the two will be greatest. The lexical influence can be observed in the presence of loan words taken from one language to the other; loan words can make up for the lack of an equivalent term, can be used for greater precision, through the greater prestige of one language over the other, or through cultural imposition.

There are also some interesting structures that result from the influence or interference of one language on the other that involve a combination of several levels: morphological, syntactic and semantic.

In the following sections I shall examine each of these levels, emphasising those points where an influence can be detected most clearly.

4.1.1 Phonological level.

The phonological interferences between the two languages are the most noticeable to the ear, no real analysis is necessary to recognise the anomalous use of some phoneme or sound. If we begin by considering the system of vowels we find in the Spanish of bilinguals confusion between the vowels e / i and o / u. This type of confusion is found above all among incipient bilinguals; in those, such as the rural teachers, who have adopted Spanish as the language of most frequent use, there is less confusion, although some can still be detected particularly at the level of conversation within the family, or in informal situations when less care is taken to adhere to correct forms.
Hence, one hears speech utterances such as:

- '¿Qué cosa dice?'
- 'Es de seguridad'
- 'Tinemos que cumplir con ellos'
- 'Había venido con la policía'

This hesitation or confusion is due to the difference between the vocalic systems of Quechua and Spanish. As we know, in Spanish there are five vowels which are clearly differentiated by their phonological characteristics.

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<th>ANTERIOR</th>
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<td>MIDDLE</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
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However, the vocalic system of Quechua has only three phonemes, a central a, an anterior i, and a posterior u, although there are additionally four allophones /e, /o, /а/ which are manifestations of the phonemes /i/ and /u/ when they come into contact with the postvelar phonemes /q/, /qh/ and /q/:

pirqa—[perqa]; urqu—[orqа]; qhilla—[ghtlla]; qhuya—[qhoya]
whilst in other contexts the normal pronunciation is maintained.

tinkuy—[ti:kuy]; killa—[ki:la]; punku—[punku]; suway—[suwe].

It can be observed, however, that in the cases of [perqa] and [orqа] the postvelar phoneme /q/ still has an effect when there is an intermediate phoneme of the type labelled ‘transparent’: /n/, /r/, /l/ and /ll/.

The interchanging of any of the allophones does not modify the meaning, not does it alter the word, thus, on learning Spanish, Quechua speakers at first find it difficult to recognise and reproduce the distinctions /e and /o/ of the new language. This phenomenon can be recognised very clearly in Spanish classes of the first years in school, in which the teacher will invest hours and
days trying to get the children to distinguish between *be* and *bo*, or between *misa* and *mesa*.

Still on the subject of vowels, it is worth pointing out that the Quechua vocalic system does not admit sequences of vowels within a syllable, that is, diphthongs and triphthongs do not exist, although they can be pronounced in speech where the semiconsonants /w/, and /y/ intervene. As a result of this, when a Spanish word in which two vowels are pronounced together, in a diphthong or hiatus, is adopted into Quechua there occurs a lengthening of the vowel sound, which indicates the inclusion of a semivowel: tía—[tiya].

In the first Quechua writings, dating from the early colonial period, and which drew inspiration from Spanish orthography, there always appeared five vowels. At this present time, by contrast, normalised alphabets have opted for the three vowel system. Even though it is recognised that the phonological differentiation between the i and the u is very great, no change in the meaning of the word is produced if any of the allophones appear. This indicates that these sounds do not oppose each other, and are not in complementary distribution, but can alternate without causing any change to the word. We can easily see that in the Spanish lessons when the teacher tries to make the students differentiate between /bu/ and /bo/ or /bi/ and /be/ (see appendix 4 pages 5 to 7).

It is in the system of consonants that there exist the greatest differences between the two languages. The *Alfabeto Único* authorised in Bolivia by the Supreme Decree 20227 of 9 May 1984, and which is almost identical to the Peruvian equivalent (both seek to be phonological alphabets trying to reflect Quechua’s phoneme system), has the following letters: a, ch, chh, i, j, k, k’, kh, l, ll, m, n, p, ph, p’, q,qh, q’, r, s, sh, t, th, t’, u, w, y. We can thus see that the Quechua system of consonants differs from the Spanish in the following ways:

1) The absence of voiced occlusive sounds or phonemes /bl/, /dl/, /gl/.

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2 Since 1983, as a consequence of preparatory seminars of the Plan Nacional de Alfabetización y Educación Popular in Bolivia (National Plan for Literacy and Popular Education in Bolivia) taking place, organized by the Servicio Nacional de Alfabetización y Educación Popular or SENALEP (National Service for Literacy and Popular Education) standardization has been sought, and the so called *Alfabeto Único* was approved for both Quechua and Aymara. This alphabet, which contains three vowels and twenty six consonants, was authorized by official decree in 1984. See Xavier Albó, “Problemática lingüística y metalingüística de un alfabeto quechua: una reciente experiencia boliviana”, Indiana 11, Berlin, 1987, 233-261; Celestino Choque Vilca, “Estructura gramatical de la lengua quechua”, RAYMI 13, La Paz 1991; Pedro Plaza, *Otra vez sobre el célebre problema de la escritura del quechua*, paper presented at Reunión sobre el Alfabeto Quechua, presented over by the Memoria de Lenguas Nativas de
2) The high frequency of use of the postvelar point of articulation.

3) The presence of a series of simple, aspirated and glottalized occlusives:
   \[/p/, /ph/, /p'/; /q/, /qh/, /q'/; /t/, /th/, /t'/; \] and \[/k/, /kh/, /k'/\]

4) The presence of the fricative segment /sh/.

5) The absence of the labiodental fricative /fl/.

The absence of the sounds 1) and 5) betrays the Quechua speaker who is learning Spanish, or who has not learned it thoroughly. Nevertheless, the confusion between consonants is not so great among the bilingual rural teachers. For them, the only sound which still brings problems is the /fl/. To continue, we shall see how the problem is resolved with each of the phonemes:

* /b/ From the sounds present in Quechua, the closest to the bilabial occlusive is the semiconsonant /w/, which is also bilabial. Hence, we hear forms like "estawa", "wanco"...

However, this form does not only occur in the use of Spanish by native Quechua speakers, but also in their assimilation of certain Spanish terms:

vaca—[waka], oveja—[uwiXa]...

and also in the names and surnames which they have adopted or inherited over the centuries:

Benita—[Wenita], Vázquez—[waskes].

* /d/ The phoneme which is used most frequently to simulate /d/ is /n/, which, although it is not dental, has a point of articulation which is very close, it is alveolar and voiced. Hence we hear:

soda—[sura], sábado—[sawaru], dedo—[reru].

On some occasions recourse is also made to the unvoiced dental /l/: Dario—[Tariyo].

* /f/ This is one of the sounds that cause most difficulty when learning the language, it can be observed in speakers who, although they have achieved a good command of Spanish (they do not confuse vowels or other consonants), nevertheless cannot articulate it well. The appropriation of this sound by Quechua speakers is reminiscent of the evolution of the same sound from classical Latin to vulgar Latin and then to Spanish. In this evolution what occurred was a process of initial aspiration, which later disappeared totally. Quechua, as we have seen, has a phoneme /ph/, an aspirated labial, which, although in normal contexts is occlusive through its aspirated nature, can easily become fricative and be converted into a sound which approaches the Spanish /fl/. Thus we...
find: foco—[phoko], fácil—[phasil]. We also find it simulated with a /\j/, although this is a smoother /\j/ than that of Spanish (aspirated /h/), which is exactly the evolutionary path which it took from Latin (facere—hacer). We find forms such as: fútbol—[Xutbol], Felipe—[Jilipe].

* /\g/ This sound does not appear to present great difficulties to Quechua speakers, probably due to its being a velar sound, and, as I have pointed out in 2), the abundance of velar and postvelar sounds is one of the characteristics of Quechua, making the /\g/ easy to learn.

4.1.2. Morphological level.

As has been indicated previously, Quechua and Spanish are two languages that are morphologically very dissimilar. As a consequence of this structural difference between them in the formation of words, the influence at this level has been of a very low level. Quechua is a suffixal agglutinative language, which forms its words by the addition of suffixes to a given root, whether this root be verbal or nominal. The suffixes, both verbal and nominal, can be divided into two groups, those which modify the category of the word, and at times its meaning, which are known as derivational, and those known as flexional, which are more peripheral, that is more distanced from the root and which do not alter its category, but simply shape it. The relations established by Quechua through its derivational suffixes are expressed in Spanish by means of relational words such as: determinants, propositions, adverbs and conjunctions. In the words of Xavier Albó:

Uno de los contrastes más notables entre la gramática quechua y la castellana es que la primera hace un gran uso de sufijos simplemente aglutinados, mientras que éstos son escasos en la castellana, excepto en forma inflexional. Es pues de esperar que los pocos sufijos aglutinados del castellano se introduzcan fácilmente en el Quechua. Así sucede con el plural -s, algunos derivativos como -dor, -era y los diminutivos -ito, ita.³

Through what I have been able to observe, the Spanish suffixes which have become most established and common in the Quechua of southern Bolivia are the diminutives -ito and -ita. I have frequently come across forms such as:

kunan (now) — kunitan (right now, Sp. ahorita)

wawa (child) — wawita (small child)
ch'īn (silence)—— Ch'īnsitu (very quiet) here the 's' corresponds to the
euphonic 'c' in the Spanish 'silencito'.

chay (that) ——— chaysitu (that very one, Sp. esito)
nawi (eye) ——— nawi-s-itu-wan (with the eye)
sapa ujmanta (one by one)——— sapa ujsitomanta (each one by each one).

As we see, the diminutive Spanish suffix is so integrated into the structure that it can be
followed by other suffixes like -wan (with), or -manta (from). The profuseness in the use of the
Spanish diminutive could be due to the scant use of the Quechua diminutive suffix -cha in Bolivian
Quechua.

The other Spanish suffix that occurs commonly in Quechua is the plural -s.

wawa——wawas (children)

uywa (domestic animal) ———uywas (animals).

The case of the plural is different from that of the diminutive; in Quechua there is an existing
pluralizing suffix which can be added to nominal roots -kuna. The introduction of the Spanish
pluraliser would normally lead to the disappearance of the Quechua suffix, as in the examples
above, however, there are frequent examples of the two appearing consecutively in the same word:

a). wawa-s-kuna-man (to the children)
b). kay (this)—— kay-kun-ita-s (these)

In the examples a) and b) two different processes can be observed. In b) the word is already
pluralised by the addition of the Quechua suffix, but on adding the Spanish diminutive it seems
necessary to pluralise it again, perhaps for greater clarity, or perhaps because it is felt that the
suffixes -ita and -s are combined as one -itas (feminine plural). In a), by contrast, the first
pluraliser to appear is the Spanish -s followed by the Quechua as a reinforcement. There could
also be two explanations for this: on the one hand we could consider that the suffix -s is not so
integrated into Quechua perhaps to be considered as a lone consonant to which a specific meaning
is attached, a phenomenon that does not occur in Quechua. In Quechua, except for the
semiconsonant -y, and the consonants -q and -n, most suffixes comprise at least one consonant
and one vowel. The other explanation would be to consider how well assimilated the word wawa
or wawas is in Spanish, where it is heard constantly; it could be that the Quechua speaker is reclaiming the word from Spanish with the -s already incorporated, which I would like to suggest is the case, since I have only encountered the structure -s + -kuna with this word or root.

The inverse process of the morphological influence of Quechua on Spanish is much less frequent; as has been mentioned above there are few agglutinated suffixes in Spanish, and hence the assimilation of new ones is made much more difficult. I have only encountered this phenomenon in isolated cases, always in the speech of bilinguals whose mother tongue is Quechua. The suffix I have found most often is -ri which is used to ask a question or a favour very gently and politely between friends or family members:

mostrarime = show me please
quererime = love me sweetly please.

The inclusion of the interrogative suffix -chu also occurs, but is much less common, and I have only come across this in the speech of incipient bilinguals, as a form of joke, or in seeking familiarity in something. It is not common in the speech of the bilinguals under consideration.

'¿Cuandochu has venido?'

Lastly, I would like to point out another interesting phenomenon that comes about from the interaction of the two languages in groups of people, and environments, that had never used them before. I refer, as I mentioned above, to the radio and its broadcasters who, in the vast majority of cases, have a good command of Quechua, but whose first language is Spanish. As well as using many Spanish terms in their Quechua, these commentators have created new terms, a phenomenon which Xavier Albó (1974) has labelled neoquechuización castellanizada, giving the example of the word Imaraykuchus. In Quechua there exists the word Imarayku which means "why?" (Sp. ¿Por qué?) while the causal non interrogative "because" expressed in Spanish by porque is expressed by other means: -qti, -spa, -na, -sqa, including in some cases the suffix -rayku, but never by the use of the interrogative root Ima- ("What?"). Frequently the Spanish loan word "porque " is heard, and some bilingual speakers with Spanish as their first language say "porquechus " or "sichus ", -chus being a Quechua suffix used in order that the interrogative nuance of words such as lma is less direct:
‘Imachus pay manaraq kutimurganchu ’ (Why is it that he has still not returned?)

The radio announcers, together with some preachers and orators, probably Spanish speakers in origin, have opted to create the neoquechuismo castellanizado “Imarykuchus “, which would be to Imaryku what porque is to ¿Por qué?. Because of the wide audience that Quechua radio has had in recent years, the use of these terms has already become generalised, not only among bilinguals, but also among monolingual Quechua speakers, a whole series of words having been produced with the same structure, that is, with an interrogative root, followed by a suffix and -chus:

pikunataqchus, imaynataqchus.... We can see, for example, in the discourse of a leader of the rural teachers’ trade union, that this type of term is used:

Distinguidos ingenieros pikunataqchus qaninpa p’unchay parlarirqanku sumaq chiqamanta kay imaynataqchus proyectosta apasun.

(the distinguished engineers who the other day spoke very wisely about how to carry out the projects.)

The segmentation of these words is of the following nature:

pi = interrogative root for inquiring about a person or persons (“Who?”).

kuna = nominal pluraliser.

taq⁴ = suffix of association and/or contrast which normally accompanies the interrogative root.

pikunataq would be translated as “Who?” (Sp. Quienes?), but by adding the -chus it is transformed into the relative pronoun “who”, a literal translation of the Spanish “quienes”.

imayna = interrogative root that inquires into manner or mode (“How?”)

taq = suffix of association or contrast.

imaynataq would be translated as “How?” (Sp. Cómo?), but on adding the suffix -chus it is transformed into an indirect interrogative pronoun, a translation of the Spanish “cómo”.

We can thus see that the influence on the morphological level has been greater in the direction Spanish to Quechua than vice versa, and has resulted in the creation of new words, which, even if they are formed completely from Quechua roots and suffixes, have an internal structure
corresponding to that of Spanish.

4.1.3. Syntactic level.

As was mentioned previously, the basic order of elements in a sentence or clause differs between Quechua and Spanish:

\[
\text{Payga sarata mikhun} \quad \text{(he eats maize)}
\]

\[
\text{S O V}
\]

However, in spite of this difference, the influence of Quechua on Spanish and vice versa has been greater on this level than on other levels. I have already indicated that although the normal order of elements in Spanish is SVO, a certain degree of flexibility is allowed, particularly in oral Spanish, in which many alterations, antepositionings and postpositionings of elements are permitted that do not cause any change in the basic meaning of the sentence, but which add nuance to it which is supported by other contextual elements such as intonation... In the Spanish spoken by bilinguals alterations in the order of elements occur with a very high frequency,\(^5\) as has already been noted in numerous examples.

I am going to analyse, firstly, and in fairly broad terms, how syntax functions in Quechua, in order to show how this underlies the Spanish spoken by bilinguals and also by some monolinguals.

From the point of view of word order in Quechua sentences, we can say that the modifier is always placed before the modified. In general, languages of this type have certain syntactic properties:

\(^5\) Torres Orihuela, G., 1988, 258 on considering the frasal order of people learning Spanish whose maternal language is one of the Andean languages, indicates that there is a general tendency to progress towards the preferred order of Spanish, that is SVO, and thus the use of the order SOV is no more than the remains of a process of learning. Miranda, L., 1978, 480 also analyses the case of children in zones influenced by Quechua and interprets the positioning of the verb at the end of a sentence as a result of literal translations from Quechua. In my opinion, on having proven that these structures continue to be used frequently by habitual speakers of Spanish, I do not believe that these can be either the result of translations from Quechua or the remains of a learning process, but that they show a tendency towards
1) They are mainly post-positional languages that normally use suffixes.

2) The adjective or modifier (M) precedes the noun (N):

   *yuraq wasi* (white house)
   
   M  N

   *jatun llaqta* (large town)
   
   M  N

   *sullk’ a wawqi* (younger brother)
   
   M  N

3) The possessor (Pr) precedes the possessed (Po):

   *tataypa wasin*  
   (of my father his house, (my father’s house))

   Pr  Po

   *wallpq runtun*  
   (of the hen its egg, (the hen’s egg))

   Pr  Po

4) Relative clauses$^6$ precede the nucleus:

   *llank’ ag runakuna chayumunku*  
   (that work the men they arrive, (the workers arrive))

   rel.  nuc

   *gusayug warmita rigsini*  
   (with a husband the woman I know, (I know the woman with a husband))

   rel.  nuc.

---

$^6$ I have used the terms *relative clause* and *subordinate clause* because, although in Quechua these relative and subordinate clauses take the form of a noun, they are formed from verbal roots to which a nominalizing suffix has been added. In addition, the function that these constructions perform within a sentence is that of modifying predicate to the principal verb, the only verb as such in the sentence. This would be the equivalent of subordinate clauses in Spanish formed from nominals forms of the verb (around
5) The subordinate clause (sub.) precedes the principal (Ppal.).

*wagagtiyqika mana kutimusagchu.* (If you cry I won’t return)

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<th>sub.</th>
<th>Ppal.</th>
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*jamunaykiita munani* (that you come I want, (I want you to come))

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<tr>
<th>sub.</th>
<th>Ppal.</th>
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</table>

6) The principal verb (VP) precedes the auxiliary (VA).

*mikhug kasqa* (eats he usually, (he usually eats))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VP</th>
<th>VA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*lank’an an tiyan* (his work exists, (he has to work))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VP</th>
<th>VA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

7) The adverb (ADV) precedes the verb (V):

*allinta vachan* (well he knows, (he knows well))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*anchata munan* (much he wants, (he wants a lot))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

I have been able to show in the preceding chapter that one of the most common characteristics of the Spanish of the bilinguals is precisely the alteration of the order of elements from that of standard Spanish in various different ways. One of the most relevant and habitual way is the positioning of the verb at the end of the sentence, with one or several of the complements being placed in front of it:

*‘sus ojos tienen que abrir bien’*

| O | V |

*‘Soda trae’*

| O | V |

*‘¿Por qué ayer han faltado?’*

| O | V |

Given that the order SOV seems to be habitual in this variety of Spanish, I will continue with...
this analysis to discover whether it also complies with the seven properties that I have described above.

2) The adjective or modifier precedes the noun.

This is not as common as the positioning of the object before the verb, but it can be observed, particularly in sentences involving a copulative verb.

'cara la came sabía ser'
A       N

3) The possessor precedes the possessed.

I have also described possessive constructions of this type, in the preceding chapter, which are typical of the speech of the bilinguals. I indicated that, together with the change of order, this produces a redundancy so that the possession is marked twice, once in the possessor by means of the genitive, and once in the possessed by means of the possessive pronoun.

'De algunos allá en Sucre, estudian nuestros hijos'
Pr     Po

'De esto conocer sus otros nombres'
Pr     Po

'De esto vamos a hacer su grande'
Pr     Po

'?Y del gatito su nombre qué cosa es?'
Pr     Po

4) The relative clause precedes the nucleus.

This structure does not appear to be common in the speech of the bilinguals.

5) The subordinate clause precedes the principal.

This is another phenomenon that occurs quite frequently.

'Al que hace rapidito vamos a premiar un aplauso'
sub. cl.       Ppal cl.

'Toditas esas palabras que han escrito sus compañeros vamos a leer'
sub. cl.       Ppal cl.
6) The principal verb precedes the auxiliary.

I have not come across this type of structure.

7) The adverb precedes the verb.

I have also pointed out this type of structure as typical of the variety under consideration in the preceding chapter. As was stated, this is a structure to which constant recourse is made:

`harto trabaja`

ADV V

`eso difícil les resulta y tarde pueden asimilar`

ADV V ADV V

However, as was indicated before, influences work in two directions and the order of elements in Spanish sentences has also had influence on Quechua, particularly among those speakers whose first language is Spanish and those who, in spite of having Quechua as their mother tongue, in their daily life have come to use Spanish to a greater extent. We find, for example, in the Quechua discourse of some trade union leaders there are sentences modelled on the equivalent Spanish structure.

`Kallantaq kaypiqa compañeros técnicos`

(there are also here the technician comrades)

When the normal Quechua order should have been:

Compañeros técnicos kaypiqa kallantaq

Another example:

`Imatá mask 'ayku kaywan?`

(What do we look for with this?)

The normal order would be:

`Imatá kaywan mask 'ayku`
I have found the same phenomenon in the speech of a technician of the Ministry of Education, who had been trained as a rural teacher, but has since risen in rank and no longer works in the countryside. There can be no doubt that he speaks Quechua fluently, since he learned it as a child, but he is more accustomed to present his discourse in Spanish as is betrayed by the following:

`Imatá payqa yachachinga chay wawasman`

(What will she teach to these children?)

In this sentence the SVO scheme is clearly reproduced, however, it should have been:

`Imatá payqa chay wawasman yachachinga`

Another example from the same speaker:

`Ñuqayku como responsables ma atiykuchu jamuyta sapa kuti`

(We, as officials cannot come each time)

In this sentence we can clearly see how he has placed the auxiliary verb after the principal, which is not allowed in Quechua; probably the listeners (monolingual Quechua speakers) would have understood, but it is a structure that a monolingual speaker would never use. The sentence should have been:

`Sapa kuti ñuqayku responsablesjina ma jamuyta atiykuchu.`

The coexistence of Quechua and Spanish over so long a time has resulted in the systems of both languages being affected. Features such as the order of elements can be and are altered. It should be taken into account, however, that many of the structures and irregularities that I have pointed out do not occur on all levels of society, but, as I have pointed out, have a definite and specific locality and respond to a series of definite psychological and social characteristics. The influence of the languages on each other, as such, affects principally bilinguals and monolinguals whose social position leads them into contact with monolingual Quechua speakers or bilinguals, the groups to which their parents often belong.

It should not be forgotten, however, that there are definite structures that have arisen from the speech of bilinguals and the marginalized classes, but which have become established in the Spanish of the economically more prosperous classes, so as to become considered bolivianisms.
representative of the whole nation rather than a specific sector in society. Although these structures could be considered as part of Bolivian standard Spanish, that which continues to differentiate the speech of the rural teachers from this standard is their almost exclusive use, as opposed to their use in alternation with the parallel structures present in the Bolivian standard Spanish of the middle and upper classes who are monolingual Spanish speakers.

4.1.4 Lexical level

The lexical influences of the two languages on each other can be detected through the use of loan words. Normally the dominant language, being the official and most prestigious language, is that which cedes most terms. This frequently happens because the receiving language does not possess an equivalent term, a problem that occurs constantly in the case of Quechua. Since Quechua is a language that has remained isolated and effectively relegated to the rural areas and to use within the family, it does not have terms that refer to the developed world, science and technology, and, thus, takes loan words from Spanish to cover the semantic fields of the technical languages (with concepts ranging from “university” to “computer”). It should not be forgotten that, precisely because of the isolation of the Bolivian countryside, there are very few occasions on which there is any demand for this type of term in a Quechua conversation.7

On the other hand, it should also be remembered that loan words often change their meanings when they are adapted to the new contexts and situations in which they are thus used, as the term gradually acquires new connotations as a function of the realities or concepts that it represents in the language into which it is adopted.

There is one semantic field in which the penetration of Spanish is undeniable and in which Spanish terms have become strongly established, namely, the vocabulary of politics and trades unions. Following the agrarian reforms in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador there has arisen a consciousness of class and a political awakening, particularly where the defence of workers’ rights is concerned. This process as a whole was, and continues to be, carried out through a process

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7 Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that efforts are being made at this present time in Bolivia to create, using the linguistic methods of Quechua, a terminology capable of translating any technical language. I cite as an example the bilingual edition of Cuaderno de trabajo no. 4, Los Quechuas, of the
of the adoption of Western thought and ideology, foreign to the Andean world. This import of ideas has been accompanied by the importing of the terms in which they are expressed, a fact which can readily be observed in the speeches of peasant trades union leaders which, in spite of being made in Quechua, are replete with terms such as: “compañeros”, “proyectos”, “sindicato”, “confederación”, “representante”, “congreso”, “central obrera”, “campesino”, “popular”, “aprobar”, “programa”, “promover”.....

Another sphere which has been penetrated by numerous Spanish terms is that of religion. In this case, however, we are dealing with a cultural opposition. As we well know, one of the justifications for the conquest and colonisation of the Americas was the spreading of Christianity and the conversion to this faith of the indigenous population, and, although attempts were made to translate the evangelical message into indigenous languages, frequently the Europeans opted to impose this message in Spanish. All the religious terms such as “Virgen”, “Cristo”, “misa”, “Santo”, “evangelio”, “sacerdote”....are present today in Quechua in the Spanish form, although in some cases they have been rephonologised (e.g. “Wirgen”). On the other hand, when, in place of imposing the Spanish term, a translation has been sought, semantic loans have been produced, such as the translation of the Spanish “diablo” by the Quechua “supay”, which, in the original meaning of the term was an inoffensive being, a departed or absent person.

One of the most characteristic ways in which the coexistence of the two languages is reflected is in the toponymy. In Bolivia there are a large number of Quechua toponyms, which would be expected with the persistence of this language, although in many of the Quechua areas we find Aymara place names which would seem to indicate the presence of Aymara culture in the area sometime in the past. If, as stated above, there continue to be a large number of Quechua place names, it is equally notable that in many rural areas where the language of daily use is Quechua, there is a penetration of many Spanish toponyms, the majority of which date from colonial times, such as San José del Paredón or el Palomar both of which are purely Quechua speaking areas. There is also another phenomenon, which is the combination of both languages in the name of a settlement, such as T’ukma Baja and T’ukma Alta, in which Spanish terms have been used despite the presence of the distinction high/low (“alta/baja”) in Quechua. This distinction is
frequently made in place names in Spain, and has been transported to other Spanish speaking
countries. It is probable that in this case the place was called $T’ukma$ and the distinction between
the two areas was made by the Spaniards.

What remains to be considered is the influence of Quechua vocabulary on Spanish. If we look
for the lexical influence of Quechua on Spanish, then, generally, we can see that the semantic fields
in which there has been greatest penetration have been those relating to the home, relations of
kinship and products from the countryside. This last case can be explained by the absence of
equivalent terms in Spanish, which follows logically from the absence of the product in the country
in which the language originated (e.g. “oca”< “uqa”, “quinoa”< “kinuwa”, “palta”< “pallta”, “chuño”<
“ch’uño”...). With regard to the field of family relations, there are two terms that have penetrated
Spanish totally: $wawa$ and $tata$. These two terms, the first in particular, are used throughout the
social spectrum, not only by bilinguals, but by monolingual Spanish speakers of the upper classes.
Lastly, there is another series of terms that are frequently used, particularly in the Quechua speaking
areas. Some of these terms have become so established that they are in use throughout society,
including: $chaqui$ (hangover) which some even pronounce in its original form $ch’aki$, $micha$ (mean,
miserly) $mich’a$, $pucho$ (cigarette end) from the Quechua $puchu$ (left over, remainder). As often
happens with loan words, some have been rephonologised and adapted to Spanish: from $ch’aska$
(tangled up) has come $chascosa$ (unkempt) and from $q’ala$ (naked, without clothes) has come
$calato$... However, there are neither many of these terms, nor many monolingual Spanish speakers
that use them; as I stated, they are normally found in areas where the use of Quechua is very
extensive, and in some cases in the more working class sectors of society.

Finally, it is worth pointing out the large amount of philological information that can be obtained
from an analysis of the loan words present in a given language, as Cerron-Palomino has
demonstrated. As I mentioned previously, this very often produces a rephonologisation of the loan
word, such as $oveja$> $uwija$ [$obeXa$>$uwiXa$]. Nevertheless, we also find dialects like Huanca in Peru,
which maintain the archaic forms of words that the conquistadors brought with them: $uwish$ or $wisha$
still has the sound /sh/ which in Spanish evolved into /X/. We see that a loan word that has been fully assimilated can conserve sounds that have since disappeared from the source language. Another way in which the strong establishment of a word in a language can be observed is that it evolves in the same way as the receiving language. Spanish took terms from Quechua in the first years of the conquest such as: ushuta and shura which became so assimilated into Spanish that they followed the normal evolution of the sound /sh/ to /j/ becoming ojota and jora.

4.1.5 Morphosyntactic level.

We have seen that some levels of grammar are more open to the influences of another language than others. Many of the characteristics that I have pointed out in the previous chapter can be explained on the morphosyntactic level. We shall now see in what way this level has been affected by the interaction of the two languages, that is, how this interaction affects the formation and inclusion of a word within a sentence. Quechua is a syncretic, agglutinative and suffixal language which forms words by means of the addition of suffixes to roots, and it is not only words that are formed this way, but also syntagms and even clauses. The result of this is that what appears to be one word in Quechua can be converted into a syntagm on translation into Spanish, and from this stem problems with the order of words in the Spanish sentence, the phenomenon that elements already in the Spanish sentence are repeated with the translation of the Quechua word, and that other elements fail to appear being already implicit in Quechua, but not in Spanish.

The semantic level must also be considered. Many of the Quechua suffixes have a content or meaning that is difficult to translate into Spanish, and the solution to this has been to look for the form that best approaches the Quechua. What has happened is that a Spanish form that in a certain context is a good approximation of the Quechua form has become used in a generalised way to translate the Quechua. As a consequence of this, sentences are produced which are often confusing and incomprehensible to those who have a command only of a different variety of Spanish.
4.1.5.1 Lack of agreement.

Through the examination of numerous examples I have been able to confirm that one of the aspects of Spanish grammar that causes most problems to bilinguals is the agreement between nouns and their modifiers and that between verbs and their subjects. The question that must be asked is: is there any relation between this phenomenon and the influence of Quechua? 9

In Quechua there is no grammatical differentiation of gender, and hence there is no grammatical agreement of this type. I have recorded from the Spanish spoken by bilinguals examples of structures in which there are errors of agreement of the type:

'¿Sus orejas cómo son grandes, chiquitíos?'

f. m.

'Siempre tienen esa la confusión.'

m. f.

'¿Quién es este señora?'

m. f.

'Aquí hay dos vocales juntitos.'

f. m.

'Irma y Estela son niñas ¿Quienes son ellos?'

f. m.

'Él es Anita.'

m. f.

9 Miranda, L., 1978, 482 explains the confusion that exists over agreement in the areas of Peru influenced by Quechua through the action of this language and states that: "el nombre no tiene granema de género, pues éste viene con el lexema y hay un solo pluralizador por frase".

Godenzzi, J.C., 1988, 231 also referring to Peru finds the lack of agreement to be most pronounced in those sectors of the population of Quechua or Aymara origin, and explains that:

"Entre los factores que resisten al principio de la concordancia de género y numero, podemos señalar:
- el proceso de adquisición del castellano a partir del Quechua o el Aymara, lenguas donde el sustantivo no lleva género gramatical y donde el sustantivo y sus determinantes no están obligados a concordar
- la concordancia excesiva. Un principio de economía se levanta contra este exceso del castellano.
- el carácter arbitrario del género gramatical del sustantivo español."
In the last two sentences we can see that the third person pronoun which is used is masculine, although it is used to refer to women. Quechua only has one pronoun for the third person singular and one for the plural, “pay” and “paykuna”, and these are used without differentiation to refer to men or women. For people unfamiliar, or not very familiar, with the concept of gender, some confusion would be expected.

We can also see that there are two cases in which confusion has arisen over the use of demonstratives. In Spanish there is an irregularity in that all masculine demonstratives terminate with e in the singular, whilst in the plural the final vowel used is o, o being the vowel used in the singular to mark the neuter. This small irregularity produces confusions such as:

‘Estes dos no más van como hermanitos.’

‘Este es lo que perjucica a ellos.’

In the first example, the speaker has opted to pluralise the singular by means of the normal procedure, that is, by the addition of an /s/ to the root; in the second example, however, the form ending in /e/ has been used as the neuter.

The other type of lack of agreement which is common is the lack of numerical agreement. In Quechua there does exist a differentiation of number, which is particularly obvious in the case of pronouns. For nouns the pluralising suffix is -kuna, although this suffix appears to be of quite recent origin since there exists another mechanism for pluralisation which consists of the repetition of the substantive, and it seems often that pluralisation is optional, or that it is used to add emphasis. It also seems that pluralisation is starting to become more generalised through the influence of Spanish, and at times it is effected through the use of the Spanish suffix -s. In Quechua it is perfectly acceptable to say:

achka warmi (many women)

sing.

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10 "En quechua tenemos el plural llamado léxico -kuna que pluraliza cualquier nombre. Para algunos de los pronombres necesitamos otras marcas. Tanto en quechua como en aymara la pluralización es opcional, muchas veces se pluraliza para enfatizar. Esto podría ser un indicativo de que se trata de un sufijo de reciente creación. Parece que por influencia del castellano se está generalizando el uso de este sufijo."

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Although it is possible to say: achka warmikuna and suqta allgukuna.

However, this last option is less frequent. The lack of necessity to make numerical agreements is also reflected in Spanish:

'Cuesta siete boliviano'

¿Cómo se escribe cada uno de esto?'

There is an unusual type of lack of agreement between subject and verb in Quechua, which appears to occur only in the third person. When the subject is plural, the verb can be either plural or singular; whereas, when the subject is singular the verb must be so as well:

'Tukuy chay runa(kuna) qhoyapi llank'án'

(All these men work in the mines)

'paykuna kayman jamuchkan'

(they are coming here)

I have found lack of agreement of this type in the Spanish of bilinguals:

'Las cosas que a mí me interesó'

'Espero que los cursos sea más prolongado'

In the majority of the examples that I presented in 3.2.4.1. the subjects were plural while the verb stayed in the singular, however, there were two cases in which the opposite occurred:

¿Qué son, pues, esto?’

'Parece que de esta manera se proveen el campesino'
These cases cannot be explained in terms of the influence of Quechua, although it could be argued that confusion between the plural and singular forms might result from some categories of Spanish grammar not being firmly established.

4.1.5.2 Redundancy and reiteration.

In the enumeration of redundant structures, I mentioned a case that I denominated 'lexical redundancy', which consisted of the co-occurrence of the names of the days of the week and the word 'día'. A relation with Quechua can be sought, since in this language it is very common to hear 'lunes p'unchay' where 'p'unchay' means 'day'. Nevertheless, this is not the only explanation possible, since this same lexical redundancy can be found in the dialects of mediaeval Spanish literature, particularly in that originating in León and Aragón. I shall examine the phenomenon from this perspective in a later section (4.2.3.).

I have already pointed out how the structures related to possession place the possessor before the possessed, thereby producing a redundancy. It seems that this structure could also have an explanation based in Quechua. In Spanish possession is indicated only in the possessor, not in the possessed, whilst in Quechua not only does the possessor precede the possessed, but possession is also marked in both elements. In Quechua structures of possession are of the form:

\[ \text{tata-y-pa wasi-n} \]

the -n is the suffix of the third person.

Following this scheme, translating to Spanish we would obtain:

\[ \text{de mi padre su casa} \]

which is the form that I have indicated earlier as typical and frequent in the Spanish of the bilinguals, whereas in standard Spanish the structure is:

\[ \text{la casa de mi padre} \]

I have also described a type of pronominal redundancy as characteristic of this variety of Spanish. This is the redundancy that appears in sentences like:

\[ \text{‘Yo siempre estuve en mi escuela, no sabía faltarme.’} \]
¿Cuál quieres que te lo indique?

Both cases seem to be related to Quechua forms. In Quechua there is a series of suffixes -ku\(^{12}\) and -pu which when joined to verbs indicate that the action favours or concerns a person; in the case of -ku the person who is the subject of the verb, and in the case of -pu a third person. They are usually known as "personal benefactive" suffixes, and can be added to almost all verbs:

- mikhuy (to eat) > mikhukuy (to eat in order to benefit personally, to enjoy food)
- llank'ay (to work) > llank'akuy (to work for yourself)
- apay (to carry) > apapuy (to carry for someone)

The translation that these suffixes normally is: -ku = reflexive (me, te, se...) and -pu = "se lo", but this translation at times brings problems since, for example, although in the case of "llevar" it is possible to say "llevárselo" (to carry something for someone), in the case of "trabajar", "trabajárselo" is a form that is not usual in standard Spanish although, following the structure of the other verb, it would be possible to understand it as "to work something for someone". The attempt to introduce both suffixes into Spanish provokes anomalous and redundant forms such as those we have already seen, or like the following:

- 'Me vendo fruta los domingos' (the verb "vender" becomes both transitive and reflexive at the same time)
- 'Cuando nos faltamos a clase' ....<FALTARSE
- 'Quién me puede recordarme....' <RECORDARSE
- 'Aunque no se puede pasar el recreo se lo dan permiso' (the object appears twice, once as "permiso", and again as the pronoun "lo" and in addition

\(^{12}\) Miranda, L., 1978, 481 mentions abnormal reflexive verbs in the speech of areas influenced by Quechua in Peru and explains them as literal translations of the Quechua suffix -ku. Soto, C., 1978, 623 also analyzes the dialectal Spanish of Peru, underlining the presence of reflexive pronouns with verbs that do
the indirect object pronoun "se" is used to indicate that the action is going to be of benefit to a third party.) < DARSELO + Obj.

'Traeselo su chompita'  (Once again the object is repeated)<TRAERSELO+ Obj.

Gustavo Solis\textsuperscript{13} has analysed the same structures and has explained the phenomenon through a consideration of the category of voice in Quechua. He distinguishes four separate voices in Quechua; the two that exist also in Spanish, the active and the passive, that which he terms the "voz media" or "semi-passive" voice which is generally marked by the suffix -\textit{ku}, and the dative voice marked by the suffix -\textit{pu}. He explains that the "semi-passive" voice is used in sentences of reflexive value, sentences of benefactive significance to the subject, and others in which the subject acquires a special function (such as, habitual action of the subject, or interest of the subject in effecting the action or state). Solis explains that in the "semi-passive" it is equally possible to view the subject as agent or patient. Thus, in the Spanish sentences of bilinguals in which the reflexive pronoun se appears, this pronoun is being used to express the "semi-passive" of Quechua (e.g. 'La gente de campo se acostumbran rezarse de quechua').

We can thus see how processes that are morphological in Quechua also affect syntax on being introduced into Spanish.

I have also come across redundant structures with adverbs and prepositions. I have heard forms such as \textit{en aqui}, \textit{en ahi} or \textit{en allá} quite frequently, and consider that these too can be explained through the influence of the mother tongue.\textsuperscript{14} In Quechua adverbs of place are formed through the union of the demonstratives: 'kay ', 'chay', 'jaqay' and the suffix -\textit{pi} which indicates

\textsuperscript{13} Gustavo Solis, "La categoría de voz media en quechua y su reflejo en el español andino", in L.E. Lopez (ed.) \textit{Pesquisas en lingüística andina}, Lima-Puno, 1988, 191-199. The author also indicates that the use of what he terms the "voz media" in Andean Spanish allows objects that are inanimate in Spanish, such as trees or stones, to appear in constructions with attributes that enable them to act, or to suffer verbal action, in such a way that reproduces the Quechua mode of expression.
place:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{kaypi ('en este')} &= \text{aquí, acá} \\
\text{chaypi ('en ese')} &= \text{ahí} \\
\text{jaqaypi ('en aquel')} &= \text{allí, allá}
\end{align*}\]

The Quechua speaker, when using Spanish forms, needs the support of another localiser, and therefore resorts to the preposition \textit{en} to translate the suffix \textit{-pi}.

Finally, I would like to consider the redundancies that occur in negative sentences. Quechua uses double negation through the use of the elements \textit{mana}, which is a negative particle used in combination with independent suffixes, and the suffix \textit{-chu} which can be joined to any root, whether nominal, verbal or particular:

\begin{align*}
\text{'manaraq qheshwata parlanichu} & \quad (I \text{ still do not speak Quechua}) \\
\text{'mana nuqachu rirqani} & \quad (I \text{ did not go}) \\
\text{'Pay mana kaypichu tiyan} & \quad (he \text{ does not live here})
\end{align*}

At times we find double negation in Spanish (e.g. '\textit{Nadie no vino ayer}'; '\textit{En esa tienda tampoco no hay}'), however, in these cases the double negation takes place before the verb, whereas in Quechua one of the negative particles appears before it and the other after. In this case an explanation in terms of the influence of Quechua does not seem very convincing, and I shall attempt to find an alternative explanation for it later.

There is, however, one case also mentioned above which does appear to result from the influence of the mother tongue. This is the use of the word 'también' in negative sentences instead of \textit{tampoco} (e.g. '\textit{Vd. no ha cambiado también la ficha}'). The Quechua equivalent of \textit{tampoco} is the form \textit{manallataq} which translates into Spanish as \textit{no también}.

\begin{align*}
\text{'Chaytapis manallataq yachanichu} & \quad (I \text{ don't know this either - literally 'Eso también no también conozco'})
\end{align*}

However, although the relation to the Quechua form seems undeniable, it cannot be said that the
two forms are identical, since although, in the Spanish sentence, there is a double negation, a particle no is placed before the verb, and the other, también after it. In Quechua, by contrast, the two particles are united to form only one word which is placed before the verb. We shall see later that there is an alternative explanation for this phenomenon.

I have also indicated that sentence or discoursive redundancy is a characteristic of the bilinguals under consideration. It seems that some of the forms mentioned earlier could also be related to the mother tongue. Quechua is a language that utilises many parallelisms and structural symmetries; at times part of the sentence is repeated, or the same phrase is said twice in two different forms:

'Ñuqa tata Mariyunuq panan kachani, payqa turaymin.'
(I am the sister of Mariano, he is my brother)

'Mariya tatanwan mamanwan jamuchkan.'
(María with her father with her mother comes)

This type of structure with sentence redundancy is reflected in Spanish in phrases such as:

'Esto dicen igual, esto también dicen igual'
rather than: 'Esto y esto dicen igual'

'El otro responde, el otro ya también'
rather than: 'Uno responde y luego el otro'

Something similar also occurs in distributive sentences: in Spanish usually one uses uno.....otro.

In the variety spoken by the bilinguals I have found, however:

'Otras consideran que el proyecto está bien y otras no.'

'Otras aseguran el fracaso y otras toman interés.'

without there being any mention of unos at the beginning. To my way of thinking, this structure also reflects the Quechua tendency to use parallelisms. Jean Philippe Husson and Bruce Mannheim\textsuperscript{16} have indicated that the repetitiveness and recurrence of symmetrical structures are stylistic resources characteristic of Quechua poetry, and I have been able to find the same type of

\textsuperscript{16} Jean-Philippe Husson, \textit{La poésie quechua dans la chronique de Felipe Waman Poma de Ayala},
resource in the prose of Guaman Poma de Ayala, whilst, on the other hand, Pedro Plaza (in personal communication) has asserted that this is a general phenomenon of the language. These symmetrical structures are called ‘semantic doublets’ and consist of two or more lines that are morphologically and syntactically identical in which there alternate two or more words that are semantically related. It has been suggested that, considering Quechua as an oral language, this type of repetitive resource was used as a memory aid, as was rhyme in European poetry. The tendency to repetition and use of the so called ‘semantic doublets’ could thus be the basis of sentences like:

‘Algunos bien, algunos mal también.’

I have given the name ‘discursive redundancy’ to the phenomenon, which is seldom heard in standard Spanish, of repeating the verb of a question in its answer, when the reply should be either ‘yes’ or ‘no’. In this case we can also seek a relation with the maternal language, since, with the same type of interrogation, the normal form of reply in Quechua would be the repetition of the verb of the question:

- ‘Turaymin riqsinkichu?’ ....... ‘Riqsini arf’

Do you know my brother? ...... Yes, I know.

to which the Spanish equivalent would be:

‘¿Conoces a mi hermano?’ ...... ‘Conozco’

and:

- ‘Samarikuyku?’ ........ ‘Samarkuna’

Shall we rest? ...... Let’s rest.

or in Spanish: ‘¿Descansamos?’ ...... ‘Descansemos.’

Hence, it should not be strange to find structures like those cited earlier (e.g. ‘¿Tienes familia?’ ....... ‘Tengo’).

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18 Leo Loveday, The sociolinguistics of learning and using a Non-native language, Pergammon, Oxford, 1982, 69 mentions a similar phenomenon in the speech of certain indigenous communities in North America. In Red Indian communities, for example, unlike many northern European-based ones, certain
4.1.5.3 Absence.

On other occasions, in place of there being a redundancy, there is an absence of some elements in the discourse. One of the most frequent omissions is of the articles (e.g. ‘θ Vaca he amarrado’; ‘En θ seccionales, ahí están θ θ hora exacta ’). In these cases we can also look for an explanation in the influence of Quechua, since determinants do not exist in this language.

I have already mentioned above that Spanish uses relational words, such as prepositions, to establish relations between the elements of a sentence, and that the same process in Quechua is effected by means of suffixes. In Spanish there is a series of verbal locutions which are formed by a verb of motion functioning as an auxiliary, the preposition ‘a’ and the infinitive of another verb (e.g. ir a + infinitive). We saw earlier that it is very frequent for the bilinguals to omit the preposition (e.g. ‘Vamos θ causar un poco de confusión’). The absence of this type of relational element in Quechua could explain the lack of its habitual use in Spanish through not being felt necessary. In addition, there are certain verbs that also require a preposition, that is, that in order to introduce their object they need the support of a relational element. These same verbs in Quechua may not require any extra mark in the object. In the following sentence this phenomenon can be observed:

‘θ La vocal se van a fijar’

In Spanish the verb fijarse demands the preposition en, however, the corresponding Quechua verb ‘rikuy’ introduces its object through the accusative suffix -ta which is normally not translated.

‘¿ θ Dónde está poniendo?’

Here we find, similarly, the verb poner requires two complements, a direct object ‘poner algo’ and another that indicates the place and is introduced by a locative preposition ‘poner algo en algún sitio’.

‘Pueden pintar θ colores.’

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19 Juan Carlos Godenuzzi, 1988, 210-211 also resorts to the influence of Quechua and Aymara for an explanation of this phenomenon.
20 L. Miranda, 1978, 482 also suggests the lack of prepositions in Quechua as an explanation for their omission in the Spanish of the areas influenced by Quechua in Peru.
21 J.G. Mendoza, 1991, 132 confirms the omission of prepositions with verbs that require them as a typical
In this case we are dealing with a semantic disparity, since it is not possible to ‘pintar colores’, which is something rather abstract; it is possible only to ‘pintar de colores’ or ‘con colores’.

4.1.5 Semantic level.

Another phenomenon that occurs in situations of languages in contact is the penetration or transference of certain concepts or semantic loans from one language to the other without necessarily using the terminology or forms of the original language. This has already been mentioned in the section dealing with morphosyntax. In this way, many of the uses and constructions that I have indicated as unusual, and specific to the Spanish of the bilinguals can be explained through the transference of semantic concepts from Quechua to Spanish.

With respect to verbs, I have already described a series of characteristics which are typical of the Spanish of the bilinguals concerning the preference for certain verbal forms over others. One of these characteristics was the extensive use of that which in standard Spanish is the continuous aspect of the verb, compound forms with the gerund being preferred in the speech of the bilinguals:

- ‘No van a estar hablando’
- ‘Están queriendo comprarle’
- ‘No estamos teniendo plata’

In standard Spanish the same messages and contents would be expressed by means of simple indicative forms. The recurrent use of durative forms can also be explained through the influence of the mother tongue since Quechua contains a verbal suffix -chka (which varies phonologically from region to region, becoming -sha or -sa) which adds a durative aspect to the action. In Quechua any action, present, past or future, is developed in a continuous time; other forms and other suffixes are used only to mark the beginning, end or some definite moment in the action. The manner in which this property of the action is represented in Spanish has been to make use of a resource already present in Spanish, the periphrasis ir + infinitive, or estar + infinitive.22 The peculiarity of this case is that new forms of periphrasis have been created (3.2.5.2) which are more complicated, involving combinations of other verbs which are seldom or never used in standard

22 J.G. Mendoza, 1991, 151-154 encounters these forms in colloquial paceño Spanish and considers that
Spanish (e.g. 'Hemos de estar manejando'; 'Ya no han de estar diciendo').

I have also indicated the presence of compound forms which on occasions imply a change of meaning and function of the chosen form. I pointed out, for example, the use of the pluperfect in Bolivia and Peru, extensively used to imply 'indirect knowledge':

- '¿Cómo se llama?'
- 'Me llamo Ana'
- 'Ana se había llamado'

In the normal use of the pluperfect, this phrase would imply that the person in question was no longer called Ana, but something else. However, if we consider the Quechua, we find that in this language the source of knowledge in a speech utterance is very important, and it is necessary to indicate through the use of suffixes if what is being said has been seen or experienced personally, has been recounted to the speaker, or is simply believed to be true. When the knowledge has been recounted to the speaker, the suffix -sqa is used, a suffix which is also used to express the distant, or indefinite past. As these cases are translated by the Spanish pluperfect, this form has also been preferred to express indirect knowledge. When, in conversation with bilinguals, it was put to them that the normal form would have been 'Se llama Ana' they pointed out that this would have implied prior knowledge of what the person in question was called. It should be pointed out that this use of the pluperfect has become very generalised today in Bolivia and Peru, not only in the speech of bilinguals, but also in that of the middle and upper classes.

The alternation between ser and estar, and the new contents that have been included in them, could also have an explanation in the influence of the mother tongue. In Quechua there is only one verb kay which can be translated, depending on the context as ser, estar, haber, tener:

- 'Españamanta kani' (I am Spanish -soy española)
- 'Payqa Punata kachkan' (He is in Punata -el está en Punata)
- 'Juk'ucha chay ukhupi kachkan' (There is a mouse in there -hay un ratón ahí dentro)
- 'Qusayuq kankichu?' (Are you married?- ¿Tienes tu marido?/¿Estás casado?)
The most common forms by which kay is translated are the verbs ser and estar from which structures are produced such as:

- 'Ahí es una escuela como nuestra escuela'

in which the values of kay have been applied to ser.

Still on the subject of verbal uses, I have already mentioned the constant recurrence of the verb decir to reproduce past conversations, since the indirect style does not seem to exist in this variety of Spanish. It is also possible to seek an explanation for this phenomenon in the forms of the mother tongue. In Quechua there is also no indirect style, and, in citing that which has been said or heard, the direct style is always used, closing the sentence with the verb niy (to say) repeated twice, once as a gerund and once conjugated (e.g.'Ni ima kaqtin yachay wasiman churiyata kachaymanchu, nispa nirqa' - Be what may, I would not send my son to school, saying she said).

I have observed how, in the Spanish of bilinguals, something similar occurs, although not always using the two forms of the verb decir, and using the gerund less than the conjugated forms. It cannot be said that the direct style of using the verb decir is a translation from the Quechua since it is a structure that is common in standard Spanish. It can, however, be understood as a semantic transposition of the Quechua necessity to quote directly the spoken words, rather than use the resource present in standard Spanish for such cases: the indirect style. And although the structures in which the gerund appears seem clearly to be Quechua\(^2\) (e.g.'Vos vas a preguntar "¿Qué es esto?" diciendo a cada uno'; 'Es una escuela" diciendo van a contestar '; '¿Cómo dice la oveja? ¿No dice beeeeee", diciendo?') although, as we have seen, only the gerund appears, and is not followed by the conjugated form of the same verb.

A final case of verbal use that can be explained through the influence of the mother tongue is the creation of syntagms such as hacer ver (in place of 'mostrar') and hacer recordar (in place of 'recordar') which could be related to the causal suffix -chi in Quechua which joins verbs such that the subject, marked by the conjugation of the verb, does not cause the action, but causes

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23 L. Miranda, 1978, 480 describes the gerund form diciendo as the nexus of subordination, and explains that it translates the Quechua form ni + the suffixes -pti, -spa, or -r which are used to link subordinate clauses. C. Soto. 1978, 625 also explains the use of diciendo by the influence of the Quechua form
another person to execute it:

- Rikuni = I see
- Rikuchini = I make see
- Yuyariy = to remember
- Yuyarichiy = to make remember

The use of saber as an auxiliary with the meaning of soler (do something frequently) could also be related to Quechua, since in this language the verb yachay (to know) is used as an auxiliary to express habitual actions (e.g. ‘Jayk’aqtaq riyta yachanki?’ = literally ‘When do you know to go?’ (¿Cuándo sabes ir?) and is equivalent to ‘When do you usually go?’ (¿Cuándo sueles ir?). Nevertheless, there are authors who consider this use to be a Spanish archaism that has penetrated Quechua. I shall analyse this possibility in the following section.

Another semantic transference which is used extensively is the use of the adverb siempre to translate the Quechua suffix -puni which is used to confirm an assertion or to add emphasis to it, and which does not have a semantic equivalent in Spanish:

- ‘¿El lunes siempre te estás yendo?’
  (You are definitely going on Monday?)
  ‘lunespuniki rikankichu?’
- ‘¿A Sucre siempre te vas?’
  (Is it to Sucre that you are going?)
  ‘Sucremanpunichu purichkankichu?’
- ‘No ha llegado siempre’
  (It has certainly not arrived)
  ‘Mana chayamunpunichu’

Looking at these examples, we can see that all the uses given have an equivalent in Quechua from which they probably proceed. In standard Spanish there is no one word that has similar values to the new ones acquired by siempre, that is, to those expressed by -puni. Nevertheless, it appears that some of the values of siempre given by several dictionaries could approach it in some cases and that some of them consider only one of those meanings extended to all the cases when it is
necessary to emphasise or confirm something:

**SIEMPRE**: 2) Expresa que lo que se afirma es natural o indudable: ‘Siempre estará mejor en su casa con los cuidados de su madre’. 3) Se emplea con cierto énfasis para afirmar un hecho cuya realidad no se puede negar, aunque el que habla tenga alguna reserva que oponerle: ‘¡Hombre!...Siempre se va mejor en coche que a pie.’ 4) Se adjunta enfáticamente a la expresión de un cálculo aproximado con el verbo en futuro: ‘Siempre tendrá sus cuarenta años.’

**SIEMPRE**: Es galicismo el uso de **siempre** por **todavía** o la construcción **siempre + verbo** por **seguir + gerundio**. Está mucho más extendido en América: ‘Lo tenía siempre sujeto de las solapas’; ‘¿Está siempre Cuevas?’ (ejemplos tomados de Mario Vargas Llosa).

In the first group of definitions we find the nuances of broad affirmation and emphasis, above all in the accepted use 4), which could be the basis for the uses that I have described. The explanation offered in the other definition is more controversial. Whilst it is beyond doubt that in French the word **toujours** (which, like **siempre**, translates into English as always) in contexts where standard Spanish would used **todavía**: ‘Il travaille toujours a Paris’ (‘todavía trabaja en Paris’ - He still works in Paris) the Spanish of bilinguals also would use **siempre**. I doubt, however, that its use by bilinguals has any French influence since the examples that are presented are Peruvian rather than peninsular Spanish. I would think it more probable that, being Peruvian, Vargas Llosa would be reproducing the popular speech of his native country influenced by Quechua, than using a gallicism.

A similar use is made of the adverb **más** which is used in contexts outside those accepted in standard Spanish. It is used deliberately to add a new element to a list or enumeration and appears to translate the Quechua word **ima** (e.g. ‘yachachiqta, wawakunata ima rikurqani’ = ‘vi a los profesores y a los niños más’).

Regarding the locutions **lo que** and **de lo que** which, as we have seen, in this variety of Spanish, function as adverbs that introduce subordinate clauses, I have observed that they also

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24 There are other uses which do not appear in the dictionary of the *Real Academia de la Lengua Española*, but are given in María Moliner, *Diccionario de uso del español*, Gredos, Madrid, 1991, 1161.
have a functional equivalent in Quechua, which is the suffix -sqa, also used to introduce subordinate sentences (e.g. ‘ñuqaqa saykusqa qharita rikuni’ = ‘yo veo al hombre que está cansado’; ‘qhatupi rantisqan mut’ita mikhuchkan’ = ‘mientras vende en el mercado come mote’; ‘jamusqanta rinkichu?’ = ‘¿Viste que ha llegado?’ = ‘¿Has visto lo que ha llegado?’; ‘qyarqasqa kasqanmanta phiñasqa?’ = ‘Está enojado porque tiene hambre’ = ‘De lo que tiene hambre está enojado’; ‘payqa anchata parasqanmanta willawan’ = ‘Me ha advertido que llueve mucho’ = ‘Lo que está lloviendo harto me ha avisado’). It seems that in Quechua -sqa serves to introduce various types of subordinate clause although most frequently it is used for nominal and relative clauses, which is perhaps why a substantive locution has been used to translate it.

The use of ¿Qué? in questions (e.g. ‘¿Qué te llamas?’) could be the translation of the Quechua equivalent ‘Imataq sutiyki?’ in which the lma has been translated by Qué, as in other contexts (e.g. ‘Imataq rikurqani?’ = ‘¿Qué viste?’; ‘Imataq kay?’ = ‘¿Qué es esto?’).

We have seen that some prepositions also have new meanings in the speech of the bilinguals. The use of ¿Qué? in questions (e.g. ‘¿Qué te llamas?’) could be the translation of the Quechua equivalent ‘Imataq sutiyki?’ in which the lma has been translated by Qué, as in other contexts (e.g. ‘Imataq rikurqani?’ = ‘¿Qué viste?’; ‘Imataq kay?’ = ‘¿Qué es esto?’).

In many, but not all, cases this new meaning can be related to the influence of Quechua. The preposition a in Spanish is used, among other things, to indicate direction (e.g. ‘Vamos a Madrid ‘; ‘Esa flecha apunta al norte ‘, etc.). In Quechua direction is indicated by the use of the nominal suffix -man which would be the equivalent of the Spanish preposition, but in Quechua there also

26 Ana María Escobar, 1990, 81 explains the phenomenon as a consequence of the formation of a new prepositional system in the speech of the bilinguals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castellano monolingüe</th>
<th>(V - mov)</th>
<th>(V + mov)</th>
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<tr>
<td>EN</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>DE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Castellano bilingüe</td>
<td>(V - mov)</td>
<td>(V + mov)</td>
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<td>EN</td>
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El esquema bilingüe de preposiciones refleja la función que tiene cada preposición sin importar el tipo de verbo que acompaña. En tiene la función de lugar, a tiene la función de destino, y de tiene la función de origen. Cada forma lingüística expresa una función semántica.

Although the author attributes this new scheme to a concrete stage in the process of learning a new
exists a suffix -*mu* which, joined to a verbal root, indicates with verbs of movement the direction of the action, and with other verbs directional movement (e.g. *tusumuy* = dance there; *tapamuy* = go and ask). The way of including the directional nuance in Spanish is to use the preposition *a* even in contexts where there is normally no direction expressed (e.g. 'Pongan a sus bancos sus libros' = "librusta bankuman churamuychik"; 'Los maestros participaron a este seminario' = "yachachiqunaka chay siminariuta chayamunku"; 'Este año igual me han dicho a que regrese' = "Chay watapis paykunaqa chayamuyta willawarqanku").

It is evident that the Quechua substrate does not explain all the peculiarities of this variety, however, there can be no doubt that the high percentage of structures attributable to the influence of Quechua are an indication of the importance of the mother tongue in the speech of these individuals and in their conception of the world. If it is possible to speak of semantic or conceptual transferences, we could also say that on other levels there can be transferences of intuitive knowledge which the speaker brings from his own language to the context of the second tongue. Even the adoption of loan words produces changes of nuance in their meanings. It has been demonstrated that both in the learning and use of a second language the linguistic transference (of forms, meanings and distribution of the elements of the mother tongue and culture) explain many of the deviations from the norms of the learned language. Nevertheless, transferences do not explain all the peculiarities, and one must take into account strategies of communication, styles of cognition and of learning and what is denoted the creative construction.

Once the clear cases showing the influence of the mother tongue have been detected, then we must analyse the effects produced by the other factors that I have mentioned above, in order to explain the remaining characteristics, and to be able to reach a conclusion about whether we are dealing with a new system, or a system in the process of developing into a new system.
4.2 Historical explanation based on the conservation of Old Spanish

In the two previous sections I have gathered together a long list of phenomena and structures that characterise the Spanish of Quechua speaking bilinguals and which demonstrate the influence of the mother tongue in the use of the acquired language. So as not to limit the discussion to a simple enumeration and description, I shall now attempt to see whether there exists any relation between the singularities that I have indicated, that is, whether they respond to processes governed by rules. We have seen how the impression of Quechua appears to explain the presence and mode of function of some forms in the speech under consideration. There remain, however, other structures which are not directly explicable through this influence, and, in addition, some cases where it is possible to find explanations with roots in Quechua but also in other processes which, when added to the Quechua influence, result in the forms that have been presented as deviations from standard Spanish.

It is a well known fact that the Spanish of Latin America is better conserved than that of the peninsula. Authors such as Charles Kany (1968), Martha Hildebrandt (1969), Angel Rosenblat (1971, 1977), Juan M. Lope Blanch (1977), Rafael Lapesa (1985), Manuel Alvar (1986), Alvar and Potier (1987) and Jose Luis Rivarola (1990) have demonstrated that in the Spanish spoken in of Latin America there survives a great quantity of archaic terms and even expressions and structures that have disappeared in Spain. On the other hand, colonial linguistic conservation is not a phenomenon exclusive to Hispanic America, but one that has been repeated many times throughout the history of situations of colonisation. We know, for example, that in the case of Latin, the most remote provinces such as Lusitania conserved forms that were disappearing or becoming modified in Latium. However, a more significant case would be that of Sephardic Spanish, which corresponds to that spoken by the Jews in the fifteenth century when they were expelled from the peninsula.

The conservation of Hispanic American Spanish does not imply that the language is stagnant and has remained just how it was when it arrived. On the contrary, we know that there were and are other factors that contributed and still contribute to the independent and different renewal and development of Spanish in these latitudes (e.g. the substrate of autochthonous languages, historical
processes with their corresponding changes in political and social organisation, migrations from other countries such as Britain, Italy and Germany, etc.). Nevertheless, particularly during the colonial period, while in Spain the language was alive and in constant change, in far off America, where Spanish was a new language gradually being imposed on the population little by little, these changes took longer to arrive, or did not arrive at all, permitting the conservation of forms that were being forgotten in the peninsula. We saw how it happened with some archaic Spanish sounds preserved in Quechua through loans (cf. 4.1.4).

However, the process of conservation did not end there. Once the Latin American nations had come into existence, the new countries continued to develop, and communications with both Spain and the rest of the world were both easy and frequent. All this produced a new equalisation of language in the major cities and in the more industrialised areas. By contrast, in the rural areas, always more isolated and at the margins of the advances in technology and development, the older and more archaic forms have been and still are maintained. Paradoxically, it is precisely in these isolated rural areas that the autochthonous languages also survive with greatest vitality.

We shall see in the following sections that in addition to the archaic forms that have been conserved in almost all Spanish speaking America (e.g. the pronoun vos that has created new forms and structures, loismo, and terms like liviano, cuadra...) in the speech of Quechua bilinguals we find a series of structures reminiscent of, and which could be related to mediaeval Spanish, and which have not survived, or have survived in only a very restricted form, in either the peninsula or other parts of Latin America.

4.2.1 The double possessive.

As we have seen, one of the possible redundancies in possessive constructions is a clear reflection of the Quechua structure (e.g. de Antonio su amigo = Antoniyuq masin ). However, there is another possibility in that which maintains the normal order of the constituents (possessed, possessor) but utilises double possession by means of the genitive and the possessive pronoun
(e.g. Su libro de Richard). J.A. Rodríguez\textsuperscript{27} rejects the influence of Quechua as an explanation of this last construction because, on the one hand, in the course of his investigations in Peru, he has only found it in the third person whereas in Quechua it is present in all persons, and on the other, it appears that this type of form is documented in Spain until the 16th century, and until the 19th in expressions of courtesy \textit{su ... de usted}. The double possession probably arrived in America in the 16th century and the existence of a similarly redundant structure in the indigenous language would surely have helped this redundant archaic structure to be maintained and to spread both geographically and socially. Normally, the possessives are personal adjectives that replace the construction \textit{de + persona} (e.g. nuestro idioma, el tuyo, el suyo..... = el idioma de nosotros, de t\text{\'}{l}, de él). It seems, though, that the bilinguals prefer the construction to the pronoun (e.g. ‘A veces nosotros los profesores decimos bueno es lucha de ellos ’). Alvar and Potier\textsuperscript{28} have detected the same preference in some other Spanish speaking areas, above all in the case of the third person which does not differentiate either the gender or number of the possessor (i.e. \textit{su casa} = de él, de ella, de ellos, de ellas).

The curiosity of the variety under consideration is that the redundant structure of possession is maintained even when the possessor is the first person, forming structures such as: ‘\textit{mi preocupación más grande de m\text{\'}{l}} ’; ‘\textit{nuestra idioma propia de nosotros} ’. In which the redundancy produced is absolute in the second part of the possession, that is, the possessor is explained in the adjective that accompanies the possessed, and is not an ambiguous pronoun. Kany\textsuperscript{29} explains that the disappearance of vuestro in America in favour of the analytic form \textit{de ustedes} could have brought about by analogy the change from \textit{nuestro} to \textit{de nosotros}. This hypothesis still leaves the form of the first person singular unexplained. I believe that it is more useful to think that the construction with the double possessive is very well established in its code; it is considered as a normal form from which are constructed all the above mentioned possessives of the third person and likewise those of the remaining persons. It seems also that repetition and apposition are

\textsuperscript{27} J.A. Rodríguez, “Sobre el uso del posesivo redundante en el español del Perú”, \textit{Lexis VI}, 1, 1982, 117-123.
characteristics of languages in formation.  

4.2.2 Double negation:

Regarding double negation that precedes the verb, it is only possible to consider one archaic use, the construction también no since this is present in classic Spanish literature. Kany\textsuperscript{31} has encountered the above construction in \textit{El Quijote}. However, we have seen that in the speech of the bilinguals the double negation before the verb takes many forms: tampoco no, nada no, ni siquiera no but none exactly with también. It seems, therefore, that rather than look for a historical explanation, the phenomenon should be considered as a normal and frequent structure in the system of the speakers.

4.2.3 Lexical duplication: día lunes.

The use of the common noun \textit{día} together with the proper nouns of the days of the week (e.g. ‘El día martes será la carrera’) is quite common in several countries of South America and in Mexico. It seems that this construction was quite well rooted in mediaeval dialect, between the 13th and 15th century in the Iberian Peninsula, particularly in León and Aragón.\textsuperscript{32} Later, in the 16th and 17th centuries, another construction is found in which there is duplication but in a different form (e.g. \textit{El Quijote: el día del lunes}). I have indicated the first construction as characteristic of the speech of the bilinguals, although with the peculiarity of the elision of the article. The omission of the article I have already stated to be due to the influence of Quechua, and the lexical redundancy can be considered as an archaic use. On the other hand, if we think of this as a dialectal use that is only documented up to the fifteenth century, we could consider that it is a structure specific to languages in formation, since it was precisely during these centuries, and with contributions from the different regions, that the Castellano Romance was engendered that later became recognised as a

\textsuperscript{30} It would seem that in the process of stabilization of new structures repetitions are produced in order to ensure the correct communication of their contents; the messages are emitted doubly or with explicative parentheses in order to be certain of correct understanding.

\textsuperscript{31} Kany, C, op.cit., 1969, 383.
4.2.4. Saber as an auxiliary

In standard Spanish *saber*, in addition to having the meanings of ‘to taste’ and ‘to have knowledge’ which are the most common, is also used to signify ‘to be able’. In the variety of the bilinguals, as we have seen, it commonly takes the meaning of *soler*, ‘to do something usually or habitually’, a meaning that I have related to the influence of Quechua, but which there have also been attempts to explain as a Spanish archaism. It has been María R. Lida who has defended this theory with greatest force, arguing that it was a use present in Latin and Greek as well as in several of the Romances. She presents in its defence a long list of citations in different languages where the verb *saber* appears in contexts in which it can be interpreted as *soler*. Joan Corominas admits this value in a few very concrete and limited cases, and discusses the examples presented by Lida case by case, recognising in most of them the value of ‘*ser capaz*’, ‘to be able’. This analysis leads him to confirm that it is very easy to pass from one meaning to the other, and that the nuance that differentiates the two actions is very subtle:

De decir que una cosa puede ocurrir ocasionalmente, a sugerir que de hecho ocurre algunas veces, el tránsito es facilísimo, y así no es sorprendente el que en gran parte de América *saber* se haya convertido en un sinónimo coloquial de *soler*, totalmente caduco éste en el lenguaje hablado en el Río de la Plata. Este cambio de valor de *saber* es un hecho consumado no sólo en esta región sino en casi toda América. El fenómeno se presenta muy vivaz en América Central, extendido en general por América del Sur, y más vivo que en ninguna parte en la zona rioplatense. El cambio era fácil pero esto no significa que se produjera en todas partes ni en todas las épocas. Hoy es ajeno a España, y aunque no lo fue siempre del todo, los ejemplos seguros que pueden espiarse, son muy pocos y dan la impresión de una tendencia, quizá incipiente en otras partes, pero consumada a lo sumo en zonas limitadísimas.

I believe that the ease with which this change is produced is determined by the presence in the linguistic competence of the speaker of an equivalence between *soler* and *saber*. On considering

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34 Joan Corominas makes a detailed and interesting review of Lida's article, analysing and discarding each
a use that is extensive in Argentina, it is easy for María R. Lida to understand or interpret *soler* when *saber* is used. However, by contrast, for Corominas, who does not have this use in his own linguistic competence, it is more difficult to arrive at the same interpretation, although he recognizes it in concrete and isolated cases.

On the other hand, I have also mentioned that *saber* can function as an auxiliary. Corominas has observed the same phenomenon and explains it as a weakening that the meaning of *saber* has suffered:

> Saber acaba por convertirse en un mero pleonasmo, o por mejor decir en un auxiliar aspectual. Es un hecho muy típico de la actual habla gauchesca: 'un caudillo oriental que supo ser muy conocido años atrás', 'A mano derecha del Arroyo Bramanti donde supo vivir también el chileno Bautista'. Es evidente que *saber* se ha convertido en un mero auxiliar del pasado durativo, pues hubiera bastado un imperfecto para decir lo mismo; y aún este matiz durativo llega a desaparecer en casos como 'Velay un bulto ¿Qué sabrá ser?' 'así sabrán ser muchas otras quiscosas'.

The examples that Corominas offers are strongly reminiscent of the uses that I have found in the speech of the bilinguals. In such cases the Spanish archaism is out of the question and I do not believe that they are due to the influence of the mother tongue, but to the fact that the variety under consideration is a semilanguage, that is, a new code that is in the process of developing as a result of the contact between languages. We shall see later that it is also a characteristic of pidgin and creole codes to use several verbs in series in order to modify the meaning of the principal verb, or to use preverbal particles to indicate the mode, tense or aspect of the verb. Perhaps the creation of new auxiliaries is somehow connected to this process.

### 4.2.5 The use of ‘haber de’.

To continue with our consideration of the peculiarities of verbal use, I have already indicated the tendency to always use compound forms or verbal periphrases. One of the periphrases common in this variety is the construction *haber de* + *infinitive*. This form was fairly common in the Mediaeval Spanish and in the *Golden Age* it was still used to some extent in the peninsula. Of the three values it had, obligation, intention and future action, only the first was conserved in literature, since in spoken language the auxiliary *tendré* had already taken its place. In the speech
of the bilinguals it is used to express a future action, alternating with the periphrasis *ir a + infinitive* (e.g. ‘Cuando me voy a poner este sombrerito ha de ser una alumna ’ ‘Con “un” me ha de contestar ya no han de decir sin “un” ’). This use, with future significance, is not new, since when the Latin future tense was disappearing, the different Romance languages resorted to auxiliary verbs. In Spanish a construction was formed precisely with this verb *haber* as an auxiliary, whose primary value was identical to that of the periphrasis *haber de* : that of obligation and compromise (e.g. *hablar he >hablaré*).

According to Kany in Spanish the construction *haber de + infinitive* continued to be employed alongside the new future with its various meanings, and it was probably most common in colloquial speech, and from there would have been brought over to America. The fact that it still survives there in some areas could therefore be explained by the conservation of archaic forms in American Spanish, and also, in the case in question, by the tendency to utilise compound forms of verbs or periphrases.

**4.2.3 Omission of the preposition ‘a’**.

I stated above that this omission could be explained by the absence of this type of particle in the mother tongue, however, Kany finds a historical explanation for this phenomenon. Apparently in old Spanish the preposition ‘a’ was not necessary after a verb of motion to express object or purpose. This practice can be witnessed in diverse literary works until the beginning of the 16th century. It was in precisely this century that the ‘a’ became necessary. Kany cites examples from *El Cid* (1140): ‘le van cercar’, ‘vayamoslos ferir ’, ‘vo meter la vuestra sena ’, from *Rimado de Palacio* (14th century): ‘que quiere yr cenar’, and from *La Celestina* (1499): ‘abatiosel gírfalte y vinele endereçar’ (although a later edition of *La Celestina* (1501) gives ‘vinele a endereçar’). Kany believes that, in spite of the new form being present in popular speech, the practice of omitting the ‘a’ continued, and was carried to the New World where it has survived to this present day.

At present the practice evidently belongs to the sectors that are considered colloquial.
However, it does not seem particularly convincing that a phenomenon that was in decline when Spanish arrived in America should be maintained. It does however seem to be an indication of the state of the language of the bilinguals. The omission of the preposition occurred in Romance Castellano when this was in the process of formation and ceased to occur when Spanish had become normalised and had become a stable and unified language. If we consider the speech of the bilinguals as a language in formation, many phenomena could be explained and parallels could be drawn with the processes of formation of other languages.

All the examples of constructions that could be archaic are related to a more primitive state or stages of development of the Spanish language. In some cases we are concerned with dialectalisms that take us back to the stage at which the language was being defined. I believe, thus, that the presence of this type of structure in the speech of the bilinguals cannot be explained only by the isolation and conservation, but that we should be thinking that the state of the bilinguals' language is quite similar to that of Spanish in the Middle Ages and up to the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th, that is, when it was in a state of transition and consolidation from vulgar Latin to a new form.
5. INTERPRETATION OF THE SPANISH OF RURAL BILINGUAL TEACHERS: SEMILANGUAGE OR INTERLANGUAGE.

5.1. Semilanguage or interlanguage.

A complete explanation of the characteristics of the speech of the bilingual teachers is to consider it as a transitory system in development, which has become known as an interlanguage. To consider the variety of Spanish spoken by the bilinguals as an interlanguage facilitates the understanding of some phenomena which are difficult to explain from another perspective, and, additionally, does not deny the influence of other factors such as the mother tongue, but explains the manner in which the mother tongue acts on the new code. On the other hand, the presence of archaic structures could also be an argument in favour of the interlanguage especially where hesitation and recurrence are concerned.

The concept of interlanguage was introduced by Selinker (1972, cf. 1.2.2.) to refer to the variety of the object language that is part of implicit linguistic knowledge, that is, of the competence of the learner of the second language. As Appel and Muysken (1987:83) pointed out, the learner will use a series of interlanguages until the point is reached where a command of the target language or object language is reached. The complete command of the second language is almost never reached, and the speaker remains stuck at one of the intermediate stages. The interlanguage is not simply a language between the first and second with characteristics of the two, but an intermediate system characterised by traits that result from the learning strategies of the second language. Undoubtedly, it will have traits from the two languages in contact, but the interlanguage is characterised by the mechanisms that it creates in the process of its evolution (the strategies of communication and creative constructions).

Referring to the Andean area of Peru, Alberto Escobar was the first to apply the concept of interlanguage, even though he made a subtle distinction, using the denomination interlect to denote the variety of Spanish spoken by bilinguals:
INTERLECTO. Este viene a ser el español hablado, como segunda lengua, por personas cuya materna es una de las dos lenguas amerindias de mayor difusión en el país (quechua y aymara) y se encuentran en el proceso de apropiación del castellano. ¹

To this definition he adds certain characteristics of the speakers, who are always successive and subordinate bilinguals, and whose verbal conduct can be identified through correlation with a matrix of four variables a) the grade of hispanification; b) the interval of time since leaving school; c) length of exposure to Spanish; and d) the frequency of its use. To Escobar, the interlect is a stage in the process of appropriation of the second language, since it indicates that, depending on non-linguistic circumstances, the speaker is advancing towards colloquial forms of regional Spanish, or has become fixed in a sort of in-between stage that could be the germ from which a creole language might arise.

How should the colloquial regional variety be distinguished from the semilanguage? Inés Pozzi-Escot proposes one method for distinguishing them:

Cuando ese aprendiz ha accedido al dominio del castellano a un nivel que no llama la atención de los hablantes nativos y merece aceptabilidad social es hablante de castellano como segunda lengua y ya no de una entrelengua. ²

I do not find this method particularly convincing, since it appears to make the assumption that all the native speakers use the same variety of Spanish, without taking into account the colloquial characteristics that Escobar has indicated. I have pointed out above that we find in some Spanish speaking monolinguals of certain well defined social characteristics (e.g. some rural teachers) the same structures as are used by the bilinguals. It could be thought that these bilinguals no longer speak an interlanguage, but have achieved the end of the process of appropriation of the second language. However, given the characteristics of their speech it seems more reasonable to take the opposite opinion, that is, that there are native speakers of the interlanguage. Therefore, that would no longer be an interlanguage but a semilanguage as described in 1.2.2. Hence, when the learning process of the second language reaches the point at which the same code is used as that of certain

¹ Escobar, Alberto., 1978, 30.

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speakers for whom Spanish is a first language (but who are in actual fact native speakers of the semilanguage), these speakers are not surprised, and accept it without question. On the other hand, I have also observed that the consciousness of Spanish linguistic diversity, especially of sociolectal variety, is minimal or non-existent in the more popular sectors of society, even in professional bodies, like that of the rural school teachers, whose principal work is language teaching.

Other authors explain the phenomenon in terms of the social dimension. We have seen that in order to define interlect Escobar speaks of a social dialect, identifying the phenomenon with a speech community of specific social characteristics. In the same way, Selinker (1972) states that when a second language is learned, it is learned from a specific variety of the language, which is taken to be the norm. The possibility of an interlanguage arising is hence dependent on the type of Spanish to which the bilinguals are exposed. I believe that the variety to which Selinker refers could also be an interlanguage in the process of becoming a creole code, which I have previously called a semilanguage.

According to Luis Enrique López, the cause of what he terms semilingualism is not only in the learning of a variety of the language, but in that the acquisition of the second language happens, normally, when the child has still not achieved a sufficient and adequate command of the maternal language, and when, as a result of the diglossia present in society, it also does not have sufficient daily contextual support that would permit a real and effective appropriation of the second language. We can thus see that the rise of an interlanguage as the habitual and constant code of a community does not depend only on the context of the appropriation of a second language, but also on the process of acquisition and later development of the learned language.

On interpreting the work of Escobar, Rivarola explains interlect as a linguistic continuum whose extremities are marked by the incipient competences of the target language and the regional varieties of the same target language. The speakers of the interlect are situated at different points
between these two extremes. This same idea of a continuum has been applied since the 1960’s in studies concerning creole and pidgin codes in the British Caribbean.\textsuperscript{5} The advantage of this focus is that it describes those systems by means of what is termed a grammar of variation which takes into account all the rules present in a historical language in diverse places and at diverse times. That is, not only the normative aspects are considered, but also fossilised structures such as regional peculiarities.

I believe Escobar’s suggestion concerning the relation of the interlanguage, and more specifically that which he identifies as an interlect, with pidgin and creole codes is valid, and can be extremely useful and productive in explaining certain phenomena and characteristics of the variety. All these types of language belong to the category that has been denominated mixed languages. These always arise in plurilingual diglossic contexts (cf. 1.2.2.) where the high variety is a European language that has been imported and converted into the official language, although it represents a minority of speakers, and the position of low variety is occupied by unofficial languages, spoken by the majority of the population, of lower prestige and social value, and without access to the educative system. The high variety contributes vocabulary to the mixed codes, the grammatical structures of which sometimes reflect uses in the languages in contact, whilst others are typical of, and exclusive to, the new language.

5.2. Characteristics that define mixed languages

It is usually said that the systems of mixed languages, especially those of creole type, are simpler and less flexible than those of the languages in contact. There is a series of characteristics that define this type of language. Appel and Muysken\textsuperscript{6} give the following:

I - Fairly rigid word order within the sentence.

II - Invariable pronouns.

III - Absence of inflexional morphology, and scant derivational morphology.

IV - Presence of preverbal particles to mark negation, tense, mood and aspect.

V - Use of serial verbs to modify the meaning of the main verb or to mark
extra arguments.

VI - Fronting and doubling of the verb to mark emphasis.

VII - Use of a conjunction meaning "for" to mark purposive and infinitive clauses.

VIII - Use of the third person plural pronoun to mark the plural of the nominal clause.

IX - Use of focus particles at the beginning of a sentence to mark a constituent focused on.

Bruno Camus\(^7\) analysing the narration of stories or events in the past adds to the list, as a characteristic of creole codes:

X - Absence of indirect style.

On the other hand, Simon K. Dik,\(^8\) on describing the relations between the predicate and its arguments speaks of an appositional stage through which languages pass in their evolution and which consists of the apposition of one of the arguments of the predicate thereby producing a duplication. The following stage consists of the duplicated element losing its content and being converted into an empty marker that requires the presence of the other element.

Lastly, it has also been pointed out as a characteristic of pidgin and creole codes that they are more similar to each other than to other types of language. An interesting fact related to this point is that Escobar speaks of only one interlect, but refers to two types of bilinguals, those whose first language is Aymara and those whose first language is Quechua. The fact that the speech of both groups is similar and can be regarded as one interlect could have two explanations. In the first place, it could be thought that this is due to the great structural likeness between the maternal languages (Quechua and Aymara\(^9\)). There could, however be an alternative explanation if we consider the interlect to be a type of creole. According to Loreto Todd\(^10\) many pidgins and creoles related to European languages are syntactically more similar to each other than to the languages

\(^7\) Analysis carried out during the round table discussion on *Lenguas autóctonas, lenguas importadas y lenguas oficiales* which took place on January 27, 1993 in the Casa de América, Madrid.


\(^9\) Although the idea of a genetic relationship between the two languages has already been discarded, the lexical, phonological and structural similarities between Aymara and the Cuzco-Bolivia dialect of Quechua cannot, however, be denied. See Davidson, Joseph, O., *A contrastive study of the grammatical structures of Aymara and Cuzco-Quechua*, Ph.D. in linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, 1977. Ann Arbor,
from which they derive their lexicon. I can confirm that there is more similarity between the variety of Spanish (interlanguage or semilanguage) spoken by Quechua bilinguals and that of bilinguals of Aymara origin than there is between either language and standard Spanish. The explanation would be that both cases are the result of the same type of process.

I believe that in the case of the presumed interlanguage spoken by the rural teachers of Bolivia there are sufficient characteristics to consider that the stage that the bilinguals have reached is not a colloquial and regional variety of Spanish, but should be considered a semilanguage. As we have been seeing, many of the structures that are typical of this code are not explicable by transference from the mother tongue or by means of the grammar of the target language. Thus, the semilanguage is not the result of a freezing at one stage of a process, but appears to have already become independent on the road to becoming a creole, since it has native speakers. We have seen that there are some speakers whose native language, theoretically a variety of Spanish, has the same characteristics as the speech of the bilinguals whose mother tongue is Quechua. If we focus on the phenomenon from the perspective of a continuum it becomes much easier to understand why not all the constructions that have been indicated occur with the same frequency with all the speakers. Those more general and regular characteristics would mark an extreme of the continuum, that occupied by the independent interlanguage which has become a system in development, and the other extreme would be occupied by the standard Spanish of the community. On the other hand, through the medium of the continuum we can understand better the most outstanding characteristic of the semilanguage, its variability, which is reflected in three characteristics: permeability (it accepts structures and elements from other systems), fossilisation (it conserves structures in disuse, or structures typical of the stages of learning), and transference (it reflects the competence of the speaker in his or her native language).

To confirm this hypothesis: that is that the speech of the teachers is something approaching a

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11 As was put forward in 1.2.2, a semilanguage would be the result of a process similar to that which produces an interlanguage, since the initial object is to learn another language, the official and dominant
creole code, I shall examine the characteristics I have pointed out that have remained unexplained, or that have only been partially explained. I shall examine them in order to determine whether they are new constructions, without parallel in the mother tongue or the target language, and in each case, I shall attempt to describe their form and function. Finally I shall propose a new list of the characteristics of this semilanguage and we shall see in which ways it is identified with the characteristics of creole codes.

5.3. Characteristics of the semilanguage itself.

In the discussion of the influence of Quechua and the persistence of archaic uses, I have already indicated that what appears to be latent behind all the structures understood as divergent is not just a great irregularity with respect to Spanish or a deep imprint of Quechua persisting in the second language, but a new code that, on the one hand has taken elements from the two languages in contact, but on the other, is defining itself as independent, and creating new structures of its own.

We see that Quechua elements have been adapted to new forms and that Spanish forms have embraced new contents and concepts. To my understanding this indicates that a new culture, or way in which the world is apprehended and conceived, has defined itself, and that this culture has required a new means of expression, that is, a new code. This new code could not just arise from nothing, completely new and different, but, like the culture that it represents, is the product of a contact, in which there has been a confluence with the transference of forms and concepts, followed by a separation, which has shaped the differences that have arisen. However, it appears that this last stage has not been fully developed; the independence of the human group is incomplete, since they coexist with the more powerful group of Spanish speakers, by whom they are influenced strongly. Neither has their linguistic independence become consolidated, since, although undeniable differences have arisen, the undeniable reality of Spanish is also present, this being the language of the powerful that all wish to acquire. Hence, what could have become a creole code has not managed to take the final step that would free it from the bonds attaching it to the groups from which it has arisen, or from those that guide it. However, I believe that the existence of a
series of specific and frequently occurring traits, that show a tendency towards independence as a new code, cannot be denied. To continue I shall discuss those that are most evident and frequent.

5.3.1. The redundant “lo”.

One of the most characteristic traits, present in the speech of all the informants with such frequency that it seems more appropriate to think of the absence of this phenomenon as the exception, is the redundant clitic pronoun “lo”. We have seen that it always appears before transitive verbs along with the noun or nominal direct object syntagm. We also know that it does not alternate with other pronouns (e.g. la, le, las, los, les):

'Más lo hablan el castellano que el propio quechua.'

'En Sucre lo he realizado mis estudios.'

'Por que las graffas ya lo conocen.'

'Lo alejan a la gente.'

That is, that it does not respect agreement with the constituent for which it forms the antecedent. I have found various interpretations of this phenomenon. Clodoaldo Soto\textsuperscript{12} thinks that the lack of articles and morphemes of gender in Quechua cause the use of constructions with lo. The choice of neutral gender he explains as being the form closest to the mentality of Quechua speakers. Joaquín Herrero,\textsuperscript{13} however, although he also relates the phenomenon to the influence of Quechua, explains it as the attempt to translate into Spanish the Quechua pronominal suffixes, such as -\textit{pu}, and those termed \textit{objective pronouns}.\textsuperscript{14} Charles Kany\textsuperscript{15} thinks that the use of lo, disregarding agreements of gender or number with the direct object noun, is possibly due to a desire to give an affective value to the phrase, or to round it off.

To me, this lack of agreement leads me to think that the link between the pronoun and the noun or nominal syntagm either does not exist, or, if it did once exist, has disappeared. If this link has

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\textsuperscript{12} Clodoaldo Soto, op. cit., 1978, 623.

\textsuperscript{13} Joaquin Herrero, op. cit., 1974, 2.
been broken then it could be said that it does not function as a pronoun, but has some other function, or, perhaps, none at all. There are other examples that illustrate better this idea:

‘*Es obvio que el camino es largo pero no lo es difícil.*’

In this example, neither of the two possible candidates that could be the antecedent to the pronoun actually fulfils this function. If we think of the antecedent as *largo*, the sentence would be contradictory (*el camino es largo pero no lo es*); it is only valid as a play on words. If we take *dificil* as the antecedent the sentence becomes incoherent since the anaphora is presented as a negative concession without it being clear to what it is referring. It would seem, then, that the clitic pronoun is totally independent of the direct object. Also in phrases such as:

‘*Me parece que no lo viene a ser una solución.*’

we observe that the pronoun does not behave normally, since, in a verbal periphrasis of this type the clitic pronoun is always attached to the end of the verb in its infinitive form (e.g. *Él no quiere serlo; Tengo que ir a verlo; María debe hacerlo*...). On this occasion, however, it has kept its position before the principal verb, as in the other examples. All of this appears to indicate that we are not dealing with a pronoun, but with some other particle with a different function to the clitic pronouns, and with a fixed position with respect to the verb within the sentence.

Another curious example that makes me believe that the *lo* has lost its meaning and has either acquired a new value or function, or has simply come to be an empty category, is the following:

‘*Ellos no lo pueden traducirlo.*’

In this case, the clitic pronoun occupies its regular position after the infinitive of the verbal periphrasis, although another, totally redundant, *lo* is placed in front of the principal verb, as we have seen in the other examples. Clearly it cannot be the anaphora of another anaphora, and hence its value and function must be something else.

The expression ‘*to round off*’ (‘*redondearla*’) that Kany uses intuitively could be understood as a grammatical resource. If we think of the *appositional stage* in the evolution of languages that Dik has indicated16, we could follow his line of reasoning and interpret that a change has taken

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16 Dik (1989, 135) explains the process by means of an example that makes reference to subject-verb
place in appositional order, with the dislocation of the direct object, and that the pronoun is used
to indicate this change; the pronoun is thus converted into a redundant marker of the verb used to
express transitivity and the presence of a direct object, and, little by little, has lost its semantic
value, having become an empty category which only acquires significance when the other direct
object element appears.

Let us go through this step by step. We have noted that in received Spanish when the direct
object is placed before the verb a duplication of the object is produced by means of a clitic pronoun
(e.g. El libro lo he olvidado encima de la mesa ). We know that through the influence of the
mother tongue, Quechua, there is a tendency among those learning Spanish to invert the order of
elements in a sentence, placing the complements before the verb. In such a case the marker for
this dislocation can be included, or not, depending on the speaker’s competence in Spanish. The
omission of the dislocation marker is quite common in the speech of incipient bilinguals and those
that do not regularly use Spanish, and although it is also found sporadically in the speech of the
rural teachers (e.g. 'El castellano nosotros hemos aprendido desde pequeños'), the most often
heard structure must be that in which the marker of dislocation appears. Owing, on the one hand,
to the large amount of confusion regarding agreement, and, on the other, to the loss of semantic
value that the clitic pronoun experiences on becoming a mere marker of the presence of a direct
object, this acquires a unique and generalised form: that of the neutral lo. In the following stage,
it appears that the clitic has become consolidated as a marker of the verb, since although the direct
object returns to occupy its position after the verb, the marker does not disappear.

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structures figure as one of the stages that a language may run through. This scenario can be
briefly illustrated as follows:

"The woman sings".........................."She sings"
Stage 1. The woman, she sing............... She sing
Stage 2. The woman she-sing................. She-sing
Stage 3. The woman she-sing............... She she-sing
Stage 4. The woman sing..................... She sing
Stage 5. return to stage 1.

In stage 1, we have a language without agreement, but with a strong tendency to use the so-called
"Left-dislocated" (or Theme) constructions such as The woman she sing. In stage 2., the Theme has been
integrated into the clause (through markedness shift), and the pronominal element has become a redundant
marker on the verb. However, she-sing can still be independently used. Stage 2. therefore represents
the appositional stage. In stage 3., the pronominal element of the verb has lost its independent semantic
value: it has developed into a pure agreement marker which cannot stand on its own without nominal or
My theory would appear to be corroborated by the idea put forward by Talmy Givón\textsuperscript{17} of the diachronic relation that exists between tonic independent pronouns, atonic pronouns, clitic pronouns and verbal agreement. According to this author, diachronically, tonic independent pronouns can be converted into atonic ones and also become “cliticized”, and atonic or clitic pronouns can in turn become converted into verbal inflexions. With the grammatical agreement commonly becomes codified morphologically with other inflexional categories of the verb, in particular with tense markers, and markers of aspect and mode. In the case we are dealing with it is converted into a marker of transitivity. Additionally, Givón indicates that the diachronic change goes hand in hand with changes in function of the pronoun in discourse, and that is precisely what we have observed in the case above.

5.3.2. The double negation.

Although we have seen that in some ways this could be related to Quechua (cf. 4.1.5.2. e.g. 'No se podia avanzar también' = Manallataq 'no también') and that in some definite and infrequent cases it could also be explained as an archaic use (cf. 4.2.2. e.g. Otras cosas entonces también no les sale ), I believe that the double negation before the verb is a structure that is specific to this code. We are dealing with a constant and common structure that has created numerous parallel forms (cf. 3.2.3. e.g. nada no, tampoco no, ni siquiera no, nunca no, ni...no) in which the negative adverb always appears followed by the negative particle no both of which are always placed before the verb.

'En tiempo de siembras ya no hay viajes ni en tiempo de cosechas ya no hay viajes.'

'No, no se habla; ni siquiera un 80% de quechua puro en Bolivia no se habla.'

'No tenemos ni temas avanzados porque con pocos alumnos tampoco no

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\textsuperscript{17} Talmy Givón, SYNTAX. A functional-typological introduction, 2 vols, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam/ Philadelphia, 1984. In this work a chapter (Ch. 10, pp. 353-385) is dedicated to pronouns and their uses and a whole section of the above is related to the example given above.
It is noticeable that all the structures have very homogeneous behaviour, and this regularity underlines the independence and novelty of the structure. We know that in standard and received Spanish not all negative adverbs behave in the same way; some tend to be placed after the verb, completing, and usually closing, the sentence (e.g. no me interesa nada; no conozco a nadie; no llega a tiempo nunca). These adverbs can also be placed before the verb, although this happens so seldom that the sentence becomes very emphatic, or even poetic (e.g. Nada me interesa; A nadie conozco; Nunca llega a tiempo). Other adverbs, by contrast, are usually placed before the verb (e.g. El perro tampoco recordaba el camino; el perro ni siquiera recordaba el camino) and when they do occur after the verb (e.g. El perro no recordaba tampoco el camino; El perro no recordaba ni siquiera el camino) they acquire a certain ambiguity since they can be interpreted as negators of the verbal action, in which case they would seem to form markers, or they can be negators of a part of the sentence, in these cases of the direct object.

Nevertheless, although, as we have just seen, it is possible to define several types of negative adverb in relation to their normal position with respect to the verb, we can see that there is a regularity in the form of the verb depending on the position of the adverb. When the adverb appears first, whether or not this is its habitual position, the verb will be in its affirmative form (e.g. El perro tampoco recordaba el camino; El perro ni siquiera recordaba el camino; Nunca llega a tiempo; Nada me interesa; A nadie conozco). However, when the adverb appears after the verb, this is always in its negative form, that is, it is preceded by the negative particle no (e.g. El perro no recordaba tampoco el camino; El perro no recordaba ni siquiera el camino; No llega a tiempo nunca; No conozco a nadie; No me interesa nada).

In the code of the bilingual rural teachers we see that the form of the verb is unalterable, that is, it is always negative, and the negative adverbs have a fixed position in the sentence - always before the verb. This structure appears to indicate that the presence of a negative adverb implies the negation of all of the sentence, not just one part of it, and hence the verb itself is denied. On observing the negative adverb at the beginning of the sentence, one anticipates the negative content
of the sentence which is completed and confirmed by the form of the verb. It seems strange, and
I believe supports my idea of a negative structure that is both rigid and regular, that when the
negation is formed by the particle no + también the adverb generally appears after the verb
(e.g. 'Como no entiendo también, a veces, el quechua'). In the cases where también appears
before the verb - less frequent but still possible - it acquires a negative value and is placed before
the particle no which immediately precedes the verb (e.g. 'Ellos también no comprenden') negating
all the sentence.

5.3.3. Double Possession.

We have also seen that this could have both an explanation related to Quechua and one
related to the persistence of an archaic use. These have been the analyses made of similar cases
in Peru (e.g. 'Su casa de Juan'). However, in discussing the work carried out on the Peruvian
case, I pointed out that the Bolivian variety under consideration differed slightly, since the double
possession occurs not only in the third person, as in Peru, but has been generalised to all the
remaining persons: we saw that it is applied to the first person both in the singular and in the plural
(e.g. 'Mi preocupación más grande de mí'; 'nuestra idioma propio de nosotros'). I believe that the
generalisation of the phenomenon denotes in the competence of the bilingual speakers the
existence of a common and regulated structure to express possession in which the possessed
precedes the possessor but always with the inclusion of some marker that links the possessed to
the possessor. This marker takes the form of a possessive adjective (e.g. 'Fue su cumpleaños de
mi mamá'; 'A su alrededor de Potolo'; 'su renovación de nuestras culturas'; 'mi deseo mío sería
tan grande').

I have observed that on occasions this structure alternates with that which reflects the Quechua
(e.g. '¿Y del gatito su nombre qué cosa es?') although the first structure is more common. I have
not found, however, any possessive structure that takes the normal form of possession in Spanish
(e.g. la mamá de Antonio). I believe that this can be explained through the Quechua form being
very close to that of the interlanguage in that it establishes explicitly the relation between possessor
and possessed. This relation seems to be so fundamental there that it is not only mentioned in

those cases where there is some doubt, i.e., with the adjectives of the third person su (de él, de ella, de ellos, de ellas), but also in all other cases.

The fact that calque structures taken from Quechua do appear can also be explained by considering the code as a mixed language of pidgin or creole type, in which, as was pointed out above, the grammar of the indigenous language predominates over that of the European. On the other hand, I have stated that the semilanguage has created its own structure, that which is also used most frequently, however, the possibility that the Quechua calque can still occur is due precisely to the permeability and variability of this type of code.

5.3.4. The redundant reflexive.

Another of the phenomena that occur frequently is the presence of reflexive pronouns together with verbs that do not take them in standard Spanish. On considering the influence of Quechua on the speech of bilinguals, I explained the presence of these pronouns as a result of the translation of the Quechua suffix -ku which I translated as being of "personal benefit". I believe that, although in this case the influence of Quechua is direct and undeniable, the fact that it has become a generalised mechanism applicable to any type of verb could be interpreted as a morphosyntactic rule of the semilanguage. We are not dealing with a structure that reflects hesitation regarding the forms and functions of verbs, but with a new and well used mechanism that the semilanguage has created to express a concept that is foreign to standard Spanish. In the semilanguage, when it is desired to emphasise the protagonism of the person who is the subject of the action the pronoun se is joined to the verb as if it were a reflexive, but with different connotations. The best manner of understanding this is by considering actual cases. As I have stated, it is a particularly frequent form, and, hence, the examples that I have gathered are very numerous:

'Solterita.... te sales a la hora que quieres.'

'Que los profesores se pongan un poquito más de su interés.'

'Sacan sus productos y con ese dinero se traen.'

'En época de cosecha se faltan.'

'Me dispongo para trasladar mi bicicleta.'
'Me siento un orgullo satisfecho.'

'Uno, dos, tres me venían.'

'Vamos a pasarnos ahora a leer nuestro libro.'

'A pie tenemos que transportarnos.'

There are many more, but I believe that these are sufficient to understand that the value of se is something distinct from the reflexive, and to recognise that this new pronoun can be joined to any verb.

5.3.5. The direct style with the verb "decir".

I have also mentioned the possible influence of Quechua on this phenomenon, since in this language the indirect style does not exist, but we have also seen that the Quechua structures are not reproduced literally, and that, although the influence of the mother tongue can be detected, the use of the direct style to reproduce past conversations is also a resource of the semilanguage. Normally in order to introduce direct speech the verb decir is used, as in Quechua, but this can also alternate with other verbs of diction (e.g. 'Pero yo les digo: “A fin de año, o sea, ya cuando todo termine y cuarto curso pasemos, entonces ya van a saber hablar los dos idiomas”, les explico.'), and the direct style can also be used without any verb of introduction (e.g. 'Me estaba viendo a Sucre después de jugar y uno de los profesores llega: “¿Por qué no has ido a recoger tu medalla?”'). However, what does not occur is the narration of past deeds using the indirect style, recourse is always made to the literal reproduction of what has been said. The exclusive preference for this structure leads us to believe that the indirect style does not exist in the speech of the bilinguals, and hence, neither does the concept of being able to reproduce past conversations without the need to repeat each of the sentences used. Once more we have shown how in mixed languages the grammar of the indigenous language prevails, and how on top of this grammar a new rule is created.

We can thus see that the new code not only creates structures, but that others present in the target language disappear or are not reproduced. It is interesting to point out that, from the point
of view of standard Spanish, the most typical structures of this code are duplicative or redundant. We could conclude that it is a characteristic of languages in formation or in development to create, or to prefer, reiterative constructions, formally or conceptually; we saw that the same occurred in the mediaeval dialects present in the Iberian Peninsula before a unified Spanish language was formed. I also believe that some characteristics of this code coincide with those that I have listed as typical of mixed languages, especially of creole. It should be taken into account, on the other hand, that the traits listed by Appel and Muysken (1987) were postulated for creole codes that have arisen from English, a language that is structurally different from Spanish, and for which reason, although the structures of these creole codes and the variety under consideration in this work coincide in some respects, it is logical to expect that this will not occur in others.

I. - Fairly rigid word order within the sentence.

At first sight, the conclusion would be precisely the opposite, that is, that the order of the elements in the sentence is fairly free, since structures in which the verb precedes and follows its complements are both found. However, I have already indicated that in the speech of rural bilingual teachers there is a tendency to situate the complements before the verb, in the same way that adjectives tend to appear before the noun and adverbs before the verb (cf. 3.2.1). It cannot be said that we are dealing with a fixed and invariable order because we can also find structures with the inverse order, but, I do believe that the larger number of forms in which there is anteposition is an indication that the language is in a period of transition from one type of order to another with a strong tendency to place complements and modifiers before the principal constituents.

II. - Invariable pronouns.

In this category we can consider the generalised use of the neutral pronoun lo although it has previously been pointed out that its real function is not that of object pronoun, but that of a simple grammatical marker of the verb (cf. 5.3.1).
III. Absence of flexive morphology and scant derivational morphology.

It has been noted above that there is a clear tendency to omit agreements both of gender, between the noun and its modifiers, and between the verb and its subject (cf. 3.2.4 and 4.1.2). It cannot be said that it has disappeared totally, but it is the most frequent phenomenon of all those that have been mentioned. The lack of agreement can be observed both in colloquial or informal conversations, and in others developed in a more formal atmosphere. I have encountered this not only in conversations, or in the course of school classes, but also in formal discourses before authorities, and, in addition, it can even be observed in written language. We know that oral language is much more tolerant than its written counterpart; whereas in conversation one can commit errors and alter the order of elements, since it is always possible to rectify them, written language does not permit rectification, and hence tends to be much more conservative, taking far more heed of grammatical rules and academic norms. In material written by the teachers I have found numerous cases in which agreement has been ignored, and believe that this could indicate the scant extent to which this type of morphology has become established in their code.

Regarding the scarcity of derivational morphology, this is not so obvious as the disappearance of the flexive, but I can point out some constructions which could be related to this phenomenon (e.g. 'un redondo ') where the article is directly joined to an adjective, and where there exists a noun formed from this adjective (e.g. redondel) or the contrary case (e.g. 'El pueblito ya se ha quedado así silencio ') where a noun is used when there exists an adjective derived from it (e.g. silencioso ).

IV. Preverbal particles that mark negation, tense, mood and aspect.

One of the structures that I have presented as typical of the speech of the teachers is double negation before the verb (cf. 3.2.3.3 and 5.3.2); we have seen how when negative particles are situated before the verb (e.g. nada no hay; tampoco no puede ser; ni siquiera no va poder pronunciar), whereas, when no + también is used the second part is placed after the verb (e.g. No ha cambiado también ).
V. - The use of serial verbs to modify the meaning of the main verb or to mark extra arguments.

Although they do not occur in the same contexts or with the same functions, I believe that typical examples of this structure are the periphrases formed with the verb hacer (e.g. hacer ver; hacer recuerdo) or the use of saber as an auxiliary with the value of soler or as a marker of the past tense (cf. 3.2.5.2).

VI. - Fronting and doubling of the verb to mark emphasis.

This phenomenon does not occur in the speech of the bilinguals, although the repetition of the verb several times throughout the sentence (cf. 3.2.3.4), and its conclusion with the same verb with which it was initiated could be related phenomena.

VII. - The use of a conjunction meaning "for" to mark purposive and infinite clauses.

I have mentioned the use of the adverbial locutions lo que, de lo que precisely to introduce infinitive clauses (e.g. "Lo que nosotros hemos aprendido primero el quechua y luego el castellano, eso ha sido también un factor negativo") and purposive clauses (e.g., 'De lo que no has venido se ha enojado') (cf. 3.2.5.1).

IX. - The use of focus particles at the beginning of the sentence to mark a constituent focused on.

I have found particles such as lo and siempre although these do not always appear at the beginning of the sentence, but before the part of the sentence that is emphasised (cf. 3.2.5.1).

'traemelo la camisa.' (emphasising la camisa)

'¿El lunes siempre te estás yendo?' (emphasising el lunes)

'¿A Sucre siempre te vas?' (emphasising A Sucre)

'No ha llegado siempre' (emphasising llegado)
X. Absence of indirect style.

We have already seen that this is one of the typical traits of this code (cf. 5.3.5).

We can see that not all of the characteristics indicated by Appel and Muysken coincide with those found in the speech of the bilinguals, and that some are simply reminiscent of similar phenomena that I have found, and I have been unable to confirm that a relationship exists between them. In any case, even if I cannot confirm that we are dealing with an independent language, I believe that the code used by the bilinguals has the potential to become one, that is, there is a series of traits present that indicate the possibility that a new language is being forged. The complete independence of this code and its strengthening as a new language is a function of many complex factors (principally social and political ones); however, I believe it is undeniable that the speech of rural bilingual teachers is not simply a regional variety of Spanish, nor an uncertain or shallow Spanish, but a code that has originated in the appropriation of Spanish, but which has sufficient new rules and functions of its own to be considered an original and different code, and that point towards its consolidation as an independent language. In fact, both the Spanish that the teacher uses in the classroom and that used with the family, or in discussions with colleagues and friends, is the semilanguage. That which the teacher transmits to his or her children and to the pupils is the semilanguage since it is his or her habitual code of communication, or language.

The existence of a new code with a tendency towards total independence from the languages in contact, from which it originated, cannot be seen as an isolated phenomenon, but is related to certain sociological factors that have led to the arising of a new group within society, with a tendency towards autodetermination, but without having yet achieved total stability. By establishing a parallel between the social and linguistic phenomena we should be able to find the same characteristics. Whilst we find ourselves with a group of apparent Spanish speakers (who have the vocabulary and the form of Spanish), elements of their mother culture are revealed both in their habits and in the reclamation of the Quechua culture (through permeability and transference from the mother tongue), however, up to a certain point, they are somewhat removed from both groups.
recognise that they are not completely like the Spanish speakers (which is demonstrated in the
creation of new rules and structures).
6. CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSITIONS.

6.1. Implications of the semilanguage.

In the preceding chapter I concluded by establishing the semilanguage of rural teachers as the result of a process that has arisen from a situation of contact between languages, which has consisted of the language becoming independent from the bases in which it originated, and of a new and different code arising. In the case that we have been considering, we can still find the germ of a new system, but with a clear tendency towards total independence and the establishment of a new order.

If we assume it possible that there exists in Bolivia a semilanguage that is in the process of becoming a creole code, or, perhaps with time, a new language, it becomes imperative to reconsider the political and social positions associated with the languages and their speakers. It would be necessary to stop looking at only two groups, Spanish speakers (both monolinguals and bilinguals), and those speaking the vernacular languages, and to establish the existence of a new alternative, which has defined itself with considerable force, that of the interlanguages and semilanguages; at the same time the cause and the consequence of a new order that has resulted from the contact of two languages, and, therefore, of two cultures. This new order should also be perceptible in other spheres of social life, and indeed is, in the appearance of the new political organisations to which I have made reference in 1.3.1. which project the image of the cholo as principal protagonist of present day Bolivian society.

By considering situations and processes of contact, not just linguistic but also cultural, Juan Carlos Godenzzi in a conference entitled ‘Tradición y modernidad en los Andes’ which took place in Cochabamba in 1991\(^1\) analysed the confluence and coexistence of both factors in the Department of Puno in Peru. On describing the situation of contact which is reflected in cultural expressions and also in language, he presented a panorama of the linguistic situation, which may

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\(^1\) Papers presented at III Colóquio Internacional: Cores de Trabalho: Literatura e Antropologia Andina.
be, perhaps, rather too optimistic, but, I believe, is sound. It consisted in the proposition of a new perspective from which to view interlingualism and the possible evolution of this process.

Speaking of the pluriculturalism that is present in the Peruvian area, Godenzzi explained that, from the coexistence of two cultural horizons, there arise tensions that can be summed up in the opposition tradition/ modernity, but pointed out that this opposition is not resolved by the annulment of one of the two terms, but by the predominance of one of them (modernity), the continuance and survival of the other (tradition), and, in all cases, their interaction. In the same way, on considering the use of the different languages present in the area, he proposed a parallel scheme; he asserted that the tension present between Spanish and Quechua, or Aymara, was not resolved by the disappearance of one of the terms, but by the predominance of one of them (Spanish), the continuance and survival of the other (Quechua or Aymara) and, above all, the interaction or contact between the languages. From this interaction arises the phenomenon he labels interlingualism:

Vamos a entender por interlingualism el fenómeno de la diversidad de lenguas y todas las consecuencias que se derivan de ello: mezclas, interferencias y fusiones; incomunicación, confusión y mecanismos de traducción.

Interlingualism implies, therefore, code-switching, the inclusion of Quechua terms in Spanish, and interferences in stress and intonation, in phonetics, and in morphosyntactics; that is, the transgression of the norms of grammar, but it also implies the transgression of social norms, since we are dealing with incursion in a new context in which interlingual and intercultural changes will be produced, provoking what we could call culture-switching, in which different norms may be created. Godenzzi interprets this as the abolition of linguistic barriers, and an initial solution to the problem of non-communication. Interlingualism and interculturalism thus define and configure the new profile of society.

I can confirm that for the Bolivian case a parallel scheme fits perfectly. It is undeniable that Spanish enjoys a situation of predominance in the linguistic panorama of the nation, but without having caused the disappearance of vernacular languages like Quechua that continue to survive.
ignored, presence of a mixed code that is becoming stronger and stronger, representing a group of speakers that is also mixed. Depending on the force and social influence that these mixed groups can achieve, their linguistic codes along with other means of cultural expression could become recognised and could prosper at national level.

In order to describe the situation in which the two cultures, and hence the two languages, that are in contact meet, Godenzzi speaks of dialogue. The tension between tradition and modernity finds its solution in dialogue. This dialogue is a continuum in which each of the terms enters into an interaction with the other and produces something new, but which belongs to the two at the same time. He suggests the necessity for a living tendency to appear, of a transition from monologue to dialogue, from monolingualism to interlingualism.

That which Godenzzi proposes is to leave behind the polarization of reality, and to begin assigning value to the result of the meeting and fusion of the two poles, understanding this as dialogue rather than confrontation. We know that dialogue is not always peaceful and egalitarian, and is, on the contrary, often violent and conflictive, but it is the means by which difficulties are resolved and exclusions are ended. To believe in the existence of a dialogue between the linguistic and social forces in Bolivia would perhaps be utopian, but the possibility of maintaining an interpretation along these lines could create the basis for new ideas and interpretations of the reality and conflicts that are present today.

We could put forward the interpretation that, following centuries of inequality and oppression, the most convenient and productive way forward for the indigenous population has been to adopt the culture of the other, but channelled through the mother culture, that is, *interculturalität* that

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*This way forward is probably not new, but has been practised since colonial times, in some epochs more successfully and with greater extension than in others, depending always on the social and political circumstances of each moment.*
produces a new culture. This, although it is at first difficult to separate it from its origins, little by little, begins to show evidence and products of its independent and autonomous existence. However, the very existence of this interculturality is not always recognised openly by its own protagonists, whose desire to be integrated into the other group does not allow them to acknowledge freely, in all circumstances, that they form part of a process of change and renovation, although, in some definite circumstances they will want to emphasise this condition of difference and exclusivity with respect to the two basic groups.

Speaking precisely of creole languages, Bruno Camus\(^3\) indicates that these appear difficult to label in terms of the opposition autochthonous language / imported language; they are not easily defined entities from the genetic point of view, and this makes their identification and examination difficult. **Interculturality** does not deny nor destroy the other older cultures from which it has originated, but it does present itself as a new alternative with which the others could converge.

The rise of interlingualism and interculturalism is not due to systematic social and linguistic planning, as such, but to more spontaneous and less predictable phenomena. Hence it is happening in practice, as I have tried to demonstrate in the previous chapter, in spite of the fact that many of the phenomena that give rise to it are not logically predictable. Manuel Alvar describes the situation in the following manner:

> Esta es la situación de las comunidades indígenas en muchos países de América: la lengua prehispánica es, sustancialmente, un elemento conservador porque une al individuo con el grupo y da sentido a su existencia dentro del mismo; fuera de él los comportamientos diferentes exigen romper las fuerzas que establecen una tensión, y no todos los individuos están dotados para ello. Sólo cuando todas las acciones exteriores han actuado en el mismo sentido, podrán someterse los últimos defensores de la tradición lingüística o ésta morirá con ellos - lentamente - sin que la bandera de la independencia se arrié. En cualquiera de estos casos, el vencimiento de la comunidad minoritaria no permitiría el nacimiento de lenguas mixtas o criollas, pues no cabe pasar de una estructura marginada a otra que se impondría a sí misma la marginación.

Alvar accepts the existence of small bilingual nuclei in some countries, using Ecuador as an example.
example where he explains that the Spanish of the bilinguals is *'una especie de jerga castellano-
quechua dificilmente comprensible por quien sólo conozca el español normal'*. Alvar does not
recognise in this 'slang' the germ of a creole code, since he interprets it as a simple and
impoverished variety of Spanish. In my opinion, although I am not too familiar with the details of
the Ecuadorian case,⁵ this could be treated, like the speech of Bolivian rural teachers, as a
semilanguage, in which the apparent 'abnormalities' could be described in a logical and systematic
manner as part of a separate code, different from Spanish. The marginal condition of this type of
code is not a factor that determines their disappearance in favour of the other language, that of
higher prestige and power, since, in general, creole languages exist in situations of diglossia. We
are here dealing with a peculiar kind of diglossia in that the position of high variety (H) is occupied
by the official languages (traditionally English, French and Dutch) which are of international
diffusion, but are minority languages in creole communities; and the creole code is the low variety
(L), normally not the official language, but the majority language in terms of the numbers of its
speakers, of questionable identity, low prestige and social valuation, without standardisation and
without access to the educative system. The situation of the code that is under consideration here
is very similar, if not identical, to that I have just described, and its evolution could take exactly that
same direction towards becoming a creole code. On the other hand, in some countries in Africa,
and in Haiti, creole languages have much vitality and stability, and their prestige is constantly
growing.

It can therefore be observed that in spite of the apparently dim future facing incipient creoles,
there is a tendency, in various places and circumstances, precisely towards convergence, that is,
towards dialogue. The acceptance of *interculturality* and *interlingualism* would tend to generate a
whole series of political and social measures that for adaptation to the new reality, starting with new
linguistic policies. Now that there is starting to be a consciousness of pluriculturality in these
countries, *interculturality* must start to be recognised as one of the key exponents of this plural

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⁵ For the Ecuadorian case see Peter Muysken, "Contactos entre quechua y castellano en el Ecuador", in Segundo Moreno-Yañez, (comp.), Memorias del primer simposio europeo sobre antropología del habla, Madrid, 1974.
culture. The recognition of each of the different cultural groups would leave as evidence the presence of hybrid groups.

One of the fundamental problems with respect to these phenomena is, precisely, the little, or non existent, general consciousness of their existence. I have indicated how in the case of rural teachers in Bolivia there is a generalised conviction that when they are using their semilanguage they are speaking Spanish, and although it is recognised, more or less tacitly, that this Spanish is something different, and that its difference is rooted both in their mother tongue and in the environment in which it has been acquired, and is employed, there does not appear to exist a consciousness of their group, or culture, which is accepted and known throughout society. However, the growth of the number of bilinguals and speakers of the semilanguage favours the expansion of their speech to other sectors of society. The most characteristic traits of what has been termed Bolivian Spanish originate precisely in the interlanguage and semilanguage speech. A series of structures divergent from standard Spanish and typical of the speakers of the semilanguage are being not only accepted, but also adopted, by monolingual speakers of standard Spanish. It is difficult to believe, at least for the moment, that the semilanguage could displace Spanish in a generalised form; however, it could achieve greater social prestige if, in place of being interpreted as ‘slang’ Spanish, it were identified as a complete and independent system. Thus, before the development of favourable and defensive policies towards the semilanguage, it would be necessary to raise the general level of consciousness regarding its social extent and function, its linguistic status and its identity.

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6 J.G. Mendoza, (1991) studying the Spanish spoken in La Paz, dedicates a chapter to the traits shared by the cultivated and colloquial varieties spoken in La Paz, and Herrero, J. (1974) underlines the presence
6.2. Bilingual Intercultural Education.

Firstly I am going to define Bilingual Intercultural Education in order to then analyse how it could include the concept of the semilanguage, both in the programmes of Bilingual Intercultural Education and in the linguistic policies applicable in the countries where it is being developed.

6.2.1. What is Bilingual Intercultural Education?

One of the solutions that has been put forward to the problem of plurilingual nations has been the reform of the educative system, seeking models that are more appropriate to the realities in those societies, and that integrate the autochthonous communities that are almost always marginalized and alienated by the traditional educative systems. These new proposals include within the scholarly curriculum the vernacular languages of the community, since for many of the students the official and dominant language is either unknown, or known only uncertainly. The result of the traditional school has been, and is, a high percentage of functional illiterates, and consequently, the perpetuation of the discriminatory situation in which the speakers of languages other than the official find themselves. The little Spanish that these learn, they learn it inefficiently (when they do not learn a semilanguage) and this marks them in any urban context or any context where Spanish is normally used (and does not recognise the semilanguage as a complete and different system from Spanish).

What these educative programmes seek is an adequate methodology to: on the one hand, prevent pupils from deserting school, ensure that the years a child spends in school are productive, ensure that children do not feel alienated by the system and ensure that they learn good Spanish (or a code that allows them to function without problems in a non-Quechua speaking environment), and on the other hand, teach them to appreciate their own language and culture, recognising that it is neither better nor worse than the dominant, official language and culture, but that it needs to be revitalised in order to be adequate for the new society in which it is immersed. This is what has
autochthonous language, but also seeks to include elements, beliefs and values of the autochthonous culture.

In these programmes of Bilingual Intercultural Education children are introduced to the procedures of reading and writing by means of their language, with elements with which they are familiar. They are also taught Spanish as a second language, first orally, and only once they have already learned to read and write in their own language. In this way it is much easier for them to learn to read and write in Spanish since they only have to learn a few new letters and sounds. With this methodology, firstly, the child feels much more integrated into the school, and dares to participate in classes, secondly, the learning process is much more efficient, since the child does not have to decipher what is being taught, but merely understand and assimilate it, and, lastly, the second language is learned effectively and the child achieves sufficient command of it so as not to stand out and be stigmatised.

Nevertheless, this is not so simple as it appears; the elaboration and execution of this type of programme presents a series of problems, on the one hand, of human resources and training, and on the other of the preparation of materials and the raising of consciousness in society that this type of programme is necessary. It would be interesting to consider this last point in terms of Schumann’s Theory of Social Distance. 7 We have already seen the effects of contact between languages (cf. 1.2.) and that in countries where there are autochthonous languages the relation between these and the official language is never one of equality, and that this situation is reflected by the speakers of one and the others. In this sense Schumann considers three parameters to establish relations between the different groups that make up society and to see in which ways these influence the learning of a second language:

1 - The dominant or subordinate position of the group that is learning the second language in relation to the group that speaks it.

2 - The mutual attitudes of both groups.

3 - The congruence or incongruence of the two cultures.

When the speakers of the two languages value each other negatively then the situation is not favourable for the learning of a second language. In the same way, if those learning the second language consider themselves to be in a position of subordination to those for whom it is the mother tongue, who in turn view the other group in this way, there will be a marked social difference which will interfere with the achievement of a good command of the second language. In fact, this is what occurs in present day Bolivia. The social distance between the members of one group and those of the other is very great and this is one of the factors that have caused the Spanish of Quechua speakers to be so distinct from standard Spanish, that it has even defined itself as a different system close to a creole, that is, a semilanguage. The problem is to find a way to decrease the distance between the two groups. While the members of the least favoured group try to approach the dominant groups, these, each time with new and different resources distance themselves further.

One problem that is closely related to social distance is which variety of Spanish to teach as a second language. As we know, in all languages there is a differentiation between varieties, known as registers, which is normally determined by socioeconomic and cultural characteristics. That is, there are different uses of Spanish which can be identified by the groups of speakers that possess a series of common characteristics both cultural and economic and social. By the manner in which a person speaks a language it is possible to guess his social, economic and cultural status. In this way, the upper classes, with greater economic potential, usually possess a higher level of education, and consequently a more precise and complex command of the language. The popular classes have a use of the language that is quite distant from the standardised form of the language, and in societies that are linguistically and culturally more complex, as I have attempted to demonstrate, the varieties can become semilanguages, that is, new and different codes.

When Spanish is taught to monolingual Quechua speakers, almost exclusively peasants, there
is always the problem of whether to teach them the higher register, closest to standard Spanish, or to teach them a more colloquial register, the one to which they would be exposed most often. This more colloquial register could even be another code, a semilanguage, although for this it would require some social recognition.

Linguistically, the capacity and status of this code as a language and means of communication are manifest; the problem would be to see whether it could achieve the same recognition socially. For this, and as a prior step to a more generalised social acceptance, it would be necessary to have a systematic and complete description of the language (the possibility of this coming about would rest upon the viability of the creolization of the semilanguage; however, this is a chicken and egg situation, since, to merit a detailed study the semilanguage would require institutional support which would imply a certain degree of recognition of the weight and usefulness, both social and educative, of this same code). In this sense Appel and Muysken\(^8\) present a hopeful vision. Although, on the one hand, they recognise the difficulty of including creoles in educative programmes and linguistic planning since, in addition to the difficulty in choosing and standardising a definite type of creole from within the continuum, creole codes in general have a low social prestige, and even in some cases are not recognised as separate languages with a positive identity (which is the case with the semilanguage spoken by bilingual rural teachers). On the other hand, however, they allow us to see that it is not impossible, as is demonstrated by cases such as those of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, where *Papiamento* is rapidly acquiring a position of greater importance within the educative system, and is becoming standardised.

Returning to the case of Bolivia, in order to be able to choose one of the varieties it would be necessary first to define the object of peasantry literacy programmes, as the former Minister of Education in Bolivia, Mariano Baptista Gumucio, has stated:\(^9\)

\[...\]no se puede comenzar a hablar de mejorar el sistema educativo sin especificar antes el sentido que queremos darle al desarrollo de la comunidad rural y sin mejorar las condiciones de vida del campo.

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\(^8\) Appel & Muysken, op. cit., 1987,185.
It would appear logical to think that if the goal sought in this type of programme is to produce bilinguals with an optimal command of the official standardised language, then it must be ensured that the influences of the mother tongue disappear on all levels, or are reduced to the lowest possible levels, and at the same time that the variety of Spanish they command has the highest grade of social acceptance possible, or if not, that strategies are available to them to avoid stigmatised forms in pertinent contexts. For this it would be necessary to analyse in depth and to describe systematically the characteristics of the less standardised varieties and to attempt to standardise them.

In this respect, Manuel Alvar, recognising the great diversity of regional and local Spanish in all Spanish speaking countries, points out that it would be absurd to think that each parcel of land in the Spanish speaking world should teach the variety of Spanish specific to that zone and not the form intelligible to the whole nation. However, he also emphasises that it would be no less absurd to impose a type of pronunciation or vocabulary that has been rejected by the community throughout the course of centuries of official imposition of the Spanish language. I believe that the imposition would not only be phonetic and lexical, but would also be morphosyntactic and semantic since, for example, in the speech of the teachers, I have been able to show that on these levels there are many differences from standard Spanish. I have witnessed how, in the classroom the teacher explains Spanish grammar using another, his own.

10 ibid., 1986, 60.

11 For example, to explain the use of prepositions, the teacher, reading, would say: 'Mariano pone el saco de papas al suelo', when the book would say 'Mariano pone el saco de papas en el suelo'. We can see clearly that the teacher's prepositional system is different from that presented by the Spanish book.

In another case, describing the illustrations in a book, there was one illustration with the caption 'Mario Mamani está cargando papas'. The teacher described the image and the tried to find out if the children understood:

J. Ya, ahora vamos a ver otro cuadrito más abajo, a ver fíjense, donde está cargando un señor una carga. Fíjense, a ver... ¿Dónde está cargando? A ver, fíjense, un señor está cargando, a ver, con carga está. Ahí está un señor se está cargando carga. Muy bien, este señor se llama Mario Mamani. ¿Qué se llama?
Ns - Mario Mamani.
J.- Ahora. ¿Qué hace? Se carga, digamos que se carga, ¿no? Se carga papa, digamos.
Ns- Se carga papa
J- ¿Qué está haciendo?
Ns- se carga
J- Está cargando papa
Ns- Está cargando papa.

We can see that the morphology and the verbal semantics of the teacher differ from that present in the book: the teacher transforms a verb into a reflexive and intransitive, in addition to altering the normal order of
The general tendency in Spanish America has been to teach one single academic norm, in the search for a 'common language' that is much closer to the written code than to the actual distinct uses. Nélida Donni de Mirade explains that this tendency does not only imply the disregard of purely linguistic factors such as the coding in real use, or variations with respect to the rules of the Academic norm, but also the ignoring of other extralinguistic factors such as the configuration of society and the atmosphere in which the language serves as a means of communication and of the expression of a culture. If we consider this last aspect, we find that the people and the atmosphere that Quechua speakers are going to find outside their communities are basically intercultural and interlingual. Education should, thus, reflect all the diversity present in society, so as to be able to offer speakers from the popular strata an efficient linguistic instrument, in accordance with its use in each community, and to leave open the possibility of gradually acquiring the cultivated modalities in order to eliminate discrimination at the linguistic level.

The most logical solution would therefore imply knowledge of the local modalities or semilanguages the new speakers will require, such that, at least at the first level, the language that they learn is in accordance with the habitual norm of the region (not just the geographical region, but also the social); but that, at the second level, they become able to distinguish and command the national norm so as to avoid being marginalized. The habitual norm of the region could be, as I have suggested, a semilanguage that, if it were to be described systematically and normalised, could achieve total acceptance and social recognition, and could come to perform the functions of the more prestigious language, at least in the spheres where a dialogue between cultures takes place. It could even expand its sphere of action, weakening, or perhaps even eliminating the state of diglossia towards which traditional education is directed.

Nevertheless, we must not forget that in order that an adequate description of the semilanguage can be developed, that can be accepted in a generalised form, its speakers must achieve a position within society which permits them to unfold and develop themselves without pressure or marginality, that is, that their place and their worth are recognised. At present, Spanish continues to be the H variety and it is difficult for its speakers to come to accept another variety with the same, or similar, values and functions. This could only be achieved following a long period of stabilisation of the normalised semilanguage, that is, once it had been converted into a creole type of code. We know, however, that in order for such a conversion to take place numerous factors come into play, among which is the rapid development of communications which always favour the persistence and

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12 Nélida Donni de Mirade, "Normas lingüísticas regionales y gramática normativa" in Actas del IV
expansion of official languages, in this case, of Spanish.

On the other hand, harmony between different languages in the same community is not a common thing; I have already mentioned that the existence of several languages reflects the existence of diverse ethnicities or social and cultural groups who, often, in their forced coexistence collide with each other. At this present time the majority of plurilingual states have opted to include in their bodies of laws, whether by means of constitutional clauses or by legislative dispositions, means to control the situation. However, the majority or dominant group also tends to protect its language and hegemonic status in such a way that the greater or lesser protection that it allows the L languages is always going to be something of a social compromise that does not cease to privilege its own language.

In any case, even though the tendency is for the dominant group to maintain its status and not to permit relevant changes, I have also pointed out (cf. 1.3.1.) the rise in Bolivia in the last few years of new political formations that struggle in defence of things cholo, and which are finding a growing support in the population. Things cholo implies the semilanguage in that this is the code of communication of those that belong to the urban world but are inextricably related to the country, its symbolism, its culture and its languages. We must therefore wait to see if the process of creolization continues and becomes generalised, or if, alternatively, it remains latent and ignored as it has been to the present time.

The other major problem with programmes of bilingual intercultural education is the state in which indigenous languages in general find themselves, specifically, in our case, Quechua (cf. 1.3.1.2. and 1.3.2.2.). In the last few years international efforts have been intensified (between Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia) to standardise the language in the most general way, such that, although its use varies enormously from one place to another, at least the orthography should be uniform.13 Nevertheless, there is a total lack of unity of criteria, not only between countries but within the nations themselves. The lack of written tradition is one of the greatest obstacles to standardisation, since, with the exception of colonial sources and a few isolated later efforts, standardisation has to be based upon linguistic use, which is much more variable and random. We find ourselves then with a Quechua language that is still in a pre-standardisation phase, and is not

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School girls. Misk'a Mayu. S. José del Paredón
sufficiently prepared and modernised for public use. There is a serious lack of literature in the language and of persons capable of preparing it and this makes the establishment of programmes of bilingual education incredibly difficult. For each step in the educative programmes it is necessary to prepare the appropriate materials, and other secondary ones that aid the use of the first. All this requires a huge investment of effort, time and money and makes bilingual education an onerous project for governments, and, thus, regarded with suspicion and little confidence.

As I have stated above, the raising of consciousness of society, and of those charged with directing and administrating it, is indispensable. I have pointed out that in order to change the educative system it is necessary in the first place to define the routes towards which this change is to be directed, which implies a whole social and economic policy that takes into account the social and linguistic diversity of the country.

In Bolivia it is only recently that laws and decrees are starting to be proposed that recognise and defend the pluriculturalism and plurilingualism of the nation; until 1992 the constitution of Bolivia recognised Spanish as the official language, and Quechua, Aymara and Guarani as coofficial without explaining the meaning or function of coofficiality. On January 28 1992 the first step in the defence of pluriculturality and plurilingualism was taken by officialising and generalising throughout Bolivian territory the programme of bilingual intercultural education through a supreme decree dictated in the Council of Ministers. This decree consisted of the following three articles:

art. 1 Dispónese la ejecución del programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe en todas las comunidades guaraníes, aymaras y quechuas, proyectando su implementación hasta el nivel medio.

art. 2 Dispónese igualmente la creación de la Dirección General de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para la ejecución del programa en todo el país, debiendo designarse supervisores de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe en las áreas territoriales guaraní, quechua y aymara.

art. 3 El Ministerio de Educación y Cultura a través de sus organismos especializados deberá asumir la responsabilidad de la ejecución y cumplimiento del programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe de acuerdo a las modalidades aprobadas para el efecto.

There is no doubt of the importance of the decree and of the significance of this first step towards achieving more equality in the recognition of the diverse cultures and languages of the country. Nevertheless, a basic deficiency can be detected. It imposes the execution of the programme and creates a Dirección General to implement it, but it does not foresee any organism

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14 In spite of the fact that there do exist poetic texts in Quechua, as well as the ethnographic texts that collect together the oral tradition and even some short technical texts concerning matters of health and agriculture,
or institution to formulate and spread the contents of the programme. There is a programme and
an organisation to direct it, but there is no organism to shape the teachers who will implement the
programme. In the Escuelas Normales Rurales from which come the teachers who will carry out
the bilingual intercultural education programme, the teachers are not trained to develop such a
project, but to teach Spanish by the traditional methods.

Now that Bolivia can count on official support to develop this type of educative programme that
is more in step with the cultural and linguistic reality of the country, it becomes imperative, on the
one hand, that more necessary research takes place to establish what is the linguistic reality of the
country, and in which way a good linguistic planification can be developed; and, on the other hand,
on the basis of this research to create materials and programmes not only for the education of
children, but also, and most importantly for the training of the teachers. If a Dirección General de
Educación Intercultural Bilingüe is going to exist, this should have its own Escuela Normal with
a new and more appropriate curriculum both for the training of new teachers and of those who are
already teaching. In this way, there would be a greater coherence between the novelty of the
propositions, of the contents and the executors.

We cannot, however, forget the serious lack of human resources and capital. The taking of
decisions of this type allows a certain degree of optimism to survive, even if we have to wait to see
their effectiveness, taking into account the enormous difficulties that confront them. I hope that this
study and its conclusions will serve as the basis for future investigations on Bolivia’s linguistic
varieties as well as for the future preparation of programmes of linguistic planning in Bolivia.
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8. APPENDICES
Appendix 1

EDAD: 49

NOMBRE Y APELLIDOS: JOSE HUHYLLA LUIS

ÁREA DE TRABAJO: NUCLEO "SAN JOSE DEL PAREDON"

¿CUANTOS AÑOS DE SERVICIO LLEVA EN EL MAGISTERIO? 28

¿HABÍA UTILIZADO VD. ANTES ALGUNA LENGUA VERNÁCULA EN SUS CLASES? (En caso afirmativo especifique los contextos y las razones) SI CON EDUC. DE ADULTOS Pío X-11-siglo X

SENALE QUÉ ASPECTOS DEL CASTELLANO LE RESULTAN MÁS DIFÍCILES: a) HABLADO FRECUENTEMENTE

b) ESCRITO CASI EN ALGUNO CASOS COMO CASO VIE, C2

¿HAY ALGUNA MATERIA QUE PREFIERA ENSEñAR EN ALGUNA LENGUA CONCRETA? CIENCIAS SOCIALES.

EN SU EXPERIENCIA COMO MAESTRO BILINGÜE INDIQUE SUS OBSERVACIONES MÁS RELEVANTES EN RELACIÓN A LOS ALUMNOS CON RESPECTO A LAS DOS LENGUAES (QUECHUA/AYHARA Y CASTELLANO)

LO MÁS DIFÍCIL ES DE CONTINUO LA ENSEñANZA DE LECTURA-ESCRITURA Y FÁCIL LA ENSEñANZA DE QUECHUA.
¿CREE UD. QUE HAY DIFERENTES CLASES DE CASTELLANO? Y DE QUECHUA/AYMARA? PONGA ALGUNOS EJEMPLOS.

En el oriente boliviano dicen un r'alingo quechua con terminación chi y chuy en las tres regiones de Bolivia.

¿CREE UD. QUE SE MALOGRA EL CASTELLANO POR EL QUECHUA/AYMARA? ¿Y EL QUECHUA/AYMARA POR EL CASTELLANO?.

Es cierto que la pronunciación se puede distorsionar al hablar el castellano.
II CURSO DE CAPACITACIÓN PROFESORES DE F.I.B.

FICHA DE INSCRIPCIÓN

(Escribir en letra de imprenta y contestar a todas las preguntas)

¿Participó en el proyecto el año pasado? SI ( ) NO ( )

I. DATOS PERSONALES

Nombre y apellidos: [Lugar de nacimiento] [Provincia] [Fecha de nacimiento] [Sexo] [Lugar de nacimiento] [Provincia] [Fecha de nacimiento] [Sexo]

II. DATOS PROFESIONALES

Título profesional: NORMALISTA [Cargo actual]

Años de servicio: Cargo actual: PROFESOR GRADO

Principales cursos de capacitación a los que ha asistido:

BILINGüE EN RADIO DÍO XII SIGLO S VECES
CURSOS A DISTANCIA TARIJA- 87-89-90

III. DATOS SOCIOLINGUISTICOS

¿Qué lengua aprendió primero en su hogar? QUECHUA
¿A qué edad aprendió castellano? [Año]
¿En qué lengua habla con sus padres? QUECHUA
¿En qué lengua habla con su esposa? QUECHUA
¿En qué lengua habla con sus hijos? QUECHUA CASTELLANO

IV. LUGAR DE TRABAJO

Nombre escuela: [Núcleo] [Tipo de escuela] (X) Seccional ( ) Central (marcar con X)

Si es seccional especificar:

No. de grados: [No. de profesores] UNO

Distribución de grados por profesor.
Nombre y apellidos, **JOSÉ HUAYLLA** LUIS

(Escribir en letra de imprenta y contestar a todas las preguntas;
Para la primera pregunta especificar si se está contestando a la
a. o a la b. marcando con una X el espacio correspondiente)

1a. Para los maestros que ya trabajaron en el proyecto:
   ( ) ¿Cómo considera los cambios del pasado año escolar?

1b. Para los maestros que comienzan en el Proyecto:
   ( ) ¿Cuáles son sus expectativas al entrar en el Proyecto de
   Educación Intercultural Bilingüe?

2. ¿Cree que este año habrá las mismas o menores dificultades?

3. ¿Qué se entiende por educación intercultural?

4. ¿Qué se entiende por educación bilingüe?

5. ¿Cuáles son, por su experiencia, las ventajas y desventajas de
la educación intercultural bilingüe?

6. ¿Cómo consideran su trabajo los colegas que no pertenecen al
Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe?

7. ¿Considera usted necesario extender la Ed. Intercultural
Bilingüe en otras escuelas y en otras áreas? ¿Por qué?
FICHA DE EVALUACIÓN DE ENTRADA
2do Curso de Capacitación
Profesores Proyecto Educación Intercultural Bilingüe

Nombre y apellidos: JOSE GUIVIL LEIS

(Escribir en letra de imprenta y contestar a todas las preguntas; Para la primera pregunta especificar si se está contestando a la a. o a la b. marcando con una X el espacio correspondiente)

1a. Para los maestros que ya trabajaron en el proyecto:
   ( ) ¿Cómo considera los cambios del pasado año escolar?

1b. Para los maestros que comienzan en el Proyecto:
   ( ) ¿Cuáles son sus expectativas al entrar en el Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe?

2. ¿Cree que este año habrá las mismas o menores dificultades?

3. ¿Qué se entiende por educación intercultural?
   La enseñanza que se practica en su propio idioma y el castellano.

4. ¿Qué se entiende por educación bilingüe?
   ¿Qué se entiende por educación bilingüe?

5. ¿Cuáles son, por su experiencia, las ventajas y desventajas de la educación intercultural bilingüe?
   Primero se mantiene la expresión clara de su propia lengua materna; luego el castellano.

6. ¿Cómo consideran su trabajo los colegas que no pertenecen al Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe?
   Los maestros tienen una opinión clara de los resultados e inciden positivamente al bilingüismo.

7. ¿Considera usted necesario extender la Ed. Intercultural Bilingüe en otras escuelas y en otras áreas? ¿Por qué?
   Primero se mantiene las formas muy bien.
Appendix 3

EJERCICIO, PRÁCTICO

Ponga un ejemplo de cada tipo de concordancia existente en español y un contrasejemplo en el que no haya concordancia haciendo dónde está la falta de concordancia.

Ella está obrando.

Ella está trabajando.

Ella está llorando.

Ella está mirando.

Yo canto.

Las niñas cantan.

Estar es un bálsamo
del amor de Dios

El estén en el abrigo.

Y un edén la mañana

Habían muchas llanuras

Cuando esté solo yo canto

Canta las niñas

Estar es una bolita

Juan había sido muy rico.

Formule todas las preguntas posibles a las siguientes respuestas:

Hay un niño jugando en el patio.

¿Quién está jugando ahí?

¿Quién está jugando el perro o el gato?

El hombre carga leña en el burro.

¿Quién carga leña?

¿Quién carga leña el saludar? x

¿Quién carga leña el panal? x

La abuela echa leña al fuego.

¿Quién echa leña al fuego?

¿Quién echa leña a la abuela? x

¿Qué le ha hecho el fuego?

¿Qué le ha hecho la abuela a quién?

La botella es de vidrio.

¿Qué es de vidrio?

¿De qué es de vidrio?

Son animales.

¿Son animales?

¿A qué son los que están en el asta?

Es una casa.

¿Es una cabaña?

¿Es un pescador?
Señale si las siguientes oraciones son correctas o incorrectas. Si incorrectas escribálas correctamente.

1. cultivos vamos a hablar. ✗
2. escuela habían muy pocos alumnos. ✗
3. no se queja esa niña. ✗
4. deberían preocuparse más de sus alumnos. ✗
5. es la casa de mi padre. ✗
6. quieres de María su hermana? ✗
7. lo que hemos aprendido tenemos que recordar. ✓
8. casa de Miriam ha sido muy interesante. ✓
9. tenemos que saber muy bien. ✓

Escribe dos ejemplos de oraciones en las que haya ausencia de algún elemento.

- Yo canto - hindo mayun ✓
- Miéh - queja esa niña ✗

Señale cuál es el elemento redundante en las siguientes oraciones:

1. casa de mi madre es muy grande. ✗
2. escuela está en ahí abajo. ✓
3. lo do les pregunté otros me contestaron y otros no quisieron responder. ✓
4. trame tu tarea de vos. ✓
5. mos que recordarnos todas las palabras. ✓
Kay señorita kunan tarde llank'asunchik. ¿ya? Na...parlaychik yachaqaykichikta a nima manchachikusqa. ¿listo? Mana niwan mancharikusqa. Ohaway paycha. Ñer. ¿Qué se llama señorita? ninchik

¿Qué se llama señorita? (Responden los niños rápidamente sin ningún recelo)

Me llamo Ana (Risas de los niños)

¿Qué se habia llamado?

Ana (Gritan algunos)

¿Qué?

Ana (Responden todos a coro)

Ya, señorita Ana sehabía llamado. ¿No? No, no van a tener miedo, amachachikunkichikchu, llank'asunchik arí, amaña, amaña (... ...), ya. Qayna (... Esta tarde vamos hacer castellano. ¿Saben qué es eso? A ver van a leer. ¿ya? Profesor escribe la palabra “castellano” en la pizarra) ¿Qué dice eso?

Castellano (Gritan todos los niños a coro, separando las sílabas y con mucha seguridad)

¿Qué dice?

Castellano (Gritan todos esta vez de corrido)

O sea que ahora debemos hablar en castellano. Vamos entonces a hablar en castellano. Escuchen bien, Vds. conocen a un animalcito, uyarkinikikhuijalmanta qayna parlanchik, i? Llevan carga, llant'ata apanku. ¿Qué se llama ese animal?

Burro (Responden todos a coro)

¿Cómo es el burro? (Pequeña pausa esperando respuesta) ¿Cómo es burro?

Carga (Responde un niño)

¿Cómo es el burro? ¿Sus orejas cómo son? ¿Grandes, chiquitos?

Grandes (Responden todos)

¿De qué tamaño son? (Pausa esperando respuesta) ¿Así o así? (Indica el tamaño con manos)

Así (Gesticula uno de los niños)

Así (Repiten todos reproduciendo el gesto con las manos muy separadas)
- Así (De nuevo acompañándose de las manos)

Ya, otra cosa, su papá de Vds. cuando va a regar (Pequeña pausa), yakuta akun, manachu? yaku apamun pampata reganapaq, ch’isin imatá irakun, ¿Qué se pone su papá?
- Botas, bolas (responden todos inmediatamente sin dudar)

¿Qué se pone?
- Botas (Repiten otra vez todos)

Botas de qué
- Papá (Dice un niño)
- Papá (Repiten Todos)

Las botas de qué son ¿De cuero? Imamantaq botas, kay botas imamantaq?
ykichikpata
- Goma (Responden todos)

De goma. Entonces, ¿Qué sellama?
- Goma

¿Qué es esto, pues a ver? (Señalando un dibujo que ha hecho en la pizarra)
- Botas

¿Y este, qué es? (Señalando otro dibujo de la pizarra)
- Burro
- ¿Qué es Luciano?

Burro
- Burro, ¿Y esto?
- Botas

Celsa, Celsa, no he escuchado, fuerte, fuerte
- Botas

Ya. Después aquí hay otra, otra cosa, a ver. (Indica un dibujo en la pizarra) Traen a, ¿No ve? ¿Saben ver?
- Sí profesor

Soda trae, ¿En qué trae soda?
- Botella (Dice uno)
- Botella (Repiten todos)

¿De qué es botella, la botella?
- Hierro (Dice uno)
- Fierro (Repiten algunos)

De vidrio
- De vidrio (Repiten todos)
- De vidrio
¿De qué es?
- De vidrio (Repiten ahora rápidamente)
A ver, ¿De qué? (Insiste el profesor)
- De vidrio
A ver, de nuevo
- Vidrio, de vidrio
Vi-drio, a ver
- vidrio
¿Qué es esto entonces? (Señalando otra vez al dibujo)
- Vidrio
¿Qué sellama esto?
- Botella, botella
Botella, ¿De qué es esto?
- Botella, vidrio
¿Es de palo?
Cerveza
De cerveza, ya muy bien, de cerveza pero ¿De qué está hecho? Imamantataq vasqa?
- Vidrio, de vidrio
Eso es vidrio, muy bien, ya. Otra cosa, su mamá lava así, ¿no ve? en un phullu como este, pa refregar la ropa, ¿no ve? ¿Lava la ropa o no?
- Sí
¿En qué lava ropa?
- Batea
¿En qué?
- En batea, batea
¿En qué?
- En batea
Batea, ¿No? Estoy escuchando decir batella, ¿Batella es?
- Batea
Batea, ¿No?
- Batea
Ya, ahora la batea, ¿Con qué lava la ropa?
- Con jabón (Repiten los demás)

Con jabón. ¿Para qué pone jabón? ¿Qué saca el jabón? (Espera y traduce) Imatá nün?

- Ch'ichi

Castellano. (Espera respuesta y repite la pregunta) ¿Qué saca? (Espera un poco más y se dirige a un alumno en concreto) A ver, a ver, Pastor ¿Qué saca? Ch'isi es en castellano, corrije) en qhechwa. Castellano, sucie...

- Sucio (Dicen varios niños)

Ya, suciedad, la suciedad. Ya ahora nosotros vamos a aprenderlo, cómo se escribe cada uno de esto, de esto su nombre, ¿ya? ¿Qué se llama esto? (Se dirige a la pizarra y señala los distintos dibujos)

- Burro

Ya, toditos a ver vamos a aprender a escribir en su nombrecito. Un palito ajo... (Va escribiendo la palabra en la pizarra)

Burro (Lee rápidamente uno de los niños)

- Burro (Repiten todos)

Se lee burro, bu-r-ro, a ver

- burro

A ver

- Bu-rro

Candelaria

Bu-rro

- Fuerte

Burro

¿ Esto qué se llama? (Indicando el dibujo)

- Botas

Ya vamos a poner a ese su nombre. (Escribe la palabra y pregunta) ¿Qué se llama?

- Botas (Dicen todos los niños)

¿Qué es? (Vuelve a preguntar el profesor porque él ha escrito la palabra en singular)

- Bota (Leen con cuidado algunos niños)

Este, estilo (Señalando esta vez la palabra y no el dibujo)

- Bo-ta (Leen separando las sílabas)

A ver, Celsa

Bo-ta

Basilio, esto qué se llama (Indicando el dibujo de la botella en la pizarra)

Bo-ta...
Fuerte
Botella
De nuevo
Botella
De nuevo, claro
Botella
-(Risas de los demás niños)
Che, kay uyarinan tiyan allinta, a ver ŋawiy kay, chiwchimi allinta, botella, a
(Explica el profesor con suavidad dirigiéndose a Basilio)
Botella
Eso, muy bien, (Exclama con fuerza)¿Qué ha dicho?
- Botella (Repiten los demás niños)
¿Qué es?
- Botella, botela
Leemos bo-te-lla
- Bo-te-lla (Repiten todos alegremente)
A ver, de nuevo
- Bo-te-lla
Botella, listo. Ahora esto con grande vamos hacer, este, ¿ya? O sea, jatun niwan, kay juch’uy, kay jatun, ¿no es cierto? Entons jatun kaqniwan, jatun niwan tukuy qhawiychik allinta. (Escribe la sílaba Bu con mayúscula en la pizarra) Hasta es ...
- Boo, bu
¿Ah? (Pregunta sorprendido)
- Buu
De nuevo
- Bu (El profesor termina de escribir la palabra y los niños terminan de leerla)
S-rro
De nuevo, a ver (Indica con la vara en la pizarra)
- Burro
Esto vamos hacer su grande, igual, jatun kaqniqtaq
- Burro, bo-tas
A ver
- Bo-tas
¿Qué es?
No, no dice -tas, botas no dice, a ver lean bien
- Bota
- Bo-ta
- Bo-tas, botas no dice, a ver lean bien

Esta, su grande de esto. (Empieza a escribir con mayúscula en la pizarra) Hasta ahí
- Bo-te (Continúa escribiendo el profesor)
- Bota

¿Qué es?
- Botella

Botella, listo. De esto más, conocer su otros nombres más. ¿Esto qué es?
- Bo
- Ah?
- Bu

Los ojos, los ojos, los ojos. ¿Qué es esto? (Indicando la sílaba en la pizarra)
- Bu

Ya, esto (Volviendo a indicar la misma)
- Bu

Esto (Señalando otra)
- Bo

Esto (Señalándola otra vez)
- Bo

Ya, entonces, pronunciar de ahí (Señalando la pizarra). ¿esto?
- Bo

¿Y esto?
- Bo

Ya, ahora vamos a conocer otras cosas, ¿y si esto lo pongo así? (Escribe una nueva sílaba) ¿Qué se leerá, Florinda?
- Bi

Candelaria, vos esto (Señalando lo mismo)

Andrés, vos vas a decir esto ¿Qués es Andrés? (Señalando otra sílaba)

Santiago, ¿Qué esto?
Be, vamos a sacar palabras. ¿Ya? Si yo le hago a él ¿Eso qué? En castellano, a ver, a ver, toditos, toditos. Pay (...) chay kuti tellanopi imataq, ajina ¿Qué es eso?

Beso (Grita satisfecho uno de ellos)

¿Qué es?

- Beso

Eso, beso. ¿Cómo se escribe beso Andrés, Pastor?

Le Pastor y añade a la sílaba Be escrita por el profesor la sílaba -so)

- (Risas de todos los niños)

Ya, lee a ver (Dice entre risas el profesor)

Beso

Ya, ya está bien.

Chayllamancha (Exclama una niña)

Vos a ver escribí, beso completo vas a escribir a este lado. Beso, beso allá, allá, con chica, juch’uyqawan, beso. (Escribe el niño “besu” y el profesor le corrige)

mirá, mirá bien (Mostrándole lo que había escrito su compañero. El niño corrige). Lee otra

Be-so

Ya, ſuqa(...) ſuqa muchkani ¿Qué es?

- Beso, yo beso (Gritan todos)

Ya, ¿Cómo es yo beso? Así es, ¿No? (Mientras escribe “yu beso” en la pizarra) ¿Está en así?

- No, no, yo beso

¿Dónde está yo?

- Yu beso

¿Dónde está mal ahora? ¿Dónde está mal?

- Yo

- Yu, yu, beso

¿Dónde está mal? ¿Aquí? (Señalando la “u”)

- Sí

¿Qué tiene que ser?

- Yo, yo

¿Qué es ahora? (Señalando lo que ha corregido).

- Yo, beso, yo beso.

A ver vamos a hacer... (Duda cómo empezar) Ya, hay un animalcito en el cerro,
- cerros hay ¿Qué se llama ese animal?
- Jochi, león
Con rifle se mata ese animal.
- Wiscacha
Bien, bien a ver.
- wiscacha
No eso está bien, pero no es wiscacha otro es.
- Wescacha (Dicen algunos)
A ver bien claro hablen
- Viscacha
Vis-cacha, a ver
- Viscacha (Gitan todos)
¿Quién puede escribir viscacha? Vos Basilio a ver escribí, viscacha. (Sale el niño y empieza a escribir) No escribí más, “mi viscacha” escribí, con grande comenzando. (El niño escribe con minúscula le traduce) Jatunwan, jatunwan “mi”. Qallarina. “Mi cachá”, rápido, rápido, rápido. (El niño se equivoca y le corrige) No, “ca, ca, ca” de ca, de castellano “ca”. (El niño borra y corrige) Ya, ahora lee. Mi vis–ca-cha (lee despacito el niño)
Ya. ¿Qué has dicho?
- Mi viscacha (Responde ahora rápidamente sin leer)
Eso. Ahora sentate. A ver, vos Andrés lee esto, ¿Qué es esto? (El niño no habla y el asor insiste) Lee, lé, lé, fuerte.
- Mi vis-ca-cha (Lee bajito)
¿Qué dice?
- Mi viscacha
¿Conocen Vds. viscacha? ¿Ah?
- Sí
- Ya. Van sacar su libro ¿ya? Van sacar su libro éste, de castellano van sacar.
¿Castellano? (Pregunta uno de los niños)
- Sí, sí, sí. (Todos los niños sacan sus libros) Número treinta, treinta, treinta. (Refiriéndose a la página)
- Un caballo (Empiezan a leer algunos niños en la página treinta)
Shhhh (Indica silencio) Espere, esperen, esperen esperen.
- Número treinta (Grita un niño con su libro abierto en esa página)
- tu libro, tu libro. (Pregunta el profesor a un niño que no lo ha sacado todavía)
Un caballo

¿On, on? ¿Dónde dice on?

Un caballo, un caballo... una abeja, ona abeja, una abeja (Lee en alto de las niñas)

Una abeja, un camino (Siguen leyendo en alto los niños que ya han encontrado la abeja)

Ya, ya a ver, a ver. (Mandándoles callar) De aquí arriba, de aquí arriba leyendo el inicio de la página en su libro. A ver sus ojos tienen que abrir bien.

Un caballo, un caballo (empiezan a leer fuerte todos)

¿Qué dice? Lean bien, biencito, a ver mirando bien, vos lee esto Candelaria, muy bien, Candelaria.

Un ca-ba-llo (Lee despacito)

Ya, bien, lea abajo vos Leonardo

Una abeja (Lee con más seguridad pero muy bajito)

Fuerte, fuerte. No he escuchado.

Una abeja

. ver vos Cirilo, esto (Indicando otra parte de la página).

Un ....

os ojos, los ojos

Una

 Una?

(Se ríen sus compañeros)

On belle

Dónde está on?

In be

Dónde está be?.

( Risas de los niños)

ilencio. A ver, allinmanta

In bi-lle-te

Qué dice?

In billete

Qué dice ahora?

In bi-lle-te

a, mana manchaychu, mana manchaychu, parlay. Ya, ahora este otro. Vos vas
Un botella
¿Ah? (Manda callar a los otros niños y señalando sus ojos dice) Ñawis, ñawis, ñawijina.

hah... A ver, aver, chicos, uyariyta munani.

Una bo-le-lía
¿Qué dice?

Una botella
Ya, una botella. A ver vos Irene esto (Indicando otra parte de la página). A ver, a ver
rá bien.

Un burro

Un burro, ya listo. Esto más vamos a leer toditos a ver. Kaypi, kaypi, wisunchik. Lean a ver ¿Qué es esto?
- “Ba”, “be”, “bi”, “bo”, “bu” (Mientras el profesor va señalando las sílabas en el libro)
- El medio que es? khuchkan?
- Bi (Contestan todos sin vacilar)

Abajo
- Bo (Gritan todos cuando el profesor señala “bu”)

¿Ah? Vean bien

- Bu, bu, bo, bu

¿Ah? Chay ñawis ankajina. (Señalando su ojo con un dedo)
- Bu

Pata
- Ba (Gritan todos)

Ya, listo, chimpá pasasunchik, ¿ya? El título de aquí, chimpan, chimpan, al frente.
(Indicando en el libro la página de al lado) ¿Ya listos?
- Sí

Ya, a ver vos Felipe,
- Tiempo de cosecha, tiempó de cosecha.

Ya, toditos a ver
- Tiempo de cosecha (Gritan todos con fuerza)

Ya dice... atendé, atendé aquí (Dirigiéndose a un niño despistado). Ya, tiempo...
- De cosecha

Ya, escuchen bien ahora, aquí abajo hay oraciones, ¿no ve?
- Sí

Eso imá nin qheshwapi, ima nin?
- Rimay, rimaykuna (Gritan todos)
- Oración (Gritan otra vez)


S- La co-se-cha es bu-e-na, la cosecha es buena (van leyendo todos acompasados)

Ya, Ujtawan, la misma oración otra vez, chayllatata ujtawan.

- La cosecha es buena ( Vuelven a leer todos en alto y desacompasados pero esta vez más risa)

Ya, han leído ¿Qué dice en ahi?

La cosecha es buena ( Dice un niño sin leer)

¿Qué dice? A ver, vos Victor ¿Qué dices?

La cosecha

Ya, la cosecha... (Esperando que continue)

Es buena ( Termina otra niña)

Es... (Dice para ayudar a Victor)

Buena

Ya. Ahora desde ahí abajo, ¿ya? (Espera y repite) De abajo, a ver.

- La papa está lista (Leen en alto todos)

Esos ojos tienen que abrir. A ver, aver, este es (Señalando las letras). ¿Qué es? Solito (Refiriéndose a la letra sola) ¿Qué es eso?

- Eeee

¿Y este otro?

- liiiii

¿Y esto?

- Oooo

¿Y esto?

- Uuuuu

Eso tienen que ver pues. Ya la segunda oración estamos en... (Esperando que en leyendo), seguir la segunda oración. La...

- La papa está lista.

Ya, la papa está lista. No dice papá, ¿no ve? Ya. Chay uranta, uranta, a ver siano (Le llama la atención porque está distraído). Todos leemos.

- El abuelo echa la papa en un costal (Leen todos gritando y desacompasados)

Ya, juntos conmigo. El...

- El
El abuelo echa la papa en un costal (Los niños solos)
¿Qué dice en ahí?
El abuelo echa la papa en un costal
A ver, vos Cristina ¿Qué dice?
El abuelo echa la papa en un costal
Ya, a ver más rápido quién puede decir. El abuelo echa papa en un costal
¿Quién echa papa?
Abuelo (Gritan todos)
A donde echa?
Al costal (Dice primero uno y luego repiten los demás)

Costal
¿Quién echa papa?
El abuelo (Gritan todos)
¿Qué echa el abuelo?
Papa
A qué echa?
Costal, el costal
Un...

Costal
¿Costal, ¿i? Ya. Aquí abajo donde está el burro a este ladito (Señalando en el libro)
El burro espera (Los niños empiezan a leer inmediatamente)
El burro espera
¿Qué hace el burro, Cirilo?
El burro espera
Ramona, ¿Qué hace el burro?
El burro espera (Contesta leyendo)
¿Qué hace el burro Beatriz?
El burro espera (Contesta sin vacilar)
¿A quién espera? No sabemos todavía. Ya ahí abajo, ¿jefe? ¿Qué dice?
- El papá pone el costal en el burro (Leen en alto todos cada uno a su ritmo)
De nuevo, a ver.
- El papá pone el costal en el burro
A ver, Victor a ver lee, Schhh (Manda callar a los otros) fuerte, fuerte
El custal
Fijate, fijate, ¿Cu está?
Cóstal, costal
Rápido, rápido, usqhayta, usqhayta
En el burro.
Ya, ¿Qué dice en ahí abajo? A ver Luis, imá nin chaypi?
El papá pone el costal en el borro
¿En el borro?
3u (Le corrige uno de sus compañeros)
¿Qué hace el papá, dice?
Echa (Gritan todos)
Ah, ¿Qué hace el papá?
Pone (Dice uno y repiten los demás)
¿Qué cosa pone?
Costal (Gritan todos)
A qué pone el costal?
El burro, el papá
¡a, El papá pone el costal ¿En qué?
Burro (Gritan algunos)
En el burro (Lee una niña)
Quién pone en el burro, el costal?
Papá, el papá (Gritan todos)
El burro sube por el camino (Leen en alto otra vez, cada uno a su ritmo)
A ver, Vamos a leer todos, conmigo. El
Burro
- Burro sube
Por
- Por el camino (Se adelantan los niños al profesor)
¿Qué dice? A ver, a ver Juan Carlos, sin mirar.
El burro sube por el camino
¿Quién sube?
- El burro
¿Por dónde?
- Por el camino
Ya, ahí abajo ahora, donde está... debajo del burro, van leer.
La papa está seca (Se apresuran a leer)
¿Dónde está la papa?
La papa está seca (Vuelven a leer)
Ya ahí nomás, ahí nomás ¿Qué dice?
La papa está seca
¡Ver, a ver, aver. Esto es así, ¿no ve? (Escribiendo en la pizarra “papa”) ¿Qué es?
Papa (Gritan todos)
*Le pone un acento* ¿Y ahora?
Papá
Y sin esto?
Papa (Algunos) papa (Otros)
¡Todo todos Vds. están diciendo. Esto dicen igual, esto también dicen igual.
¡O qué es? (Señalando la palabra sin acento)
papa
Y esto? (Señalando la otra)
Papá
a. entons eso lean pues bien. De nuevo.
La papa está seca.

 excesser N= kid NS= kids Y= the author
¿De qué tamaño crees que es tu comunidad?

Bueno, mi comunidad...

Dónde trabajas.

Ah! Dónde trabajo debe tener una extensión de unos 100 hectáreas más o menos. ¿No? De amplitud de terreno. debe tener.

¿Te parece que es grande, mediana o pequeña?

No es tan grande. ¿No? Si no mediano. Claro que antes era. ¿No? Los terrenos son grandes. ¿No? Con actualmente con la (...) que ha regenerado la gente ha triplicado y ha tenido que disminuirse las comunidades mismo y los terrenos mo han sido, se han ampliado más, o se han empequeñecido más. ¿No?

¿Cómo es tu comunidad, cuáles son las características? ¿Es fría, caliente, es puna? ¿Cómo es?

Bueno, en cuanto al clima es no tan frío ni tan cálido, es un poco templado. No ir tan frío. ¿No? Hay temporadas que hace pero. frío. ¿No? En los tiempos de ino ess temporadits hace un poco más frío que de los valles, un poco ya dio altura, entonos un poquito más hace frío.

¿Cuánta gente más o menos hay en...? ¿Cómo se llama tu comunidad?

La comunidad donde trabajo es Tipa Pampa.

¿Cuánta gente más o menos hay?

Más o menos debe tener unos... quinientas personas siendo mucho. ¿No?

Niños...

Niños y adultos.

¿Cuánta distancia hay entre tu comunidad y Aiquile? ¿Cuánto tiempo se esita para llegar?

Bueno, según a lo que he controlado es casi, es un día de caminata a pie. lo, por qué no decir las ocho de la mañana y llegando a las siete de la noche. es un poco alejado.

¿Y en bus, en movilidad?

En movilidad es casi unos cuatro horas, si en camión.

¿Cuánto cuesta ir y volver de Aiquile a tu comunidad?

Bueno, nunca he ido. ¿No? a mi comunidad en movilidad, pero hasta de
¿Y de Raqay Pampa a tu comunidad?
Dista, a pie son 2 horas más caminata ¿No?
¿Qué tipo de vehículos llegan a Raqay Pampa?
Bueno a Raqay Pampa llegan mayormente los comerciantes, ¿No? transportistas, algunos comerciantes menoristas entones cuando ya ferias, mayormente, ¿No?
Ya, Cuando hay ferias ¿Qué tipo de vehículos llegan?
Bueno, los vehículos son de carga pesada como decir los carros que ya transportan carga pesada, ¿No? ellos llegan. Y también hay en la comunidad unas instituciones que trabajan entones ellos también están con las movilidades pequeñas, ¿No?
¿Cada cuánto llegan las movilidades públicas?
Las movilidades públicas del lugar siempre no existen, ¿No? Sino son traídos pueblo, son propietarios de Aiquile entones ellos vienen con el comercio que tienen.
¿Cada cuánto llegan?
Cada semanal.
¿Y cuántos llegan cada semana?
Bueno, unos cinco, seis a veces, ¿No? Cuando hay mayormente carga, ¿No? y producción, harta producción entones ahí también, ¿No? Si hay poca producción, por ejemplo este año hemos tenido muy poca producción en la unidad mismo, entonces los transportistas mismos hay una interferencia entre entones hay un... se quitonean ellos mismos el producto, entonces a causa eso no abastece el producto para que pueda rendir su movilidad mismo, entones no les sale, entones ellos tienen que ver todo aquello para poder rescatar losgaste del motor que tiene de la movilidad.
Y en Tipa Pampa ¿Hay algún mercado, feria o algo por el estilo?
No, por el momento, hasta el momento que yo estoy nunca ha habido, ¿No? Y lo he visto siempre, si no traen hasta aquí a Raqay Pampa los que quieren tenerlo. Y hay a veces también carros que van, ¿No? Los comerciantes y compran, pero con un poco rebajado de precio, aquí traen un poquito más tal vez, ¿No? leván hasta el pueblo entones un poco más pagan también, pero sin embargo,
Burros entons ellos también el..., la caminata que hacen, el sacrificio y demás as prefieren vender en la comunidad.

Claro. ¿Cuál es la ocupación principal de los comunarios?

Bueno, la ocupación más que todo en tiempo de siembras es mayormente la cultura. ¿No? bueno en estes tiempos que ya pasaron las cosechas y demás as entonces la mujer más que todo se dedica al tejido de telas para su ropa como ser cobijas, costales. También, ¿No? los hombres se dedican al 6o de cortes para su vestimenta de pantalones y otras cosas.

Viajan los comunarios?

Bueno, hay a veces ¿No? La comunidad si hay necesidad, por ejemplo este como estaba diciendo hace rato, recalando, que si hay poca producción entons tiene que salir para subsanar a su familia, ¿No? Y cuando no es necesario, entons casi no salen.

¿Cuántas veces al año, más o menos, viajan los comunarios?

Bueno son temporaneos, ¿No? Por ejemplo, en tiempo de siembras ya no hay viajes ni en tiempo de cosechas ya no hay viajes, pasado la cosecha si, entons no hay que hacer nada ya el campesino, entons tiene que ir a buscar otros medios para poder vivir.

Y cuántas veces al año viajan más o menos?

Al año... una vez, una vez, ¿No? Una vez al año.

¿En qué movilidad viajan o se desplazan a Aiquile o a Cochabamba? ¿En qué tipos de movilidad?

Bueno, nosotros siempre estamos haciendo viajes aprovechando a los deportistas que vienen de Aiquile. ¿No? Con las movilidades de carga pesada, ormente en eso estamos saliendo y estamos viendo de allá y a veces que no movilidad que no sale entons a pie tenemos que transportarnos.
Mayormente, nosotros hacemos viajes a la ... al pueblo por el cobro de suscripciones, y hay a veces también hay por la salud que tenemos, ¿No? Hay a veces nos ponemos mal de salud y en la comunidad no tenemos medios de curar o tenemos postas sanitarias no hay hospital, nada, entonces tenemos que recurrir hasta el pueblo si no hay en la comunidad.

¿Cada cuánto viajan más o menos?
Bueno, siempre estamos saliendo casi mensualmente, ¿No? A cobro de suscripciones porque solamente el maestro vive de su sueldo, si no no hay también ¿No? Tampoco en la comunidad si no hay producción tampoco al maestro lo dan.

¿Cómo son tus relaciones con la comunidad?
Bueno, yo mayormente ¿No?, como soy también del agro rural, entonces más todo tengo que ambientarme al carácter que tiene el campesino, ¿No? por eso que todo tengo relaciones con el campesino por el ambiente que he llevado el campo desde mi niñez y también he tenido que vivir, *hey palpao* todos ellos problemas que tiene el campesino y estoy casi acostumbrado, entonces, mayormente llevo las relaciones con el campesino.

¿En qué lengua hablas con los comunarios?
Bueno, mayormente, ¿No? mi lengua ha sido mi lengua materna era quechua de mi niñez entones estoy acostumbrado a hablar a eso, si no hablo mi lengua materna con mi gente del campo entonces yo tengo un error que no meende, ¿No? Si no tengo que hablar entonces en mi lengua materna que es quechua.

Primero has aprendido el quechua?
Sí mi lengua materna era quechua

Y el castellano, cuándo lo has aprendido, más o menos, a qué edad?
Bueno, la segunda lengua mayormente he aprendido..., es cuando yo entré a la escuela, ¿No? En la escuela me enseñaron la lengua 2 que es castellano.

¿Lás o menos ¿A qué edad has aprendido castellano?
Le aprendido desde mis siete hasta mis ocho años ya un poco ya podía ar, ¿No? El primer año que he entrado a la escuela a mis siete años, ¿No? Ya el indo año, ocho años, ya estaba en el segundo entones ya podía algo ya ar, no tan perfecto como se dice.

¿Y en tu familia con quienes hablas en quechua?
En mi familia mayormente hablo con mis padres, ¿No? Con mi madre, claro mi...
no sabe habla pero mayormente hablamos en quechua con ellos.

¿Con tus hermanos?
Con mis hermanos ya ellos han tenido que superarse con el estudio que nos dao nuestros padres entons hemos estudiado, ya somos profesionales uns son profesionales entons hablamos mayormente de castellano.

¿Y con tus amigos?
Con mis amigos, bueno en el campo mayormente con los amigos hablo quechua, en el campo mayormente. Con mis colegas también hay a veces que si estoy hablando en quechua, ¿No? y hay a veces que hablo en castellano y abien en los dos.

¿Tú crees que hay diferentes clases de castellano?
Bueno, en cuanto al castellano yo pienso que hay un solo castellano, ¿No? A lo nos en Bolivia que hablamos ess las lengua 2 que es el castellano, pienso e es ese nomás el lengua castellana.

¿Dónde crees que hablan mejor el castellano?
Bueno, mayormente, los..., el castellano hablarían el español, ¿No? los años mayormente.

¿Y quiénes crees que hablan mejor? O sea, en España hablan mejor y quiénes?
Bueno, no se, al tanto, no se, hablarían ¿Donde será? no te podría decir rita al momento.

¿Y en Aiquile cómo crees que se habla el castellano?
Bueno, a mi parecer no... también se habla castellano pero diría no tan correcto o? Como hablamos en quechua también, mezcla castellano y quechua unos hablando también, hay una mezcla también. Pienso que puede ser así que no hay un castellano legito que hablamos también en Bolivia, pienso es así, ¿No?.

Y en el lugar donde trabajas?
En el lugar que trabajo no hablan castellano. Es puro quechua.

Crees que el castellano y el quechua no se deberían mezclar?
Sí, eso mismo yo diría, ¿No? Que no debía mezclarse castellano y quechua, ellano debía ser puro y quechua también tenía que ser puro, ¿No? Entonces rita en quechua es una mezcla de castellano y quechua por eso ahora mos perfeccionando no todos en su general, en su totalidad, sino los maestros alumnos que han de ser después, serán un poco perfeccionado, el quechua.
¿Crees que el bilingüismo es una ventaja o una desventaja?
Bueno, es una ventaja ¿Por qué puedo decir? Si nosotros hablamos solamente quechua, si uno va al pueblo entonces le va ser dificultoso entenderse con la gente del pueblo. Y la gente del pueblo y la gente del campo tampoco la gente del que habla castellano, hablante castellano no le va entender al hablante quechua lo que está hablando, entonces hay una contradicción entonces sería no aprender el bilingüismo, las dos idiomas.

Tú en qué idioma escuchas la radio?
Mayormente estamos escuchando en las dos idiomas quechua y castellano?
En qué idioma te gusta más escucharla?
Bueno, a nosotros, mayormente, ¿No? En el campo a lo menos, nos gusta escuchar en quechua, porque es más entendible que castellano a los hablantes quechuas por lo menos nos gusta escuchar en quechua porque más rápido es entendible. ¿No? nosotros captamos más rápido que en castellano en quechua estamos más rápido.

CONVERSATION WITH THE TEACHER ABOUT PERSONAL DETAILS.
..CHER S.C. ESCUELA CENTRAL POTOLO .

Su nombre es...?
alomé Camargo
La edad?
Bueno la edad es cuarenta y ocho, ya será voy a cumplir.
Vd. habla castellano y quechua?
Sí, castellano, quechua y algo de aymará.
Y cual es la lengua que habla más?
Ás hablo los dos quechua y castellano
De dónde es Vd.?
¿De una comunidad, de un pueblo?
No, no, es de un distrito, de LLallagua, tal vez. Si es un centro.
¿Es grande?
Grande es.
¿Cómo cuántos habitantes tendrá?
Tiene casi mil habitantes, grande, tiene teatros, tiene bancos, tiene Banco del ado, Banco Nacional, después hay otros, Banco de Bolivia
O sea, que ya es un centro comercial
Centro comercial es, tiene hertas para ir a recorrer cualquier lado.
¿Y ahí qué lengua aprendió Vd. primero?
Bueno mis papás son quechua y también son castellano.
Entonces ¿Aprendió los dos al mismo tiempo?
Los dos al mismo tiempo. Mi papá más que todo sabía castellano y mi mamá quechua y castellano, más quechua.
En tonces, ¿Qué lengua hablabas más con ellos?
Los dos hablabas, los dos, mamá era casi quechua y papá era netamente castellano
¿Y con sus abuelos?
Mis abuelos, el abuelo hablabas, la abuela era de aquí de Sucre, de aquí de cre era, hablabas quechua la abuela, el abuelo hablabas, de Potosí era y laba castellano, castellano hablabas.
¿Y tiene hermanos?
Tengo hermanos
¿Y habla con ellos en castellano?
Hablamos con castellano siempre
¿Nunca en quechua?
No
¿Y con su esposo o con sus hijos?
Ambién todo castellano. Porque una vez recuerdo de que esto lo voy a contar, papá fue su cumpleaños de mamá y mi papá le dice "vamos a bailar el tango", ice, "te voy a enseñar", le dice; mi mamá bueno, como era quechua bailó la atada y mi papá el tango abrazándole y ella en abrazados zapateada y mi á está queriendo hacer mover así, bailar. ¿No? Y ella entonces se puso a ar. ¿Por qué esto? Yo dije, aín no sabía también, ya ocho años y más ya ñdo ya jovencita pregunté "Es que tu mamá es quechua y yo soy, pues,
ni papá claro que bailaba, *ps*, todo aquello.

¿Y Vd. entonces usa más castellano?

Castellano

Piensa, sueña... siempre en castellano

En castellano, también, pero, quechua me gusta. Con mis alumnos, con ellos hago que me entiendan. Converso en quechua, hablo, reímos, jugamos, todo y más me comprenden.

¿Y cuando canta, canta en quechua también?

Cantan en quechua, cantan en quechua bastante bien.

¿Vd. conoce canciones en quechua también?

Sí, canciones en quechua se, como también los niños saben. El himno nacional bueno no tan finito siempre, pero saben el himno nacional en quechua también.

¿Y cuando va al mercado en qué idioma habla?

Depende con qué clase de persona estoy, de acuerdo al medio ambiente. Pero allí en Sucre, por ejemplo, en el mercado, cuando va a comprar.

Voy a comprar, digamos, a un frial, bueno, en el frial ya no hay las mitas, ¿No? Entonces hablo con ellas como es debido. Y si veo una campesina digamos, voy a comprar y hay harta gente que se le ha aglomerado, están riendo comprando, uno jala por aquí, otro jala por aquí, yo como soy quechua y campesina en quechua les dice “No me lo a toquen, no me lo a toquen, yo les a vender”. Y los otros por aquí, por allá. Un día, ya hace un mes casi, vi en el mercado campesino, ¿No? un campesino que estaba, “Dejenmelo, dejenmelo, yo a dar “; *entons* yo me acerqué les dije en quechua a ellos, “¿Por qué le encen así, por qué le tratan tan mal al campesino?” les dije, “Vds. no tienen echo a hacerlo así él ha traído *pa* vender”. Pero yo le conozco a este campesino y justo era con sombrero de Potolo, eso más me ha herido a mí, yo le no había sido vecino de Potolo, había sido de más allá, de Maraquí más allá, el había sido, ¿No? Entonces yo le digo “Yo les, se los voy a repartir, ¿Por qué hacen así?”. Entonces el campesino, saca pues, había sido papa, ¿No? Le digo te voy a ayudar a vender”. Yo le dije “A uno por uno hay que pesarlo y no hay que tratarlo de esa manera. Si Vd. quiere una arroba, la otra otra arroba, la otra media así, bueno *entons*, Vd. tiene que pesar”. *Entons* yo también me riré otra arrobita, así, bueno. “Ay! gracias señorita Vd. que ha sido buena me ratado de solucionar este problema, porque no había quién, todos me querían ar “. Y la papa había sido rosada, bonita y grandes había sido.
Elnosabianada castellano,neto quechua era y había unaque era
dependedora quechua,peroesequeríatodito y él no queríavenderpor nada a él
qrueesosestengañan,yonoiquierdadíaratela,quierosvendermede arroba
arrobanomás,nointervenderlosí enjuntoaél”.Ymenos mal,ahívino un
porquehabíasidotambién de la,como se llama,ley del mercado campesino,
bode,...,agente, nos qué era,digo,”Vd.porqué no ven aquí,qué cosa ven
s. qué eso que velan aquí el campesino, uno y otro le estaban quitando, uno
devantaba y se lo llenaba su bolsa tal vez se iba, pobre campesino en qué
edaba”, yo he dicho. Esetampocohabía sabido quechua ,castellano nomás, y
últimole he dicho “A Vds. les da, les importa que un campesino venga aquí y
da o no venda o qué pasa de él, ¿No? Eso está muy mal hecho, yo voy a dar al
LO”.

Entonces Vd. cree que como es bilingüe es una ventaja para Vd. porque puede
dar a la gente que no entienda y cosas así.

Uh! Es una ventaja que se puede ayudar bastante. Ha quedado agradecido e
uso me aumentó con papas más al venderme a mí. Y uno de las señorases de
,”Vd.pues debesermé también, ps, campesina por eso será pues Vd. a su masi
a alegando”. Ella la que quería comprarse todo, la revendedora. “No”, le he
no, “Yo al campesinado siempre lo apoyo porque ellos por el hecho de que no
ehablarcastellano lo van a engañar, no”, he dicho, “És is igual que nosotros,
o él también tiene que saber, ps, comerciar su este y si no sabe, entons hay
ayudarle, es lo que le estoy ayudando, no es pariente nada ni es de mi
unidad, es de más allá todavía”, le dije así. Entons la otra se fue y yo también
compré y luego le dejé tranquilo al hombrecito.

“Aquí he visto que escuchan mucho la radio, ¿Vd. también?”

Sí.

Y qué escucha normalmente en quechua, en castellano?

Lay, nosotros más escuchamos “La hora del maestro” en ACLO.

Y esa es en castellano?

In castellano y quechua nos comunica.

ejoyavahacerunaspreguntas sobre el castellano ¿Vd. cree que hays diferentes
es de castellano?

Diferentes tipos..., dialectos diría, el dialecto de lugar a lugar.

Y cuál sería la diferencia entre un dialecto y otro?

Dialecto, bueno, no, sería uno nomás el dialecto, la diferencia sería por
A la Cruz, “pue” hablan, ¿No? y en Cochabamba ya dicen “cumpa” en vez de “compadre”, eso es los dialectos, ¿No? Y dónde cree Vd. que se habla mejor castellano? Como ha venido de España el origen es, pues, España. Y aquí en Bolivia? Bueno de allí han traído entons aquí en Bolivia es , ps. Y quienes hablan mejor castellano, aquí en Bolivia? ¿La gente de la ciudad? La gente de la ciudad, la gente de la ciudad más habla castellano. Los diantes, por ejemplo, en la ciudad hablan más, pero aquí en las comunidades siempre lo confunden. Hay v ess, como ha debido escuchar hace rato con los ses, la “O” con la “u”, la “i” con la “e”, así. Hay v ess lo mezclan. por ejemplo en i lo mezclan, hay alguno de mis colegas también, hasta yo antes de que sepa del bilingüe confundía, entons hablaba con quechua y castellano, me confundía, lo hablaba a v ess, decir, siempre alguna palabra me confunde con el castellano y la quechua . Y Vd. cree que no debe, no se debe mezclar? Yo se debe mezclar, por ningún modo, por ningún modo.

the author S= the teacher
hesitation *italics* = a different pronunciation from the one normally used

= direct style.
ME GENERAL FEATURES ABOUT THE COMMUNITIES WHERE THE
ACHERS WE STUDIED MOST WERE WORKING AND LIVING.

Appendix 5
INDÍGENAS COMUNALIOS: Quechua

MOTIVOS: Visitas / Visita
LUGARES: Club Privado / Aguile

MOVILIDAD COMUNALIOS:

OCUPACIÓN COMUNALIOS: Labradores

COMERCIO: No hay
FRECUENCIA: 1 a la semana (2 en época seca)

VEHÍCULOS:

DÍNERO: 6 o 7 bolivianos
TIEMPO: 2 horas (6 o 7 a pie)

DISTANCIA A NUCLEO GRANDE:
POPULACIÓN: 300 a 350

ÁREA GEOGRÁFICA: Pampa Higüda

TAMAÑO: Mediano

(Delina Gardner y Nelson Vedia)

MIREY PAMPA

SANTIAGO

- -

- -
IDIOMAS COMUNICACION: solo quechua.

MOTIVOS: Vender productos / labrar.
LUGARES: Alique / Chapara.

MOVILIDAD COMUNICACION:

OCUPACION COMUNICACION: agricultores.

COMERCIO: no hay.

FRECUENCIA: 1 vez a la semana.

TIPOS: canímar.

VEHICULOS:

DIENRO: 4 o 5 bolivianos.

TIEMPO: 1 hora y 2 horas en camión.

DISTANCIA A NÚCLEO GRANDE:

Población: 300

ÁREA GEOGRÁFICA: aldea.

TAMAÑO: mediana o pequeña.

(Celestina Puyari)

MOLLE PUKARA

BAVAY PAMPA

IDIOMAS COMUNICACION: solo quechua. Alguno algo de castellano.

MOTIVOS: Vender productos / labrar.
LUGARES: Alique / Chapara.

MOVILIDAD COMUNICACION:

OCUPACION COMUNICACION: agricultores (comerciales).

COMERCIO: leña semanal y vendimias.

FRECUENCIA: 1 vez a la semana.

TIPOS: canímarones.

VEHICULOS:

DIENRO: 5 bolivianos.

TIEMPO: 2 o 3 horas.

DISTANCIA A NÚCLEO GRANDE:

Población: 0 - 500. + de 1000.

ÁREA GEOGRÁFICA: aldea. meseta.

TAMAÑO: grande.
IDIOMAS COMUNAÑOS: Quechua, Aymara, Ingles

MOTIVOS: Vender y caminar
LUGARES: Tarabuco, Santa Cruz

MOVILIDAD COMUNAÑOS: Camión, Moto

OCUPACION: Comercio: No hay
Frecuencia: No hay
Vehículos: No hay
Dinero: No hay

DISTANCIA: A Nucleo Mas Grande: 215 poblaciones

LATITUD: 13° 21' 30" E
LONGITUD: 69° 10' 9" S

ÁREA GEOGRÁFICA: Cabeza de Yacaja
TAMANHO: Media

JATUN CHIRIKAQA

CHOLLA CAMI

(Jose Huaylla)
IDIOMAS COMUNICADORES: quichua, aiguinas castellan, peru may

MOTIVOS: Tébar
LUGARES: Chicos departamento
MOVILIDAD COMUNICADORES:

ocupación: comuneros: campesinos
comercio: Pequeñas tiendas
Frecuencia: 1 o 2 veces al día
Tipos: Campesinos, colectivos, coches
Vehículos:
Dinero: 15 bolivianos
Tiempo: 2 h. a pie y 15 min en movilidad
Distancia: A nucleo mas grande
Población: 334 habitantes
Área Geográfica: Alipiano

Tamaño: Pequeño
Hugo Torres
Saguapaya

José Monzón
Miska Mayu
IDIOMAS COMUNICADOS: quechua, aiguas, palablitas en castellano.

MOTIVOS: Vender, Tablolar.

LUÑARUS: Valle, Cochabamba y Santa Cruz, Sucre.

MOVILIDAD COMUNICADOS: aguiluchos.

OCUPACION COMUNICADOS: campesinos, indígenas.

COMERCIO: pescucho, arroz, feim, fiata.

FRECUENCIA: 1 a 2 veces al día.

TIPOS: camiones y colectivo.

VEHÍCULOS:

DIRECCIÓN: Bolivia.

TIEMPO: 1:02h. 2:30 ni, 3h. 31.

DISTANCIA A NUCLEO GRANDE:

Población: 500, 600, 1000, 1500.

ÁREA GEOGRÁFICA: templada, arrojado, arroyo, arroyo, rivera.

TAMANHO: grande.

PORTÓL: Siete camaros, villades, Flores, Huila, Guatleras, Julia, Olmedo.

MARACAY