

Diglossia, Footing and Quechua-Spanish Code-Switching

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1. Introduction¹

This paper deals with Quechua-Spanish code-switching in storytelling. The narratives involve code-switching between two typologically distant languages. Quechua is an Andean-Equatorial, SOV, agglutinative language, whereas Spanish is an Indo-European, SVO, inflectional language. The typological differences between the two languages have consequences for the type of code-switching we find in the data (cf. Muysken 2000). There are a few studies on Quechua-Spanish code-switching (Muysken, 2000; Floyd, 2002, 2003, 2004 (unpublished); Lipski, 2005), but none of these deal with inter-sentential code-switching in narratives. The data analysed for the purpose of this study were collected by Urioste in the city of Cochabamba, Bolivia. The region is characterized by a high degree of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. However, it is a form of bilingualism with diglossia, in which Quechua is the low (L) variety, and Spanish the high (H) variety.

The purpose of this paper is to give an account of why and to what effects speakers are manipulating the two languages in the context of narratives, i.e. how the code-switching in the narratives is meaningful. I will present empirical evidence from inter-sentential code-switching to argue that switching between the two codes enables a diglossic performance in the two languages; Spanish indexing a (H), power/status, function and Quechua indexing a (L), solidarity, function. The functional alignment of this diglossic use is accompanied, and complicated, by a change in footing (Goffman, 1981); however, the switching from Quechua to Spanish is predicted if and only if the text in context introduces power, understood in terms of (a) the asymmetrical relationship that holds between the actors/interlocutors, and (b) the salience and the significance of the content, viz. the message.

The corpus is composed of (oral) narrations of folktales or fairytales of European and Arabic origin by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals under elicitation-like conditions. The analysis is based on the transcriptions of three stories: *The wolf and the seven little goats*,

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Aladdin and the wonder lamp, and *Ali Baba and the forty thieves*.² Overall, the matrix language in these narratives is Quechua, and the embedded language is Spanish. The switches from Quechua to Spanish in these narratives are both intra- and inter-sentential. In the next section of this paper some examples of intra-sentential code-switching will be presented. In section three I will present the Goffmanian framework of “footing” and the transcription format used in this study. In section four I will discuss the second variable of sociolinguistic use in this study, i.e. “diglossia”. Section five is concerned with the interplay between footing and diglossia. Finally, in section five, I will present my conclusions.

2. Intra-sentential Code-Switching

An example of intra-sentential code-switching is the insertion of material (lexical items or constituents) from Spanish into Quechua (cf. Muysken, 2000). These switches are morphologically integrated, and the structure of the matrix language (Quechua) is maintained. It has been argued that the agglutinative morphology of Quechua promotes insertion (Muysken, 2000). Insertions are usually content words, e.g. nouns as in examples (1) and (2). The Spanish nouns **poder**, ‘power’, **farolsito**, ‘small lantern’, and **dueña**, ‘owner’, are fully integrated in the Quechua structure and are followed by Quechua bound morphemes.

- (1) **Poder**-ni-yoj-ña ka-ni.
Power-EUPH-POSS-already be-1SG.
‘I already have **power**.’
- (2) Chanta **farol-sito**-wan llojsi-mu-sqa **dueña**-n-qa.
Then lantern-DIM-INSTR come out-DIR-PAST 3 SG owner-POSS-TOP.
‘Then her **owner** appeared with a **small lantern**’

In example (3), the fixed expression **a ver**, ‘let’s see’, is inserted in a Quechua sentence:

- (3) “**A ver** jaku” nispa risqanku risqanku risqanku risqanku rillasqankupuni nin
“**Let’s see**, let’s go”, saying they went they went they went they went without doubt
they went, they say.’

In examples (4) and (5) “bilingual verbs” (cf. Muysken, 2000), consisting of a Spanish root and Quechua bound morphemes, are used:

- (4) Chaymanta **traslada**-mu-wa-nku kay-man.
Then move-DIR-1OBJ-3PL this-DIR.
‘Then they **move** me here’
- (5) **Cuentá** qo-ku-sqa.
Account give-REFL- PAST 3SG
‘He **realised**’

The construction in (5) is a direct loan translation of Spanish *se dio cuenta* (REFL he gave account, ‘he realised’). The Spanish inserted element **cuentá** is integrated in that the word order of this construction is OV, as in Quechua. However, it lacks the Quechua direct object marker *-ta*.

² The formatting of the stories, the glosses and the translations into English are mine. All Spanish switches are in bold.

In the remainder of the paper, I restrict the discussion to inter-sentential code-switching. One linguistically significant generalization that emerges from these data is that the grammar of the practice of Quechua-Spanish code-switching is structured along two important dimensions of sociolinguistic use: “diglossia” and “footing”.

3. “Footing” and Inter-sentential Code-Switching

Goffman (1981) decomposes the notions of ‘hearer’ and ‘speaker’ in different participant roles. In the event of storytelling the ‘hearer’ is a live audience and is occasionally addressed as a ratified participant in the event. Assuming that the ‘speaker’ knows the stories are being recorded, there is a second imagined audience, similar to a broadcast audience (Goffman, 1981). The ‘talk’ in this case consists of stories, coming from a single speaker who dominates the floor. The ‘speaker’ is decomposed in the functions of animator, author and principal (Goffman, 1981). The animator is the one who (physically) produces the utterances; the voice of the animator is seen in the asides, i.e. in the comments directed to the interlocutor in the event of storytelling. The author is the one who selects the sentiments and events that are expressed, as well as their encodings. The principal is the one whose position is established by what is said and who is committed to the content (Goffman, 1981: 144-145). McCawley (1985) argues that inanimate or non-existent entities can be principals. In the case of the stories the characters serve as (embedded) principals.

The same ‘speaker’ can be animator, author and/or principal and can shift alignment or change footing. In this case the speaker shifts back and forth between the role of narrator and those of the characters in the stories. As we will see, changes in role alignment trigger code-switches at specific points in the stories.

In the transcription of the stories I used indented columns to indicate different footings or multiple embeddings, following Moore (1993). The first column contains the things the narrator addresses to the interlocutor in the event of the narration, e.g. the beginning of the stories (see example (6) from *Aladdin and the wonder lamp*, and example (7) from *Ali Baba and the forty thieves*) and the ending of the stories (see example (8) from *The wolf and the seven little goats*, and example (9) from *Ali Baba and the forty thieves*).

- (6) Uj kuti karqa nin uj **chiquito**.
[Once upon a time there was a **little child**, they say] (*Aladdin and the wonder lamp*)
- (7) Uj llant'eritu kasqa nin
[There was a **little lumberjack**, they say.] (*Ali Baba and the forty thieves*)
- (8) Chaylla. (*The wolf and the seven little goats*)
[Ready.]
- (9) Chaypi tukukun (*Ali Baba and the forty thieves*)
[There it ends.]

The voice of the narrator is also clearly seen in asides or comments directed to the interlocutor. In example (10) from *The wolf and the seven little goats* the narrator describes the scene to the interlocutor.

Example (10) (*The wolf and the seven little goats*):

- 1. (Qalá mikhuraytawan llawarnillan chay pampapi;
[After he (the wolf) ate all, there was only blood on that floor:]

2. umas umas llojsipusqa.)
[heads, heads appeared])

The second column contains the narrated non-speech, oftentimes introduced by *chanta*, ‘then’. In the first two columns the speaker is animator, author and principal (Goffman, 1981), that is to say that the immediate speaker is the one who produces the utterances, selects the events and their encodings, and is committed to the content. The ratified recipients are the live audience and the second imagined audience. The third column introduces the directly quoted speech events by means of quotative verbs of saying (e.g. *nisqa*, ‘he said’, and *nispa*, ‘saying’). This is the meta-pragmatic framing of the speech event. The narrator serves as the animator of the character’s words (cf. McCawley, 1985).

The fourth column contains the directly quoted character speech. The function of the immediate speaker is that of animator, i.e. he produces the utterances in the real world and enacts the character’s saying of the words. The quoted characters are presented as embedded authors and principals, whose positions are established by what is said. The live audience and the second imagined audience are the ratified recipients in the real world, whereas the other characters are the ratified participants within the story, and react to what the characters say.

Finally, in the fifth column, the characters quote other characters or themselves in another moment. In example (11) from *The wolf and the seven little goats* mother goat quotes herself in a previous moment.

Example (11) (*The wolf and the seven little goats*):

1. “Niykichis”
[“I said to you (= seven little goats)”]
2. ““ama kichariychajchu””
[““Don’t open!””]

In this case there is an embedded animator (Goffman, 1981), i.e. the character is enacting her own saying of the words in a previous moment. Each change in embedding or layering implies a change in footing, i.e. a switch in alignment or a change in voice (Goffman, 1981: 155).

In the three stories, the speech directed to the interlocutor (the first column), the narrated non-speech (the second column) and the quotative verbs of saying (the third column) consistently appear in Quechua, with Spanish insertions. The code switches occur in the change in footing from narrator to quoted character, and occasionally within the directly quoted character speech. Example (12), taken from *The wolf and the seven little goats*, illustrates the interaction between “footing” and code-switching. The introduction of the story, or the setting of the stage, is done in Quechua. The change in footing from narrator in line 1 to the character of the wolf in line 2 is accompanied by a code switch from Quechua to Spanish. The switch marks off a crucial point in the story; it is the first time the wolf enters the stage. Note also that in line 2 a Spanish imperative form is used.

Example (12) (*The wolf and the seven little goats*)

1. Chantataj maymantaqa:

[Then from some place:]

2. **“Hijito hijito abranmé;**
[**“Little child, little child, open me;”**]
3. **“me está haciendo frío!”**
[**“I am cold!”**]
4. nisqa
[he said.]

4. Diglossia and Inter-sentential Code-Switching

As stated above, I will argue that code-switching enables a diglossic performance in the two languages, Quechua indexing a low, solidarity, function, and Spanish a high, power/status, function. Power is understood in terms of (a) the asymmetrical relationships that hold between the actors, and (b) the salience and significance of the content. I will demonstrate that the sociolinguistic heteroglossia is manifested- or “registered” (Agha, 2005)- via the authorial handling of the reported speech (cf. Bakhtin, 1981), that is to say that the linguistic practices (i.e. the code switches between Spanish and Quechua) within the stories represent and reproduce the sociolinguistic heteroglossia. Moreover, the code-switches and role alignments can only be understood in the context of Bolivian reality.

In example (13) from *The wolf and the seven little goats* the salience or significance of the content of line 2 produces a code switch to Spanish. The wolf tried to enter the house twice, pretending to be mother goat. The first time the little goats recognized the wolf, and said, in Quechua, that he was not their mother. The second time, the little goats thought it was their mother; line 2 is a crucial point in the story and is presented in Spanish. The fact that the first time the little goats were voiced in Quechua, whereas the second time they were voiced in Spanish is important. The second time, the little goats let the wolf enter the house, which has dramatic consequences. The text in context thus introduces power in the sense of the significance of the message.

Example (13) (*The wolf and the seven little goats*)

1. Chanta,
[Then,]
2. **“A, nuestra madre es!”**
[**“Ah, it is our mother!”**]
3. nispa nisqa
[saying he [=one of the little goats) said.]
4. Chantataj nejtintaj
[And then when he said it,]
5. chay **ratito** yaykumusqa y q'alituta mikhhorqosqa.
[that **moment** he (=the wolf) entered **and** ate all of them.]

As in the previous examples, in example (14) from *Ali Baba and the forty thieves* the setting of the stage is presented in Quechua. The quotative in line 4 introduces a change in

footing that triggers a code switch. Line 5 is an important sentence that signals the beginning of the story. Note that line 5 contains a Spanish imperative and, moreover, a typical formulaic expression.

Example (14) (*Ali Baba and the forty thieves*)

1. Uj llan'eritu kasqa nin
[there was a **little** lumberjack, they say].
2. Llant'aman risqa kinsa burropi
[He went to get firewood on three **donkeys**.]
3. Chantaqa chaypeqa **Alí Babá y los cuarenta ladrones** na
[Then there **Ali Baba and the forty thieves** eh]
4. chay uj jatun qaqata nisasqa:
[those said to a big rock:]
5. **“Abrete Sésamo!”**
["Open Sesame!"]
6. nisqa
[they said]

Example (15) is an example of the representation of Spanish and Quechua in the context of the relationship between the interlocutors. Aladdin has just introduced the magician, who pretends to be his uncle, to his mother. The conversation between the magician and Aladdin's mother is presented in Spanish (see lines 1-4). Upon finding out that "his brother" has died, the magician starts crying. The magician's crying triggers a code-switch to Quechua within the directly quoted speech. The mother's use of Quechua mitigates the question and indexes solidarity. Note that the change in footing from line 9 to 10 does not trigger a code-switch: both lines are voiced in the (L) code.

Example (15) (*Aladdin and the wonder lamp*)

1. **“¡Ay! ¿Dónde está ps mi hermano?”**
["Ay, where is then my brother?"]
2. nisqa
[he (=the magician) said]
3. **“Se ha muerto”**
["He has died"]
4. nisqa
[she (=Aladdin's mother) said]
5. “Ay”
[“Ay”]
6. **Vuelta** waqallasqataj
[And **again** he (=the magician) cried]

7. **vuelta** waqallasqataj
[and **again** he cried.]
8. Chanta waqajtenqa naqa chay waqajtenga
[Then when he cried eh when he cried]
9. chay mamanqa nisqa:
[that his (=the little child's) mother said:]
10. “¿**Hermanonchu** kanki?”
[“Are you his **brother**?]”
11. nisqa
[She said]

In example (16) Spanish indexes a (H), power/status, function and Quechua a (L), solidarity, function. In line 2 the uncle is voiced in Spanish while shouting to Aladdin, whereas in line 6 he is voiced in Quechua when he tries to convince Aladdin to give him the wonder lamp.

Example (16) (*Aladdin and the wonder lamp*)

1. Chanta naraj chay **tionqa** qhparimusqa:
[Then eh that his **uncle** shouted:]
2. “¡Na! **Adalid! ¿Ya has sacado la lámpara maravillosa?**”
[“Na! **Adalid! Did you already take the wonder lamp out?**”]
3. nisqa
[he said.]
4. “¡**Sí!**”
[“**Yes**”]
5. nisqa
[he said]
6. “Pasachimuway a”³
[“Give it to me, eh”]
7. nisqa
[he said]

5. The Interaction of “Diglossia” and “Footing”

We have seen that diglossia and footing help to explain the linguistic practices in these narratives. However, as the data in (17)-(19) below demonstrate, the patterns of Quechua-Spanish differ in terms of the relative prominence of the two dimensions; a change in

³ A in *Pasachimuway a*, ‘give it to me eh’, mitigates the Quechua command form.

diglossic function from L to H triggers a switch with or without a concomitant change in the footing (examples (17) and (18)), but we find no instances where code-switching takes place with a change in footing *only*, i.e. without any obvious change in the diglossic function of the two languages (example (19)). I discuss these data below.

The data in (17) show a code-switch *with* a change in footing; the magician appears in- switches to- a Spanish voice (line 2), indexing relational power between the magician and Aladdin, who is voiced in Quechua. The change in footing from narrator to Aladdin's character (line 6), however, does not trigger a code-switch.

Example (17) (*Aladdin and the wonder lamp*)

1. **Chicotewan** pusajtenqa:
[When he drove him with a **whip**:]
2. **“¡A ya! ¿Vas a ir o no vas a ir?”**
[“**Ah ya. Are you going or are you not going?**”]
3. nispa phiñarimña nin⁴
[Saying he got already angry, they say.]
4. **Chiquito** ch'inllapuni risqan
[**The little child** went without doubt quietly]
5. nin
[he said]
6. “ari”
[“yes.”]

In example (18) a change in diglossic function triggers a code switch, *without* a change in footing. The magician tries to convince Aladdin to enter the cave, giving him a command in Spanish (line 4), creating an asymmetrical relation between the two, but then follows that command in Quechua (line 5), without any change in footing, mitigating the illocutionary force of the command and expressing solidarity, further expressed in the address form **hijo**, ‘son’.

Example (18) (*Aladdin and the wonder lamp*)

1. Chanta:
[Then:]
2. “arrrr”
[“arrrr”]
3. nispa kicharikusqa
[saying it (= the cave) opened.]
4. **“¡Ah! ¡Entra ahí!”**

⁴ The phrase *phiñarimña*, ‘he got already angry’, can be read as an aside, a comment directed to the interlocutor.

["Ah. Enter in there."]

5. "¡Yaykuy chay ukhuman **hijo!**"
["Enter in there, **son!**"]
6. nisqa
[He (= the magician) said.]

So far we have seen that the grammar of Quechua-Spanish code-switching practice is particularly sensitive to changes in diglossic functions, regardless of footing changes (see example (18)). I further claim that the key variable in Quechua-Spanish code-switching is indeed a change in diglossic function. This claim is empirically supported by the data in (19) where there is a change in footing from the role of the narrator to the character of Aladdin, but no change in diglossic function, and hence no code-switching. Predictably, both the narrated speech and Aladdin's inner speech are voiced in the low code.

Example (19) (*Aladdin and the wonder lamp*)

1. Mana atisqachu nin chaypi frutaswan
[He could not, they say, be there with fruit.]
2. "Llakikuni;"
["I am sad;"]
3. "¿imanasajtaj kunanqa?"
["What will I do now?"]
4. "Llakikuni phutikuni"
["I am sad, I am sad. '"]

6. Conclusions

We have seen that two dimensions of sociolinguistic use help to explain the linguistic practices in these narratives: diglossia and footing. The speech in columns 1-3 of the stories (i.e. the asides to the interlocutor, the narrated non-speech and the quotative verbs of saying) consistently appears in Quechua, whereas the directly quoted character speech in column 4 (and 5) is voiced in either Spanish or Quechua, depending on the diglossic function of the speech. I claim that the key variable that explains the linguistic practices within the stories is in fact the changes in diglossic function. The narrator's manipulation of the directly quoted speech represents or produces power and solidarity between the characters, Quechua indexing a (L), solidarity, function, and Spanish a (H), power/status, function. The notion of 'power' is further understood in terms of the salience or significance of the message.

The diglossic relation between Spanish and Quechua is "enacted" in the narration (cf. Agha, 2005), in the patterns of code-switching we observe. The narrator, as animator, enacts the characters' saying of the words and represents their linguistic practices. The narrator's handling of the reported speech in the narrative discourse thus produces, in real time, an "indexical icon" of the diglossic situation. Partly these narratives represent, at the micro-interactive level, an image of the macro-social level, and partly they also help to (re-)produce the diglossic order. The power/solidarity and distance/intimacy dynamics we see in the stories are representations of speech practices, attributed to the characters and enacted via reported speech.

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