Ayllu on the Airwaves: Rap, Reform, & Redemption on Aymara National Radio

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Abstract
Of the indigenous languages of the Americas, Aymara counts among the few with more than one million speakers; yet, in the country with its greatest number of speakers, Bolivia, concerns of language shift to Spanish are widespread, making it the focus of varied political, linguistic, educational, and cultural interventions. This dissertation provides a comparative linguistic ethnographic account of three media platforms in Bolivia from which models of Aymara language emanate—a Jesuit radio station, a hip-hop collective, and the radio station of the Aymara Education Council—to address the following questions: In what ways do these centers of institutional authority advance or contest ideologies of language endangerment among contemporary Bolivian Aymara speakers? If an Aymara national culture exists within "plurinational" Bolivia, what are the discursive mechanisms by which it is maintained and reproduced? Do Aymara nationalist discourses impact Aymara language use? If yes, how? This study answers these questions through discourse analysis and ethnography, both addressing discourses of nationalism and language endangerment across the three sites as well as describing the linguistic and more broadly semiotic registers deployed therein, and the multilingual publics presupposed by them, through coordinated attention to both the content and form of their broadcasts. The discourse analysis of language use on these programs is both informed by poetic and semiotic approaches to verbal interaction and also embedded within ethnographic description of their institutional production and of the metadiscursive protocols that, to differing degrees, regiment linguistic practices at each of the three sites. The transmission of spoken discourse over the airwaves makes radio a key site for the dissemination of models of Aymara nationhood. This research goes beyond documentation of contemporary Aymara as it is spoken to examine the institutional and ideological embeddedness of linguistic behavior in Bolivian Aymara communities. Identifying relationships between the medium of transmission (contrasting linguistic registers) and the messages transmitted by them illuminate contemporary processes of identity formation and transformation unfolding in a period in Bolivia that scholars and Aymara community members alike characterize as a moment of heightened "decolonization."

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AYLLU ON THE AIRWAVES: RAP, REFORM, & REDEMPTION ON AYMARA

NATIONAL RADIO

Karl F. Swinehart

A DISSERTATION

in Education and Anthropology

Presented to the Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania

in

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of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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AYLLU ON THE AIRWAVES: RAP, REFORM, & REDEMPTION ON AYMARA
NATIONAL RADIO

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Karl F. Swinehart
Dedicated to

Frederic and Carole Swinehart
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ABSTRACT
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Karl Frederic Swinehart
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Of the indigenous languages of the Americas, Aymara counts among the few with more than one million speakers; yet, in the country with its greatest number of speakers, Bolivia, concerns of language shift to Spanish are widespread, making it the focus of varied political, linguistic, educational, and cultural interventions. This dissertation provides a comparative linguistic ethnographic account of three media platforms in Bolivia from which models of Aymara language emanate—a Jesuit radio station, a hip-hop collective, and the radio station of the Aymara Education Council—to address the following questions: In what ways do these centers of institutional authority advance or contest ideologies of language endangerment among contemporary Bolivian Aymara speakers? If an Aymara national culture exists within “plurinational” Bolivia, what are the discursive mechanisms by which it is maintained and reproduced? Do Aymara nationalist discourses impact Aymara language use? If yes, how? This study answers these questions through discourse analysis and ethnography, both addressing discourses of nationalism and language endangerment across the three sites as well as describing the linguistic and more broadly semiotic registers deployed therein, and the multilingual
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Interlinear Gloss Conventions

1 First person
2 Second person
3 Third person
4 Fourth person (Speaker + Addressee)

ABL ablative IMP imperative
CAUS causative INST instantaneous aspect
CONT continuous aspect LOC locative
DAT dative NEG negator
DELIM delimitative PL plural
EVID evidential REFL reflexive
FUT future
1. Introduction

1.1 Pachakuti: Bolivia’s indigenous resurgence

_They discriminated against you,_
saying, _“Ah! Those llamas!_
_Those llamas are singing in Aymara._
_They’re some Indians,_
some t’aras.
_To sing in Aymara is absurd.”_
_But we thought it’s the best_
in part because in those towns
where the custom is disappearing
of speaking in Aymara...

... _And it’s getting lost._
_So we thought,_
_we said,_
_we’ll do rap in Aymara_
because we think it’s ours._

—Grover Cañaviri, Bolivian hip-hop artist, July 2007

Grover Cañaviri is among the founding members of a hip-hop collective, Wayna Rap, that formed in the city of El Alto, Bolivia in 2003 and continues to perform today. His comments above are taken from an interview I conducted with him and other members of his group in 2007 and are in response to a question I posed concerning reactions to his and other members of his collective’s decision to compose their rhymes in Aymara, the indigenous language of this region of Bolivia. In his response we find a sketch of the racial, linguistic, and urban/rural divides that have marked this Andean nation throughout its history. We hear a reanimated voice of a detractor hurl a racist, anti-Indian epithet at him—_t’ara—and liken Aymara speakers to the animals so iconic of the surrounding
countryside—llamas. Just as llamas belong in the countryside and not in the city, for his detractor, Aymara has no place in hip-hop—it is absurd to rap in Aymara.

Recently in Bolivia the particular ideological bundle that Cañaviri evokes here, that ties the Aymara language to the countryside and subhuman (animal) status, has begun to unravel. In other ways, it is being rebound anew. Cañaviri is a case in point. Like the majority of people his age in El Alto, he is the son of rural migrants to the city and was raised in a home where Aymara was the primary language and strong ties were maintained with family members living in rural communities. In the quote above, he expresses anxieties of language obsolescence felt by other Aymara Bolivians, situates them within a framework of rural/urban incommensurability, and begins to account for how his work with Wayna Rap represents one of the diverse initiatives under way to resolve these problems. Additionally, he motivates this response with an assertion of proprietary investment in the language—“It’s ours.”

Cañaviri and his crew are among many sectors of Bolivian society reevaluating indigenous cultural practices, linguistic or otherwise, and actively participating in initiatives aiming to reshape what it means to be indigenous and Bolivian. Recent decades have seen social movements involving millions of Bolivians challenge dominant political institutions and indigenous peoples, the Aymara in particular, have been at the forefront of these struggles. For many in Bolivia, the 2005 election of the nation’s first indigenous president, Evo Morales Ayma, himself an Aymara Bolivian, was viewed as a victory for the country’s diverse social movements. Following his election, the redrafting of the nation’s constitution established Bolivia as a “plurinational republic,” granting
official status to 36 indigenous nationalities, the Quechua and the Aymara being the two most populous and comprising the majority of the population.

Aymaras constitute a majority of the population in a contiguous territory surrounding La Paz, extending south to Oruro, and crossing national borders into neighboring Chile and Peru. In Chile, there are tens of thousands of Aymara living in rural communities in the northernmost reaches of the country, primarily in Region XV of Arica and Parinacota. Peru’s department of Puno, on the south shore of Lake Titicaca and bordering Bolivia, is home to upwards of half a million Aymaras. The largest concentration of Aymaras, however, is in Bolivia, with approximately two and a half million people, and many more than this if speaking Aymara is removed as a criterion of ethnicity. Agricultural settlements have existed in the Andean high plain (altiplano) surrounding Lake Titicaca for over 8000 years (Erickson, 2000; Kolata, 1993) and both archaeological and community accounts trace a historical continuity between the contemporary Aymara and the Tiwanaku civilization, one of oldest and longest-lasting civilizations of the Andes. While the constitution of the Aymara as a distinct people, and objects of study, has been the project of varied social scientific, historical, and nationalist actors (Alvizuri, 2009), diverse types of local Aymara organizations project models of groupness that constitute the Aymara as a distinct ethnolinguistic group. Perhaps because Bolivia’s political capital sits within Aymara territory or because of their sheer numbers with respect to other indigenous populations, the Aymara have long played a protagonist role in Bolivian politics both historically and contemporarily (Dunkerley, 1984; Rivera-Cusicanqui, 1987; Thomson, 2003; Hylton & Thomson, 2007).
Many Bolivians, supporters and critics of the Morales government alike, have referred to the political developments of recent years as “el proceso de cambio” (the process of change), a process also characterized as decolonization by Aymaras, other Bolivians, and academics alike. Evoking a more messianic idiom that reaches back to early colonial subjects’ hopes of the Inca’s return (Stern, 1987) some corners of Quechua and Aymara Bolivian society speak of pachakuti. In both the Quechua and Aymara languages this is a composite word combining the lexemes for a unified concept of timespace (pacha) and of return or ‘turning over’ (kuti). The sentiment behind pachakuti is echoed in the Spanish-born Bolivian anthropologist Xavier Albó’s work when he writes of “the return of the Indian” (Albó, 2006). U.S. anthropologists of Bolivia have shared similar assessments. Bret Gustafson (2009), for example, characterizes this moment in Bolivian social history as an “indigenous resurgence” with his ethnographic account of the Bolivian Guarani who engage with the state, international development agencies, and hostile local elites while building their own projects of indigenous political autonomy. Nancy Postero’s (2006) ethnography of local responses to ascendant indigenous movements and Evo Morales’ electoral victory describes Bolivia’s political landscape as one of “post-neoliberal multiculturalism.” In contrast to the multiculturalism prevalent throughout Latin America during late 20th century (c.f. Hale 2006), the indigenous social actors described by Postero and Gustafson aim to transform social relations rather than simply integrating more fully into them.

Similarly transformative are the aspirations of Cañaviri and his fellow rappers, and they are not alone. Raised hopes of overturning the effects of centuries of colonial relations between the descendants of Europeans and Indians in Bolivia express
themselves in varied ways throughout diverse corners of Aymara society. Within this
dynamic social context, this dissertation explores the work of Wayna Rap and two other
Aymara-language media institutions to address how it is that models of Aymara
personhood are being reconfigured in contemporary Bolivia and how the Aymara
language figures into these processes, examining both the durability and the fragility of
the language-culture-person hybrid (Agha, 2012) that we encountered in Cañavirí’s
comment above. This is an ambitious aim and one that is only partially achievable when
we recognize that, to the extent to which an Aymara nation exists within plurinational
Bolivia, we are dealing with a complex society, as fraught with competing interests and
conflicting aspirations as any other. Recognizing the challenges inherent in arriving at an
ethnographically rich account of models of Aymara personhood and their relationship to
linguistic practices, this study provides comparative accounts of institutional projects in
which language use is situated at the center of formulations of Aymara belonging.

The institutional projects in question are three Aymara-language media platforms
in the city of El Alto. Cañavirí’s hip-hop collective, Wayna Rap, is one case. Another is a
program at a radio station run by a semi-governmental institution tied to the Ministry of
Education and Intercultural Bilingual Education in Aymara communities—the Aymara
Education Council (Consejo Educativo Aymara, CEA). The third case is Radio San
Gabriel, a prominent Jesuit radio station that is the longest running Aymara-language
radio station in Bolivia. The “rap, reform, and redemption” of the dissertation’s title
respond to the three case studies, but the order of their mention in the title is motivated
more by poetic sensibilities and my fondness for alliteration than the order in which they
appear in the following chapters. Redemption refers to the Jesuit radio station Radio San
Gabriel that provides the focus for the second chapter. *Rap* refers to the Wayna Rap hip-hop collective and is taken up in chapter three. Finally, *reform* refers to the Aymara Education Council, acknowledging this organization’s origins in the 1994 Education Reform.

At Radio San Gabriel we encounter a well-established regime of discursive discipline run by the radio’s Aymara Language Department (ALD). In this chapter, I follow members of ALD, explaining how they enter into and operate within this regime, drawing on both interviews and my own participant observation at the radio station. The ALD’s principal aim is to maintain and disseminate a linguistic register that I term *dehispanicized* Aymara through a protocol of script approval and broadcast monitoring called *seguimiento*. Loan words from Spanish provide the main focus for *seguimiento*. This chapter focuses analytic attention on the denotation of time, particularly the neologisms developed for calendric measurement, and how these terms are used in the opening segment of a program run by the ALD.

Chapter three brings us to the work of Cañaviri and his colleagues in the Wayna Rap collective mentioned at the opening. This chapter examines a Bolivian expression of what is now a global cultural phenomenon—hip-hop. The chapter opens by suggesting an inversion of the usual origin story of hip-hop, by looking at the Andean “roots” of one of its most prominent artists—Tupac Shakur, named after the Andean anticolonial martyr, Tupac Amaru. This chapter situates these artists’ work within broader dynamics of indigenous language shift and attrition occurring in Bolivian society, and these artists’ understanding of this problematic in terms of cultural discord between the city and the countryside. Studies of language shift have identified adolescence and early adulthood as
key life stages in this process, yet these artists’ use of Aymara contradicts common sense notions that once in the city, the children of indigenous migrants abandon their languages. On the other hand, the very novelty of their language choice is the exception that proves the rule of this larger trend. These performers anchor their political stance to Aymara nationalism yet claim to “represent Bolivia” among global hip-hop artists. The core of this chapter rests on a verse analysis of the first track of Aymara language hip-hop—Ch’ama ‘Power’ (2003).

The fourth chapter examines the broadcast discourse of a political talk show run by the Aymara Education Council (CEA). This radio station and its flagship program have emerged through political battles for indigenous sovereignty and control of natural resources. In this context it may not be a surprise that that the program in question takes its name from a natural resource that has been at the center of much controversy in Bolivia and abroad—coca. Chewing coca, or akhulli, is a simultaneously politicized gesture of indigenous sovereignty and a quotidian practice of communicative conduct. I examine both how the metapragmatic frame of akhulli is established as a national trope on the program and go on to examine how norms embedded within this model relate to political discourse and delineations of ethnic group membership. I argue that this show’s host draws on his multilingual repertoire to juxtapose Spanish and Aymara to animate an Aymara public. How he does this is interesting—he speaks in a neatly dehispanicized Aymara that contrasts to a more integrated Spanish / Aymara repertoire of his guests and the voices of the Aymara public he represents in his own discourse, who, surprisingly or not, speak in Spanish.
1.2 Nations, publics and chronotopes in plurinational Bolivia

The members of these different institutions, while pertaining to distinct demographic slices of El Alto’s Aymara population, all orient to participation in “el proceso de cambio” and, if in different ways, anchor their work to varied notions of Aymara nationalism—but who are they addressing when they direct themselves to the “Aymara people”? If Bolivia is now a “plurinational republic,” how do these different groupings of Aymara Bolivians project models of Aymara national belonging?

Among theorists of national consciousness, Benedict Anderson (1991) stands out for his compellingly named notion of “imagined communities.” His account places discursive practices at the very center of nationalist projects, privileging the circulation of print discourse as fundamental to the emergence of modern national consciousness and the rise of the nation state. His model, however, has been critiqued for uncritically adopting a monolingual language ideology that flattens out more complex sociolinguistic realities by positing the centrality of a standardized language of “print capitalism” as a precondition for national consciousness (Silverstein, 2000). What of nations where there is no analogous circulation of print discourse, nor a subsequently resulting nation state? One proposal explored here is that the circulation of spoken discourse over the airwaves plays a key role in disseminating models of Aymara nationhood.

An alternate way of understanding such shared belonging is in terms of publics, or social groupings reflexively constituted through discursive structures of address and participation occurring at scales both larger and smaller than “the nation” (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Warner, 2002). The notion of a public as a discursive projection relying on linguistic mediation, and linguistic representation, plays an important role in the
coming chapters. In the opening of the now seminal volume *Languages and Publics*, Susan Gal and Kathryn Woolard point out that, “[t]he work of linguistic representation produces not only individualized speakers and hearers as the agents of communication, but also larger, imagined social groupings, including ... publics (2001: 1).” The role of linguistic representation in projecting modeled subjectivities that seem to perdure beyond face-to-face encounters, evoking social formations like “el pueblo Aymara” (the Aymara people), for example, make an examination of demographically far reaching communicative practices like radio of particular interest. Gal and Woolard anticipate such a focus when they argued that, “[t]he notion of public need not even rely on the idea of a concrete readership or spectatorship, but rather on the projection or imagination of groups or subjectivities in print or other mass media (2001: 135).” Such an understanding of publics as reflexive formations that are both products and sites of semiotic action intersects critically with the emerging concerns of “postnational” social analysis, which increasingly seeks to understand the production of social groupings whose bounds are not coterminous with those of the familiar post-Enlightenment nation state (Silverstein, 2010). This dissertation, then, advances the unfolding debate by examining the constitution of language and publics among the Aymara. If an Aymara national culture exists within plurinational Bolivia, what the discursive mechanisms are by which it is maintained and reproduced may be identified, if fractionally, through accounts of the cultural production of institutions that reflexively orient to and configure through their very interventions differing conceptions of an Aymara public sphere.

Anderson’s (1991) framework has also been critiqued for presenting a falsely universal temporal framework for national imagining (Woolard, 2004). With the cases
examined in the following chapters we find models of nationhood with temporal horizons quite distinct from what was outlined by Anderson, and even among the cases themselves. Here, a framework useful to this study is the chronotope. The Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) identified the chronotope as the calibration of time, space, and characterological figures within the context of the novel. Bakhtin was concerned with advancing literary theory and developing a metadiscourse for the varied frames of unified timespace literary texts evoke to provide readers a sense of their characters' realities. Hardly limited to the novelistic form, Bakhtin also recognized that chronotopic configurations were powerful discursive frames in other arenas of social life as well (Bakhtin, 1981: 84) and, indeed, the notion of chronotope adds analytic richness to understanding the discursive constitution of publics of many scales, both larger and smaller than national publics. To the extent that chronotopes provide models of social reality shared and made available to populations they are almost inevitably contentious. Who falls within, or is excluded from, chronotopic representations of reality concerns both social recognition and also the delimitation of space in social terms (consider the rural/urban divide alluded to in Cañaviri's remark above, or even political territorial disputes). Because such questions potentially imply belonging and entitlements they invite dispute from contending, interested parties, as the Aymara cases examined in the herein will show. Whether from a nationalist politician, a pious Catholic, or a young rapper, the chronotopic models of Aymara publics and their constituent members discursively projected by the actors within these distinct sites sometimes coincide in notions like “el proceso de cambio” or pachakuti, but also diverge radically both in terms of their spatiotemporal scope and also the characterological figures who populate them.
These partially non-overlapping models of Aymara reality provide distinct outlines of Aymara subjectivity that contrast across the three cases, but internal to each we also find fraught notions of Aymara belonging. For example, what does it mean that contemporary Aymara Catholics promote cultural practices that only a generation ago were deemed pagan by the Church itself (chapter 2)? Where is there room in Aymara nationalist narratives for the African American cultural icons that so inspire the members of Wayna Rap (chapter 3)? Conversely, in a time of *pachakuti*, what are the implications of non-indigenous Bolivians adopting cultural practices widely understood as indigenous (chapter 4)? These are all questions that concern chronotopic configuration of Aymara publics and the figures included therein.

The discursive mechanisms through which a chronotope becomes populated with characterological figures may include both “indexical images of speaker actor in general terms (Agha, 2005: 39),” or characterological types, and also the animation of contrasting voices enregistered as belonging to these characterological types. This was described through the notion of *heteroglossia* by Bakhtin (1981): “...(The) abundance of embodied perspectives to which the novel aspires...is a historical and concrete plentitude of actual social-historical languages that in a given era have entered into interaction... (412).” Far from a value-free, neutral linguistic diversity, the abundance of “social-historical languages” in contemporary Bolivia invites the intervention of varied value projects that place linguistic behavior under considerable scrutiny.
1.3 From Heteroglossia to Enregisterment

In Bolivia's multilingual and politically polarized society, the "embodied perspectives" of "social historical languages" are both contested and consequential at many scales of social interaction, but what is the "social historic" content of a language and its component varieties? Disciplinary sociolinguistics has long examined both inter- and intralinguistic variation through the lens of demographic realities, tying linguistic behaviors to Bakhtin's "embodied perspectives" in ways that presuppose the abstraction of an ideal, model speaker. Variationist sociolinguistics, following the tradition of William Labov, has drawn on sociological or demographic facts of ethnicity, regional provenance, gender etc. as a priori correlates to linguistic variables (cf. Labov, 1972) without questioning how it is that indexical links between linguistic form and their embodied representatives came to be in the first place. Even approaches emerging from hymesian ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1962) or interactional sociolinguistic lines of inquiry (Gumperz, 1962; Gumperz and Blom, 1972), while incorporating the generative interactional possibilities of linguistic registers' indexicality, left how it was that register variation would become socially recognizable largely unexamined, leaving unaddressed the social history that ties any given linguistic registers to an embodied representative, or model speaker.

This has begun to be addressed within linguistic anthropology through the identification of enregisterment processes—processes through which linguistic signs eventually appear to belong "naturally" in configuration with other non-linguistic signs, to achieve a conventionalized expectation (among specific populations) of co-occurrence with them and project indexical images of model speakers (Agha, 2003; 2007: 55). The
study of enregisterment allows for an understanding of the sociohistorical situatedness of local metapragmatics by illuminating, "processes whereby diverse behavioral signs (whether linguistic, non-linguistic, or both) are functionally reanalyzed as cultural modes of action, as behaviors capable of indexing stereotypic characteristics of incumbents of particular interactional roles, and of relations among them (Agha, 2007: 55). The concept of enregisterment builds upon Silverstein’s (1976, 2003) orders of indexicality, an analytic framework explaining the reflexive character of linguistic behavior in social life in which the propositional, denotational functions of language, a first level of indexicality (n), combine with other linguistic or material signs to create a second order (n+1) effects that link the utterance to cultural systems of value. Rather than taking semiotic behaviors’ indexical values for granted, examinations of enregisterment processes can uncover how indexicality accrues to a sign in the first place by following the sociohistoric spread of these indexicalities among populations. Asif Agha (2003) illuminated this process with an examination of English RP, or “received pronunciation,” and this approach has been illuminative across a diversity of cases: in research on “Pittsburghese” (Johnstone, 2006), the category of “women’s language” in Japanese (Inoue, 2006), and purist Bhojpuri in post-colonial Mauritius (Eisenlohr, 2007), to name a few. This study contributes to this literature by examining the ways that linguistic practices become differentially valorized and configured within diagrams of Aymara subjectivity in a moment in Bolivia where semiotic practices associated with indigeneity, linguistic behavior in particular but also others like chewing coca or wearing traditional clothing, become highly politicized sites of cultural contestation.
1.4 An endangered language?

Language politics continue to play a prominent role within Bolivia’s “indigenous resurgence” (Gustafson, 2009) stemming partly from perceptions that indigenous languages like Aymara, even with its many speakers, are in danger of disappearing. Formulations narrowly linking language with nationhood may seem outmoded in an era in which cultural hybridity is often considered the default condition of a highly interconnected world. Yet across the globe members of indigenous and minoritized ethnic groups often place projects of language revitalization within broader projects for political autonomy, territorial claims and cultural survival. If Herderian Volksgeist language ideologies underpin such projects (Bauman & Briggs 2000), the economic, technological and political contexts informing them differ radically from the conditions of early days of the nation-state. Scholars of language shift have often incorporated analysis of the political economy surrounding language use (Bourdieu, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Gal, 1979, 1988) and have noted that languages often cease to be used because “an enduring social network to which people sought to belong ceases to be.” (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 90) Often, language shift may be something of “a canary in the coal mine,” flagging larger social upheavals within a society. It is not a coincidence that the languages referred to as “endangered” are often those of groups facing social oppression and political marginalization, conditions which certainly could describe Aymara communities throughout Bolivia’s history. While the category of Aymara, as “an enduring social network to which people [seek] to be,” remains very much intact, and may even be expanding, language shift to Spanish remains a concern among many Aymara speakers.
Indeed, for the different actors described in the following chapters, a principal and motivating concern, as expressed by Cañaviri above, is that the Aymara language is on a path towards obsolescence. My focus on these sites emerged from my asking what ways centers of institutional authority like these advance or contest ideologies of language endangerment among contemporary Bolivian Aymara speakers. Additionally, with this research I set out to investigate ways that that Aymara nationalist discourses might be impacting Aymara language use in a context so marked by fears of language obsolescence. Part of the answer to these questions emerged in the identification of what I encountered ethnographically as a linguistic register described locally as “pure Aymara” that I have come to call dehispanicized Aymara.

1.5 Dehispanicized Aymara

One of my first encounters with someone describing this register of Aymara to me came on a visit to an El Alto based Aymara Women’s Organization. I had a conversation with a group of rural Aymara that convinced me both of the elusive status of a “model speaker” of Aymara and also that such a figure is indeed a moving target. This group had traveled many hours from remote communities in the Camacho province north of Lake Titicaca to come to El Alto in order to coordinate the marketing of hand knit alpaca wool wares to local and international markets. While sitting eating a lunch prepared by the development organization’s staff, one of the rural visitors explained to me that, as someone interested in studying the Aymara language, I would be better served by speaking to other Aymaras from areas even more remote than his. This man explained to me that he and his compañeras did not speak “Aymara puro,” or “pure Aymara,” but
instead, he explained, their language was thoroughly mixed with Spanish. Some others around him chimed in and lamented that they spoke neither Spanish nor Aymara well. This was one of many occasions in which Aymara Spanish bilinguals devalued their own capabilities in Aymara within a framework of semilingualism. If theories of bilinguals’ semilingualism (cf. Hansegård, 1968; Cummins, 1994) have been roundly discredited among scholars, they linger on in bilingual communities such as theirs. I had heard similar sentiments expressed by urban Aymaras, but was surprised to hear this from a rural Aymara speaker, who also discounted his variety of Aymara as falling short of a “pure Aymara.”

Like El Dorado, a mythical city of gold described to Spanish invaders by native Andeans in the hopes that they might continue elsewhere in their search for gold and riches, “Aymara puro” remains forever just beyond reach, spoken by some other Aymaras, further off in the mountainous heartland. Perhaps the resident of Camacho Province was hoping that the U.S. linguistic anthropologist eating lunch with him might also continue to look elsewhere—don’t study us, better that you keep moving along! Perhaps, but the tenor of these conversations did not leave me this impression. Generally, he and others I spoke with were supportive and pleased that there was interest from abroad in their language and culture. If not as a ruse for foreigners, “Aymara puro” may still operate as an El Dorado within Aymara speakers’ imaginings of themselves and the broader Aymara sphere. For those who live much of their lives in the El Alto / La Paz metropolitan region, rural communities in places like Camacho Province are where “Aymara puro” would be heard yet, even for the group I sat down with over lunch,
Aymara speakers hailing from rural towns north of Lake Titicaca, the “real” Aymara speakers were to be found in even more remote communities.

While through this dissertation I can make no claims to having located the El Dorado of “pure Aymara” in a geographic or narrowly demographic sense, part of the story that unfolds in the following chapters tells how it is that Aymara speakers come to hear a register of so-called “pure Aymara.” Centers of institutional authority from which notions of what constitutes “pure Aymara” emanate may include families and schools, but also what is broadly termed “the mass media,” a category of institutions providing the focus for this dissertation. Across the three cases examined here we encounter varied scenarios in which a dehispanicized register of Aymara operates as an audible icon of national belonging. Rather than taking at face value assertions of purity, however, upon closer investigation we will see (or hear?) that this “purity” is selective, concerning the degree to which speakers manage to rid their speech of Spanish loan words. This is a process of dehispanicization of the language, resulting in a dehispanicized register of Aymara. This process is most clearly articulated and institutionally enabled at Radio San Gabriel (chapter 2), but we also encounter dehispanicized Aymara in the lyrics of Wayna Rap (chapter 3), and in the speech of the host of a political talk-show at the Aymara Education Council’s Radio Pacha Qamasa (chapter 4). Across the three sites we also find that this register, despite being used by urban Aymaras in the city of El Alto, becomes associated with the countryside and rural life.
1.6 Poetics & Mediatization

That these radio broadcasters’ and musical artists’ linguistic behavior occurs under conditions of professional distinction demands at least two additional considerations: poetics, because of the higher degree of aestheticized purpose within this talk, and mediatization, to account for language use as a commoditized skill exchanged within both labor and cultural markets.

Poetics

The mid twentieth-century linguist Roman Jakobson concerned himself with the relationship between linguistics and poetics and drew attention to the porous borders between literary and non-literary language, asserting a correspondence between “linguistic phenomena expanding in space and time and the spatial and temporal spread of literary models” (Jakobson, 1960: 351). Decades later, Jakobson’s insights into the dialectic interplay of literary and non-literary language seem as current as ever, especially in light of the global expansion of hip-hop. His proposition that poetic metricality was not limited to the genre of poetry but a feature of many instances of verbal interaction became a productive point of departure for linguistic anthropologists such as Dell Hymes, who drew on Jakobson’s work to develop “ethnopoetics” as a means to analyze Native American oral narratives (Hymes, 2003; 2004), and Michael Silverstein who drew on poetics as a method to diagram realm time negotiations between conversation participants. For Silverstein, the poetic function, “consists of a set of indexical relationships of utterance-segment to utterance segment that emerge from a superimposition of cardinal (not ordinal) metricality onto denotational text... (Silverstein 1993: 50).” Silverstein’s (1985, 1993) examinations of parallelism, repetition, and
cohesive structure in conversation, and the indexicalities these serve to organize, demonstrated poetics as a productive methodological tool for illuminating interpersonal and propositional alignments and disalignments in discourse.

That metrical organization of sound form through parallelism and repetition are not the only aspects of poetics to emerge as salient in the following cases. The aestheticization of speech, the drawing attention to the sound form of the spoken sign itself, has been referred to as poetics since perhaps the third century BC when Aristotle wrote *Poetics*. He argued that the use of unfamiliar words, and the alteration of familiar ones were key elements for establishing *distinction* in poetic speech:

...foreign words, metaphor, ornamental words, and all the other varieties will ensure that it is not commonplace or low, and the common element will ensure clarity . . . for being different from the regular form and thus varying the accustomed pattern, it will produce an effect of distinction, while at the same time by virtue of its overlapping with normal usage it will promote clarity. (59)

This insight will resonate with the cases examined in the following chapters. When we encounter archaicisms, neologisms, hispanicisms and "foreign words" in the broadcast discourse, these often function in part to delineate contrasting linguistic registers.

*Mediatization*

The elaboration of highly aestheticized language demands attention to poetics but also to the contexts of professionalization in which this occurs, and to the participation frameworks that these contexts entail. The articulation of language use as professional skill, with labor markets, and target audiences leads me to draw on the concept of *mediatization*, a process that Asif Agha (2011a) describes as what occurs when communicative process become embedded within moments of commodity formulation.
Agha’s (2011) use differs from other uses of the term found in European, particularly Scandinavian, media studies literature (cf. Hjarvard, 2008) where the term is used more broadly to refer to an omnipresence of mediation, and also the orientation of political actors to “the media” rather than to a demographic base (Hjarvard, 2008). These formulations of “mediatization” are vague and also tend towards replicating anxieties about public disenfranchisement while failing to provide an analytic for understanding communicative process within capitalist societies; they echo habermasian laments of the demise of “the public sphere” in ways that overestimate the extent to which a “rational critical liberal subject” existed in the first place, and obscure the extent to which democratic discourse was facilitated by commodity circulation—Anderson’s (1991) print capitalism, for example—in the first place. The language placed under scrutiny in this study is embedded within institutional frameworks by speakers who are professionally accountable for their linguistic behavior, making their language more than simply the result of unselfconscious, “natural” linguistic behavior. Hardly removing such talk from the purview of interested scholarship, an aim of providing accounts of the Aymara language’s mediatization is to illuminate social relations both informing and emerging from these cultural workers’ linguistic labor.

1.7 Going to the field

I arrived in Bolivia in 2006 with support of the U.S. Department of Education’s Foreign Language Area Studies program to study Quechua. Arriving for the first time in Bolivia during the year of Evo Morales’ inauguration as the country’s first indigenous president, I looked forward to embarking on a research project during the first years of
Morales' presidency. Bolivia had caught my attention before beginning my graduate studies. I had worked as a Spanish heritage and second language educator in Los Angeles and was active in the United Teachers Los Angeles. In this capacity I attended a conference in 2001 where I was called upon to translate for a visiting Bolivian trade-unionist and leader of the movement against water privatization in Cochabamba, Oscar Olivera.¹ The success of this movement was both an inspiration for and a harbinger of the subsequent victories of indigenous and popular movements in the years to come.

My initial 2006 stay in Bolivia was the first of what would become a series of five trips to Bolivia, amounting to approximately 18 months of fieldwork for this study (Figure 1.1). I had studied Quechua during my graduate studies at the University of California at Los Angeles while finishing an MA in Applied Linguistics and upon earning the degree secured further funding to study Quechua in Bolivia. With a professional background in bilingual education and a recently minted Master's degree in Applied Linguistics, I contacted a Masters Program in Intercultural Bilingual Education that trains indigenous educators from across Latin America (Program for Professional Development in Intercultural Bilingual Education for Andean Countries, PROEIB-Andes) and collaborated with them during 2007 with support from the Fulbright Institute for International Education. PROEIB-Andes served as an important base from which to begin my research, providing access to a broad network of indigenous organizations and to indigenous researchers who would remain interlocutors for me during and beyond this dissertation research.

¹ Essays about and documents from this struggle have been published in Cochabamba! Water Wars in Bolivia (2004), edited by Oscar Olivera and Tom Lewis. A filmic representation of these events can be seen in Even the Rain (También la lluvia) a 2011 film written by Paul Laverty and directed by Icitar Bollain.
Fig. 1.1 Research Trips to Bolivia & Funding Source

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Funding</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006, June-August</td>
<td>Foreign Language Area Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>2007, January-August</td>
<td>Fulbright IIE</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008, August</td>
<td>UPenn Center for Native American Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>2010, February-May</td>
<td>Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011, May-August</td>
<td>Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Abroad</td>
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Having an interest in pursuing questions related to indigenous presence in urban contexts, I had initially expected my dissertation research might address indigenous language instruction in higher education contexts. I did conduct research on this topic during my time at PROEIB-Andes, conducting interviews and recording classroom interactions. Indeed, research conducted during my time at PROEIB-Andes contributed to two research publications (Hornberger & Swinehart, 2012; Hornberger & Swinehart, in press). A number of considerations, however, moved me away from this as a focus for this dissertation. One was that PROEIB-Andes was a distinctly transnational setting with students from across Latin America and, while this presented a fascinating and rich context, I knew that I wanted to pursue research that would address the dynamics more specific to a Bolivian context. I ultimately decided that the city of El Alto would be the setting of this study for its status as the most densely indigenous city of Bolivia, the broad politicization of its population from their participation in the events of the early 2000s, because of my relationships to the Aymara Education Council through having worked at PROEIB-Andes, and because of what I found to be a fascinating Aymara youth subculture in the city.

During my initial visits to Bolivia I had come into contact with Aymara-language rappers who were prominent within the dynamic hip-hop scene of El Alto and La Paz. I
had known about them from a 2005 New York Times article (Forero, 2005) and then subsequent media attention (Dangle, 2006) and contacted them through their Myspace page, arranged for interviews, and began attending their performances. I came to understand that radio played an important role in their initial formation and their ongoing activity. I also recognized that educational institutions like the CEA devoted tremendous resources to radio and I came to appreciate the central role radio occupied within Bolivians’ lives more broadly. My conversations with Aymara educators had also already oriented me to the prominent role that the Jesuit radio station Radio San Gabriel had played in literacy work in Aymara communities.

Reorienting from classroom contexts to settings more in the realm of “education, broadly conceived,” I became convinced that a comparative ethnographic study of these different Aymara institutions’ engagements with radio could allow me to convey the complexities of sociocultural process unfolding in Bolivia along the axes of language, culture and indigeneity. Like more traditional educational settings, I recognized that this hip-hop collective, the prominent Jesuit radio station, and the Aymara Education Council’s radio were also institutional formations where models of linguistic conduct were being consolidated, differentially valued, and disseminated broadly throughout local populations.

I secured permission to observe the recording of programs from the director of programming at Radio San Gabriel and the presidents of the Consejo Educativo Aymara. This was facilitated by both professional and personal contacts. In both cases, the presence of an American researcher, and one interested in and learning the Aymara language, was novel enough to merit interviews on their radio programs. I was
interviewed about my project, but also about other topics—bilingual education in the U.S., the election of Barack Obama, the situation of indigenous people in the U.S., and always, “what U.S. people think of Bolivia.” During these and other visits to the radio stations, I conducted formal and informal interviews of the personnel and leadership of the Radio San Gabriel and Radio Pacha Qamasa.

The data collection for this dissertation includes 1) audio recording and transcription of radio programs and 2) ethnographic participant observation at radio stations. Recordings of each case study program were done both by radio technicians themselves and then later shared with me and also recorded by me with a digital microphone, resulting in both cases in mp3 and .wav files. The transcripts of the radio programs were developed together with the support of an Aymara speaking transcribers—David Rudy Acarapi Lipan and Juan Eber Quisbert Quispe. These transcribers are native speakers of Aymara and were both enrolled in the linguistics program, with a specialization in Aymara, at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz. Quisbert Quispe is also a member of the Wayna Rap collective, and has recently begun a new hip-hop project together with Acarapi Lipan. Our shared enthusiasm for the Aymara language and an interest in linguistics facilitated involving them. After initial transcribing, in some instances, at Radio San Gabriel for example, recording were listened to again with the broadcasters and transcripts were checked for accuracy and clarification. I was also fortunate to have the support and insight of the Aymara linguist Juan de Dios Yapita, founder of the Institute for Aymara Language and Culture (ILCA) who aided in checking transcripts on a number of occasions.
The result of this work can be found in the following chapters. They are meant to be read together as comparative case studies of Aymara projects of decolonization unfolding within mediatized contexts in which linguistic and more broadly semiotic practices come under the scrutiny of differing, sometimes competing, systems of value, each committed to projecting different models of what it means to be Aymara in Bolivia at the beginning of the twenty-first century.
2. Metadiscursive Regime & Register Formation at Radio San Gabriel

2.1 Radio San Gabriel in El Alto

The city of El Alto, Bolivia sits perched at the edge of the Andean high plain (áltiplano) overlooking the nation’s capital below, La Paz, snow-covered peaks visible beyond its rooftops. At an altitude approaching four thousand meters above sea level, views here are as breathtaking as the very atmosphere, which leaves many visitors wanting for air. This rarely poses a problem for El Alto’s residents, some of whom can be heard in busier neighborhoods as they work operating the city’s main system of collective transport, calling out the names of avenues, landmarks and neighborhoods from inside hundreds of minivans filling the streets to the pedestrians passing by—teenagers in school uniforms, men in suits with briefcases, women wearing the heavily pleated skirts and bowler hats typical of Aymara women. El Alto is not only among the highest cities in the world, but also among the most densely indigenous, with 82% percent of its population consisting of Aymara migrants from the surrounding high plain and their descendants (INE, 2001). As home to nearly half of all ethnic Aymaras in the greater Lake Titicaca region, El Alto might also be considered the capital of the Aymaras (Albó, 2006).

Boarding one of these vans, most conversations overheard are in Spanish but also sometimes in Aymara, which might also be heard coming from the radio if perhaps the driver has tuned in to Radio San Gabriel (RSG), “The voice of the Aymara People,” the longest-running Aymara language radio station in Bolivia. Radio San Gabriel may well also be one of the place names called out to passing pedestrians. The well-known, Jesuit-
affiliated radio station serves as a landmark in this sprawling city and, with its exclusively Aymara broadcasting, stands out in the city’s soundscape. While some other radio stations here run early-morning Aymara programs targeting agricultural and manual laborers, RSG’s programming is unique in being entirely in Aymara. If, for commuters navigating E. Alto, RSG serves as a landmark, as the preeminent station from which clearly articulated Aymara voices are broadcast, RSG provides an additional orienting role. A well-elaborated regime of metadiscursive practices in place at RSG orients projects of multiple scales – from individuals’ own projects of personal transformation to broader interventions, including the expansion of a linguistic register of “pure Aymara.” This chapter examines RSG’s Aymara Language Department, focusing on two of its members, who find themselves at the intersection of multiple and intertwined sources of linguistic and other authority: the Catholic Church, disciplinary linguistics, and their families in the countryside. The protocols of metadiscursive scrutiny they maintain at RSG constitute a key site in the constitution and diffusion of this register of Aymara. By following the individuals who enforce this metadiscursive regime, how they enter it and maintain it, I describe how “pure Aymara” becomes audible on the airwaves.

2.2 Radio in Bolivia and the Birth of RSG

Radio enjoys a higher profile in Bolivia than many Latin American countries, and is more relied on for news and entertainment than in the U.S. or Europe (Albó, 1974; Archondo, 1991; O’Connor, 2006). Within the broader field of Bolivian radio, Aymara language broadcasting has a long history (Albó, 1974; Grebe & von Gleich, 2001). This contrasts sharply with the presence of Aymara language in television, film and print
media. While some films have been made in the Aymara language, most famously by the neorealist director Jorge Sanjinés, and Bolivian state television occasionally runs Aymara language programming on programs like *Entre Culturas* (‘Between Cultures’) (Himpele, 2004, 2008; Schiwy, 2008), these are exceptions proving the rule of Spanish language dominance within Bolivian film and television. Aymara texts circulate in educational settings, particularly at the primary level of Aymara where teachers emphasize textual literacy (López, 2007; Arnold & Yapita, 2000), and in those corners of higher education tied to intercultural bilingual education (Hornberger & Hult, 2008; Hornberger & Swinehart, 2012). Still, the number of Aymara speakers who regularly engage with their language in written form is relatively small. Considering this range of Aymara language media, radio is arguably the format with the greatest reach among Aymara speakers and serves as an important field of discourse in which models of Aymara language circulate.

The degree to which any one such model is recognizable as a distinct register to those encountering it often depends on encounters with institutions that disseminate the register together with metapragmatic stereotypes; often, the embodied representatives of these institutions serve as emblematic speakers of the register (Agha, 2007). In the case of RSG, such encounters are linked to polity and deity: RSG describes itself as “The Voice of the Aymara People;” and its “voice” is linked to celestial authority through the name of the radio, San Gabriel being the messenger of God. Yet “the voice of the Aymara people” is not simply a voice of religious authority: it is a composite of multiple institutional projects, including the authority of religion, the authority of disciplinary linguistics, and the moral, collective authority evoked through appeals to Aymara nationhood. This paper explores this nexus of institutional, moral and scientific authority.
that come together in RSG’s Aymara Language Department in ways that make this register of radio talk audible as a complex icon of Aymara personhood.

Radio San Gabriel was founded shortly after the Bolivian National Revolution of 1952, a major social upheaval in which miners’ militias played a crucial role. Jesuit priests had founded radio stations in mining communities within a wider broadcasting milieu dominated by radical and communist political currents (O’Connor, 2006). Although miners are remembered as the central protagonists in the 1952 revolution, also crucial to its victory were the highland indigenous communities who overturned nearly feudal relations in the countryside, often through insurrectionary land expropriations (Dunkerley, 1984). In 1955, Maryknoll Jesuit priests founded RSG in the small Aymara community of Peñas near the shores of Lake Titicaca, later moving it to El Alto. The principal aims of the radio station were Spanish language literacy and Christian evangelization. Bolivian social historian Javier Hurtado (1987) writes in his history of RSG:

La motivacion principal de los padres Maryknoll para su trabajo entre los indos era, obviamente, la evangelizacion de una poblacion que a pesar de cinco siglos de cristianizacion seguia siendo pagana y lejos todavia de una fe cristiana monoteista. Fue esta situacion lo que los indujo a pensar en la necesidad de castellanizarlos, a través de la alfabetizacion, como medio indispensable para la evangelizacion: recibir la palabra de dios.

*The Maryknoll Fathers’ principal motivation for their work among the Indians was, obviously, the evangelization of a population that despite five centuries of Christianization continued being pagan and still far from a monotheistic Christian faith. It was this situation that induced them to thinking about teaching them Spanish, through literacy, as an indispensable means for evangelism: to receive the Word of God.*

Within this framework of evangelism, RSG approached the Aymara language as a bridge to Spanish language literacy and integration into the mainstream of the Catholic faith. This approach was in line with the new government's modernizing projects and with earlier formulations by the Catholic Church of "the Indian problem" as a problem of national integration (Orta, 2004). Yet these initially assimilationist orientations would quickly shift due to political ferment in Bolivia and changes in the Catholic Church. The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) made an opening, particularly in Latin America, for a social justice-oriented evangelism of "liberation theology" (Orta, 2004).

During the 1970s radical Aymara nationalism, or katarismo, was on the rise. It found institutional expression through organizations like the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupak Katari (MRTK, 'Revolutionary Movement Tupak Katari'), and perhaps most notably in the founding of the Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos Bolivianos (CSUTCB, 'Trade Union Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia') under katarista leadership in 1979. The influence of Aymara nationalism on RSG during this period was profound. During this period, RSG made a dramatic shift in orientation towards Aymara language and culture, adopting an Aymara-centric idiom that resonated with these other nationalist currents in Aymara communities, while remaining within Maryknoll Jesuit discourses of social justice and service to the poor by reformulating "liberation theology" as a "theology of inculturation" (Orta, 2004).

Practices earlier demonized by the Catholic Church as "being pagan and still far from a monotheistic Christian faith" were now celebrated as being essentially Christian—with the spilled blood of a sacrificed llama, for example, recast as analogous to the wine of the sacrament. Pre-Colombian iconography such as the motif of the chakana, an iconic
representation of the Southern Cross constellation, and also a symbol of the Inca Empire (Tawantinsuyu), with its four political units, or suyu, was adopted as a homologous representation of the Christian cross.

In 1971, the RSG established the Centro Aymarista de Comunicación Social (‘The Aymaraist Center of Social Communication’), its literacy campaigns became bilingual, and all radio programming from that point on was designed to “recognize, value and promote cultural expressions of the people” (Ccama, 2006: 150, translation mine). By the radio’s own account in their 50th anniversary commemorative history, these changes represented “a relationship with the Aymara people marked by horizontality, self-education and socioeconomics, defining a transcendental change in the policy of RSG” (Radio San Gabriel, 2005: 80, translation mine). Here we find the confluence of a Jesuit discourse of egalitarianism with a recognition of the Aymara as a people (el Pueblo Aymara).

Fig. 2.1 Radio San Gabriel in 2007 (Author)
2.3 A Register for the Radio

A new orientation to the Aymara language was a central feature of the shift in policy during this period and in the decades to follow. It would be difficult, however, to characterize this new orientation as being simply "horizontal" or democratic. While there is an undeniably democratic appeal in the promotion of a vernacular via mass media, the Aymara spoken on RSG’s airwaves differs from the daily speech of most Aymara speakers of any regional variety. These differences exceed the divergences that might be anticipated from radio genre norms, such as the exaggeration of both enunciation and prosodic contours. The Aymara spoken on RSG also differs from what Lucy Therina Briggs described as “Radio Aymara” in her 1976 doctoral thesis on dialectal variation in Aymara. Analyzing Aymara language radio broadcasts in the 1970s, Briggs identified Radio Aymara as a “translation dialect” because of its imposition of Spanish SVO word order on the SOV preferred word order of Aymara. Briggs also characterized Radio Aymara as having a heavy presence of Spanish loan words (Briggs, 1976: 675-713). Rather than differing from other varieties of Aymara for the presence of Spanish features of lexis and syntax, the Aymara on RSG today is notable for precisely the opposite: a conspicuous absence of Spanish loanwords and their replacement with neologisms.

The maintenance of this register provides a central focus for RSG’s Aymara Language Department, which occupies a prominent position within RSG’s organizational infrastructure. This department plays a central role in the production, revision and approval of scripts for the radio station, serving as Aymara language authorities, as a collective epicenter of “pure Aymara.” In many ways this could be seen as what has been
termed corpus planning (Ferguson, 1968). Corpus planning studies have often focused on written texts as opposed to spoken language and have tended to examine interventions at the nation-state or policy or educational institutions (Hornberger, 1994; Canagarajah, 2005). An examination of RSG's Aymara Language Department, however, provides an account of both the metadiscourse surrounding the “pure” register, or the idiom of purism, and actual instances of its use, or discourse purism (Neustupny, 1989). Insofar as this is also an instance of the mass-mediatisation of a register formation (Agha, 2011), it provides insight into the processes that make this register formation available on a large scale among Bolivian Aymara speakers.

2.4 Recruiting the Model Speaker

Who counts as a speaker can be a vexing question for linguists and state authorities alike (Muehlmann, 2012; Moore, Pietikäinen & Blommaert, 2010) but also for members of minoritized language communities and language advocates who belong to them (Smalls, 2012). The recruitment of speakers as the audible representatives of RSG is accomplished in part through competitions for employment at the radio. Unlike the language competitions examined by Alexandra Jaffe (1999) on Corsica, these competitions are not public but happen behind the scenes. They are gatekeeping devices for entrance onto the radiophonic “stage” of RSG. Yet the recruitment of the initial labor pool is not completely hidden from the public. The availability of positions is publicized by the radio station itself. Once candidates arrive at the El Alto radio station offices, their proficiency in reading, composition and location in Aymara is evaluated together with assessments of content areas of expertise.
One member of the Aymara Language Department, Celia Colque Quispe, explained to me her experience being hired through such a competition:

Había una convocatoria aquí en la radio misma, lo han publicado, entonces yo he escuchado un ratito, o sea, un medio día un programa de felicitaciones, Aruntawi, en ese programa he escuchado. Y yo, yo me he dicho ¿Por qué no puedo ir? Convocatoria lo decía que tienen que saber leer y escribir Aymara, traducción, y también tienes que saber a escribir a máquina. Entonces, ¿Por qué no puedo ir? He venido un día lunes directo y dieron el examen, entonces para la competencia. He venido y allí estábamos, treinta éramos y estaban de la UMSA también, determinado comunicación hablada de lingüística de la UMSA. Y también de otros radios han venido también. Cuando hemos venido nos han dado una hoja en castellano estaba escrito y nosotros eso tenemos que leer en Aymara, hablar en Aymara directo. En una hoja estaba dada y esto directo teníamos que hablar en Aymara - traducción. Y otro cuántas palabras puedes escribir en un minuto, y luego locución, cómo hablabas en Aymara... todo eso, si podemos hablar en radio me han preguntado y luego de eso... los que manejaban este radio, los jefes, el personal, ellos han decidido.

'There was a notice right here at the radio, they published it, so I listened to it, one noon on the announcements program, Aruntawi, I heard it on that program. And I, I said to myself, “Why can’t I go?” The notice said that (you’d) have to know to read and write Aymara, to translate, and also you’d have to know how to type. So, why can’t I go? I came directly on a Monday and they gave the test, for the competition. I came and there we were. We were thirty. They were there from the UMSA (the prestigious state university) too. There had been a certain communication with UMSA’s linguistics department. They had also come from other radio stations. When we came they gave us a sheet written in Spanish and we had to read it in Aymara, to speak directly into Aymara - translation. And another was how many words per minute you could write and later locution, how you spoke in Aymara... all that, they asked me if we could speak on the radio and after that... those who run this radio, the bosses, the staff, they decided.'

Competing against trained linguists from Bolivia’s most prestigious university and others with radio experience, a young woman, a native speaker of Aymara from a community near Lake Titicaca, won the contest. This competition inverted the general tendencies that otherwise predominate within Bolivia’s linguistic market (Bourdieu,

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2 I am using the following conventions for transcription: italics for Aymara language, roman script for Spanish, English glosses are in ‘single quotes’, neologisms are underlined and the boundaries of prosodic contours are marked with "....".
1991) by privileging the rural, native speaker over urban and university-educated ones.

Celia’s ability to express herself eloquently in Aymara, together with her metalinguistic awareness, secured her employment in a salaried position at a prestigious institution. This point is not lost on Celia. From her experience being hired and through her experience at the station, her Aymara identity and language has afforded her prestige rather than contempt. The value of her language became evident within the interactional sequence of the interview I conducted with her. She responded to my first question, posed in Spanish, in Aymara, effectively switching the code from Spanish to Aymara:

Karl: ¿Cómo es que llegaste a la radio? ‘How did you come (to work) at the radio?’

Celia: ¡Aka radoruñ? ‘Here at the radio?’
¿En Aymara Castallanui? (se rie) In Aymara? or Spanish? (laughing)
K: Como quieras, yo como... ‘As you please, because I...
Como quieras. As you please.’
C: En Aymara y Castellano. ‘In Aymara and Spanish.’
K: Como quieras, como quieras. ‘As you please, as you please.
Radio San Gabriel radoruñ gallta... You began at RSG radio...’
C: ¿Kurjamas purinta? ‘How did I end up here?’
K: ¿Kurjamas purinta? ‘How did you end up here?’

Celia proceeded to explain her experience participating in the Aymara language competition mentioned above. Her confidence in responding to my Spanish question in Aymara bears no resemblance to the behavior of someone looking to accommodate another’s lack of Aymara fluency. Celia knew I could speak Aymara, even if with limited proficiency, and challenged me to conduct the interview in Aymara. Celia’s interactional style here contrasts sharply with some Aymara speakers who may deny speaking the language in order to assume a more “urban” or “sophisticated” presentation of self. This is one stereotype of the linguistic behavior of Aymara migrants to the city. Yet this
interactional stance is completely counter to Celia's own, and one incompatible with her experience as RSG. Indeed, when I asked her what she liked most about her job, she responded simply, “Claro, aquí ser Aymara. Me gusta ser Aymara.” (‘Clearly, here, being Aymara.’)

Fig. 2.2 A member of the Aymara Language Department prepares a radio program script. (Author's photo)

2.5 Laying Down the (Lexical) Law

The Aymara Language Department is one of many departments at the radio. Although relatively small, with only seven employees at the time of my study, its role is to ensure the use of “pure Aymara” across all radio broadcasts, thus providing it with considerable authority. The department intervenes prior to each broadcast by either
writing or editing scripts, and is responsible, along with the radio’s director, for these scripts’ ultimate approval. Yet its responsibilities do not end with broadcasts’ content. The department is also responsible for a protocol extending through and beyond the actual broadcasts called *seguido*, or ‘following.’

*Seguido* involves two procedures: the real-time monitoring of broadcasts for “aberrations” and a follow-up interaction with those who utter them on air. “Aberrations” is not a term of my choosing, but comes from the very protocol of *seguido*: it names not a concern with purity of content, but a focus on linguistic form.

*Seguido* protocols are documented in a ledger containing four columns on each page. Each column has a Spanish heading: aberración (‘aberration’), léxico aymara (‘Aymara lexeme’), fecha (‘date’), firma (‘signature’). Members of the Aymara Language Department record “aberrations” uttered on air, write the “correct” Aymara word and have the offending party sign the ledger. This real-time monitoring of broadcasters’ utterances with its follow-up protocol organizes RSG’s internal regime of metadiscursive normativity as a speech chain (Agha, 2007), one in which the Aymara Language Department decides what legitimately should be heard or not heard on the airwaves as an authentic sample of Aymara speech.

How is the monitoring phase of *seguido* conducted? If you were to enter the Aymara Language Department’s offices at RSG, you would invariably hear a radio playing, tuned to RSG, with at least one of the department’s seven members listening in with a *seguido* ledger at close reach. Yet this is a selective form of transcription, not only due to its institutional focus solely on “aberrations,” but also due to human
limitations on auditory acuity and attention. As a literacy practice tied to listening, this initial step of *seguiamiento* may be considered a form of stenography, namely “a technology that faithfully turns physically-audible speech into a precise and permanent written record at the real-time moment at which the recorded speech is uttered” (Inoue, 2011). The social arrangement into which this stenographic practice is introduced, however, is completely the opposite of the one described by Miyako Inoue in Meiji-era Japan. In this case, we also find asymmetrical power relations between transcriber and speaker, but within *seguiamiento*’s division of labor, it is the authority who transcribes the voice of the subordinate.

In the follow-up phase of *seguiamiento* this same power asymmetry obtains a performative character between those who commit aberrations and those who track them down. But there is an added twist. Here we find an inversion not only of the institutional relations defining other types of stenography, but also of the confession model: rather than bringing a list of sins to the priest, the language authority compiles the list of sins to deliver to the sinner. Standing before the authority, the list of “aberrations,” the appropriate remedies (léxico aymara), and the date of sinning, the sinners performatively confess with their signatures to those sins and promise a change in future acoustical behavior.

The Aymara Language Department is invested with authority within this speech chain, but who are the authorities for the authorities? The institutional counter-vvalorizing of rural Aymara speakers’ linguistic abilities (from low to high) in the language competitions, as described above, indicates that one source of authority is the institutional
alignment with rural Aymara communities. Other more institutionally consolidated centers of authority also play a role within the department—namely, through the discipline of linguistics. The director of the department, Hilarión Chinahuanca Siñani, describes the process of self-education among the employees of the Aymara Language Department (herself included), which they undertake upon their employment at RSG:

'‘Han llegado a la radio, no han pensado a estudiar lingüística pero la necesidad misma, mi pueblo me pide y me dice que aclare esto - ¿De dónde viene? ... Sabemos hablar pero todavía no comprendemos. Esas cosas me han reflexionado. Allí me he metido en la casa de lingüística en la Universidad Mayor de San Andrés. Inclusive semi presenciales, sábados y domingos, sábados y viernes por las tardes estudiamos. ... Me dedico a esto, a estudiar.

'They’ve arrived at the radio, not having thought to study linguistics but from necessity itself - my people ask this of me, and they tell me to clarify this, “Where does this come from?” ... We know how to speak but we still don’t understand. People have reflected on those things with me. I’ve placed myself over there at the ‘house of linguistics’ at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés. We’ve even studied in short courses on Saturdays and Sundays, Saturdays and Fridays in the afternoon. ... I dedicate myself to this, to studying.’

This is not simply a story of self-improvement through education or the pursuit of individual interest or passion, although it may surely also be these things. Embedded in this narrative is an ethical and moral sense of responsibility that responds to a collectivity, to a request of him and his colleagues from the Aymara people (mi pueblo me pide, ‘my people ask this of me’).

The compiling of reference grammars and linguistic texts soon becomes a collective project of the department members. It is also imbued with moral and nationalist value. This process is often talked about in terms of the Aymara concept of mutual aid and reciprocity, or ayni:
Hilarion: Entonces, cada uno trae su texto con referente a la lingüística. Pese que en la radio, la radio es muy grande y su biblioteca también pero no tenemos aún todos estos textos. ... Entonces este es un tipo de ayni que hacemos nosotros. No decir – Tengo en mi casa pero ¿por qué voy a traer? No. Es que la gente, la población misma con una palabrita, nos animan, nos fortalecen. Es por eso que estamos acá.

Hilarion: ‘So, each one bring his own text with reference to linguistics. Even though at the radio, the radio is very big and the so is its library but we still don’t have all these texts ... So this is a type of ayni that we do. It’s not to say, “I have it home, why bring it in?” No. It’s that the people, the very population with one little word encourage us, give us strength. That’s why we’re here.’

Although the development of metalinguistic expertise and authority through study requires educational materials, the technical authority of linguistics is embedded within the national-moral authority of ayni. Moreover, the contributors to this practice soon expand beyond linguists, the membership of the department, and come to include “the people,” who contribute (if not with books) sometimes even ‘with one little word’ (con una palabrita) in unbeknownst acts of ayni.

Among reference grammars, an important text for the work of this department is Ludovico Bertonio’s 1612 Aymara dictionary. Here we find some historical continuity with the Catholic Church playing a prominent role in corpus planning for the Aymara language. From colonialism’s earliest days in the Andes, the Catholic Church recognized the necessity of mastering local languages, particularly Quechua and Aymara, which remained in wide use in the wake of the Spanish invasion. Describing the city and province of La Paz, where contemporary El Alto is located, the Jesuit Priest José de Acosta stated in 1591:

3 Bertonio’s 1612 dictionary predates those of most modern European languages, coming more than a century before Samuel Johnson’s 1755 English dictionary, and decades before L’Academie Francaise’s publication of its first dictionary in 1694.
Todos los indíos de esta provincia y ciudad hablan la lengua general que se llama aymara, aunque también muchos de ellos hablan y entienden la lengua quechua, que es la lengua general del Inca.

‘All the Indians of this province and city speak the general language which is called Aymara, although many of them also speak and understand the Quechua language, which is the general language of the Inca’


From the 17th century on, Aymara became a central vehicle for missionization, and Bertonio’s dictionary became part of a larger metadiscursive project of Jesuit and Franciscan production of dictionaries and grammars in the service of colonialism and evangelism in the Americas and beyond (Hanks, 2010; Heath, 1972; Mannheim, 1984; Rafael, 1993).

Bertonio’s dictionary plays an authoritative role within the metadiscursive matrix of seguimiento. When encountering a Spanish loan word a decision must be made by the lexical authorities concerning which word provides the proper remedy for the “aberration.” Before resorting to the invention of neologisms, an effort will be made to establish whether or not a word can be “rescued” (rescatado), i.e. to have an archaicism introduced in the slot of léxico aymara. There is the temptation to view Bertonio’s dictionary as a linguistic time capsule, a text-artifact that is not just a repository of words, but of words used by Aymara speakers four hundred years ago.

Nevertheless, the expulsion of loan words from the radio broadcasters’ speech is the principal focus of seguimiento, with the remedy for any “aberration” being the léxico aymara. The director of the department accounted for this when discussing the most common errors heard on the radio’s programs:
Hilarión: Más en la radio es siempre incursión del préstamo. Yo mismo a veces, no me doy cuenta, pero sale - has dicho esto. Ellos también están en la misma situación. Entonces escuchan la radio nos salta cuál es la palabra castellana que se preste. Los nombres no hay problema pero hay palabras habiendo y se presta. Esto es el problema. Por ejemplo, dicen minutos minutas. Dicen Chika urutxa tunka minutanakampixiw. Pero en Aymara ya tenemos q’ata. Chika urutxa tunka q’atanakampixiw y la gente entiende, no es que no entiendo. ... Habla mi mamá, habla mi familia, usa esas palabras. Entonces no podemos seguir minutas, minutas.

Hilarión: 'More on the radio it’s always the incursion of the loan. Even me sometimes, I don’t even realize it, but it comes out, “you’ve said this.” They also are in the same situation. So they listen to the radio and it strikes us which is the Spanish word being borrowed. There’s no problem with names but there are words that are there and they get borrowed. That’s the problem. For example, they say minutes minutas. They say Chika urutxa tunka minutanakampixiw ('ten minutes past noon'). But in Aymara we already have q’ata. Chika urutxa tunka q’atanakampixiw and people understand, it’s not that they don’t understand. ... My mother says it, my family says it, uses those words. So we can’t continue minutas, minutas.’

At the opening of this passage, the director reanimates the voice of a coworker disciplining him, “You’ve said this.” In this act of self-deprecation, he provides a mini-diagram of one link in the speech chain of the metadiscursive regime, except in this case the culprit breaking the standard of purity to which RSG aspires is the director himself. When the Aymara language authority (and enforcer of the norm) admits that he too is guilty of using Spanish loans we encounter the awkward interstice between what Neustupny (1989) termed idioms of purism (the metadiscourses of language purity) and discourse purism (the adoption of dehispanicized forms within the object-discourse). We encounter the distance between prescribed behavior and actual behavior: exemplary speakers themselves find it difficult to follow the standard to which they aspire. He then continues to provide an anecdote of a typical aberration, denoting the time of day—“it’s ten past noon.” The sentence in question contains the phonologically assimilated, or what
Hardman (2001) calls aymarized, minutus. The director would have preferred the broadcaster to say q’ata, which he had written in the column headed léxico aymara (‘Aymara lexeme’) and beside the aberration minutu. He invokes the linguistic practices of his family as authoritative, the director having been raised in a rural community—“My mother says it, my family says it, uses those words.” This further justifies the corrective practice of the department’s protocol—“so we can’t continue minutus, minutus.” When I asked other Aymara speakers what q’ata meant, including a linguist and native Aymara speaker, Juan de Dios Yapita, who is familiar with many varieties of Aymara, no one replied with “minute” or any unit of time. Whether or not the director has given an accurate depiction of his own family’s linguistic practices is less important here than is his appeal to their authority: rural speakers serve as the model speakers of the register in this account; and the use of his own family as a sample of model speakers anchors his own practice of seguimiento in the mantle of authority.

In this same discussion, the director showed me his own ledger with further examples uttered during a news broadcast earlier that morning:


‘Kasta, kasta’ is a loan, it comes from Spanish. *May mayo* in Aymara [he] has to say. Phasilukiwa from fácil es (‘it’s easy’) but here yachaykiwa in Aymara. The Aymara lexical [item] and the aberration [he] has committed, then the responsible party is aware and signs. Like that for everyone who has a program.”

Both kasta and phasil are loans from Spanish, but loans of different types. The second example, phasil, is another aymarized loan, the phonological assimilation of fácil
(easy). Without the labiodental voiceless fricative / f / in their phonemic inventory, Aymara speakers have used the closest phoneme available, the aspirated voiceless bilabial stop / ph /. *Kasta* (type) is a loan of a different type, coming from the archaic Spanish *casta*, which would contemporarily be expressed in Spanish with *tipo* (‘type’) or *variedad* (‘variety’). Other loans like this in Aymara, including very common words (such as the verb “to speak”, *parlaña*, from the sixteenth-century Spanish *parlar*) are testament to 500 years of contact with Spanish. Many loans denote referents introduced to Andean society since Spanish invasion. Livestock like sheep, for example, now common throughout the high plain, were unknown before conquest; the Aymara word *uwija* ‘sheep’ is an aymarized rendering of the Spanish *oveja*. Like sheep, units of time like minutes, hours, seven-day weeks and the twelve-month year were introduced through colonial imposition, even very shortly following Spanish invasion. The entry following entry from Ludovico Bertonio’s 1612 dictionary gives us some sense of this:

Día y sus partes: Vide: Partes del tiempo, donde se hallaran los nombres de las horas, casi correspondientes a las nuestras.

‘Day and its parts: Vide: Parts of time, where they are found the names of the hours, almost all correspond to ours.’

(Bertonio, 2006 (1612): 197)

Curiously, while Ludovico’s dictionary includes entries for day (*uru*), month (*phaxsi*), year (*mara*), and time (*pacha*), absent are entries for minute, hour, and the names of the days of the week. Were these the parts of time that “correspond to ours”? There are aymarized loan words for the days of week (Table 1) and for the seven-day week itself, *simana* from the Spanish *semana* (‘week’). The neologism to replace *simana* is homophonous with the Aymara word form ‘seven,’ *päqalq*, becoming *päqanaka* when
replacing *simanas* ‘weeks’ with the addition of the plural marker –*naka*. Interestingly, the
neologisms for the days of the week share etyma with the European terms: “sun day,”
“moon day,” etc. These draw not only from Spanish etymology but even from English
and Norse: *illapa uru* ‘lightening day’ alludes to the lightening associated with the Norse
god Thor, the source deity for the English Thursday (Table 1).

When asked, Aymara speakers indicated some familiarity with these neologisms
(Table 1), but only those tied to educational organizations (like RSG, the Aymara
Educational Council or those involved with bilingual education) claimed to use them
regularly. Whether or not the aymarized loan words for days of the week were adopted by
Aymara speakers at the time of Bertonio’s writing, these have long been a part of the
daily speech of Aymara speakers, yet they remain targets for lexical reform at RSG.

Table 2.1

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<th>Aymara Neologisms: Days of the Week</th>
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<td>Spanish day</td>
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Days of the week feature prominently in the opening segments of many radio
programs. The convention announcing the date and time establishes for the audience that
it is a live, not prerecorded program. In the following transcript from the May 10, 2007
opening of the Aymara Language Department’s flagship program, *Lengua Aymara* (*Aymara Language*), we encounter an interface between the use of neologisms and the particular discourse genre of the radio program, resulting in a surprising tension with how calendric time and its denotation are handled.

1. CELIA: Kamisaki jilata kullakanakas?
2. Jallakipaxa nayasa jumanakarwusa arum’t tatapxta
3. Lengua Aymara wakichaypunirakinina
4. wasität Racio tuqin qamari’ aspukaraqta
5. Radio San Gabriel ist’apkarapa páminka
6. provincianakasa arum’t atarokinta
7. qhirwanakona suntanakana [????]nakana
8. thayampis wíchhumpi, chikt’atav
9. jumanakas ist’irakta Radio jallakipanayta
10. sarina arum’ atapta.
11. HILARIÓK: Jallakipaxa achchilá achichila avicha
12. kamaraki “mama t’alla” mallkus kaqwinirakas
13. jilata kullaka kamaraki wayna tawaqumakharki
14. jisk’ alamaka jumanakasana arum’t atarapatawa
15. jichhurux niyav ukaxa “illapiru” ukjamaxraki
16. aka llamayu phaxin niyav akaxa tunka urunaka
17. mākpiawoxi. urunakas pēgananaks
18. phaxinakas jalaqun jaliwa
19. chikamara purñanika
20. aka Calendario Gregoriano
21. ukaxa utqini wasa yatiqta
22. mächax maraxa jak’achasinkaraki.
23. Jilata Martín Tarki, jupampi chikañtasihani
24. ukjamaqsa sapumayinw arum’t atapta
25. gallantañaniwa wakichawisampi.

How are you brothers and sisters?
I’d like to welcome you as always with the program Aymara Language here at the radio. You’re living with Radio San Gabriel, listening in twenty provinces you’re greeted in valleys, in the heights, in the [????] with the cold and wind you’re listening to the radio’s message saying you are greeted [welcome] Grandfathers and grandmothers even “mama t’allas” and mallkus brother, sister and even young boys, girls and little ones you are all welcome Now that it’s “Thursday”, like that in this month of May, ten days are almost done. The days, the weeks the months are always running, flying. We’re arriving at the middle of this Gregorian calendar in that you know the new year is approaching. Together with brother Martín Tarki every one of you is welcomed we’ll start with our program.

An apparent incoherence appears in lines 19-22: how does the middle of the calendric year reveal that “the new year is approaching”? There is a tension here between the Western, Christian, Gregorian calendar and a solar, agricultural, Aymara calendar.

This dissonance highlights the very neologisms Hilarión uses to refer to units of time: the neologism *illapiru* instead of *jwivis* ‘Thursday’ (line 15), *llamayu* instead of *mayu*
‘May’ (line 16) and paguana instead of simanas ‘weeks’ (line 17). Illapüru denotes ‘Thursday’ in Aymara (at the lexemic level), but situates it within two distinct frameworks of time reckoning: (1) the Western, Christian calendar (“it is now the month of May” [line 16] and “the middle of the Gregorian Calendar” [line 20]) and (2) the upcoming Aymara New Year tied to the southern hemispheric winter solstice (“you know the new year is approaching” [lines 21-22]). The broadcaster orients the listeners to two distinct yet overlapping time frames—one Western and one Aymara. The incongruity of these two distinct frames brings the denotation of temporal neologisms into discursive focus.

A second type of lamination concerns the prosodic conventions of the radio genre and Hilarión’s use of the lexical register. Exaggerated prosody can be found in many radio discourse genres. In the example above, Hilarión uses it to bring focus to the use of a neologism. Two words share a salient prosodic contour: mama t’alla and illapüru (lines 12 and 15). These words are uttered more slowly and with parallel prosodic contours; the first three syllables are high pitch (H) and the final syllable low pitch (L), a parallel (H-H-H-L) contour motivating a relation of equivalence between the two (Jakobson, 1960). The equivalence here is not that these are both neologisms—mama t’alla is a rotating position of political authority for women within traditional Aymara communities.

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4 Llamaya is interesting because of its similarity to Spanish mayo and the Aymarized mayu. The source domain for this neologism is the highland agricultural cycle, however, referring to the Aymara word form for the harvest of potatoes (and other tubors) during this time of year. Its use to denote a month, rather than the harvest itself, is novel.
Poetically linking the neologism *illapürú*\(^5\) with a title emblematic of traditional Aymara political organization configures it within a discursive diagram of Aymara authenticity as parallel to *mama t'allá*, co-textually imbuing the neologism with values of tradition and authority.

Despite their best efforts, the eradication of Spanish loans is incomplete and the audience hears *provincianaka* (line 6), *provincia* being a loan from Spanish and –*naka* the Aymara plural marker. In this case, there is a potential Aymara equivalent, as there were political administrative subdivisions in preconquest times, the aforementioned *suyu*. If ever challenged to account for her use of a Spanish loan here, perhaps Celia might resort to the confessional discourse we encountered with Hilarion’s earlier admission that *no me doy cuenta pero sale* (‘I don’t realize it but it comes out’). Indeed, no one is perfect, no one is free of sin. Even the language authorities commit *aberraciones*.

2.6 Combating Colonialism (i.e., ‘Contact’) Through Correction?

The Aymara Language Department’s efforts to enforce purity in their language may remind readers of the figure of a schoolmarm correcting others’ grammar. Language purism projects necessarily involve language correction, demarcating what constitutes legitimate and illegitimate forms of speech, making this an Aymara variety of verbal hygiene (Cameron, 1995). The schoolmarm comparison would be misguided in this case, however, obscuring the sociohistorical matrix in which these metadiscursive practices unfold. The conflation of language and ethnic identity may be accompanied by a sense of

\(^5\) The difference between the spelling of *illapa uru* in Table 1 and Hilarión’s pronunciation is an example of the gap between the Aymara orthographic norm and pronunciation with vowel elision: the second *a* is replaced with a lengthened initial *u* in *uru*: *illapa uru* ≠ *illapürú*. 
moral obligation to defend and uphold the language as metonym for “the people” within contexts of social oppression. Language purist discourses often respond to perceived or real pressures on minority communities as a kind of “battle cry” (Jernudd, 1989: 3). Speaking to the moral discourse within some language revitalization projects, Fishman (1997) writes: “Since the beloved language is closely and inseparably associated with other verities, the moral imperatives that exist to defend the latter also directly and obviously apply to the language as well. Not to do so would be unthinkable and clearly morally reprehensible” (Fishman, 1997: 73). For some at the station, the loan word seemed to reflect this process, and they perceived the introduction of neologisms and maintenance of a distinct lexical register as part of protecting the language. Recall Hilarión’s view that his job implied a responsibility to his people (mi pueblo) and his invocation of an Aymara cultural norm of reciprocity (ayni) in explaining the compiling of work materials. The link between morality and linguistic practice was even echoed in his impatient admonition “we cannot continue minutus, minutus.”

The threat of a large-scale language shift from Aymara to Spanish concerns others besides Aymara organizations like RSG. The central Andes has been identified by linguists employing language endangerment discourses as one of the world’s “hotspots” of language endangerment, together with other regions such as Siberia and northern Australia (Harrison, 2007).5 Another way to understand these “hotspots,” however, might be as areas of linguistic resilience, as regions where indigenous peoples have managed to maintain their languages and life ways in the face of colonial domination and

5 UNESCO designates Aymara as a ‘vulnerable’ language. More critically endangered languages of the region include Chipaya and Callawaya.
subjugation. In Bolivia’s case, it is one of the only nation-states of the Americas with a majority indigenous population (the other being Guatemala). This unique status is not the result of somehow escaping the ravages of colonialism. Hardly isolated from the world economy, Aymara communities have been linked to a global economy since the 16th century, when gold mined by conscripted laborers left the Andes for Europe to put the gold in “the Golden Age.” Andean indigenous communities’ asymmetrical relationship with the world economy did not end with colonialism, continuing through the twentieth century with extractive industries taking Bolivian tin to factories from Detroit to Dresden. The plundering of natural resources for foreigners’ benefit, together with the historical backdrop of genocide, feature prominently in Aymara historical narratives. One Aymara radio broadcaster told me that Aymara were the “Jews of the Andes” because, like the Jews of Europe, the Aymara maintained their language and culture despite attempts to eradicate them as a people. The sentiment behind this surprising analogy echoed through other conversations with Aymara Bolivians who on varied occasions expressed their desire never to become an “extinct tribe.” This was the prognosis one century ago of Bolivian intellectuals like Alcides Arguedas, who, in his hopes of a “modern” Bolivia, predicted the disappearance of the Aymara as a distinct ethnic group through linguistic and cultural assimilation (Arguedas, 1979 [1909]). A century later, discourses of “endangerment” continue to resonate with narratives of Aymara nationhood.

If protecting the language is commensurate with protecting the people, at RSG this means targeting loanwords that are reminders of the painful processes of colonialism

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6 A recurring commentary I would hear from Bolivian Aymaras contrasted the future of the Aymara to the fate of the “pídes rojos” or ‘Redskins’ (their words) and the (false) impression that there remain almost no indigenous peoples in the U.S.
to which the Aymara have been subjected. Further evidence of this is found in the Aymara Language Department's selectivity in its attention to which loanwords are purged. Aymara has been in contact with Quechua for much longer than Spanish, yet Quechua loans are not the focus of *seguimiento.* This selective purging is not unique or surprising; it simply underscores the sociohistorical situatedness of such purist efforts. Neustupny (1989: 218) provides Czech purism as another example of selective purging of loan words, where German loans were subject to replacement but not French or Latin loans. In post-Soviet Tatarstan, home to a Muslim and Turkic minority group in the Volga region, Tatar language purists purge Russian loans but embrace the re-adoption of Arabic and Persian loans (Wertheim, 2003).

If there were any attempt to purge Aymara of Quechua loan words there would be at least two problems. The first would be the large percentage of the southern Quechua and Aymara lexicon that is shared, and the second would be determining the directionality of the loans (Cerrón-Palomo, 1994). Words as common as door (*punku*), wall (*pirqa*), and the numbers three (*kimsa*), five, (*phisqa*), six (*suxta*) and ten (*tunka*) almost surely came into the Aymara lexicon from contact with Quechua. Reciprocally, there is a compelling theory that the ejective consonants of southern Quechua emerged as an areal feature from contact with Aymara (Adelaar, 2004). The point here, however, concerns not the feasibility of a different purist project but why the Spanish loan word is a target and not the Quechua loan word. This concerns Spanish invasion; the *aberración*

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7 Despite claims to the contrary (e.g. Wardaugh, 2010 p. 26) Aymara and Quechua are not mutually intelligible nor understood as distinct languages merely due to the ideological commitments of their speakers.
is both a metonym for and the indexical residue of Spanish invasion, or what more frequently, and euphemistically, is called “contact.”

2.7 Conclusion

The consolidation and maintenance of a distinct register of pure Aymara on RSG’s airwaves is considered by its promoters to be part of a larger historical process of decolonization. Yet its source materials derive from Catholic institutions, an issue not without its historical ironies. The Catholic Church’s interest in developing expertise in indigenous languages was fundamental to the colonial project, and animated the work of the 16 and 17th century Jesuits and Franciscans discussed above (see also Hanks, 2010; Heath, 1972; Mannheim, 1984; Rafael, 1993). Aside from the Catholic Church’s complicity in the very processes that the actors at RSG aim to reverse, there are other residues of colonial hierarchies lurking within the metadiscursive regime examined here. In Bertonio’s 1612 dictionary, Spanish remains the matrix language in which Aymara is framed and commented upon. Today, the Aymara Language Department’s flagship program has a Spanish name—Lenga Aymara. And the ledgers of seguimiento bear column headings words that are in Spanish (aberración, léxico aymara, fecha, firma), not Aymara. Despite the decolonizing aims of this protocol, Spanish remains the authoritative language within this framework (see also Meek & Messing, 2007). In addition to the framing of Aymara by Spanish in the ledgers of seguimiento or in the title of Lenga Aymara, there are traces of translation in the neologisms for the days of the week we encountered above.
Might there be unforeseen consequences from emergent asymmetries of competence between those who are familiar with the neologisms deployed on RSG and those who are not? In any language there are asymmetries of competence, with speakers recognizing more registers than they are able to command with any fluency (Agha, 2007, ch. 3), and all standardization projects introduce new asymmetries (Gal, 2006). Researchers like Arnold and Yapita (2000) and Canessa (2000) discuss the distance between a register of Aymara purged of Spanish loans and the daily varieties used by Aymara speakers as harmful in educational contexts. Canessa (2000) describes rural Aymara children becoming discouraged upon encountering written Aymara that is foreign to them, feeding into already circulating ideas of semilingualism, i.e. that they don’t speak “real” Aymara. Arnold and Yapita (2000) note that many of the neologisms confused students and sometimes shared unfortunate homonyms with local varieties (Arnold and Yapita, 2005). Elsewhere in the Andes, among Quechua speakers, Coronel-Molina (2008) examines a similar case in which register bifurcation is cultivated by the Academy of Quechua Language between *qhapaq simi* (rich language) and *runasimi* (people’s language). Coronel-Molina (2008) argues that, despite claims to the contrary, the asymmetries of competence resulting from the Academy’s interventions do more to curtail Quechua language use than to promote it, with the primary result being the formation of a new, self-appointed class of language experts. “The sense of prestige derived from using the ‘authentic’ Quechua boosts the perception of their own status among Academy members. This in turn reinforces their feeling of authority *vis-à-vis* the communities” (Coronel-Molina, 2008: 333-334).
These are all compelling accounts, but I am hesitant to draw similar conclusions—or to see in any of these other cases easy analogues to the metadiscursive regime in place at RSG. The metadiscursive “heavy lifting” required to maintain a distinct lexical register of Aymara audible on RSG’s airwaves should not be misinterpreted as “exposing” or “deconstructing” practices of an “invented authenticity” that serves only to reinforce the authority of those enforcing the register itself. That could be one conclusion, and may indeed be the case in other seemingly similar scenarios (e.g., Coronel-Mo'ina, 2008). In the case of RSG, however, a simple pro-vernacular critique—e.g., of *segumiento* as a form of Foucauldian ‘governmentality’—might well be misguided, especially if it ends up divesting authority from actors in societies still wrestling with colonial legacies (Briggs, 1996); new forms of discursive authority are an important part of what they are fighting to establish.

Furthermore, such conclusions run the risk of sidestepping the potentially awkward, but necessary, reflexive move to consider how scholarly articles, or doctoral dissertations like this one for that matter, and the academic disciplines they address also constitute metadiscursive practices bestowing authority to those engaged in them (Briggs, 1996). The development of authority in language and communication, per se, whether among researchers or radio broadcasters, need not be problematic, but demands reflexivity and, perhaps equally challenging, increased *ayni* among those engaged with and studying these processes. Certainly, the “voice of the Aymara people” has every right to develop its voice and authority over how it will sound, just as the Aymara people may
decide whether or not to listen. There is more going on here, however, than simply the extension of an RSG brand or attention to a slice of the radio market.

There are individual, social and linguistic consequences of the processes unfolding at RSG. We may recognize in RSG what Foucault (1988) called “technologies of the self,” or those technologies which “permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality” (18). Foucault discussed technologies of the self as distinct from, if at times overlapping with, technologies of sign systems—technologies “which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification” (18). For those involved in maintaining the metadiscursive regime within RSG, however, the development and reproduction of metalinguistic expertise combines with metadiscursive protocols to create a nearly complete overlap of technologies of the self and technologies of sign systems. In a country where even today, to hear an Aymara voice is for many to hear the voice of the poor, the anti-modern, the rural people, who are worthy only of contempt or fear, the metadiscursive regime at RSG contributes to Celia’s reporting with ease that the best thing about working at RSG is “being Aymara.” While the regime in place at RSG is evidently transformative for those involved, it extends beyond a project of personal accomplishment, or of individual linguistic intervention, to one of a broader—and, from Celia and Hilarión’s perspective, more emancipatory—scope.
3. Wayna Rap & the Semiotics of Urban Indigeneity

3.1 Tupac

On June 16, 1971 in east Harlem a young leader of the Black Panther Party, Afeni Shakur, gave birth to a baby boy who later in his life would become known to millions across the globe, as a performer, a rapper, a poet and a martyr. Tupac Shakur remains the hip-hop artist with the most albums sold world wide, more than 74 million – making his very name emblematic of hip-hop on a global scale. For Afeni Shakur, the name Tupac was also an emblem, a sign of antiracist, anticolonial resistance recognized by millions of Indigenous people across the Andes as the name of two anticolonial martyrs from the eighteenth century who led insurrections against Spanish colonialism – the Quechua Tupac Amaru the Second and the Aymara Tupac Katari (Hoye & Ali, 2003).

On that summer day in 1971, when this young revolutionary named her son Tupac, could she have imagined that within decades the descendents of her son’s namesake, the descendents of the Tupacs, in cities like El Alto, Bolivia, would look to her son for inspiration? In Hoye and Ali’s 2003 biography of Shakur, they quote him as having said, “I was named after this Inca chief whose name was Tupac Amaru . . . He was a deep dude. If I go to South America, they gonna love me. I’m telling you. They know Tupac (Hoye and Ali, 2003: 8).” He wasn’t wrong.

One place where there is tremendous love for Tupac is El Alto, Bolivia. El Alto is not only Bolivia’s most Aymara city, but one of its largest and youngest cities and home to a vibrant hip-hop scene. Hip-hop in Bolivia is a relatively recent phenomenon, having arrived through the introduction of pirated U.S. rap music in the late 90’s and the success
of what many recognize as the first Bolivian MC, ‘El Cholo’, Marcelo Yáñez in the early 2000s (Ávila et al, 2007). It is not strange that many of the children of Indigenous migrants to cities like El Alto would identify with an African-American cultural expression given the shared social conditions of poverty, racism and discrimination faced by both groups. The panorama of Hip-Hop Alteño, or “El Alto Hip-Hop”, includes MCs who rhyme not only in Spanish, but also in the Aymara and Quechua languages, among which the Wayna Rap collective has occupied a prominent role. As masters of a verbal art, the spoken word is at the center of their work in a social context where speech and language choice is a widely scrutinized emblem of group affiliation.

Fig. 3.1 A member of Wayna Rap holds a Spanish language Hip-hop magazine from the U.S. with a photo of Tupac Shakur (Author’s photo).
Members of Wayna Rap themselves played an active role in the popularization of hip-hop in Bolivia through their running of a pirate radio broadcasts during the late 90s and early 2000s. In an interview on the Bolivian television program "Ojo del Alma," founding member of Wayna Rap, Grover Cañaviri, explains their role making hip-hop part of the city’s soundscape and explains how this was also collective effort in which he and his friends would take up a collection to pay for a slot on one of the pirate radio broadcasters’ frequencies:

Se tenía que pagar. Por una hora pagamos cinco Bolivianos y hacíamos bastante los fines de semana, los días sábados. unos diez bolivianos tres horas. a veces juntábamos entre los grupos, digamos hacíamos una vaca, como unos veinte bolivianos, entonces clavamos cuatro horas. Y en la calle así echabas. A veces si iba de excursiones y teníamos nuestra radio que se llamaba Los Cholos de la Alcantarilla que [tenía un jingle] que decía --Este es el programa de los cholos del alcantarilla - por decirte. Y entonces cuando los cambios iban escuchando en su radio una canción y ya estaba en su estereo que ellos ya habían cosido de la radio en casset, e iban escuchando así en la calle ya, digamos y nosotros, wow, en nuestro programa lo has escuchado.

You had to pay. For one hour we paid five Bolivianos and we’d do a lot on the weekends, on Saturdays. Ten bolivianos for three hours. Sometimes we’d collect among the groups, we’d pitch in, get like twenty bolivianos, and then we’d nail four hours. And you’d hear it on the street. Sometimes if going out on excursions, we had our radio that was called The Gutter Cholos and [it had a jingle] that said, “This is the program The Gutter Cholos.” An then when the kids were listing on their radio to a song and it was already on their stereo, that they had copied it from the radio to cassette, and they’d go listening to it like that on the street, and we’d say wow, you’ve heard that on our program.

("Ojo del Alma” 20 Aug. 2011)

Hearing his own voice recorded, and tied to the circulation and expansion of hip-hop in his city gave Cañaviri confidence in his ability to intervene among his peers as a cultural, and as we will see linguistic, broker. In 2003, when the cultural center and radio station Wayna Tambo made a call for rappers and hip-hop enthusiasts to attend a series of
workshops in 2003 he heeded the call as did many others. Out of these workshops the Wayna Rap collective was formed.

While much of Wayna Rap’s aesthetics and affect are legible in the transnational idiom of hip-hop – the graffiti, the clothing, the sampling of tracks and beats – it is also an aesthetic that is highly local, and responsive to Bolivia’s social and linguistic conditions. Wayna Rap can be understood within this global phenomenon, as an Aymara expression of a global trend that has garnered considerable attention from sociolinguists, linguistic anthropologists, and cultural studies scholars. Among these authors we find many scholars arguing along the lines of Alistair Pennycook (2007) who assert that, “Much of hip-hop challenges ortholinguistic practices and ideologies, relocating language in new ways, both reflecting and producing local language practices (Pennycook, 2007: 112).” With Wayna Rap’s Aymara Hip-hop we certainly hear a relocation of language; Aymara, a language that in Bolivia has indexed the rural and traditional is relocated within a frame, the musical genre of hip-hop, that is decidedly urban and cosmopolitan but what of “ortholinguistic practices”? In chapter two, we encountered RSG’s regime of seguimiento that seems to be as good an example of an “ortholinguistic practice” as any. In this chapter I argue that, while embedded within an otherwise thoroughly hybrid cultural form, these artists’ verbal art provides another form of “ortholinguistic practice,” albeit one with different ends and consequences than seguimiento at RSG.

This discussion of these artists and their work opened with the naming of Tupac Shakur to highlight a moment anticipating the transnational culture we find today among the youth of El Alto. In what follows, we find a cultural politics in which the legacies of Tupac Amaru, Tupak Katari, and Tupak Shakur converge. This chapter’s examination of
these artists’ work and the sociocultural milieu from which they emerge, drawing on interviews with these artists and analyses of their lyrics and videos, illuminates the changing conditions of indigeneity in contemporary Bolivian society.

3.2 Interventions in the sociolinguistic terrain

The language choice of these MCs is notable for many reasons. It flies in the face of the presumption that once in an urban context, bilingual Aymara youth rush to abandon their heritage language (cf. Guayaga, 2000). In this case as elsewhere MCs’ language choice is embedded within local social and political contexts (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005), particularly their own experiences with the dynamics of multilingualism in their society and their perceptions of the reality facing rural migrants to El Alto. Specifically, they view language shift away from Aymara to greater Spanish language use as one result anti-Indian racism and the denigration of Aymara language and culture. Grover Cañaviri and two other prominent members of the collective, and Rolando Franklin Casas Quispe, or “Rolo”, addressed this in an interview with me in 2007:

Grover: *Pero nosotros pensamos es lo mejor [cantar en aymara] porque parte en esos pueblos donde vaya perdiendo los costumbres de hablar en aymará, más antes en el campo hablaban puramente en aymará pero ahora entre aymará y español así.*

But we thought it’s best [to sing in Aymara] because partly in those towns where the custom of speaking Aymara is getting lost, earlier in the countryside they spoke purely in Aymara but now it’s between Aymara and Spanish like that.

Rolo: *Los colegios también te enseñan español si ya no aymara.*
In the schools too they teach in Spanish and not in Aymara any more.
Grover: Y se va perdiendo, entonces nosotros pensamos, dijimos, haremos rap en aymará porque creemos que es de nosotros porque también vas a ayudar a otra generación.

And it’s getting lost, so we thought, we said, let’s rap in Aymara because we believe that it’s ours and because also you’re going to help another generation.

Rodolfo: Una idea es que se sientan orgullosos, que no les de vergüenza hablar en aymará. Cuando llegan del campo, gente ya tiene que obligadamente aprender español y de allí se olvidan de su dialecto.

One idea is that they feel proud, that they not be embarrassed to speak in Aymara. When they arrive from the countryside, people obligatorily have to learn Spanish and from there they forget their dialect [sic].

Rolo: Es un choque bien grande. Alguien que sea aymara-parlante y que llega aquí a La Paz y todo es en español. Y le cuesta aprender y luego le da vergüenza hablar, y luego cuando va a su mismo pueblo habla español no más.

It’s a big shock. Someone that is an Aymara speaker and arrives here to La Paz and everything is in Spanish. It’s hard to learn and later it’s embarrassing to speak [Aymara] and later when he goes back to his own town he only speaks in Spanish.

Karl: Para presumir un poco también me imagino.

To show off a little too I imagine.

Rolo. Sí claro. Nosotros queremos que divertir eso un poco para que la gente adquiera esos hábitos de hablar en aymará. ¿Qué manera mejor que el hip-hop digamos que es un punto central? Y no hacemos hip-hop comercial más bien con el mensaje tratamos de valorizen más nuestra cultura, a nuestros abuelos, las cosas buenas.

Yes of course. We want to divert that a little in order for people to acquire those habits of speaking in Aymara. What better way than hip-hop, let’s say that it’s a central point? And we don’t make comercial hip-hop but rather with the message we try to [persuade others to] value our culture more, our grandparents, good things.

Grover: En la adolescencia más que todo porque todos te miraban – ese es aymará. Aquí hay un cacho discriminación entre nosotros mismos. Vivimos
donde uno tiene su casa, y el otro no tiene nada entonces sí. Y si el otro habla aymará todos lo desprecian, con la llegada del campo, y ni siquiera puede hablar bien castellano. Yo fui poco a poco me fui alimentando, y dije esto tiene que hacer en aymará un hip-hop porque el hip-hop es actitud, es fuerza, es energía de los jóvenes y yo pienso que cuando uno esté escuchando, va a poner ese actitud, y ese orgullo, y yo no digo para pelear, de sentirse, vamos desarrollándonos y los tiempos se van cambiando y si perdemos nuestros idiomas, nuestras antiguas costumbres, entonces yo pienso que nos vamos a encontrar en un nivel dónde, pucha, y ahora? ¿Qué hacemos así?

During adolescence more than anything because everyone looks at you – that one’s Aymara. Here there’s a little bit of discrimination even among ourselves. We live where one person has their house, and the other person doesn’t have anything and so, yes. And if the other speaks Aymara everyone puts him down, with his arrival from the countryside, and he can’t even speak Spanish well. Little by little, I was taking nourishment, and I said this has to be done, hip-hop in Aymara, because hip-hop is attitude, it’s strength, it’s youth energy and I think that when someone is listening, he’s going to put on that attitude and that pride, and I don’t say in order to fight, but of being oneself, we’re continuing to develop ourselves and the times are changing and if we lose our languages, our ancient customs, then I think that we’re going to encounter a level where, damn it, and now? What do we do then?

Rolo perdidos
lost

Grover: ¿Qué hacemos así? Perdidos. Entonces yo no quisiera que pase esto, con mis hijos, tal vez con mis nietos y esa honda.

What do we do then? Lost. So, I wouldn’t want that to happen, to my children, possibly to my grandchildren and [things like that (lit. ‘that wave’)].

In his reanimation of his detractors’ voices, Grover aligns llama, with indio and t’ara.

Te discriminaban,
declán – A! esas llamas,
esas llamas cantan en aymará,
son unos indios,
unos t’aras.

They discriminated against you
They said, “Ah! Those llamas!”
those llamas are singing in Aymara
they’re some Indians
some t’aras
T'ara is an Aymara word that is used to denigrate Indians as Indians. It is a poetically symmetrical counterpart to q'ara, a term denoting Europeans although it literally means “naked.” T’ara has no such easy equivalent, besides that it is an insult directed against Indians, whether Quechua, Aymara, or other indigenous, highlanders. Calling their peers llamas for speaking Aymara is a painful example of self-loathing, of appropriating one existing racist discourse in Bolivia that dehumanizes Indians by referring to them as animals. Despite Bolivia being a majority Indian nation, indio has often been used as an insult. That such denigration is not only about language, or rural provenience, but also racialized and tied to the amerindian body comes through in an otherwise similar account of their decision to rap in Aymara in an interview Casas Quispe made for Bolivian Television in 2011:

Antes era, no era prohibido sino mal visto hablar en Aymara. En el colegio con los amigos de la misma edad. Hablabas en Aymara o decías alguna palabrita que te salía y te decían indio, uta, campesino, que esto que el otro, te juzgaban mucho. Y nosotros hemos visto como una forma de rebeldía, como una forma de cambiar la situación, como una forma de revolución, que sean rebeldes en ese aspecto. Hacer hip-hop en Aymara y decir —soy Aymara ¿y qué? Soy de El Alto. Soy de piel morena. Soy de barro.

Before it was, it wasn’t banned, but it was viewed badly to speak in Aymara. In junior high, with your friends of your own age, you spoke Aymara or you’d say some little word that would just come out and they’d call you an Indian, uff, a hick, this or something else, the judged you a lot. And we saw it as a form of rebellion, as a way to change the situation, like a form of revolution, to be rebels in this aspect. To do hip-hop in Aymara and to say, ’I’m Aymara and what? I’m from El Alto. I have brown skin. I’m made of earth.’

(“Ojo del Alma”)

These artists’ concern with advancing ethnic pride and combating racism through the embrace of verbal art in the Aymara language is also motivated by the perception that Aymara language use, “se va perdiendo” (is getting lost). They connect this process to
both the pejorative associations of Aymara language use (t'aras) and also to institutional realities (schools teaching in Spanish). They also reference the flows of Aymara migrants between the city and the countryside. In this stretch of the interview the figure of the returning migrant appears as the harbringer of Aymara language death through his deployment of Spanish as evidence of urbanity and sophistication. It is within this frame that they mention rural youth as the target audience.

Here, we find an inversion of what earlier indigenous musicians’ had done with more traditional “Andean music” within a framework of “world music”. If groups like the Kjarkas popularized Indigenous music styles among urban, cosmopolitan audiences and through a “world music” market, these Aymara youth appear to be reformatting the urban, cosmopolitan genre of Hip-hop with an eye to their more Aymara dominant rural counterparts (cf. Bigenho, 2002).

Wayna Rap’s use of Aymara is both a countervvalorization to racist discourses in Bolivia denigrating everything Indigenous and also consistent with the emphasis hip-hop cultures across the globe place on “keepin it real,” being true to one’s community, self or ‘roots’ (Morgan, 2005). This ethos of keeping it real, when introduced into a context of global hip-hop, means that MCs will respond in locally specific contexts to notions of authenticity, or realness. For Bolivian MCs, in a majority Indigenous country, with a strong Indigenous political consciousness particularly among the Aymara, Indigeneity and realness are intimately connected. For example, the spaces of Bolivian hip-hop regularly invoke Indigeneity through the use of Aymara and Quechua in their names – Wayna Tambo ‘youth meeting/resting place’ (in both Quechua and Aymara), Centro Taypi
‘Center center’ (in Spanish and Aymara, respectively), to name two venues in La Paz. In March of 2006, when there was what was perhaps Bolivia’s largest national hip-hop festival in the city of El Alto, the festival’s name was Aymara - *Qhana Aru Imantata* which might translate to English as ‘the Hidden, Clear Voice.’ When Wayna Rap performs in Aymara, it is not only that they are communicating with their bilingual Aymara speaking peers, but that their Aymara language use indexes realness and authenticity to their non-Aymara speaking fans in Bolivia and internationally. For their Aymara bilingual audience, however, in addition to confronting anti-Indian racism and building cultural pride, Grover formulates the decision to rap in Aymara explicitly in terms intergenerational transmission of the language.

Entonces nosotros pensamos, dijimos, haremos rap en aymará porque creemos que es de nosotros, porque también vas a ayudar a otra generación

*So, we thought, we said, we’ll make rap in Aymara because we believe its ours, because you’re also going to help another generation.*

This position, however, is not shared by everyone in El Alto.

3.3 Illegible indigeneity?

I first met the members of this collective during time in Bolivia spent mostly working in teacher training programs as an applied linguistics instructor during 2007. Discussing the state of Aymara’s vitality and the linguistic situation facing urban Aymara youth with a former leader within the Consejo Educativo Aymara (Aymara Education Council), I referenced Wayna Rap as a positive example of Aymara intergenerational vitality. It seemed to be a very different example for him. Mention of “raperos Aymaras”
served as a cue to begin a lament of the younger generation's cultural loss, confusion and delinquency. Like any cultural phenomenon, Hip-Hop Alteño is complex and comprises multiple semiotic layers, each serving as different cues to different audiences. If different from what Erving Goffman (1974, 1981) described as role alignments between interlocutors in face-to-face interactions in terms of scale and possibilities for mutual monitoring, mass-mediatized cultural forms, like hip-hop, also establish possibilities varied role alignments through their semiotic fractions (Agha, 2007; Swinehart, 2008: 294). In the case of hip-hop Alteño, this educator established a meaningful link between hip-hop and what he perceived to be the deterioration of Aymara culture among the youth of El Alto and, more generally, the social conditions in the city. Any Aymara fraction of this music was obscured to him by other signs that affirmed his anxieties of continued encroachment of Aymara society by foreign influence and accompanying social problems.

The educator's concerns are not groundless—there is plenty to lament regarding the social conditions of El Alto. Poverty and violence are daily realities for thousands of youth in the city and the hip-hop community of El Alto has had more than its share of tragedy in recent years. During a brief visit in 2008, for example, I attended a fundraiser for the funeral of a young MC, Lil Dennis, who had been murdered earlier that year in a violent robbery (Figure 3.2). Lil Dennis performed in Real Calle, (English, Real Street) together with his sister María José Tapia, also known as Mary J. She has continued to perform as Real Calle since her brother's death with the conviction that she carries on his legacy and desire for that project to continue.
The year following Lil Dennis’s death brought more tragedy with a tremendous loss for the Bolivian Hip-hop community when Abraham Bojórquez, the MC behind one of hip-hop Alteños most successful projects, *Ukamau Y Ké*, and a founding member of Wayna Rap, died in what many suspect to have also been a violent robbery⁸. At the time of his death he was working on an album that has since been released the proceeds of
which benefit the radio station and youth cultural center Wayna Tambo that has been and continues to be central to the El Alto hip-hop scene.

These deaths seem to confirm the anxieties expressed by the Aymara educator above associating hip-hop with delinquency and social decay. While the educator’s lament included a concern with the social conditions of youth in El Alto, it was not limited to this. Crucially, his lament regarded a presumed alienation from one’s “own” culture. The evident cosmopolitanism of these artists may cue this for him – groups like Wayna Rap engage with global networks that are completely alien to an Aymara elder. These youth read Spanish language hip-hop magazines, received from friends and family abroad, and circulate them among friends (Image 3.1). They maintain Myspace, Facebook, YouTube and other social media and networking accounts through which they remain informed of developments in other Hip-hop scenes and maintain correspondence with fans and other musicians. They post videos on YouTube to promote their music in Bolivia and internationally and are generally tech savvy. Wayna Rap has traveled to Venezuela, for example, to participate in an international Hip-hop congress and have performed in Buenos Aires and across northern Europe. At the invitation of Danish and Finnish MCs and with the support of the Danish organization Rapolitics they traveled to those both to those countries to perform in 2009.

Perhaps the educator is responding to their register of Spanish, one that could be considered a Bolivian variety of what H. Samy Alim (2006) calls a Hip-hop Nation Language Variety, a register that is peppered with English lexical items like broder (brother), homie, flow, break, crew. These terms are found on the flyer for the Homage to Lil Dennis (Figure 4.1) where we find Descansa en Paz My Homie (rest in peace my
homie), cover (for a cover charge), The Cronic, break dance and again on the following flyer:

(Fig. 3.3) we find “English” words in the names of groups performing, like Street Loco and Comari Flow. This last group’s name includes the term that MCs, their fans and critics to assess lyrical skill. Like their counterparts in the U.S. and elsewhere, they refer to, “the ability to exploit the rhythm, rhyme around the rhythm, and yet be able to faithfully return to the rhythm on time (Alim, 2006: 96),” as “flow.” As Juan Eber Quisbert Quispe, a member of Wayna Rap explained in an interview in 2008, “si un
rapero tiene buen flo o no es lo que cuenta (if a rapper has good flow or not is what matters)(interview 2008).” Beyond the lexical aspects of this hip-hop language variety, we could look to a broader semiotic register (Agha, 1999) recognizing that the importance of visual signs, including transnationally legible diacritics of hip-hop culture like graffiti script with which the above words are written and the clothing, embodied posture and affect displayed in the accompanying images.

If much of what we find in these two flyers is transnationally legible within the realm of hip-hop cultural expressions, there remain Andean elements throughout both flyers. Both of the events advertised take place at spaces with Aymara names Taypi (the center, the middle), Utasa (our home) and many of the groups listed have Aymara and Andean names: Sol Andino (Andean Sun), Proyect Amaru (Amaru Project), Pacha Lingo (Language of the Earth), Wayna Rap (Youth Rap). The first group’s name invokes a recurrent image in Andean iconography, the sun, and the second returns us to Tupac Shakur’s namesake, Tupac Amaru. Pacha Lingo combines a Quechua and Aymara word for earth, pacha, with a Latin term for language, lingo. Wayna Rap combines the Quechua and Aymara word for youth, wayna, and the linguistically ambiguous (Spanish? English?) word “rap.” This practice of mixing languages in groups’ naming is something also true of the late Abraham Bojorquez’s project Ukamau y Ké – ukamau (ukhamaw) meaning, “that’s how it is,” in Aymara followed by the Spanish y ké (y qué) meaning “and what?,” reflecting the defiant stance Bojórquez expressed through his music.

The hybridity encountered in these groups’ names is echoed in the production of the musical tracks that accompany these artists’ rhymes. These tracks often mix samples, and some times live recordings, of traditional Andean music together with beats created
on sound editing software like Fruity Loops. This mix of Andean instrumentation and digital beats can be heard, for example, on one of Wayna Rap’s most widely circulated tracks, *Chanakat Sartasiry* (Coming out of the Darkness). The music for this track draws from recordings of Andean flutes (*t’ar ka*s and *zampoñas*), remixing them with digital beats. The musical hybridity is paralleled visually in the video both in the selection of images and in these performers’ dress. Visually, the video juxtaposes black and white video clips of rural life taken from the famous neorealist director Javier Sanjinés’ films with images of the artists rapping, often with a low camera angle, in a style reminiscent of 90s hip-hop videos. The artists’ dress combines *lluch’us* (the knit wool cap used among Quechua and Aymaras in the Andes) with baggy tee shirts and pants that could be found on rappers in New York, London or Tokyo. The mixing of traditional and hip-hop clothing is not limited to performance in a video, but is a fashion of dress that forms part of this register in the daily presentation of self among youth within in this subculture.

This fashion that has emerged within this musical subculture should be understood within the broader political and social context of Bolivia’s recent history. Elena Amparo Tapia (b. 1976), a hip-hop performer and radio host who performs as Nina Uma (Aymara: Fire Water), commented in a 2011 interview that only ten years ago the only young people who would might be seen wearing ponchos or *lluch’us* would be foreign tourists and backpackers. Interestingly, she brought up this introduction of

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9 The song’s video is available both on YouTube (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nbNKIsBk9E) and on Wayna Rap’s Myspace page (www.myspace.com/waynaran).
traditional clothing within the local hip-hop fashion repertoire when responding to a
question about Aymara language use in the course of our interview:

Karl: ¿Has visto cambios entre los jóvenes alteños ante el aymara?

Nina Uma: Mira, yo creo que ahorita tenemos un contexto boliviano bien
interesante que hace diez años no había. hace diez años difícilmente vas a ver a un
joven con un lluch’u en la ciudad, algún gringuito —Aaa! ¡Qué chistoso que va a
poner eso! —Es así. Pero a partir de, principalmente aquí en El Alto a partir de
2003, la subida de Evo Morales a la presidencia y todo eso, hay un tema de
búsqueda de varias, digamos, de varias generaciones, incluso de este contexto
urbano, comienzan a decir— Tenemos alguien allí. Nosotros hemos hecho esto.
Tenemos este poder. —Además de que cuando nos organizamos, nos reunimos,
podemos sacar un presidente, darse cuenta de esa capacidad que ienes, como
aymara, como anda, y además haciendo respetar lo que tú eres que difícilmente
ahora que te digan indio. Ahora, soy indio y ¿qué putas dice alguien (se rie)? ¿No
ve? Es así.

K: Ukhamaw ¿y qué?

búsqueda y una revalorización de todas los saberes que antes estaban medio
escocidos pero estaban allí presentes. Entonces por eso ahora se visibiliza más
esto porque muchas personas digamos como que han ido perdiendo el miedo

Karl: Have you seen changes among the youth in El Alto concerning Aymara?

Nina Uma: Look, I think that right now we have a very interesting Bolivian
context that ten years ago didn’t exist. Ten years ago it would be difficult for you
to see a young person with a lluch’u in the city. Some gringo, like, “How funny
that he’s going to wear that! That’s what Indians wear.” That’s how it is. But
beginning, principally here in El Alto, beginning in 2003, the rise of Evo Morales
to the presidency and all that, there’s a search among many generations
including in the urban context. They begin to say, “We have someone there.
We’ve done this. We have this power.” And furthermore when we organize, come
together, we can remove a president. To realize that capacity you have as an
Aymara, as an Andean, and furthermore to respect what you are, it’s difficult now
for them to call you “Indian.” Now it’s, “I’m an Indian and what the fuck does
anyone have to say about it.” You see? That’s how it is.

K: Ukhamaw y qué?
NU: You understand. *Ukhamaw y qué? That's how it is and what? Don't you see? That search and that revalorization of all the knowledge that was half hidden before but was present there. Then that's why now that becomes more visible, because many people, let's say it's like they've been losing their fear.*

Nina Uma situates the adoption of clothing by urban youth as part of a broader politicization and anti-racist reaffirmation of indigenous identity.

The politicization of youth during this period provided the milieu from which this hip-hop culture emerges. She identifies 2003 as an important turning point in this process where people, particular Aymara people in Bolivia, began to feel powerful. Why does she refer to this date in particular?

3.4 Tupac’s return

October of 2003 saw an uprising by the City of El Alto and the surrounding high plain demanding the nationalization of the nation’s most valuable natural resource – the natural gas that provides neighboring Brasil, Argentina and Chile with power. This conflict, known now as ‘The Gas War’, deposed then president ‘Goni’ Sánchez de Lozada and was a crucial precedent in the subsequent election of Evo Morales in 2005, the nation’s first Indigenous president. Like Nina Uma above, Grover Canaviri, Rolo Quispe, and Juan Eber Quisbert Quispe, members of Wayna Rap, described the Gas War as an awakening for the city of El Alto and as an inspiration for their music in an interview I conducted in 2007:

Rolando: El dos mil tres ha sido el despertar de todos los Alteños. Cada quien, todos estábamos no sé deprimidos diciendo – qué pena, qué triste nuestra realidad y todo esto. Pero ése ha sido el instante en qué todos los vecinos, todos nos hemos unido, cada quien cargaba una piedra, sino protestando, sino huyéndonos, en ceda esquina, cada vecino, cada junta vecinal se organizaba así bien. Los jóvenes salían y todo eso. Ha habido muertos. La gente iba. Incluso ha muerto
Two thousand three was the awakening of all the people of El Alto. Each one, everyone, we were, I don’t know, depressed, saying—what a shame, our reality is so sad and all that. But that was the instant that all the neighbors, we all united, everyone carried a rock, or was protesting, or escaping (the armed forces) on every corner, each neighbor, each neighborhood council was very organized. The youth came out and everything. There were deaths. The people were going. Even one of our friends died, shot down (to Grover) you saw it (Grover: Yeah) personally. It was a great shame, which was the awakening of the rebellion of the people.

Grover: Octubre ha sido como el despertar y pues muchos vecinos cuando se organizaban hablaban de que, porque también nuestros papás habían luchado en la dictadura de Banzer y toda esa época entonces tenían sus experiencias como jóveres y comentaban entre ellos y decían siempre hemos sido marginados. Ya esa onda así hablaban.

Grover: October was like the awakening and, well, a lot of neighbors when organizing talked about, because our parents had struggled during the Banzer dictatorship and that whole era, so they had their experiences as young people and commented among themselves that we’ve always been marginalized. And that was the way they were talking.

Juan Eber: En el 2003 se ha iniciado un poco para mí. Se ha ido Goni y esa onda. Salí a la calle, chequeaba todo lo que pasaba, y allí chequeaba como la gente ha muerto y esa realidad he empezado a contar, a rapar esa realidad.

In 2003 it started a little bit for me. Goni left and all that. I hit the street, checked out everything that was happening, I saw how people had died and that reality I began to tell, to rap that reality.

Four years after the 2007 interview with me in 2007, speaking to a Finnish radio journalist (in an interview for which I served as interpreter), Quisbert Quispe again explained the role of the events of October 2003 had in both his personal life and, similar to Grover above, within the larger arc of Aymara history, but goes even further than Grover in recognizing its cultural impact:
Bueno, yo empecé el año 2003 que fue el año de la Guerra del Gas y todos esos momentos históricos de guerra, de lucha me inspiraron para hacer el rap... el 2003 se ha ido construyendo desde antes con las luchas de Tupac Katari, desde la dictadura, desde otras luchas, la Guerra del Agua, la Guerra de Febrero [en La Paz]... toda esa carga de tantos años y época revienta el año 2003—¡Pau!—una explosión de lucha, explosión ideológica, explosión de cultura y música. De ahí nació el hip-hop yo pienso para mí. El hip-hop de El Alto.

*Well, I began in the year 2003 that was the year of the Gas War and all those historic moments of war, of struggle inspired me to do rap... 2003 had been being constructed since the struggles of Tupac Katari, since the dictatorship, since other struggles, the water war, the war of February [in La Paz]... and all that weight of so many years and epochs exploded in the year 2003. A big explosion. An explosion of struggle. An ideological struggle. An explosion of culture and music. From there hip-hop was born I think for me. Hip-hop from El Alto. Aymara Hip-hop.*

(Interview with Mårten Wallendahl for Finnish Radio, YLE, Radio X3m, July 2011)

For him, Aymara hip-hop is born in this crucial moment in a trajectory of historic struggles that reaches back to the days of Tupac Katari.

It would be hard to overstate the significance of this name to the Aymara. In any Aymara cultural institution – educational, religious, sindical – somewhere one will encounter the portraits of Tupac Katari and his comrade Bartolina Sisa. Tupac Katari led an insurrection in 1780, laying siege to the city of La Paz, crippling colonial powers for months. A contemporary of George Washington and Toussaint L’Ouverture, Tupac Katari’s movement was part of a coordinated pan Andean insurrection in which Tupac Amaru the Second also played a crucial part. Tupac Katari was publicly executed by being torn apart by four horses, the pieces of his mutilated corpse distributed across the towns of the Upper Peru (now Bolivia). His heart was buried in El Alto (Thomson, 2003).

Tupac Katari’s last words have been repeated among the Aymara for generations since his execution by Spanish authorities - *Nyasaparukiw jiwayapxista, waranga*
waranqanakaw kutt’anipxani (You only kill me, but I will return and I will be millions).

If the institution of Bolivian hip-hop has no walls for hanging portraits of Tupac Katari, Wayna Rap pay tribute to him through their rhymes. In the song Chamakat Sartasiry (Coming out from the Darkness), the song for the video examined above, they lyrically rearimate Tupac’s last words:

waranqa waranqa waranqanakawa
waranqa waranqanakawa
Aymar markaxa
wilampi Tupac Katari
Uka sutinak pitqan qhilaqañani

There are millions,
There are millions,
My Aymara nation
with the blood of Tupac Katari,
That name we’ll write on the walls

Aymara Qhichwa sart’asiwa
Ch’amampi, ch’amampi
Jutaskiwa

The Aymara, the Quechua rises up
with power, with power
They’re coming

For these artists and others in Bolivia, the events of 2003 and the years since have been understood as a fulfillment of Tupac’s prophecy of the return of the millions.

As Quisert Quispe alluded above, 2003 year marks a crucial year for the Aymara people, the Bolivian nation, but also for Aymara hip-hop. In the months leading up to the Gas War the Wayna Rap collective came together out of a series of Hip-hop workshops organized by the youth center and radio station Wayna Tambo. Members of Wayna Rap credit Quisbert Quispe as composing the first track of Aymara language hip-hop during that year. The first track he wrote to express his experience during 2003, his first step in “raper esa realidad” (rapping that reality) is titled Ch’ama (Power). This track merits particular attention for its historical significance and also because of certain challenges it may pose to some listeners. Unlike other songs by Wayna Rap, like Ch’amakat Sartasiry discussed above, Ch’ama’s denotational text is vague and not immediately recognizable
as "political" yet the both the poetic organization of meaning and the sonic organization of the track’s production configure meaning in ways that can be understood as politically consequential, and even reminiscent of Tupac Katari’s prophetic, final words. In addition to the denotational text of what Quisbert Quispe is “saying” with the lyrics, are crucial layers of semiotic function, namely, the sonic qualities of production and the metrical organization of structural sense and reference in the lyrics (Figures 1, 2, 3).

The first verse provides a frame for subsequent verses, establishing something commonplace on the one hand, that everyone dies, and, on the other hand, also establishes specificity and urgency through verbal inflection regarding who dies one day – the performing MC and the listening audience:

1. Jiwañaru
2. Purifiñani mä uru.
3. Lak’aru
4. Purifiñani mä uru.

1. To death
2. we’ll arrive one day
3. to the earth
4. we’ll arrive one day

In lines two and four the verb puriña (to arrive) is inflected in the inclusive “we.” Like many American languages, Aymara has a greater level of specificity with regard to participant roles within the verb complex than Indo-European languages, through grammatically distinguishing between an exclusive we (+speaker, - addressee) and an inclusive we (+speaker, +addressee). The verbal inflection in lines two and four is inclusive, puriñani, emphasizing that you (the audience) and I (the MC) share a common fate.

It is against this backdrop that the second line of the second verse jan axsaramti (don’t be afraid) introduces an element of fear, of facing the saxranaka (the evil ones) alone. The sequential placement of this imperative advances a developing theme within
the verse—the unity between the performer and his audience. The reflexive ‘si’ in

wuwasihani (line 7) may also underscore that this is collaboration—we’ll beat them
ourselves.

Figure 3.4
Metric organization of structural sense in Ch’ama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>Jiwa-ña-ru</th>
<th></th>
<th>c</th>
<th>mà uru</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>die.NOM.DAT</em></td>
<td>to death</td>
<td></td>
<td>one day</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>one day</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Puri-ña-ni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mà uru</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Arrive.4→3FUT</em></td>
<td>we’ll arrive</td>
<td></td>
<td>one day</td>
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<td></td>
<td>one day</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>lak’a-ru</td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>mà uru</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>earth.DAT</em></td>
<td>to the earth</td>
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<td>one day</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>puri-ña-ni</td>
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<td></td>
<td>mà uru</td>
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<td>saxra-naka</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>jut-t’a-px-i</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>evil.PL</em></td>
<td>the evil ones</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>come.INST.PL.3s</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>jan axsar-am-ti</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>neg.voc fear.IMP2.NEG</em></td>
<td>don’t be afraid</td>
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<td></td>
<td>a’</td>
<td>wali ch’ama-mpi</td>
<td>b’</td>
<td></td>
<td>nuwa-și-ña-ni</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>good.power.COM</em></td>
<td>with strength</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>beat.REF.4→3FUT</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td>b’</td>
<td>atipa-ña-ni</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>win.4FUT</em></td>
<td>we’ll win</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a’</td>
<td>khuchhi saxra-naka-ru</td>
<td>b’</td>
<td></td>
<td>jiwa-ya-ña-ni</td>
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<td><em>dirty evil.PL.DAT</em></td>
<td>we’ll kill the dirty, evil ones</td>
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<td><em>dead.CAUS.4→3FUT</em></td>
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<td>d’</td>
<td>ch’ama</td>
<td>power</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>e’</td>
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<td>here.LOC.V.CONT.DELEM.3s.EVID</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Here it is.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>e’</td>
<td>aka-n-ka-s-k-i-wa</td>
<td>here.LOC.V.CONT.DELEM.3s.EVID</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Here it is.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Figure 3.5
Metrical organization of reference in Ch’ama

\[
i = \text{speaker} \quad j = \text{addressee} \quad k, l = \text{not speaker, not addressee}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Jiwa.ŋa.ru</th>
<th>to death</th>
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</thead>
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<td></td>
<td>die.NOM.DAT</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Puri.ŋani</td>
<td>mä uru</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Arrive.4FUT</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>lak’a.ru</td>
<td>to the earth</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>puri.ŋani</td>
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<td>Arrive.4FUT</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>saxra.naka</td>
<td>just,t’a.px.i</td>
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<td></td>
<td>evil.PL</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>jan</td>
<td>axsara.am.ti</td>
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<td>neg.voc</td>
<td>fear.IMP2.NEG</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>wali ch’ama mpi</td>
<td>nuwa.si.ŋani</td>
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<td>good power.COM</td>
<td>beat.REFL.4FUT</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>atiŋa.ŋani</td>
<td>we’ll win</td>
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<td></td>
<td>win.4FUT</td>
<td>(i + j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>khuchhi saxra.naka.ru</td>
<td>jiwa.ya.ŋani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig/dirty evil.PL.DAT</td>
<td>dead.CAUS.4→3FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The final verse consists of the lexeme *ch'ama* (power) in nominal case and the deictic *aka* (here) verbalized into the third person present tense - *akankashiwa* (it’s here) – with the only other nominal subject together with third person present tense appearing in line five *saxranaka jutt'apxi* (the evil ones are coming). These lines’ parallelism set “power, here it is” in opposition to the coming of “the evil ones are coming”. But what is *power* and where is *here*? The way that the denotational text of the verse has diagrammed the interactional text up to this point can help us answer these questions. “Here” is anchored in mutual orientation between the MC and his audience. The morphological richness of the Aymara language provides additional layers of semiotic function in the final two lines. These lines are not only *akankashi* but *akankashiwa*, with the final morpheme ‘-wa’ is an evidential marker of first hand, experiential knowledge, indexically invoking the speaker’s presence (Hardman, 2001; Adelaar, 2004). So, *here* is wherever the speaker and addressee are united – whether at a Hip-hop show, a demonstration or a cabildo (mass meeting), listening on the radio or performing for friends.

*Ch’ama* is a short verse that can be easily learned and repeated. In the recording it is repeated multiple times, as the song advances additional layers of Quispe’s voice.
rapping are layered over the initial loop. The result of this aspect of the song’s production is something between a round and complete cacophony. Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs (199C) have said that, “Performance provides a frame that invites critical reflection on communicative processes. A given performance is tied to a number of speech events that precede and succeed it (past performances, readings of texts, negotiations, rehearsals, gossip, reports, critiques, challenges, subsequent performances and the like) (60-61).” This recording models the rhyme’s future repetition and, in a way, provides instructions on how to use it – the internal organization models the repetition and amplification of many voices joining together. Where Chamakat Sartasiry recontextualizes Tupac Katari’s famous last words, Ch’ama provides a sonic model of how the return of the millions will sound and the reason for this coming together – the defeat of a common enemy.

Ch’ama emerges from a very particular historical moment for Aymara people and the Bolivian nation, the 2003 Gas War. As mentioned earlier, the fear of death was real for these performers and their audiences. Like much effective protest music, however, it is also highly extractable from this context and transportable to other situations where calls for strength in unity against an advancing foe would be in order. Like many works of protest music emerging from moments from moments of social upheaval, it draws on themes of solidarity in the face of adversaries, strength of numbers, reassurance and courage in the face of repression and violence, but it is also vague enough to be recontextualized within a different social conflicts. It emerges from the Gas war, but would be relevant within the context of many political struggles – of which there have been many since 2003.
3.5 Unintelligible code or sonic emblem?

Here, we might reconsider Pennycook’s (2007) assertion concerning hip-hop’s challenges to "ortholinguistic practices." Rather than a clear challenge, there are ways in which we can understand Wayna Rap’s music as a new "ortholinguistic" practice. The radical hybridity so evident in much of Wayna Rap’s work bifurcates when we come to the lyrical content of songs like Ch’ama. Far from hybrid, these lyrics are exclusively in Aymara. The verse analysis outlined in the previous section presupposes audiences’ access to Aymara as a denotational code — but this is not the case in any uniform way, particularly not for their many fans across Latin America and Europe but not even, perhaps more crucially, for the many Aymara-descended Bolivian fans who have little or no fluency in the language. For these audiences, does this "lack of intelligibility" of lyrical content make their rapping in Aymara any less important? Here we encounter a challenge to lyrical analysis not only for Wayna Rap, but for our understanding of hip-hop in the world more broadly: when we consider that millions of fans of U.S. hip-hop do not understand English, what does this mean for lyrical analysis? Are these lyrics "unintelligible"? Rather than only a limit to analysis, this recognition could simply temper impulses towards narrowly referential lyrical analyses, encouraging more attention to formal poetics.

But when a grammatical system is washed out of referential meaning, poetics is unlikely all that’s left. An "unintelligible" language can still hold symbolic value as a recognizable, audible icon, if not as a parsable grammatical system. Furthermore, lyrics are not encountered in isolation from other the other aspects of music and its performance. Even as an impenetrable code, the Aymara language in this musical context
figures into a larger diagram of a hip-hop subjectivity legible by the other globally recognized signs of hip-hop — clothing, embodied stance and gesture, and the sonic quality of recordings (beat and rhythm) — examined above. The cadence of the voice, whether accessible as a denotational code, or “language,” is another material (if sonic) sign within the larger diagram of social personhood communicated by these performers. When denotationally opaque their language moves from being a symbolic system to an emblem, or an iconic index in the Peircean sense, of not just of indigeneity generally, but also of a politically combative, contemporary, indigenous subject operating within a transnational terrain of global hip-hop. Their music remains intelligible to audiences beyond El Alto and the Bolivian high plain in ways similar to how hip-hop was meaningful to them when they first began listening to U.S. artists — just because they did not speak English does not mean they did not understand the music. When Tupac Shakur insisted, “Holla if ya hear me!” they answered.

3.6 Mediatization, music and cultural movement

The emergence of Hip-hop among the descendants of Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari marks a double return. Not only the return as foretold by Tupac Katari at his execution, but also a return in the surprising orbit of the very name Tupac that began with Afeni Shakur’s naming of her son in 1971. Where so often the flow of signs today are imagined as emanating from hegemonic centers of power, particularly when examining phenomena like global hip-hop, we find the source domain for Tupac Shakur’s baptismal event high in the Andes. The unexpected circulation of this name through time and space, its differential valences among distinct demographics and their venn-diagrammatic
intersection are more than simply interesting coincidences or multivalent homophony. This process of imbuing new meanings on signs as they pass through successive moments of recycling, recontextualization and recursivity is the story of semiosis in general, of language in social life more broadly and also one way of understanding of hip-hop’s meteoric rise as a transglobal cultural phenomenon. More than just the circulation of signs, however, the rise of global hip-hop represents the expansion of a model for typifying signs, a metasemiotic framework, a metasign/sign relationship that allows for the recognition of these artists’ work as pertaining to a genre called hip-hop. What has driven the expansion of this metasemiotic interpretive framework?

That the rise of global hip-hop has accompanied processes of global capitalist expansion is not lost on these artists. On the contrary, they have a nuanced understanding of the paradoxes involved in this process. For example, in his 2011 with Finnish public radio, Quisbert Quispe spoke to the dialectic nature of the capitalist underpinnings of hip-hop’s expansion across the globe:

El rap en los Estados Unidos nació con ese pensamiento de revolución, contestatario desde los guetos de los barrios latinos, afroamericanos. Poco a poco se fue transformando ¿no? Pienso que llegó a un punto que ha sido tan popular la música rap que lo han agarrado las industrias... para poderlo comercializar como agarrarlo como un objeto y poder ser vendible, poder vender en todo lado. Y pienso que no es malo porque sí no hubiera sido por el rap llegara a un punto que sea rap comercial, no hubiera llegado a todas partes del mundo. Y yo nunca hubiera sido rapero. Nunca hubiera tenido un grupo

Rap in the United States was born with that thinking of revolution, protest from the ghettos of Latino and Black neighborhoods. Little by little it has been transforming, no? I think it has arrived at a point where rap music has become so popular that industries have grabbed it in order to commercialize it, like grabbing it like an object to make it be marketable, to sell it everywhere. I don’t think that is bad because if it wouldn’t have been for rap getting to that point that there was commercial rap, it wouldn’t have arrived to all parts of the world and I never would have become a rapper. I never would have had a group.
(Interview with Mårten Wallendahl for the Finnish Radio, YLE, Radio X3m, July 2011)

His remarks resonate with recent discussions of mediatization, or the ubiquitous embedding of communicative practices within commodity structures in contemporary society (Agha, 2011a). Hip-hop, while embedded within the circulation of commodities, provided a framework for new imaginings of how to engage and even transform Quisbert Quispe’s world. Rather than understanding hip-hop ’s commodification as unavoidable corruption, a Frankfurt-school death sentence, he reflects on how the circulation of commodities provided access to new forms of expression and engagement with his world.

Quisbert Quispe’s insight also points to the circulation of hip-hop as an object. We might also extend this to the circulation of the Aymara language through Wayna Rap’s performances, where the Aymara language undergoes a process of objectification in which it is formulated both as a diachritic emblem of Aymara-ness (and indigeneity more broadly) and simultaneously a political stance central to their understanding of hip-hop as a genre. This process is not uniform, but bifurcated and asymmetrical. The perceptual materiality of a language may be uniform, but how it is formulated as a sign varies according to audiences’ differential access to Aymara as a denotational code, i.e. “language,” and also their exposure to discourses typifying the language as a sign. Language, and music for that matter, is not just behavior but meaningful behavior – how this music is received by an elderly Aymara educator, other Aymara youth, or non-Aymara speakers watching a YouTube clip can vary radically, but perhaps not randomly.
I would be remiss if I the only representative of Aymara elders here was the educator who dismissed Wayna Rap as a sign of cultural decay. More than anything, Wayna Rap is celebrated by their community. They have performed at meetings of the powerful Neighborhood councils FEJUVE. They performed before an audience of nearly a million during a general strike and mass meeting in La Paz El Alto in 2007 and in 2010 won an award from El Alto’s city council. With the state run television station they have even produced a video against air pollution. When I played their music for the founder of the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara (ILCA), the renowned Aymara linguist Juan de Dios Yipita, his response was an enthusiastic, “Hay que felicitar a esos jóvenes!” *These kids have to be congratulated!* Rather than the rupture, deviance, or degeneration feared by the Aymara educator, or predicted by other critics of the commodifying processes of globalization, Wayna Rap and the other rappers in the El Alto hip-hop seem appear to demonstrate the persistence, reproduction and perhaps even the contemporary expansion of Aymara language, culture and historical memory. With hip-hop Alteño, this memory now carries an historical homophony that links the 18th and 20th centuries, Black America and the Aymara – hip-hop’s circulation as an “object,” in Quisbert Quispe’s words, has returned the name Tupac to the Andes.
4. Mediatized Metapragmatics on Radio Pacha Qamasa

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters my aim has been to illuminate ways that Aymara-Spanish bilingual cultural brokers negotiate multilingualism within mediatized contexts—first in the context of the Catholic radio station Radio San Gabriel and then with the Wayna Rap hip-hop collective. This chapter brings us to the third and final case examined in this dissertation—a political talk show on the Aymara Education Council’s Radio Pacha Qamasa. Here too, we find media workers committed to cultivating the use of the Aymara language in the public sphere. Similar to the previous chapters, we encounter an institutional intervention with language at its core that both presupposes an Aymara speaking audience while reflexively aiming to transform that very audience. In the case examined here, however, instead of the Aymara Language itself serving as an emblem of Aymaraness per se, we encounter a model of communicative conduct, an indigenous interactional genre (and the component parts it presupposes) serving as a site for consolidating (and contesting) the outlines of Aymara subjectivity. The model of communicative conduct in question is a civil, ethically grounded, multiparty, deliberative and non-hierarchical exchange of ideas organized through the sharing and chewing of coca leaves, or akhulli. This communicative practice provides both the name of and a metapragmatic framework for the radio program examined in this chapter. The akhulli conversational genre is not unique to the Aymara but counts as a feature of indigenous sociality throughout the central Andes. Coca chewing does, however, feature centrally in Aymara culture and counts among the practices that, if not endangered, is certainly
embattled as a result of the plants' relationship to the production of cocaine. That the foundation for a communicative practice of community deliberation and the raw material for international narcotics trade are one and the same is a strange accident of history, but one that has politicized coca in Bolivian indigenous communities. The program examined in this chapter takes its name from the practice of *akhulli* and has risen to prominence because of how it has served as a forum for debating and organizing around the issues that underlie "the coca problem"—indigenous autonomy and the control of natural resources.

The broadcast discourse examined here, then, will not be examined merely as decontextualized examples of contemporary Aymara-Spanish bilingual speech in a general sense, but as discourse emerging from at least one historically and institutionally specific project (the CEA) in dialogue with other political and institutional projects, represented by the shows' varied guests. In other words, I aim to explain both the context from which this discourse emerges as well as the context the discourse aims to shape. To this end, the following section (4.2) lays out a brief history of the CEA, its radio station and the focal program of this chapter—*Aknulli Amuyt'awi*—including broadcasters' accounts of how they aim to articulate and transmit Aymara cultural models via radio. This is followed in section 4.3 by a brief discussion of the uses of coca, particularly as an invitation to dialogue, the free flow of ideas, and political debate. From there, I move to analysis of actual radio broadcast discourse in the final sections, where we find contrasting discourses of what it means to engage in a range of indigenous practices.
4.2 The CEA, Radio Pacha Qamasa, & Akhulli Amuyt’awi

_Aymara Education Council_

The broadcast discourse that provides the focus of this chapter comes from a prominent political talk show on the official radio station of the Aymara Education Council (Consejo Educativo Aymara, CEA). It is not strange that the CEA would feature a political talk show prominently in its programming. Education, educators and educational institutions have played important roles in the history of the Aymara national movement in Bolivia, a historical legacy to which the CEA lays claim. This legacy includes the movements of Caciques Apoderados who looked to Spanish literacy as means to defend communal lands (Rivera-Cusicanqui, 1987). Because of their successes, Spanish descended landowners, or _latifundistas_, cruelly enforced illiteracy among Aymara communities, not only banning newspapers and books but also meting out corporal punishment if Aymara farm workers were found reading (López, 2005; Perez 1992). In response to this situation, and in the context the renewed political mobilization of the Caciques Apoderados, Aymara communities organized the education of their children through itinerant teachers. An Aymara elder who lived through this period is quoted by education scholar Luís Enrique Lopez (2005) describing the conditions in which Aymara education operated during the early twentieth century:

_Educating our children was a kind of contraband, we had to hide, paying out of pocket, selling our products that was how we taught ...We had to watch like guards... From those two hills we would watch to see if soldiers were coming, and we’d yell if they were coming. (Choque, 1994 as cited in López, 2005)"_
The experience of the itinerant clandestine teachers formed the basis for an experiment in indigenous education that would serve as a referent for generations to come—the establishment of the Escuela-Ayllu Warisata in 1931, which was a collaboration between former itinerant clandestine teachers, key among them Avelino Sifiani, and the mestizo educator, Elisardo Pérez.¹⁰ These early milestones anticipated developments much later in the 20th century following the fall of the military governments of the early 1980s and the surge of indigenous and working class activity that followed. During this period, the Confederation of Rural Teachers of Bolivia (CONMERB) began demanding the implementation of intercultural bilingual education as, “a decolonizing educational project in the context of our ethnic majority’s process of social liberation...” with the aim of “overcoming and definitively liquidating the still existing remnants of colonialism¹¹ (Cited in Machaca, 2007: 21).” In 1991 the United Confederation of Bolivian Workers and Peasants (CSUTCB) organized community, district and national education committees composed of teachers and parents with the goal of community control of education, committees that would eventually form the basis the CEA. The CEA is one of nine Indigenous Peoples’ Educational Councils (Consejos Educativos de Pueblos Originarios) created with 1994 Education Reform (Law 1565) in order to facilitate participation of indigenous communities in the development and implementation of intercultural bilingual education. While legally recognized by the Bolivian state, and granted significant powers in the development of educational policies

¹⁰ The most recent education reform of the Morales government is named after Avelino Sifiani.
¹¹ "un proyecto educativo descolonizador en el contexto del proceso de liberación social de nuestras mayorías étnicas...” “[...] la superación y liquidación definitiva de los resabios colonialistas aún subsistentes.”
for their respective communities, they are largely autonomous organizations. While the
CEA produces pamphlets, informational materials, and a regular newsletter, a central
vehicle for communicating with its base is through its radio station—Radio Pacha
Qamasa.

Figure 4.1 The view over Plaza Abaroa (El Alto) from the roof patio of
the CEA with Mount Illimani in the distance (Author’s photo).

Radio Pacha Qamasa

The CEA’s offices are located in El Alto, just off a main thoroughfare connecting
El Alto to the industrial suburb of Viacha. The offices of the CEA are in a large, brick
building on a plaza shared by a middle school and two weekly markets. The second and
ground floors house large meeting spaces with the main offices on the top floor
overlooking the surrounding city and mountaintops from a roof patio. The third floor is
dedicated to the studios and offices of the CEA’s radio station Radio Pacha Qamasa
(RPQ).

Prior to RPQ’s founding in 2003, the CEA rented studio time from Radio San
Gabriel to broadcast regular programming. At the high rate of nearly eighty US dollars
for a two-hour slot, this proved to be a considerable portion of the CEA’s budget. Instead of abandoning radio broadcasting as a means of communicating with the public, the CEA’s leadership decided to invest that money towards launching its own radio station. They ultimately bought the transmitter of Radio Mundial that had been owned by a prominent sports announcer Alfonso Arévalo, a Quechua Bolivian and sympathizer of indigenous organizations like the CEA.

![Image](image.png)

Fig. 4.2 The sign outside the offices of the CEA and the front entrance (Author’s photos).

Franz Laime, RPQ’s first director, explained to me in an interview in 2007 that having their own radio station was important to establish independence from the religiously oriented Radio San Gabriel, discussed in chapter two. With RPQ, he and his colleagues hoped for a distinctly Aymara discourse. His historical narrative of RPQ’s beginnings lays out the contrastive footing of RPQ and RSG:

| Radio San Gabriel se decía de los aymaras pero metía mucho contenido evangélico ... agarraban la misma política del ILV, esos mismos contenidos, agarrar una canción, un ritmo de tu cultura y ponerle allí el | Radio San Gabriel was said to belong to the Aymara but it put in a lot of evangelical content ... they were holding on to the same policy of the SIL*, the same contents, get a hold of a song, a rhythm from your culture |

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contenido de evangelización, y de marear a la gente. Y en Pacha Qamasa lo vimos bien claro. En Pacha Qamasa no se podía decir - que dios te bendiga - por favor, no. Pachamama jumampi jichuruxa irnaqtpa, que te vaya bien con la pachamama. Con la bendición de la pachamama. Con un poquito de tratar de no desviar esa forma de devoción a la madre naturaleza, antes de lo de dios está impuesto . . . Pacha Qamasa era lo contrario de San Gabriel. Precisamente por ese detalle por no ir con la evangelización tuvo mucha población de audiencia. Eso es lo que ha diferenciado.

and put in there the content of evangelization, to get the people dizzy. And in Pacha Qamasa we saw that very clearly. At Pacha Qamasa one couldn’t say, “God bless you,” please, no. Pacha Mama jumampi jichuruxa irnaqtpa**. With the blessing of Pacha Mama. Trying a little bit not to deviate from that form of devotion for mother nature, before all that about god is imposed . . . Pacha Qamasa was the opposite of San Gabriel. Precisely for that little detail we had a large audience. That is what differentiated us.

* Summer Institute of Linguistics, Bible translators
** May Mother Earth work with you.

Whereas RSG recycled local songs into Christian evangelical messages, RPQ focused on devotion to Pacha Mama, or Mother Nature. Laime also discussed with me the naming of the radio station, explaining that it emerged through discussions among the CEA leadership and prominent Aymara intellectuals:

El concepto de qamasa ha sido recuperado por Radio Pacha Qamasa que después muchas radios comienzan a utilizar esa palabra en sus espacios. Y nos alegra mucho porque el Consejo Educativo Aymara ha hecho que se recupere esa palabra. Precisamente mi padre, Prof. Félix Layme, él y el Consejo Educativo Aymara, había un tiempo en que había armonía entre los aymaras en encaminar eso...ellos hicieron el nombre.

The concept of qamasa has been recuperated by Radio Pacha Qamasa and later many radios begin to use that word in their spaces. And it makes us happy because the Aymara Education Council has made it such that that word is recuperated. Precisely my father, Prof. Félix Layme, he and the Aymara Education Council, there was a time in which there was harmony among the Aymaras to go down that path... they came up with the name.

If distancing himself from the Christian content of Radio San Gabriel, Laime articulates a discourse of “recuperating” words similar to what that of the Aymara Language Department of Radio San Gabriel. In this case, with the radio’s name, Laime
credits his father, a well-known linguist in Bolivia, and the leadership of the CEA in reintroducing qamasa into popular usage. Qamasa is considered by Aymara speakers like Laime to be supposedly untranslatable, unique to the language, incomensurate and culturally precious. Different from the “power” of ch’ama discussed in the previous chapter, qamasa was translated to me as courage, rage, but also a kind of energy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Karl: ¿Qué quiere decir Pacha Qamasa?</th>
<th>What does Pacha Qamasa mean?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Franz: Es, a ver, Pacha es tiempo y espacio, incluye todo eso. Qamasa es otra palabra separada que quiere decir coraje, o sea coraje del tiempo. Coraje, energía...</td>
<td>It’s, let’s see, Pacha is time and space, it includes all that. Qamasa is another, separate word that means courage [anger?], or courage of time. Courage, energy...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Karl: Por eso ese programa tiene el nombre Tiempos de Coraje. Es casi una traducción directa de Pacha Qamasa.</td>
<td>That’s why that program has the name Time of Courage. It’s almost a direct translation of Pacha Qamasa. [Footnote: this was the title of another radio program]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Franz: Exacto. Pero si tuviera que explicarte Qamasa... alguna vez tú has visto, a ver, ¿qué animal le tienes miedo?</td>
<td>Exactly. But if I had to explain Qamasa to you... Have you ever seen, let’s see. What animal are you scared of?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Karl: uhhhh ...</td>
<td>uhhhh ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Franz: Un oso de repente aparece a tu espalda. Allí está ¡un oso! Tú no te das cuenta pero él des la vuelta, y el oso te ha quitado toda esa energía que tienes y psicológicamente te ha achicado, te ha reducido. Eso es lo que tiene el oso. Es qamasa, energía. ¿me entiendes? Eso es qamasa.</td>
<td>A bear suddenly appears at your back. There it is – a bear! You don’t realize it but when you turn around, and the bear has taken all that energy that you have and has psychologically diminished you, he’s reduced you. That’s what the bear has, it’s qamasa, energy. Do you understand me? That’s qamasa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having been founded in June of 2003, it was only months before RPQ confronted challenges requiring considerable qamasa. As discussed in the previous chapter, that October a major conflict broke out in which the residents of El Alto and the surrounding high plain played a decisively protagonist role, leading a month long siege of La Paz and,

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12 Both Pacha and Qamasa are similar in how Aymara speakers insist on their incomensurability. Pacha, as was discussed in the previous chapter, is a unified concept of timespace. Qamasa and ch’ama (discussed on p. 77) while both some times glossed as ‘force’ are semantically distinct.
ultimately, an insurrection. Outrage at the death of a young girl at the hands of government forces during an attack on demonstrators in the Aymara community of Warisata converged with anger over then President Gonzalo “Goni” Sánchez de Lozada’s plans to sell Bolivian natural gas at low cost to the US and Chile. Protesters set up roadblocks, marches filled the streets, the situation escalated to full-scale fighting with government forces in what came to be known as “Black October” or the “Gas War,” and ended with Sánchez de Lozada fleeing the country for the US. Laime explained the outrage with the Sánchez de Lozada government in terms of indigenous sovereignty claims and Aymara norms of resource management:

| Era la revivificación de los derechos como pueblos indígenas sobre los recursos naturales ¿no? Porque la lógica que manejábamos en el Akulli Amuyt'awi era la siguiente. Por ejemplo, para nosotros como pueblos indígenas, ¿cuál es la lógica? Cuando sembramos papas y cosechamos en un año que nos fue bien, agarramos y hacemos la división del producto. Una parte que escogemos va para la semilla o la jatha que llamamos. Otra parte que escogemos va para la pirwa o la dispensa que podríamos llamarlo en castellano, que no llena por completo ese concepto de pirwa en aymara, para los tiempos malos, y otro jatha otro poco que queda por la alimentación. Manqañataki para comer, la alimentación. Y otra parte que sobra pero | It was the demand of rights as indigenous people over natural resources, no? Because the logic that we advanced in the Akulli Amuyt'awi was the following. For example, for us as indigenous people, what’s the logic? When we sow potatoes and we harvest, in a year that went well, we grab (some potatoes) and we divide the produce. One part that we select goes to be the seed, or the jatha as we call it. Another part that we select goes to the pirwa or the dispensary [grainary] as we could call it in Castillian that doesn’t completely fill the concept of pirwa in Aymara, for the bad times, and another jatha another little bit that’s left for food. Manqañataki for eating, food. And another part that’s left over, but that’s there, well, sell it. But that’s the logic that we’ve set out. Why don’t we |

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13 Sánchez de Lozada’s government’s plan to sell natural gas to Chile and the US were particularly provocative in the eyes of many Bolivians, both these countries ranking high on the list of “enemy nations” within Bolivian popular nationalist discourse due to Chile’s seizure of the mineral-rich north and the port of Antofagasta during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) and grievances with the U.S. for its support for repressive military dictatorships and ongoing interventions in Bolivian politics.

14 Bolivia has demanded extradition of Gonzalo “Goni” Sánchez de Lozada from the U.S. to stand trial for ordering massacres during this conflict.
está allí, pues, venderlo. Pero ésa es la lógica que hemos planteado. ¿Por qué primero no beneficiamos a la gente con los recursos naturales, con el gas, a la población aquí? Y segundo, nuestras reservas como país ¿en qué estamos pensando? Y tercero, después lo que sobre venderlo. Esa misma lógica, aunque es un recurso no renovable - doble razón todavía ¿no? Entonces, eso más o menos ha sido el enfoque de nuestra perspectiva.

benefit people with natural resources, with the gas, the people here? And secondly, our reserve as a country, what are we thinking? And third, what’s left to sell it. That same logic, even though it’s a non-renewable resource - double the reason still! No? So, that more or less had been the focus of our perspective.

*Akulli Amuyt'awi*

Laime mentions the radio’s program *Akulli Amuyt'awi* as a politicizing space in the lead up to and during the conflict of October 2003. The program’s name combines the nominalized form of the Aymara verb *akhulliña* ‘to chew coca’ with the nominalized form of *amuyt’aña* ‘to think,’ ‘to reflect,’ emphasizing the reflective, deliberative nature of akhulli as a genre of communicative conduct. Following a format similar to many talk radio programs in the U.S., this show’s host invites specialists and public figures to discuss pressing issues and to field questions and comments from callers and an in-studio audience.

*Los Akhulli Amuyt'awi son los que han hecho historia, los viernes por la noche. La idea era aprovechamos, hagamos de todo pero finalmente ser realistas, somos personas, trabajamos, también nos capacitaremos. No hay institutos, aquí lo haremos, después de eso hagan lo que quieran, pero fortalezcamosnos. Era lo que hemos pensado. Traíamos intelectuales aymaras principalmente era lo que hicimos. Intelectuales aymaras, yo te digo Roberto Choque, Esteban Ticona, Felipe Quispe,*

*The Akhulli Amuyt’awi are what made history on Friday nights. The idea was that we should take advantage, we do everything but finally to be realists, we’re people, we work, but we’ll educate ourselves [nos capacitaremos]. There aren’t institutes, we’ll do it here. After that no matter what they’ll do, but we let’s make ourselves strong. That was what we had thought. We would bring Aymara intellectuals principally that was what we did. Aymara intellectuals, I tell you, Roberto Choque, Esteban Ticona, Felipe*
Quispe, one time Evo Morales, or, personalities, no? But we didn’t leave it at them. We’ll bring Aníbal Aguilar Gómez one of the smartest on the topic of gas for reports etc. And the topic begins to be debated heavily. It was the latent topic of the moment.

During the events of October 2003 RPQ came under attack from the government. The radio station’s newly (and dearly) acquired transmitter was riddled with bullets by the military police while pro-government stations’ transmitters, located adjacent to RPQ’s, were left unharmed. They were able to quickly repair the transmitter and continued to broadcast. RPQ was among the few radio stations to have mobile reporters informing the population of events from the barricades and battles around the city of El Alto. Laime and another radio announcer at RPQ received text messages with death threats such as *o callas o mueres* (either you shut up or you die) and *silencio o muerte* (silence or death).

*El Añulli Amuyt’awi* no ha callado un sólo viernes durante todo este tiempo. Entonces yo puedo decir que hemos sembrado un poco la consciencia más que simplemente el afán de rebeldones o de ir a luchar por algo que no corresponde. Era la reivindicación de los derechos como pueblos indígenas sobre los recursos naturales.

*Akulli Amuyt’awi* didn’t shut up for one Friday during that whole time. So, I can say that we’ve sowed a seed of consciousness more than simply the sense of being rebellious or of going to fight for something that has nothing to do with us. It was the demand of rights as indigenous people over natural resources.

From its beginnings in the tumultuous year 2003, through Evo Morales’ election in 2005, and until the time of this writing, *Akulli Amuyt’awi* has continued its weekly, Friday night broadcasts. The show’s charismatic and eloquently bilingual host, Gabriel Bonifacio Flores (b. 1980), knew he had a talent for using his voice for drawing in an
audience from a young age when he worked as a street vendor, projecting his voice
loudly and clearly to sell salteñas (soup-filled pastries sold on the street). He studied at
the Bolivian Catholic University and received scholarships to study community radio first
in Venezuela and then in Sevilla, Spain. Living abroad increased his sense of being
Aymara, and not simply Bolivian and when he returned to Bolivia he came motivated to
expand the use of Aymara in the media, beyond “morning programming” or
programming aimed narrowly at evangelism or basic literacy.

| [Radio programs] Only came on in the morning in Aymara and later? Chakhataw. (Aymara, ‘it’s lost’) There wasn’t anything. And how can a majority population be reduced to some few hours of communication? That for me was something foolish. A majority population with the largest population aymara, or indigenous people. No. Here we require mass media (medios de comunicación) that dedicate the whole blessed day in their language. And at the same time speaking the same language that people understand the best. |

In Spain Floxes had participated in a radio debate program on a Catholic radio station, but
felt that too often the issues discussed were driven by questions of religious practice that
were of little interest to him, for example, whether or not wearing a cross as jewelry at a
cub was sacrilege. Instead, when he returned to Bolivia he decided he wanted to debate
*temas y intereses del pueblo y en lengua nativa* (topics and interests of the people and in
native language).
Describing the program's beginnings, Flores explains that the leadership of the CEA broadcast a recording of an *akhulli* among Aymara elders in an *ayllu* as they met to discuss issues facing their community.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>We sat down there and we said, &quot;What? What do we call it?&quot; and we remembered the countryside. At ten in the morning we did an <em>akhulliku</em> and in the mean time people sat down in the <em>akhulliku</em>, began to dialogue and to talk, right? and it's in Aymara. <em>Akjamakiwa</em> (Aym: It's like this) What's good? What's bad? What tastes good? etc. Alright, so it's an <em>akhulli</em>. Let it be an <em>akhulli</em>. So we functioned for about a month with the name <em>akhulli</em>. Here philosophy is being generated so it's <em>akhulli amuyt'awi</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rather than continuing to record *akhullis* in rural *ayllus*, subsequent programs were recorded in the studios of RPQ - in two studios to be precise. In one studio, sits Flores and the featured guests and a second studio is open to the public, the two separated by the control booth, but visible to one another through glass windows (fig. 4.3) The *akhulli* as a genre of communicative conduct tied to coca chewing maintains an importance in the program that goes beyond its title. Through this program Flores, and the CEA, disseminate the *akhulli* as an indigenous national chronotope. An examination of the discursive construction of an Aymara public within this chronotope, its figures of personhood and their voices, and the contentious nature of their depiction, will follow a brief discussion of coca and coca chewing in Bolivia.
4.3 Coca & Communication

Coca is a highly politicized and culturally weighty little Andean leaf that demands tremendous attention both in Bolivia and internationally, if for divergent reasons. On the world stage, coca has been at the center of the so-called “war on drugs.” Article 14 of the 1988 United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances includes coca as a plant destined for eradication alongside cannabis and opium. A precedent to this document from 1961, the United Nations Single
Convention on Narcotic Drugs, made a more absolute declaration of war against not just against coca, but specifically against the most innocuous of its associated practices, stating, “coca leaf chewing must be abolished within twenty five years from the coming into force of this Convention (cited in Spedding, 1994: 21).”

The reason for coca having been targeted for eradication by United Nations and the U.S government is that alkaloids contained within coca leaves are extracted to make cocaine. These same alkaloids, in radically smaller doses, make coca leaves an important component of Andean culture through the widespread practice of chewing coca, akhulli in Aymara, kallpay in Quechua or pijchar in Spanish. Coca leaves are chewed into a ball in the side of the mouth often with small amounts of lejía - either bicarbonate, burnt sweet potato ash, or other high pH, base powder - added to the coca wad to facilitate the extraction of alkaloids. The resulting bodily state should help one maintain a meditative, philosophical disposition open to considering the contributions of one’s interlocutors. We could note here how this contrasts with the self-absorbed, if still chatty, communicative conduct stereotypically expected from interlocutors under the influence of cocaine. If a result of the same alkaloid, the physiological effect of chewing coca leaves is more comparable to drinking coffee.

Bolivia is the second largest producer of coca in South America after Peru, yet the third largest producer of cocaine following Peru and Colombia, a difference that speaks to the large amount of coca produced for legal, domestic production. The traditional centers of coca growing in Bolivia are the tropical valleys north of La Paz called the yungas and the tropical region of northern Cochabamba, the Chapare, where Evo Morales rose to eminence as a political leader of the cocaleros fighting against US backed
eradication efforts. Agriculturalists in these regions have cultivated and supplied coca to a massive, legal market across the central Andes, extending beyond Bolivia’s borders into Peru and northern Argentina, for centuries. Evo Morales’ symbolic capital as an Aymara Indian in the international arena may obscure the importance of his political ascendance as a leader of the coca grower’s union. Bolivian social historian Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui has argued that the attention paid to Morales’ indigeneity has at time obscured the importance of his status as a leader of cocaleros. In the face of efforts at eradicating coca, Rivera points out that, “cocaleros and their legal commodity stand for the expansive and intercultural regional and long-distance markets of coca chewing and other legitimate modes of consumption (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010: 145-6).”

Coca’s cultivation and consumption are both legal in Bolivia, as long as they remain within traditional uses and outside of the cocaine economy. In the past, Bolivian government agencies have worked with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) to monitor, limit and in many communities, eradicate coca production. These eradication initiatives led by the United States began in 1961 have intensified in recent decades with the “War on Drugs,” with millions of dollars being dedicated to these efforts. Bolivian governments’ collaboration with US efforts at coca eradication has been a nationalist sore spot from their beginning. Indignation at the presence of the U.S. DEA stems from both sovereignty concerns and also from opposition to the eradication of this plant that is central to a broad range of activities in the lives of millions of Bolivians, ranging from the most quotidian to the highly ritualized and spiritual.

Far from being abolished, coca leaf chewing is common throughout a large stretch of the central Andes and is central to range of cultural practices important to both
indigenous and non-indigenous Andeans. The leaf is used by diviners, yatiris 'wise men', who read the leaves after they've been tossed on to a cloth, a use invoking another aspect of the coca leaf in indigenous Andean communities – a belief that coca is an animate, sacred, female power with agency and a name, Inal Mama. Other rituals such as the first cutting of a child's hair, rutucha, or the q'uwa, the blessing of businesses and homes on the first Friday of the month with the sacrificial burning of aromatic herbs and candies are incomplete, as are many other expressions of Aymara and Quechua culture, without the presence of Inal Mama.

![Image of ritual uses of coca](image)

Figure 4.6, 4.7: Two ritual uses of coca. In the first cutting of a child's hair, or rutucha (left), coca is placed with tubors, money and the child's hair in plate, wrapped in a tarl (small square textile) and buried. In the preparation of the q'uwa mesita to be burned on the first Friday of the month (right), coca will be placed on top of the assembled candies, cotton, incense and herbs before it is burnt.

More frequently than ritual contexts like these, coca is used as a stimulant in work situations where endurance is needed, whether in mines, construction sites, sugar cane fields, logging camps or sitting behind the wheel of a taxi. It is also used to prepare tea that is both a popular refreshment and medicinal remedy for many, indeed seemingly any, ailments. Offering coca leaves to another is a sign of friendship that involves interactional rituals that vary according to region and community – in some areas its polite to receive
coca in a cloth, not in your hands, elsewhere receiving coca in two adjoined hands is the norm.\textsuperscript{15} Catherine Allen, in her ethnography of a highland Quechua community explains the sociality surrounding this practice, highlighting the symmetrical, horizontal participant structure for sharing of coca that contrasts with the asymmetrical, ordered and hierarchical sharing of alcohol in Andean communities (Allen, 1988, see figure 4.5). While coca chewing and drinking often go together, the physiological and social effects of alcohol and coca are markedly different (Figure 4.5).

An invitation to chew coca is an invitation to social intercourse. Friends who meet on the road pause to chat and to chew coca; men gathering to work in a field settle down to chew coca beforehand. When serious or troubling problems are at hand, \textit{hallpakuy}, or the shared chewing of coca leaves expresses the participants' commitment to rational and peaceful discourse. For the solitary individual, the brief \textit{hallpay} break provides a meditative interlude in which to gather stray thoughts and prepare mentally for the task ahead (Allen 1988: 127).

The description of coca chewing in rural Cusco also holds for other highland Andean communities, including among the Aymara, and among both urban and rural Bolivians. During my time in Bolivia, for example, it was common to find coca being chewed at all types of political, public and professional meetings, in part, in the hopes that participants maintain an alert, calm and thoughtful state.

\cite{15} The UN and the DEA's totum-pro-parte conflation of the coca leaf with its alkaloid and derivative powder provokes indignation for effectively criminalizing the broad range of aforementioned cultural practices. In the face of US-led efforts to eradicate the plant, chewing coca has become an assertion of both Bolivian national sovereignty and of the resilience of indigenous cultural practice. In what follows, we will...
see that coca is not only a metonym for indigeneity, but also the basis for a national
chronotope and an important emblem of indigeneity within it.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{symmetry in chewing coca} \\
\text{asymmetry in drinking}
\end{array}
\]

(adapted from Allen 1988: 142)

Figure 4.8 A comparison of the interactional frameworks of Coca Chewing and Drinking (beer, chicha, alcohol). Arrows indicate direction of sharing of coca (left) vs. alcohol (right), and also talk (both). The bringing of coca may also be more symmetrical, with various participants contributing, rather than one participant "inviting" the others in the case of alcoholic drinks.

4.4 A mediated akulli

Thus far I have laid out the background of the central trope of the focal program of this chapter, the akulli. Why it is that the akulli ended up playing such a role can be understood against the backdrop of the CEA’s establishment as part of a broader process of Aymara political mobilization over control of natural resources. Having laid out how this program is situated both within a political project embodied by the members of the CEA running this program and within metapragmatic notions of what akulli is as an interactional genre, in this and the following sections I will move to broadcast discourse and analyze 1) a particular chronotopic representation of the Aymara public discursively projected by the host (this section), 2) the role of contrasting registers in evoking figures
of personhood within this public (section 4.5), and, finally, contested notions of who fits within this chronotopic frame within the context of a mayoral campaign (section 4.6).

I recorded and observed in-studio broadcasts of Akhulli Amuyt’awi during 2007 and 2010. The programs examined in this chapter were recorded in 2010 against the political backdrop of upcoming mayoral of departmental elections on April 4, 2010. The opening examined in this section comes from a program in which trade union leaders and supporters of the governing party, the Movement to Socialism (Movimiento al Socialismo, MAS) were the visiting guests. Adhering to a professional ethic of airing multiple perspectives on issues, two weeks after the airing of the Akhulli with the MAS affiliated trade unionists, two representatives from a minority party, the Movimiento Para la Soberanía (MPS) were invited as guests—a candidate running to be the mayor of El Alto, Oscar Chirinos, and along with another running to be a local councilman, Delfín Pukara. In the following program opening, Flores expands the chronotope of the akhulli situated in the rural the ayllu to include characterological figures, tied to particular Aymara subjectivities, moving through social fields recognizably enregistered Aymara. More than simply outlining the reach of RPQ’s broadcast, the opening to this segment diagrams an Aymara social cartography, a chronotope populated by farmers in the “the heights” (lines 13-17), vendors in urban markets (lines 20-22), residents of El Alto (“Tupak Katari’s City”) (lines 23-25), Aymara speakers in La Paz, in even its wealthy southern neighborhoods like Calacoto (lines 26-30), and Coca growers in the Yungas (lines 31-36).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1 Opening for Akhulli Amuyt'awi (February 26, 2010)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1G:</strong> Kamisaki? Kamisaki jilianaka kullakanaka?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How are you? How are you brothers and sisters?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> Pacha Qamasasa Radio ist'irinaka mà jach'a arunta pur'tayataptaw jumanakaru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacha Qamasasa Radio listeners, a big greeting we (exclusive) send to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong> Jall'allakipanaya sasina Akhulli Amuyt'awi wakichawitpacha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saying Greetings! from the program Akhulli Amuyt'awi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4</strong> Pacha Qamasasa Radio ist'irinaka jumanakampiw jichhaxa chika'chasifani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacha Qamasasa Radio listeners with you now we (inclusive) come together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5</strong> Kunjemasa akaaana markasanxa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How is this country of ours?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6</strong> Yatiyawnakasa utjkí, amtawinakas utjkí, amuyt'awinakasa utjkí,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There's learning There's memories There's thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7</strong> Taqi jkanakata aruskipi'añataki Akhulli Amuyt'awi wakichawinxa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In order to talk about all these things is the program Akhulli Amuyt'awi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8</strong> Niyaw purt'anipxi jilata kullakanaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They're almost arriving, brothers and sisters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9</strong> Jupanakasa amuyt'aspxaniwa arsta'axarakchí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They'll be thinking and be speaking too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10</strong> A ver kunanakasa amuykiptañachí kunanakaya aruskipt'añachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let's see what things they're thinking, what they'll be speaking about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>11</strong> Ukhamawa, jichhaxa aksa tuqinxa chika'nt'aspxanañi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That's how it is. Now over here we (inclusive) will all get together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12</strong> Jilata kullakanaka markachirinakaxa niyawa pata tuqinakansa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brothers, sisters, citizens almost up in the heights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13</strong> uuywampi yapumpi samaqirinakaki jupanakaxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those just walking with animals and fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14</strong> yamakisa uka qaranakasa ant'ata wakanakas jikt'asita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you almost have the llamas and cows gathered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15</strong> uywa, uwijenakasa ant'asata ujkjam utjau tuqiru kut'atatarkachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animals, sheep gathered like that and also perhaps you've returned home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>16</strong> yaqhipanakaxa niyaw uyu tuqirusa jist'astarpa rakchí ukhampa pachawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others are maybe holed up and maybe closed in too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17</strong> Alalala theyyyyy aka jalluxa aka taqi jallurt taskastífí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brrrrrrrrr this rain over here, it is raasaining!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>18</strong> Yaqhip tuqinakana sapxarakpachapí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In other places they must be saying (this) too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>19</strong> Qhatunkirinakaxa jichas qarít qarít</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The market vendors are now coming in very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<p>| | | |</p>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Radics it'asita Pacha Qamasa ist'asa</td>
<td>Carrying radios listening to Pacha Qamasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bueno jumanakaruwa mā jach'a qhumanta pur't'ayatapxarakta</td>
<td>Alright, to you (plural) a big hug we (ex.) also send.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Aka El Alto Pata Markata Tupak Katari markapatxa</td>
<td>Here, El Alto (Spanish) from El Alto (Aymara), from Tupac Katari's city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>waijarinakawa ist'an'ixa</td>
<td>there are many listening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Radio Pacha Qamasa jumanakaru arut'atapxarakta</td>
<td>We at Radio Pacha Qamasa also greet you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Khith'hatix khysa Chuklyaq markana Calacoto, a?</td>
<td>And those down there in La Paz Calacoto, eh?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Jisa, Calacoto tuqina ist'apxiya</td>
<td>Yes, over in Calacoto they're listening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Jiljava kullakanakaxa ukas tuqina wali sumaya</td>
<td>The brothers and sisters over there also are good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>q'ayach'tapxarakixa Radio Pacha Qamasa.</td>
<td>at carrying around Radio Pacha Qamasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Jumanakuras jallallit'atapxarakta tao tiqinakana.</td>
<td>to you we also send greetings everywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Khysa yungas junt' uraqina</td>
<td>There in the yungas in the tropics (hot lands) and others elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>ukas tuqina yaqpanakaxa</td>
<td>maybe they're walking off into their coca harvests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>inasa kuka yapuchawimpi sarantawayapchi.</td>
<td>Today later with other jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Jichhuruxa ukat yaqha irnaqawinakampi</td>
<td>maybe they've also completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>inas phuqt'awayapxarakhi (2:50)</td>
<td>like that now a little bit tired right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>ukhamaxa jichhax qarit qaritaki ampi</td>
<td>Let's see, Max, now I'd like to eat soup.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>A ver, Max, jichhax calditto manq't'asiñ muntxa</td>
<td>I don't want crackers (phiri). Like that yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Janiwa nayax phiri munktixa. Jas ukama ampi</td>
<td>They'll also say it just like that yes, no? I want to eat a little chicken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Sapxaxirapchachay ampi ¿No? Quiero comer un polleto</td>
<td>That's how others would say it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Jas ukham yaqhipax sapxarakchi.</td>
<td>Alright, your being there things have gotten bigger and that's how it is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Buenc, ukařikama yanakaxa Irjettu ukhamakiskiw.</td>
<td>Alright, greetings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>walikj jallallapanu</td>
<td>Uh Lets chew coca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>ee Ahullit'asiñani.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Jisa, jirinakas kawkhanklsa kuka tari?</td>
<td>Yes. Gentleman (elders). Where's my cloth for laying out the coca?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Kawkhanklsa ch'uspa? Kuka ch'uspa xa kawkhanklsa?</td>
<td>Where's my coca bag? The coca bag where is it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>wal apst'asíñan ukhamaxa (3:16)</td>
<td>We'll (alzaremos) a lot that way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Aksa tugín niyawa inal Mamaxa [aptaq..] ápíñuq'at'axi.</td>
<td>Over here inal Mama is almost laid out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Akhull'asisñani Jilata Nelson Huarachi</td>
<td>Let's chew coca brother Nelson Huarachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Akhull'asisñani jilata Edwin Mamani</td>
<td>Let's chew coca brother Edwin Mamani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Akhull'asisñani. Jupanakaxa pur'amipxi akhull't'iri no?</td>
<td>Let's chew coca. They arrived chewing coca, no?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Ukhamakili? Pantjasta nayapi.</td>
<td>Isn't it like that? I made a mistake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Bueno jupanakaw aksankapxi.</td>
<td>Alright they're here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ukatxa yagha jilatanakas purtamip'arakiniwa</td>
<td>Later some other brothers will also be arriving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Aksankapxaniwa jilata aka Ejecutivo Departamental</td>
<td>They'll be here the brother this Departmental Exec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>de Federación Departamental de Maestros Rurales</td>
<td>of the Departmental Federation of Rural Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Jupanakampisa aruskip'tarakiniw.</td>
<td>We'll be speaking with them too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Buen jichhakuchu qallant'añani.</td>
<td>Alright now we'll begin. [Pause 2.0]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His mention of listeners in La Paz, and the southern neighborhood of Calacoto, stands out as they are introduced with a question (line 26), and his rhetorical answer – Yes, they’re listening down there too (line 27) has a different prosody. Calacoto is a neighborhood of La Paz known for its affluence and European descended residents. It is emphasized as remote (yonder) through the deictic (khaya, line 26) in contrast to the
deictic center of discourse ‘here,’ (aka, line 23) in El Alto. This is the center of discourse in the sense that it provides the origo of Flores speech, the offices of the CEA, but Flores also situates his within an Aymara national frame through referring to El Alto as Tupak Katari’s city (line 23). While there are certainly Aymara speakers whose primary residence is Calacoto, there are more Aymara speakers who work there as domestic workers (many living on site), security guards, and service workers.\textsuperscript{16}

These explicit mentions of characterological types, follow a more general greeting to the listening audience (lines 4-8) and mention of the imminent arrival of the show’s guests (lines 9-12). The greeting includes some small asides, including talk of the weather (lines 18-19) and an acknowledgement of the host’s own hunger (lines 37-40). In both of these side bars, Flores speculates that the somatic states mentioned (cold in lines 18-19, hunger in lines 37-40) are likely shared by segments of the listening public. This extensive greeting begins to establish the akhulli’s participation framework in spatial, and even affective, terms and diagrams varied role categories.

After having greeted the listening audience in this way, Flores closes this stretch of the opening with a final “Waliki jallallapana / Good greetings” and makes a transition into the akhulli, with an inclusive first person “akhullt ’asiñani / let’s chew coca” and then audibly arranging his coca for the akhulli in lines 44-47. He looks for the cloth where the coca to be shared can be laid out (tari), then for his small bag of coca (ch’uspa) (lines 44-45), and at the point that the coca, or Inal Mama, is appropriately available (line 47), he announces the names of his guests inviting them to chew coca (lines 48-49) only to

\textsuperscript{16} A filmic representation of this community, Juan Carlos Valdivia’s 2010 Zona Sur, depicts the relations among Aymara speaking domestic workers and the members of a downwardly-mobile European-descended Bolivian family. Entire scenes are in Aymara but without subtitles for monolingual Spanish speakers.
realize they were already chewing coca when they arrived (line 50). In fact, one of the guests, Nelson Huarachi, is audibly chewing coca throughout the broadcast, distinctly distorted speech betraying an ample wad of coca in his mouth. This is then followed by some stumbling over one of their names (lines 51-53). Having acknowledged everyone participating in the Akhulli – the listeners, the guests (both there and en route), and Inal Mama – Flores could declare “qallantañani / let’s begin.”

Figure 4.9 Gabriel Bonifacio Flores speaks at the offices of the CEA June 22, 2007 at an event celebrating the fourth anniversary of Akhulli Amuyt’awi. In the back hangs a portrait of Tupak Katari.

4.5 Vox Populi, Vox Aymarensis

Discursive figures from the Aymara Public

At the close of the introduction the announcer establishes that “the whole gang is here,” so to speak, and the akhulli is ready to begin. The multiparty exchange of ideas is defining feature of the speech genre of akhulli. Yet rather than beginning to interview the guests at this point, Flores’ monologue continues but shifts into a segment in which he animates the voices of the Aymara public. In the section following the opening and
preceding the interviewing guests, Flores outlines the political landscape as he sees it, or rather as he hears it, as this stretch of discourse is filled what the “people” are saying. Rather than the characterological types presented to the listeners through figures of personhood, or “indexical images of speaker-actor in general terms (Agha, 2005: 39),” in this section we hear the “voices” of this unnamed public through discursive figures animated through represented speech. This is done partly through embedding with the Aymara verbum dicsendi saña ‘to say’ and also through the contrastive use of Spanish within Flores’ relatively dehispanicized Aymara. This is foreshadowed towards the close of the previous section when Flores speculates about his listening audience wanting to have their evening meal:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>A ver, Max, jichhax caldito manq’tasîn munke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Janixa nayax phiri munktixá. Jas ukhama ampi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Sapxaïrapachya ampi ¿No? Quiero comer un pollito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Jas ukhám yaqhipax sapkräkchí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Let’s see, Max, now I’d like to eat soup.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I don’t want crackers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Like that yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They’ll also say it, yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No? I want to eat a little chicken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>That’s how others would say it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“How they would say it” is, in fact, in Spanish, “Quiero comer un pollito” (I want to eat a little chicken).17 This segment of the program is filled with codeswitching in which Spanish appears embedded within saña clauses, animating discursive figures who express perspectives on the candidates’ merits and shortcomings and whether or not they are perceived as carrying on the legacy of Aymara martyrs like Tupak Katari, worthy bearers of the torch of katarismo. Flores animates voices criticizing an Aymara politician,

---

17 Spanish and Spanish loan words are highlighted in the transcripts here and through the remainder of this chapter.
Simón Yampara, for going into alliance with politician Juan del Granado, aka Juan Sin Miedo\(^\text{18}\), through joining the political party under Granado’s leadership, the Movimiento Sin Miedo. Simón Yampara has a history as an Aymara nationalist, something called into question by association with the white-dominated MSM. In the following section, Flores points out that Yampara’s *katarista* critiques of the governing party of Evo Morales (line 2) are heard against a backdrop of others’ critiques’ of Yampara’s new affiliation, the MSM, as a party of the rightwing (line 4), lacking a base among rural and working class people (lines 3-6), who are unfamiliar with his political program (line 9), and that is merely “using” him (line 10):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Akhulli Aymyt’awi, Feb. 26, 2010, 10:42</th>
<th>It’s like that or not? you (pl) know. Then it’s also said, Elsewhere it’s said</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Ukhamat janicha? Jumanakawa yatipxta. Ukkaruxa sarakiwa maysa tuqitxa saw</td>
<td>It’s said <em>Evo</em> isn’t for <em>Tupak Katari</em> that’s how Mr. Simon Yampara says it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 <em>dice que Evo no esta con Tupak Katari</em> jas ukham sasaw tata Simón Yampara.</td>
<td>He says other truths, it’s said. They also say heeeeee <em>Movement Without Fear</em> it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Jupax arsux yaqhipa chiqanakanxa siwa. Sapxarakiwa heeee <em>Movimiento Sin Miedo</em> ukaxa</td>
<td><em>is a party of the right, Mt. Without Fear doesn’t originate in the farming people,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 <em>es un partido de la derecha. Movimiento Sin Miedo no origina en el pueblo campesino</em></td>
<td><em>Movimiento Sin Miedo</em> it’s not born of this people of workers farmers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 <em>Movimiento Sin Miedo</em> ukaxa janixa aka <em>pueblo obrero campesino</em> tuqita yurikiti</td>
<td>The way that they say it. Because that’s where he comes from.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 jas ukhma sasawa sapxixa. Kunatsa jupaxa sari uka tuqita.</td>
<td>Those are the criticisms. On the not good <em>negative</em> side it appears.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ukaw k’umiwinakaxa. Jan wali <em>negativo</em> tuqinxu uñisti.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{18}\) Del Granade came to be known for his as “Juan without fear” for successfully prosecuting the former dictator Luis García Meza Tejada in 1993 for murder, theft, fraud and subverting the constitution. With these credentials, MSM can be understood as left progressive formation, but one with roots in the white intelligentsia of La Paz.
Who is he quoting here? Whose speech is represented? It is the listening and commenting public, the Aymara public, and Akhulli’s audience. They are at once the public whose speech he is representing and the audience who will verify or refute his assertions – the akhulli participants who, through dialogue, will clarify the situation.

Throughout this portion of the program Flores poses questions directly to his audience about these circulating evaluations of the various candidates. We hear two examples of this above in lines 1 and 11 where asks them *Ullumat janicha?* ‘Is it like that or not?’ (line 1) *Chiqati janicha?* ‘Is it true or not?’ (line 11) The clitic –*t(i)* can be used for both negation and, as here, in posing polar yes/no questions and the second piece, ‘or not,’ is constructed with the negator *jan(i)* ‘no’ and a clitic marking ‘either or’ questions –*cha* (Hardman, 2000: 178). Flores does this elsewhere throughout this portion of the program:

1. **Ukhani siwa es muy oportunista. Mni? Se auto proclamó por el MAS. Chiqat janicha?**
   
   *Jumanakawa yatipi *sapxtata.

   ‘That’s how it’s said *He's very opportunistic. Mmi He declared himself for the MAS. True or not? You out there will say.*

2. **Jaqixa janiw q’ariskit ampli? Ullumat janicha? Jumanakawa yatipxta.**

   ‘People don’t lie, right? Is it like that or not? You (pl) know.”

‘What's meant by this? Right now we (inc) will make it clear.’

In the third example above, we see that, in addition to including the audience through this posing of questions, Flores also achieves inclusion through the first person plural inclusive (as opposed to the first person plural exclusive used in the opening section, lines 2 and 22, Table 4.1) when he states that, with regards to the many different positions and circulating opinions regarding the candidates, we (speaker and addressees) are going to achieve clarity on the issue. In his questions to the listening audience, and his inclusion of them through first person inclusive verbal reference (*qhanacht'añani* ‘let’s make it clear’), the interactional text evokes more than a monologue delivered by a lone host. There is an orientation to a multiparty exchange with the listening, if not copresent, audience. When Flores poses these types of questions within this monologue, he follows with shows of deference to his audience, reassuring them that they are, ultimately the authorities in these matters.

*Register contrasts between host and guest*

The clear delineation between Spanish and Aymara in Flores’ speech serves as one mechanism to distinguish his own discourse within the radio program and others’ speech on the topic of the program, the upcoming elections. This clear delineation between codes is not shared by the guests on his program however. Where Flores’ Aymara speech is relatively free of loan words, the few moments that his guests speak in Aymara it is in a register of Aymara with more Spanish loan words and syntactic elements. We hear the contrast in the use of honorific address terms, for example. Flores
uses the ‘jilata’ (Aymara, ‘brother’) where his guest uses the Spanish ‘hermano’

(hermano Evo Morales, hermano Gabriel). We also hear many Spanish loans and
stretches of Spanish in Edwin Condori’s speech:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>19:04</th>
<th>1. Good let’s see here’s brother Edwin Condori. He’s from the Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia CSUTCB. Brother, How are you?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Ukhamaraki arunt’añani taqpacha hermano hermana ist’irinakar aka radio a nivel nacional mä qhumantawi, mä jallala a nombre de Confederación de Campesinos CSUTCB, nö?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Entonces hermanos parlakipt’asiwayañani. Qhan qhana, rıst’asiwayañani. Amuyt’awayarakitanı yaqhipa hermanas y hermanos indecisos utjìw uka tuqinakarusa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of hermanos y hermanas (brothers and sisters) also indexes this guest’s
insititutional role as a representative of the trade union federation CSUTCB. Like in the
U.S. and elsewhere “brothers and sisters” is used in trade union is used for ingroup
covocative address. Here, however, this contrasts with jilata (brother) kullaka (sister),
which is also commonly used among Aymara speakers in a similarly tropic way. Spanish
in Condori’s Aymara speech is not limited to these lexical items, however. He frequently
incorporates Spanish loan words such as politician, candidate, convincing, discurso
(discourse, “rhetoric” in the sense of politician’s rhetoric), and an aymarized version of the Spanish verb ‘to elect’ elegir in line 6:

| 20:53 | 1E Juniwa suma discurso utjkiti | There’s not a good discourse because a politician |
| 2 | porque mà politico, | |
| 3 | Kandidaix kunjamañapasa? | How does a candidate have to be? |
| 4 | Chiqasa taqi jaquina, | Truly in each person, |
| 5 | taqi wawanakana, | in all the children, |
| 6 | taqapacha khititix ilijkani | in everyone who will elect him, |
| 7 | khititix a juparu uift’askanixa | everyone who will know him, |
| 8 | konvensedorañapawa. | he has to be convincing |
| 9 | Chiqanasa chuyamaru puriñañapawa | Truly he has to enter their hearts, |
| 10 | puriñañapawa sapa mayniru | to enter each one of them |
| 11 | puriñañapawa amuyt’awinakampi | he has to enter with ideas. |

12E: Aymara arunxa sisnawa ukxa
13 yáqaña
14E: Yáqaañay jay ukham

F: In the Aymara language we’d call (say) that yáqaña (“to ponder”, neologism)
E: Yáqañayyes, like that.

Embracing the role of language expert in line 13, Flores takes an opportunity in this interaction to explain, “what we would call that in the Aymara language.” Three different Aymara informants gave me three, if related, glosses for yáqaña – to realize, to learn, to pay attention. When we consider this as a response to Condori’s previous utterance, this usage seems closes to how the verb is included in Gregorio Calisaya’s 2007 list of Aymara Neologisms where it is listed as an equivalent for the the verb “to ponder.”

Two weeks later, Flores hosted another program about the upcoming elections, but instead of having supporters of the MAS, Flores had on two candidates from the Movement for Sovereignty (Movimiento Por la Soberanía, MPS) –Delfín Pukara and Oscar Chiriros. The MPS is a small opposition party, an offshoot of the MAS. Like the
guests on the other program, these guests’ speech similarly contrasted with Flores for the ample presence of Spanish loan words.

In the following short interaction at the beginning of the radio interview, Flores asks Pukara how he’s doing and the response provides us with an example of this contrasting register of Aymara, the Spanish loans are highlighted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F = Gabriel Flores</th>
<th>D = Delfín Pukara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1F Waliksiktati? Qarita, ee kusisita? Llakt'ata? kunjamaksiktasa?</td>
<td>hahaha but a little worried, no? so..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2D Jaajaja pero mä juk’ita preukupata, no? ya</td>
<td>uh. Even though it’s like that but not in that way uh still it [the campaign] is continuing on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ee Ukarapucharunxa pero no ukhamatsa ee iwalu sarantatakirakiskiwa</td>
<td>uhh this evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 aaa aka aruman pacha</td>
<td>What did people say to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5F Jaqix kamsapxtamsa?</td>
<td>Well, they received me, no? Very much so uh Nobody rejected me either</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6D Bueno, catuqapxituwa, no? Bastanti. ee Janiwa khitisa rechasapkarakituti.</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7F ya</td>
<td>rather, others say go ahead (and run), no?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8D simu qui wa yaqhipaxa siwa sarantapxam, no?</td>
<td>ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9G ya</td>
<td>Like a group and an option, no?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10D mä agrapaciónjama yyy mä opción, no?</td>
<td>then in that case we (exclusive) with that inspiration with that strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 entonces uka kási na nanakaxa uka alientumpi uka ch’amampi</td>
<td>we (ex) are moving forward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 sarantasiywa nayraqataru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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When Flores asks Pukara how he is doing (line 1), Flores provides him with a number of options – waliki (well), qarita (tired), kusisita (happy), llakt’ata (worried). Rather than opting for one of the candidate responses proffered by Flores, llakt’ata (worried) Pucara responds with an aymarized preukupata, combining the Spanish root from the verb ‘to worry’ (preocupar), with the Aymara past participle -ta. Similarly, he uses Aymara verbal inflection with the Spanish verb rechazar (‘to reject’) in line 6. In lines 10 and 11, he combines Aymara morphology (-jama, simulative; -na, locative; -mpi, comitative). In addition to these Spanish loans (lines 2, 3, 6, 10, 11), he uses discourse markers like bueno (line 6) and no? (lines 6, 8, 10), syntactic elements such as the conjoiners (?) pero ‘but’ (line ) and sinu qui (standard Spanish: sino que) ‘rather’ (line 8).

Some of the “Spanish” in his speech, however, is phonologically assimilated sinu qui (line 8) and bastanti (line 6) are two examples, where what in a standard Spanish would be [e] is pronounced [i], following the Ayara trivocalic phonological system /a/, /i/, /u/.

Flores continues to dialogue with Pukara in Aymara, but by the next turn Pukara switches to Spanish and nearly all of the remaining interview with Pukara and Chirinos is primarily in Spanish. In fact, the opening stretch of the program is the longest portion of Aymara language discourse during the entire program. The host, the guests and callers alternate between Spanish and Aymara during the remainder of the program with Spanish being spoken more frequently than Aymara. During the previously examined broadcast, roughly a quarter of the total program was in Aymara (approximately 33 of 120 minutes). This second program with Pukara and Chirinos was only fractionally conducted in Aymara – 15 of the 90 total minutes of broadcast – for five minutes during the opening of the program, short one to three minute stretches of Aymara summarizing previous talk,
making transitions during the interview, and then at the program’s close. This is typical for other broadcasts of Akhulli with the program conventionally including an Aymara opening and closing of the program, bookends to an otherwise largely Spanish language program.

4.6 Q’aras and Aymaras (i.e. “El Pueblo”)

Our host configures a model of an Aymara public both through the depiction of figures of personhood within a chronotopic frame and through the discursive voicing of these figures through reported speech. The depiction of these figures, and their recognition among social groups, rely on previous processes of enregisterment but also constitute a moment within the ongoing process of enregistering these figures as legibly Aymara. This depiction is controversial and contested. The connections between communicative conduct, semiotic behavior more broadly, and group membership—Aymara ethnic membership become contested within this second akhulli. Oscar Chirinos, an Aymara nationalist politician stakes out a particular footing toward a figure of Aymara personhood and delineates the Aymara public sphere in a particular way. His discursive invocation of “el pueblo” or the people include the depiction of a figure of Aymara personhood, but an odd one, one that is a result of mimesis. His diagram of Aymara subjectivity emerges within highly patterned oratory, the metrical effects of which I will examine below. Chirinos aims to position himself and his party, MPS, as inheritors to the “true” spirit of the MAS. We will see below that he insists on a biographical continuity with the origins of MAS, declaring himself among the founders of the party. While
explaining his relationship to MAS, Chirinos differentiates between the old MAS and the
new MAS that has become infiltrated by frauds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1:04:26)</th>
<th>¿Cuánto por ciento todavía es MASista Oscar Chirinos?</th>
<th>What percentage MASista is Oscar Chirinos still?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 G:</td>
<td>Yo soy fundador del MAS. (.)</td>
<td>I'm a founder of the MAS. I've been a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 O:</td>
<td>Yo he sido fundador del MAS</td>
<td>founder of the MAS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 G:</td>
<td>El MAS vive en Oscar Chirinos?</td>
<td>The MAS lives in Oscar Chirinos?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 O:</td>
<td>Yo he vivido con los principios ideológicos</td>
<td>O: I've lived with the ideological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y políticos del Movimiento Al Socialismo</td>
<td>and political principals of the Mvt. to Socialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pero ese Movimiento Al Socialismo ↑</td>
<td>but that Movement to Socialism ↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>que era de lucha,</td>
<td>that was of struggle,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>que era de búsqueda de liberación,</td>
<td>that was in search of liberation,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>que era, por ejemplo, de poder marchar</td>
<td>that was for example able to march from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>desde Camcollo para buscar diferentes actividades.</td>
<td>Caracollo in order to search different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pero no soy militante de este MAS</td>
<td>But I'm not a militant of this MAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>que son de los q'aras,</td>
<td>that [belongs to the] q'aras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>de Álvaro García: a de de Sacha Llorente:nti.</td>
<td>to Álvaro García, to to Sacha Llorenti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>de éstos no: ::</td>
<td>to these ones nooo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Este MAS ya no es del pueblo.</td>
<td>That MAS no longer belongs to the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Este MAS ya es de los q'aras =</td>
<td>That MAS belongs to the q'aras =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>=de esta derecha</td>
<td>=to this right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Por ejemplo alguna vez creo</td>
<td>For example, once I believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>que hemos discutido contigo, Gabriel,</td>
<td>we've argued with you, Gabriel,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>cuando yo te decía, por ejemplo,</td>
<td>when I was saying to you, for example,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>si bien nosotros hemos sido los actores</td>
<td>if we were the actors to take out that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>para sacar esa derecha recalcitrante</td>
<td>recalcitrant right wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>lamentablemente (.)</td>
<td>unfortunately (.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>el MAS de Álvaro García, de Sacha Llorenti</td>
<td>The MAS of Álvaro García, Sacha Llorenti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>está permitiendo el nacimiento de una nueva</td>
<td>is permitting the birth of a new right wing but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>derecha pero más peligrosa que la anterior.</td>
<td>more dangerous than one before.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>La anterior ya era identificado.</td>
<td>The one before we was already identified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Conocimos al Goni. Era q'ara.</td>
<td>We knew Goni. He was a q'ara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Conocíamos a Tuto. Era q'ara.</td>
<td>We knew Tuto. He was a q'ara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Era de la derecha, era bien claro</td>
<td>He was clearly of the right wing and we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>y lo hemos expulsado del país.</td>
<td>kicked him out of the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Pero ahora estos? (.)</td>
<td>But now these ones? (.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Pijchean igual que nosotros pueees.</td>
<td>They chew coca just like us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Igual que nosotros comen del <em>apthapi</em>.</td>
<td>Just like us they eat <em>apthapi</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Igual que nosotros se ponen ponchos, se ponen atarcaes.</td>
<td>Just like us they wear ponchos, wear sandals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Y lo poco hablan de nosotros como si ellos hubiesen vivido en el campo.</td>
<td>And the worst is that they talk about us as if they'd lived in the countryside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>como si ellos hubiesen participado de diferentes marchas. (.)</td>
<td>as if they'd participated in different marches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Eso es lo más peligroso.</td>
<td>That's the most dangerous.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Si tienen capacidad de memitizarse tienen la capacidad de camuflarse rápidamente en cada uno de los sectores obviamente nos pueden empezar a someter nuevamente con nuestra propia ideología.</td>
<td>If they have the capacity for mimesis, have the capacity to rapidly camouflage in each one of the sectors obviously they can begin to conquer us anew with our own ideology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Eso hay que cuidarse por lo tanto nosotros, yo, Oscar Chirinos nunca puede ser militante.</td>
<td>That is what we have to take care of and that's why we, I, Oscar Chirinos is never going to be a militant (in) that Movement to Socialism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Si el Movimiento al Socialismo que nació para poder defender y buscar la verdadera liberación.</td>
<td>Yes, the Movement to Socialism of the people that was born in order to defend and search for true liberation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>G: Eso vive todavía en su corazón.</td>
<td>G: That still lives in his heart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>O: Así es. Y creo que con esos principios hemos conformado la, el Movimiento Por la Sovereignidad en orden a poder llevar adelante una actividad ex beneficio de nuestra sociedad.</td>
<td>O: That's how it is. I believe with those principles we've shaped the Movement for Sovereignty in order to be able to advance activity for the benefit of our society.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chirinos identifies a deviation in the historical trajectory of the MAS. He contrasts a MAS that exists in both spatial and temporal remove from the present - *that* MAS (ese MAS, line 7) contrasting with *this* MAS (este MAS, line 12), the MAS that was (era, lines 8-11) and the MAS of the present (lines 12-19). Having begun “with the people,” it has come into the hands of the *q’aras* through racial trickery. The emphatic repetition in lines 12-19 of the possessive construction *ser de (to be of)* formulates MAS
as property belonging to the *q’aras*, to the Vice President Álvaro García Linera, a controversial political advisor Sacha Lorenti, and to the right wing.

But who are the *q’aras*? *Q’ara* was glossed by my Bolivian informants as “whites” (*blancos*). It is the poetically symmetrical counterpart to the anti-Indian slur *t’ara* mentioned in the last chapter. Hardly a neatly commensurate color term to white (*jang’u* is Aymara for ‘white’) this word is, in fact, a semantic extension of the Aymara word for “naked,” a historically powerful metaphor referencing early colonialism that reverses the role of the Aymara as “naked savages” in relation to the invading Spanish. In the Aymara account, the Spaniards are the marked by their “nudity,” having come to the Andes with rothing, and having needed to take what they needed to survive from the Aymara, and from American Indians more generally. While this etymology is well known and commented upon in Bolivia, the word is still most frequently glossed as and interchangeably used with blanco “white.”

If the arrival of Evo Morales to the presidency was meant to mark the end of white rule in Bolivia, and a return of the Indian to power, what to make of the conspicuous presence of whites (*q’aras*) like Vice President Álvaro Garcia Linera and Sacha Lorenti who form part of Evo Morales inner circle of political advisors? What to make of the increasing number of *q’aras* who adopt behaviors legible as indigenous (lines 34-38)? These anxieties are articulated with the poetic punch of a politician. Repetition and rhyme build equivalencies through parallel structures throughout this portion of Chirinos’ interview with Flores, the metrical effects of which align him with an earlier MAS that was “of the people” (lines 5-11), mark his distance from this MAS, create equivalence between *q’aras* and the right wing (lines 18, 19). In 26-43, Chirinos
reaffirms historical enemies (Goni, Tuto) and questions the racial allegiances of potential frauds within the current MAS leadership. The ability of whites to engage in mimesis and become “just like us,” to camouflage themselves through counterfactual deceit (lines 40-41) creates a danger worse than facing the easily identifiable enemies of the earlier period. “We knew they were q’aras.”

Whites’ chewing coca, wearing ponchos, sandals, and eating the collective, potluck-like *apthapi* typical of rural community festivals point not to an increasing acceptance of Indian practices among the white population, but raises suspicion about continued dominance of whites within the Indian sphere. Within Chirinos formulation, the Indian sphere is coterminous with “el pueblo” (the people) and defined in part by engaging in these semiotic behaviors.

The hinge on which this suspicion turns is a metapragmatic assessment of the truth-value of talk. “*The worst is they speak as if they’ve lived in the country. As if they’ve participated in marches.*” This most egregious of grievances (lines 39-43) also violates an Aymara metapragmatic norm expressed through the maxim “Uñjasaw uñjt saña. Janiw uñjkiti jan uñjt sañakiti. (“Seeing, ‘I’ve seen’ one can say. Not having seen, ‘I’ve seen’ cannot be said.”) This maxim is both a call to truthful conduct as it is a metalinguistic commentary on grammatical evidentiality and the use of the verb *saña* “to say” in Aymara, and was repeated to me often in the course of learning this difficult language. In true language ideological fashion, this saying links grammatical form, to notions of morality and personhood. On more than one occasion Aymara speakers spoke to me of Aymara peoples’ fundamental honesty in the context of discussing grammar and this maxim. Chirinos’ mention of speech and representation, and the expression personal
experience, emerges within a larger poetic structure diagramming the outlines of an
Aymara subject who chews coca, dresses with a poncho and sandals, has lived in the
country and has participated in the movements that brought the MAS to power, yet and
threatens to sabotage “the return of the Indian.” Chirinos’ concern with how others speak
about their own experience draws upon a trope that is unfortunately familiar across many
national contexts – the lying politician – but also invokes a metapragmatic norm as part
of a larger figure of Aymara personhood.

Chirinos and his party, however, were not above engaging in their own acts of
semiotic trickery. The Bolivian equivalent of “voting a straight ticket” (voting
exclusively for candidates of one party) is called “voting by color.” The colors of MAS
are blue, black and white. If Chirinos and his party claim to continue to carry the banner
of the true “ideological principles of MAS” they have not changed its colors. Their party
campaign materials maintain the same color scheme as MAS and even share similar
iconography. His party’s promotional materials also include images from Aymara
iconography, animate (pictured with eyes and nose), rising sun, or Willka. This
iconography is also used in MAS imagery as we see in a mural painted on the side of
party offices in the La Paz neighborhood of Sopocachi (Figure 4.13).

In a provocative campaigning move, Chirinos’s campaign engaged in another
semiotic slight of hand. They printed counterfeit 200 Bolivian Peso bills on the opposite
side of their blue, black and white promotional materials. These bills, like the 200
Bolivian Peso they replicate, feature megaliths from Tiwanaku, recognized as the
ancestral civilization of the Aymara. Instead of being printed by the national bank, these
state that they are printed by the “national bank of fortune.” When I asked Chirinos
following the recording of the Akhulli about this strategy, he explained that if anyone were to throw his materials on the ground, this would ensure that someone else might pick them up again to read. He also hoped this would also associate him with economic prosperity. If the prospect of campaign literature being wasted as litter worried him, building on the trope of the corrupt politician buying votes did not.

Figure 4.11, 4.12: A campaign leaflet for Chirinos with a 200 Bolivian note from the "National Bank of Fortune" on one side. Like its copy, the bill features icons of Aymara nationhood – the ruins of Tiwanaku and Mt. Wayna Potosí
4.7 Conclusion

The Aymara maxim mentioned above has a Quechua counterpart, *Ama suwa, ama llulla, ama qhilla* (‘Don’t steal, don’t lie, don’t be lazy’) that is more widely known, being found posted on elementary school walls in Bolivia. The Quechua saying is attributed to Inca times, and has seem a slightly imperial ring to it - respect private property, don’t deceive, be productive. This saying was comically reinterpreted in Rodrigo Bellott’s 2007 Bolivian comedy ¿Quién mató la llamita Blanca? (Who killed the little white llama?) to explain the criminal behavior and preferred retirement destination for many Bolivian politicians – *Ama suwa, ama lulla y si no a Miami* (‘don’t rob, don’t steal, and if not, to Miami’). This joke describes more accurately the behavior of the “q’ara” politicians described by Chirinos than politicians like him or Pukara, but do Aymara politicians never lie and steal?
Accompanying Aymara speakers’ “partial awareness” of grammatical
evidentiality expressed through that maxim is a positive essentialism of that frames
Aymara as fundamentally honest. Perhaps a form of “strategic essentialism” (Spivak
1987), positive essentialisms are not rare fare among socially oppressed groups, they
provide some solace in the face of society-wide denigration, countering prejudice with an
assurance that, in fact, “we” are better, more stylish, more ethical, smarter, funnier,
whatever the case may be. For the Aymara, one such countervalorization includes the
notion that they are fundamentally honest – the grammar of their language allows for
nothing less than faithful representation of the world! This of course is an aspiration for
which reality often comes short (we know, for example, that MPS politicians were not
above, if not lying, some semiotic trickery in their campaign.) Still, this maxim brings
pragmatics under social scrutiny in a way that posits verbal transparency as much a part
of being Aymara, as “chewing coca, wearing sandals, and eating *apthapi.*” The maxim
orients speakers to communicative norm that provides an orienting role in an *akhulli*, a
genre that entails a commitment to ethical discourse, rational dialogue, and multiparty
exchange.

The demographic spread of practices like chewing coca can be traced in part to
the successes of indigenous protagonism in the political sphere, the very struggles in
which RPQ and Akhulli were founded. Speaking of the same category of *q’ara* as
Chirinos, although on a broader social scale than President Morales’ cabinet, Bolivian
social historian Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui explains the increasingly quotidian, if not less
meaningful, nature of coca’s consumption in contemporary Bolivia as an assertion of
national sovereignty.
Contradictory as it may seem, the allure of indigenous rituals in urban and modern settings is in fact a de-exoticization of the indigenous, and the ritual consumption of coca in public becomes a symbolic assertion of the nation’s dignity and sovereignty, crossing class and ethnic borders, and seducing the culturally weak, but politically dominant, mestizo-criollo minority.

(Rivera-Cusicanqui, 2008:146)

Fears of ongoing political dominance fueled the anxieties expressed by Chirinos above and may blind him to other possible readings of the appearance of “q’aras” who chew coca. That these practices have been previously enregistered as indexical of indigeneity in no way means that this will always be the case. Asif Agha has noted that, “registers exist continuously in time only as a function of communicative processes that disseminate awareness of and competence in such registers to changing populations.

(Agha, 2005: 47, emphasis in the original)” The CEA’s Radio Pacha Qamasa is one point of dissemination, and contestation, of awareness of registers of being Aymara. So, too are electoral campaigns. Yet, as previous chapters in this dissertation show these are certainly not the only ones.

Chirinos and Pukara did not fare well in the elections and MAS candidates took over many mayorships including in El Alto. Flores’ inclusion of these minority candidates speaks to his program’s and the station’s ongoing engagement with local politics and is evidence of a democratic journalist’s commitment to keep diverse voices heard within the akhulli. The concerns expressed by Chirinos in the course of the program were many – unemployment, transportation, education and citizen safety. As a minority candidate, Chirinos argued for a break from the MAS, if not from their
revolution, based on his concerns with the direction and composition of the MAS, namely, the presence of *q’aras* within it.

Chirinos was concerned by imposters in the ranks and drew attention to the adoption of indigenous practices by *q’aras* in ways that confounded ethnic boundaries. If not in the referential content of the host’s discourse, we might consider whether or not echoes of his guest’s boundary maintenance concerns resonated with his own codeswitching practices between Spanish and Aymara. The answer to this question would have to be no, yet register contrasts remain crucial in how the program situates itself within an Aymara public. Flores speaks a relatively dehispanicized Aymara vis-à-vis the speech of his guests, who allowed for more leakage across the boundaries of “language.” Flores’ command of a dehispanicized register made the contrasts between Spanish and Aymara in his discourse all the more effective in producing voicing effects that continued the work of his mapping an Aymara public within a chronotopic frame at the program’s opening. So Aymara and Spanish do not map neatly on to analogously contrasting ethnic categories. On the contrary, in the opening segment examined here Spanish is used to represent the voices of the unnamed members of the commenting Aymara public.

In previous chapters we’ve seen the use of the Aymara language itself being emblematic of ethnic group membership, yet here it seems that something quite different is going on. For example, does the register contrast between Flores’ speech and his guests’ mean that theirs is somehow “less Aymara” than his relatively more dehispanicized register? No. Looking beyond the phenomenon of “codeswitching,” or even minutes of Aymara spoken on the program, to the larger framework in which these practice are embedded—a mediatized akhulli—we can recognize that, for Chirinos,
metapragmatic norms appear to be more important than "speaking Aymara." An orientation to larger metapragmatic frameworks help us understand how discourse can become anchored to particular social and political projects, in this case to Aymara nationalism. On the one hand, the referential content of these candidates’ discourse demonstrates a profoundly Aymara nationalist discourse, and also a concern with metapragmatic norms of interaction – namely with how experience can be expressed through speech.

The coca leaf is a powerful emblem of Andean indigeneity for many reasons. It is at once a metonym for larger processes – battles over land, its use and political control. Here the akhulli is also a chronotope. Where Flores invoked a chronotopic depiction of the initial akhulli in a rural ayllu, his own show takes the ayllu to the airwaves, establishing an indigenous national chronotope convened through an akhulli. Language and its semiotic function is the means through which “indexical images of speaker actor(s)” (Agha, 2005: 39), or figures of personhood, tied to Aymara subjectivity (coca growers, market vendors, farmers, domestic workers) become disseminated from this platform. Register contrasts are central to Flores’ establishing of discursive figures representing the commenting Aymara public who, interestingly enough, speak Spanish rather than Aymara. Flores’ codeswitching, the sonic presence of the different voices he animates through this practice can also be understood as consistent with the dialogic aims of the akhulli. Here, we might consider the akhulli as more than a model of communication, but also a model of democratic conduct and indigenous autonomy. The larger diagram of Aymara personhood that is both presupposed by and projected from the akhulli chronotope is increasingly unstable in ways that provoke anxiety in individuals
like Chirinos and for more reason’s that go beyond the prospects of his career as an Aymara nationalist politician. When we consider that coca, the very basis for the akhulli, itself is a target of eradication, we can understand why many Aymara feel that their culture continues to be under siege.
5. Conclusion: Chronotopic collisions in plurinational Bolivia

*Pacha Kuti*, the turning over (*kuti*) of timespace (*pacha*), was a concept that provided hope to subjugated Andeans under colonialism that one day the Inca would return, that the domination at the hands of the Spanish invaders would come to end, and the conquered would once again be the rulers rather than the ruled. Today, this concept has resurfaced in the context of political protagonism on the part of indigenous Andeans during recent decades. In Bolivia, Aymara populations have been at the center of these movements, alternately describing the unfolding social process as *pacha kuti*, a revolution, or, more modestly, *el proceso de cambio* ("the process of change").

*Pacha* as a concept overlaps quite nicely with Mikhail Bakhtin’s (1981) notion of chronotope discussed in the previous chapters. Like the Soviet literary critic, and contemporary physics for that matter, the Andean Quechua and Aymara languages in which *pacha* is a meaningful lexeme do not treat time and space as semiotic isolates. Instead, *pacha* unifies ‘here’ and ‘now’ or ‘there’ and ‘then.’ A classic shifter (Jakobson, 1957), *timespace* is a fundamentally social concept that requires deictic anchoring to a moment of interaction among semiotically engaged agents, the characterological figures of Bakhtin’s chronotope. What *pacha kuti* means, then, requires some sense of what, and for whom, the spatiotemporal dimensions of this *pacha* actually are. This, it turns out, is a highly contested question.

While it is common sense among Bolivians, social scientists, and local political pundits that the Aymara have played a leading role in the political mobilizations of recent decades, this should not obscure the real diversity of perspectives that exists within Aymara sections of the Bolivian population. This dissertation has aimed to convey some
of this diversity through a comparative ethnographic approach to identify contrasting perspectives on Aymara belonging and linguistic practices. The three case studies in the preceding chapters correspond to different demographic groups of Aymaras living in the city of El Alto—the children of migrants involved in a hip-hop youth sub-culture (Wayna Rap, chapter 3), people who correspond more to their parents being themselves rural-to-urban migrants from the high plain who are intimately involved with the Catholic Church (Radio San Gabriel, chapter 2), and urban Aymaras engaged with Aymara nationalist politics, unions and the sphere of public education (Radio Pacha Qamasa, chapter 4). That these three cases contrast along lines of age group and occupational affiliation motivated their selection for this study and, indeed, there are important ways that these cases diverge.

In our examination of responses to the work of Wayna Rap, we encountered a figure of an anonymous educator who was dismayed by the very existence of Aymara Hip-hop. While certainly a question of taste, this tension revealed more than simply a distaste for hip-hop but also a perspective tied to a political project. More than simply a rhetorical figure for the sake of argument, this was an actual man who, if still anonymous here, was a central figure in the CEA for many years. He provides a fair representation of a certain variety of Aymara nationalism, that we can also recognize in the comments made by RPQ’s first radio director in his rejection of Christian evangelism. A stronger version of this was encountered later in chapter four in Oscar Chirino’s suspicion of Evo Morales’ inner circle and Chirinos’ assertion that the q’aras (whites) remained in power. If to different degrees, all of these men draw upon a framework that rejects on principle cultural expressions that are deemed “not Aymara.” Here we can also recall the former
director or RPQ invoking the Aymara agricultural practice of *pirwa* (grain and potato storage) to explain the problems with previous governments.

This contrasts markedly with the approach of the youth in Wayna Rap. While the rappers invoke Aymara national tropes throughout their lyrics—reanimating the words of Tupac Katari, calling on indigenous people to "rise up"—it would be a mistake to fit them into an overly facile category of radical Aymara nationalists. In fact, there were occasions when they canceled participation in events because they deemed that the politics of an event might be too exclusionary. This was the case the night a Finnish radio reporter conducted an interview with one of their members, Juan Eber Quisbert Quispe, and I served as translator. Quisbert Quispe was going to perform at an event that evening, but when he found out that an Aymara nationalist university group had organized and was promoting itself there, he decided not to perform. He told me they were "mala onda" and too closed-minded. While no one at Radio San Gabriel ever expressed sentiments as explicitly opposed to Hip-hop as the former CEA activist had to me, it would be difficult to imagine the pious and traditional radio announcer, Celia from RSG in chapter two, attending one of Wayna Rap performances.

In a certain sense, these differences may seem obvious and were precisely what motivated their selection for comparative study. There were, however, important and interesting points of intersection across the three cases. One phenomenon that we encountered across all three was the presence of a register of dehispanicized Aymara. The work this linguistic register played in each case, however, was quite different. At RSG it served as the focus of a sustained metadiscursive intervention—such a focused intervention, in fact, that it served as a *raison d'etre* for an entire department within the
radio's administrative structure. Among the rappers of Wayna Rap, the composition of
rhymes in Aymara and performing them among their peers is understood as a political
intervention in and of itself. Situations where their audiences cannot access Aymara as a
grammatical system leaves their verses opaque, transforming the dehispanicized Aymara
into an indexical icon, a sonic emblem of their Aymara authenticity within a larger
display of hip-hop subjectivity.

The dehispanicized Aymara spoken by the host of Akhulli Amuyt'awi was used
within a show that was, in fact, mostly in Spanish yet in an inverse pattern of what we
found at Radio San Gabriel. There, in addition to the framing of Aymara by Spanish in
the ledgers of seguimiento, or in the title of Lengua Aymara, there were even traces of
source domain of the neologisms for the days of the week (see fig. 2.1, p. 31). At Radio
Pacha Qamasa, Aymara was the voice of the institution, embodied by Flores, and also
provided the metalanguage in which Spanish represented-speech was embedded
syntactically in Flores' animation of the commenting Aymara public. Of the three cases,

it is in the politically most "rigid"—home of the dissapproving educator—that we find
the most fluid linguistic practices. Where with Radio San Gabriel and Wayna Rap
language purism was a goal and an aspiration, and the ontological distinctiveness and
integrity of Spanish and Aymara as codes were maintained with great fidelity, at Radio
Pacha Qamasa there was considerably less monitoring of these borders. When this
linguistic register was perceptible at Radio Pacha Qamasa it served as the institutional
voice, the linguistic background against which guests' voices, and the animated voices of
the public, could be heard.
So, do Celia at Radio San Gabriel, Juan of Wayna Rap, and Gabriel at Radio Pacha Qamasa all speak the same register? If the analytic focus here stops at “speaking” then, yes, with regards to the linguistic register we find a convergence around a dehispanicized register of Aymara across all three cases. The linguistic register, however, is only a fractional component of their respective, and socially consequential, register formations. Consider that, “Tokens of a lexical register are never encountered in isolation from other signs; they necessarily co-occur with semiotic accompaniments to form co-occurrence styles (Agha, 2007: 186).” Across the three cases, we find that Celia, Juan, and Gabriel deploy the dehispanicized register within divergent co-occurrence styles (Agha, 2007: 186), or broader semiotic registers, that, in Juan’s case, for example, form part of style legible beyond Bolivia’s borders as belonging to a transnational hip-hop culture.

Viewed in this way, it becomes more difficult to typify the Aymara in Wayna Rap’s lyrics as a token “Hip-hop Nation Language” (Alim, 2008). Much less can we take at face value Pennycook’s argument that hip-hop necessarily counters what he calls “ortholinguistic practices.” In fact, Wayna Rap’s lyrics reproduce a separation between Aymara and Spanish that is unrecognizable when we listen to the Aymara spoken by the guests on Akhulli Amuyt’awi, for example. Nevertheless, in addition to the dehispanicized Aymara of Wayna Rap’s performances they also speak a register of Bolivian Spanish marked by many anglicisms like MC, homie, bro, and flow. Rather than a separate “language,” it might be more helpful to move away from the “language” concept that “Hip-hop Nation Language” recreates and instead recognize what is happening with enregisterment and repertoires. Rather than a hip-hop Language, it seems
that there is a repertoire that is quickly becoming enregistered as belonging to the realm of transnational hip-hop. In El Alto, in this Bolivian Aymara context, this repertoire increasingly includes the use of a dehispanicized register of Aymara that operates as an indexical icon, or emblem, of Aymara authenticity or “realness.”

This brings us to an important educational implication of this research. Rather than conceiving of Aymara as a discrete language with an expanding or shrinking number of speakers, a more generative beginning point may be to consider instead the ways Aymara figures into speakers’ expanding or shrinking communicative repertoires. Why this distinction? For one thing, it more accurately reflects the situation of both Aymara (and other indigenous) language users and of learners of potential (heritage or as an additional language) learners.

In many ways, the linguistic situation I encountered as an Aymara language learner in Bolivia was similar to what Gumperz (1971) described when he arrived to do field work in South Asia. He described the challenges faced by him as a Hindi learner from the US arriving in South Asia who, rather than meeting people who expected knowledge of a discrete code (that had been taught to him at the University as a unitary “Hindi”), he encountered speakers who had subtle and dexterous command of communicative repertoires (Gumperz, 1971: 179). Similarly, someone studying Aymara will rarely meet a monolingual Aymara speaker, many more are bilingual Aymara speakers who will quickly switch to Spanish if the communication becomes difficult in Aymara. Additionally, the variety of Spanish they speak does not always correspond neatly (phonologically, syntactically, etc.) to the “Spanish” that is taught in U.S. high schools and universities. An orientation to the diversity that exists within Aymara
speakers’ repertoires would could better equip learners to navigate the sociolinguistic terrain they will encounter in places like El Alto and the surrounding high plain.

For heritage language learners of Aymara, there is a similar potential for disorientation that can occur from the notion of Aymara existing as a distinct code that exists completely separately from Spanish. Such a view of the language runs the risk of making the speech of people like the guests on Akhulli Amuyt’awi seem somehow deviant or impoverished when, in fact, it is very much the norm among Aymara-Spanish bilinguals. Additionally, such a view can also obscure the ways Aymara is increasingly being used alongside other codes in professional settings. This brings us to an interesting paradox that we find in other cases of indigenous language revitalization (Moore, Pietikäinen, & Blommaert, 2010), and also in the cases of Wayna Rap and Radio San Gabriel, where proficiency in the indigenous language strengthens community members’ links to global networks in which language use becomes a valued commodity. The irony being that the speakers are valued for being “authentic” and “traditional” in a context that ultimately orient them to horizons beyond their community, making them increasingly cosmopolitan and innovators within their respective communities. We see this most clearly in the case of Wayna Rap, with their touring of Europe and South America, but we can also consider the ways activism within the Catholic church connects members of Radio San Gabriel to larger global networks, orienting them to systems of value cannot be considered in any simple way indigenous. I do not point out this paradox to lament this fact. I am glad for the opportunities that expertise in Aymara has brought both the members of Wayna Rap and the rural broadcaster. Instead, I would point out that across the contexts they now encounter, they rely on expanded communicative repertoires and
educational responses to their linguistic needs would be well served to recognize and build upon this fact.

This last point may seem to contradict my assertion in chapter two about the relative impact of asymmetries of competence in a dehispanicized Aymara. There is no necessary contradiction here. The existence of an aesthetically elaborated code to which heritage and other language learners aspire to command has a number of effects, some we encountered in the previous chapters. At Radio San Gabriel interpersonal footings that emerge from asymmetries of competence in the dehispanicized register articulate with institutional enablements—it is part of the job description to speak this linguistic register on the air and it is the Aymara Language Department’s responsibility to correct you when you commit an aberración. If under less scrutiny than his colleagues at Radio San Gabriel, the host of Akhulli Amuyt’awi also uses his competence in this register as a point of professional prestige, and this was often commented on by others at the radio and my others familiar with program—he speaks Aymara so beautifully! We heard at least one example of him correcting his guest and telling him, “In Aymara we say...,” a metacommentary underscoring his role as the language expert in the conversation. There are, of course, many more footings between interlocutors that asymmetries of register competence make available.

My identification of the development of this linguistic register, and its adoption across these media platforms answers two of the guiding questions of this dissertation—Do Aymara nationalist discourses impact Aymara language use? If yes, how?

We can see that the convergent ideologies of Aymara nationalism and language endangerment do indeed motivate these cultural brokers’ maintenance of a register of
dehispanicized Aymara, that these ideologies indeed have an impact at the level of linguistic form. One of the distinguishing features of this register is the absence of hispanicisms and their replacement with archaisms ("rescued" words) or the invented neologisms.

The narrow focus on the "loan word" is result of a metonymic conflation of utterance and social history and leads us to the final question in this study—If an Aymara national culture exists within "plurinational" Bolivia, what are the discursive mechanisms by which it is maintained and reproduced? The two principle discursive mechanisms through which models of Aymara culture are communicated that I identified across these cases are metonymy and the chronotope.

At Radio San Gabriel, for example, the focus of the protocol of seguimiento was the hispanicism, the word that carried with it indexical traces of the historical process of colonialism. The hispanicism itself became a metonym for colonialism itself, and its replacement with a descolonización or decolonization. What was at a stake was not simply one word or another, but the righting of historic wrongs, of the reestablishment of Aymara autonomy in the wake of centuries of colonial domination. That the tools for this process—16th century Jesuit dictionaries—were themselves products of the colonial enterprise did not provoke any sense of irony, but instead a sense that these objects mediated the voices of 16th century Aymaras, bringing them into the 21st century.

The conflation of past time with the present was also encountered in the accounts the members of Wayna Rap gave about the Gas War of 2003. Both Grover Cañaviri and Juan Quisbert Quispe held explained their own experiences in the Gas War up in terms of it being "their turn." Their parents' had struggled against the Banzer dictatorship, and
hadn’t Tupak Katari fought the Spanish? The sense of *pachakuti*, the return of time, makes the Gas War 2003 an interesting chronotope in this case for how it establishes not merely a historical continuity with an Aymara past, but a simultaneity and homology—they are fighting the battles that their parents and ancestors had fought, and reaffirming their connection to them, and their connection to them as Aymaras.

In the last chapter, the final of the three case studies, we encountered what I called the coca chronotope. The *akhulli* of the program *Akhulli Amuyt’awi* is more than simply an interactional genre of conversation accompanying the chewing of coca but cast of characters, of prototypical Aymara subjects who are engaged as an Aymara public through political dialogue and the shared chewing of coca, coca itself operating as a privileged metonym for indigenous personhood.

If we replace coca with coffee, llama herders and domestic servants for merchants and shopkeepers, and move back a couple centuries, we might consider that the coca chronotope is a contemporary Andean version of Jürgen Habermas’ (1989) coffee house for evoking a “rational critical subject” engaging in deliberative debate. Habermas’ account of early bourgeois political was ultimately more an idealized account than descriptive cne (Agha 2011a). Like Habermas’s account, we are dealing with a normative model—a goal that is aspired to rather than a descriptive account of what actually goes on (or in Habermas’s coffee house, what actually went on).

All kinds of social actors were excluded from the democratic, free exchange of ideas described by Habermas’—women, the enslaved, those without property, colonial subjects etc. Who is excluded from this chronotope? If one of the ways through which a Aymara national culture exists in contemporary Bolivia is reproduced is through the
dissemination of chronotopic frames like the one we encounter on Akhulli Amuyt’awi, who is kept in and who is kept out? The youth of El Alto who dress in baggy clothing, include elements of English in their communicative repertoires (even if alongside a dehispanicized Aymara) are certainly not in the chronotope evoked in the opening segment of the Akhulli Amuyt’awi.

Bakhtin (1981) recognized that multiple chronotopes, “may coexist, they may be interwoven with, replace or oppose one another, contradict one another or find themselves in ever more complex interrelationships (252).” Here too, rather than a unitary Aymara national chronotope, we find multiple chronotopic framings of Aymara reality that may or may not overlap. Not all corners of Aymara, and much less Bolivian, society agree about what the temporal horizons of the current process are, who the social actors participating in it might include, nor how they might sound when they open their mouths. Across the three cases we find a convergence around the use of a linguistic register of dehispanicized Aymara, but each with differently situated social actors, beholden to distinct institutional frameworks, and all projecting differing, and sometimes colliding, chronotopic horizons.
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