

Word Borrowing and Code Switching in Ancash *Waynu* Songs*

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Introduction

This paper presents a description and analysis of the processes of borrowing and code switching in Ancash *waynus*, a genre of popular traditional Andean songs. Ancash *waynus*, which are sung and played in the north-central Peruvian highlands, display different levels in which Quechua and Spanish interact. Both Quechua and Spanish are used in various ways, essentially to create special poetic and expressive-communicative effects. Although previous research has focused on Spanish-Quechua language interaction in everyday speech, *waynus* also exhibit different kinds of bilingual language use, and are particularly rich in lexical borrowings and code switching. In consequence, the diversity of linguistic resources used in Ancash *waynu* songs offers us very rich material for a study of language contact from grammatical, sociolinguistic, poetic, pragmatic, and socio-cultural perspectives. In this case, our study of Ancash *waynu* songs from the perspective of language contact and sociolinguistic implications mainly covers themes of lexical and structural borrowing, code switching, and code mixing.

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Although Quechua language and culture have been studied from linguistic and socio-historical perspectives, Ancash *waynus* have not yet been studied from language contact and sociolinguistic perspectives. In order to address this research gap, I present a preliminary study of Ancash *waynu* songs in the context of bilingual language use, covering processes of borrowing, code switching, and code mixing. I will use data based on my own collection and transcription of Ancash *waynus* from DVDs, CDs, and my own recordings of songs performed during popular festivities in different parts of the Ancash region during the summer 2006 and 2007.

This paper is organized in eight short sections. In section 1, I briefly contextualize Ancash from sociolinguistic and socio-cultural perspectives. In section 2, I review basic characteristics of *waynus* in general and Ancash Quechua *waynus* in particular. In section 3, I describe the research methodology including data collection, selection criteria, and analytical procedures. In section 4, I present general aspects of linguistic change and choice in Ancash *waynus*. In section 5, I provide an overview of lexical and structural borrowing in Ancash *waynus*. In section 6, I describe and analyze bilingual language use, which includes code switching and code mixing in these songs. In section 7, I analyze sociocultural implications of code switching and code mixing. Finally, in section 8, I present some conclusions which include situations in which Ancash *waynus*, like everyday speech, show different kinds of bilingual language use and reflect a general trend in language shift from monolingualism in Quechua to bilingualism in Quechua and Spanish, and from that to monolingualism in Spanish.

1. Sociolinguistic background

The Department of Ancash is located in the north-central part of the Peruvian Andes. In this region, as in most Andean cities and rural communities, the majority of the population is bilingual in Quechua and Spanish. In the Ancash region, socio-cultural and linguistic contact between Quechua and Spanish began with the Spanish invasion in 1533 (Alba 1996). That linguistic contact, from colonial times, through formal independence and the republican period to the present day has given rise to the development of two sociolinguistic situations: (1) mutual lexical and grammatical influence between Quechua and Spanish, and (2) rising Quechua-Spanish bilingualism and ultimately monolingualism in Spanish. Moreover, both consequences are represented not only in daily language use, but also in other forms of language usage, such as songs, poems, riddles, and other Andean traditions.

Since the Spanish invasion, Quechua and Spanish have progressively come into a diglossic situation¹. Although the language contact has been of an asymmetrical nature, not only has Spanish (dominant language) influenced Quechua (subordinate language), but Quechua has also influenced Spanish at the lexical, phonological and grammatical levels. Almost all rural communities of the Ancash region have gradually become bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, and these communities show different levels of bilingualism such as passive, subordinate, and relatively equilibrate (cf. Baker 2001). Hence, the bilingualism in rural areas is not homogenous, and the percentage of bilingual people varies according to age, gender, education, and in relation to location and distance of communities from the provincial capital cities. In summary, long-term language contact between Quechua and

¹ Diglossia refers to the unequal relationship between two varieties of the same language, in Ferguson's (1959) terms, or two different languages, according to Fishman (1967). In the case of the Ancash region, Spanish and Quechua are in a diglossic relationship because they do not have the same value, status, functions, acquisition, and literary heritage. Consequently, Quechua (subordinate language) and Spanish (dominant language) are in a clear situation of inequality which has resulted in both the expansion of Spanish and the progressive contraction of Quechua.

Spanish has resulted in a number of linguistic and social consequences such as: lexical and structural borrowing, process of transference or interference, code-mixing, and code-switching.

From socio-cultural perspective, the Andean cultural complex² is one of the most geographically expansive and diverse cultural systems of the Americas. The Quechua people established basic cultural principles such as reciprocity, complementarianism³, equality, and practice of social values founded in the laws *ama qilla* (do not be lazy), *ama llulla* (do not lie), and *ama suwa* (do not steal). Although Spanish colonists wanted to destroy the Quechua culture, it remains vital in the rural communities of the Ancash region (Julca-Guerrero 2004, 2006, 2007a). In these communities, indigenous people have continued distinctive Quechua cultural practices including songs, riddles, stories, and dances.⁴

2. Ancash waynu songs

The most popular traditional song genre in the Andes is the *waynu* or *wayñu*, which is a combination of popular Andean poems and traditional rural music. According to Rosales (1991), the Ancash *waynu* consists of poems, which are usually sung and accompanied with music. Over time, the *waynu* has been adopted by *mestizos* (mixed race Spanish-Indigenous) living in the highlands. The *waynu* forms a pervasive feature of Andean popular culture and is very much part of the cultural richness that migrants from rural areas bring to large cities such as Huaraz, Chimbote, Trujillo, and Lima. *Waynus* often deal with themes of romantic

² In the Andes, historically, different indigenous cultures have developed, such as Quechua, Aymara, Jaqaru, Puquina, and Culli.

³ In the Andean cultures, 'complementarism' means that all things are connected with others, so women is a complement of men, and night is a complement of day.

⁴ According to Ong (2003: 33), "in an oral culture, restriction of words to sound determines not only modes of expression but also thought process." Thus, Quechua as an oral culture has produced powerful and beautiful verbal performances of high artistic and human worth, which are no longer even possible once writing has taken possession of the psyche.

love, including romantic disappointment, loneliness, reciprocity, suffering, happiness, bitterness, eroticism, and infidelity. They also concern local Andean events and religious practices.

Ancash *waynu* involves an enormous thematic spectrum which is created with special stylistic resources based on sonorous and idiomatic forms. Ancash *waynus* have poetic structure and are composed using different figures of speech and other poetic language usage. Thus in *waynus*, we can easily find a combination of different figures of speech (metaphor, simile, anaphora, reduplication, parallelism, conversion, hyperbole and onomatopoeia), recurrence (rhyme, meter, alliteration), and the use of Quechua and Spanish in different ways. Likewise, Ancash *waynu* includes some elements of social, cultural, and geographic universes (Julca and Smith 2007). *Waynu* utilizes a distinctive rhythm, in which the first beat is stressed and followed by two short beats (Rosales op.cit.). These lyrics are played on string instruments introduced by the Spanish, such as the harp, guitar, and mandolin, and/or on the traditional Andean instruments such as *pinkullu*, *charanku*, and *chiska*.

Some of Ancash *waynu* songs are anonymous while others have known authors. Most authors of *waynus* are amateur musicians and singers. Due to oral tradition of indigenous languages as Quechua, *waynus* have usually been transmitted orally from generation to generation. However, in recent years, with the incorporation of new technology, they have begun to appear in cassette, CD, and DVD compilations. *Waynu* songs are sung and played both in urban and rural areas. There are local radio stations which transmit *waynu* songs every morning. These radio stations have large audiences in rural communities and in the Andean cities among Quechua migrants. Moreover, it is common to observe children and

young people, especially women, singing *waynu* songs while they carry out their daily activities.

Furthermore, Ancash *waynu* uses a number of linguistic resources. The main aspects are connected with monologues and dialogues, the use of poetic and expressive functions of language, bilingual language use, process of lexical and structural borrowing, code-mixing, and code-switching. Due to the more intensive appeal to the poetic and expressive functions of language, a variety of linguistic resources are used in Ancash *waynu* songs. Thus, more than in natural everyday discourse, Ancash *waynus* offer us very rich material for a study from grammatical, sociolinguistic, verbal art, linguistic anthropological, and sociocultural perspectives. In this case, our study of Ancash *waynu* songs from a language contact perspective focuses mainly on lexical and structural borrowings, code switching, and code mixing.

3. Research methodology

For the research project this paper is based on, I collected Ancash *waynu* songs mainly from DVDs and CDs during the summers of 2006 and 2007. In five provinces of the Huaylas Valley (Recuay, Huaraz, Carhuaz, Yungay, and Huaylas), I asked musicians, singers, poets, and others (45 people in total) about the most popular Ancash *waynu* songs. As all of these musicians perform *waynu* songs, I collected around 195 titles of Ancash *waynu* songs, including *waynus* in Quechua, in Spanish, and in both Quechua and Spanish. Of the 195 *waynu* titles, 125 were cited as especially popular by two or more participants.

After that, I looked at *waynu* songs (125) mainly in DVDs and CDs. They were complemented with some *waynu* songs recorded from local radio stations which transmit *waynu* songs every morning between 4:00 a.m. and 6:30 a.m. Moreover, I added to this

collection my own recordings made in communal social festivities from popular Andean orchestras (Revelacion Andina, Costa Azul de Pira, Las Trompetas Huaracinas, and Los Hermanos Caushi) and vernacular singers such as Juan Rosales, Pepe Minaya, Jorge Peje, Azucena Cantarina, and Chinita Cordillerana.

All collected *waynu* songs (125) were transcribed personally by me, and then my transcriptions were contrasted with Ancash *waynu* songs collected in a book by the poet and folklorist Efrain Rosales (1991). In general, my own collection and Rosales' collection were almost the same in relation to texts, stanzas, and verses. The main difference was in the alphabetic writing. While Rosales transcribes all Ancash *waynu* songs with Spanish alphabet, I transcribe Quechua *waynus* with the Quechua alphabet and Spanish *waynus* with Spanish alphabet. Thus, in this work all examples of *waynus* appear from my own transcription.

The following step was to select the most representative Ancash *waynu* songs which exhibit different kind of bilingual language use, different processes of borrowing, code switching, and code mixing. Among all *waynu* songs collected (125), 12 have Quechua as the matrix language, 49 are bilingual composed in Quechua and Spanish, and 64 have Spanish as the matrix language. Among these, I have chosen the most representative parts of songs from each subcategory. Moreover, in all these cases, I have used italics and bold to denote parts of the song that are in Quechua versus Spanish.

In the process of analysis, I categorize each piece of *waynu* song for lexical and grammatical borrowing, and for code switching and code mixing. In distinguish borrowing from code switching, borrowing from code mixing, code switching from code mixing, and all of these from other language contact phenomena, I follow the work of Poplack and

Sankoff (1984), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Muysken (1990), Auer (1995), Sridhar (1996), Lee and Hornberger (1996), Gardner-Chloros (1997), Coupland and Jaworski (1997), Campbell (1998), Winford (2003), Haspelmath (2003), and others. Likewise, for the sociocultural implications of different kinds of language use (such as code switching and code mixing) I have based my analysis mainly on Fishman (1972) and Mayers-Scotton (1993).

4. Language choice in Ancash *waynu* songs

Although the majority of the Andean population is now bilingual, in the Ancash region we still find songs composed only in Quechua as well others in Spanish, and others in both languages. Language use in Ancash *waynu* songs is varied. Currently, there are only a few songs solely in Quechua, and they have been composed mainly in past decades and centuries. In recent decades, most *waynus* are composed in Spanish, and in both Quechua and Spanish *waynus*, there is evidence of influences from Spanish to Quechua and vice versa. Moreover, there are Ancash *waynu* songs in which Quechua and Spanish are intermingled with each other. The use of both Quechua and Spanish is distributed in some cases within a sentence, in others between sentences, and in others between couplets and stanzas. Our data exhibits that the majority of *waynus* are composed in Spanish, and a slightly smaller percentage are composed in both Spanish and Quechua. Monolingual Quechua *waynus* are very rare. Consequently, we conclude that *waynus* reflect the directionality of language shift from monolingualism in Quechua > bilingualism in Quechua and Spanish > monolingualism in Spanish.⁵

⁵ The single angular bracket '>' means the preceding form is followed by the next.

Quechua is one the native languages of the Andes and is the language of identity of the indigenous population of Ancash. In older, anonymous *waynus* we find the monolingual use of Quechua in songs. However, more contemporary *waynus* usually exhibit some degree of lexical borrowing, code switching, and language mixing. For example, similar to our data, in the most recent and complete book *Antología de la Poesía Popular Ancashina* ‘Anthology of Ancash Popular Poem’ (Rosales 1991), of the 278 *waynu* songs collected, there are only 16 *waynu* exclusively in Quechua, 104 in both Quechua and Spanish, and 148 solely in Spanish. Thus, parallel to daily language use, Ancash *waynus* show evidence that Quechua is losing ground to Spanish. The following example illustrates the use of Quechua in *waynu*:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) <i>Habaspis waytanshi</i>
yanata, yuraqta
tsaytsuraq nuqa kuyaaman
ishkaqta, kimaqta. | ‘They say that the broad bean grows
black, and white
so, why can I not love
two or three (women). |
| Mayupis <i>pasanshi</i>
<i>Lamarchaw vidanta</i> ,
Tsaynawshi nuqa <i>pasaaman</i>
Chiinapa wayinchaw. | They say that the river lives
its life in the sea,
so, why cannot I live
in my girlfriend’s house.’ |
| (Ishkaqta, Kimaqta, Anonymous) | |

Community members who are bilingual in Quechua and Spanish and monolingual Spanish speakers consider songs like (1) to be Quechua songs. Some of them even affirm that these kinds of songs are “pure Quechua.”⁶ If we look carefully, we can identify some Spanish influence on the Quechua in this piece. For example, there are some Spanish

⁶ Through time both languages, Quechua and Spanish, could not be “chemically” pure, because they have mutually influenced each other. However, in Ancash highlands, there is a generalized belief that rural communities, basically those located far from the cities, are exclusively monolingual in Quechua. Some people even think that in these places, community members, especially elders and those who are illiterate, speak “pure Quechua.” Likewise, community members describe themselves as Quechua monolinguals. However, in previous studies I have demonstrated that completely monolingual communities do not exist (see Julca-Guerrero 2007b, c). In this sense, our data of *waynu* songs even show different levels of Spanish influence on Quechua, and different levels of bilingualism.

loanwords: *habas* ‘broad bean,’ *pasa* ‘to pass,’ *la mar* ‘the sea,’ and *vida* ‘life.’ These loanwords are adapted to Quechua phonology and morphology (see section 5), which is typical of the Quechua spoken in the Ancash region. This characteristic is reflected not only in natural daily speech, but also in other kinds of language uses such as *waynu* songs.

In the case of Spanish, this is not a standard or formal variety, but it is a vernacular Quechuaified Andean Spanish variety, which incorporates phonetic, phonological, grammatical, and lexical elements of Quechua. As Asturias says, it is “un Español ‘preñado’ por el Quechua, a través de fenómenos de interferencias y préstamos” (“Spanish ‘impregnated’ by Quechua through interference and borrowing phenomena”). The important thing is that this contemporary variety is useful for Andean people for more naturally expressing their experiences, collective memories, pains, humor, wishes, and hopes.

(2) Este mi corazón	‘My heart
ya no es corazón	is no longer my heart
de puro sentimiento	due to being unhappy
quiero <i>washku</i> nomás...	I want drink alcohol...’

(Washku nomás, Anonymous)

In this brief extract, we see the use of two lexical items from regional Andean Spanish: *puro* and *washku*. In Andean Spanish spoken in Ancash region, the use of the word *puro* is broadly extended, while in other Spanish dialects, speakers use the word *tanto* to express ‘so much.’ Likewise, the use of the Quechua word *washku* is generalized. It is used as a Spanish word which refers to a kind of Andean liquor. In the following sections we will analyze more exhaustively the process of lexical borrowing, incorporation, and accommodation of different elements from source language to recipient language. Depending on the specific situation of language use, either Quechua or Spanish can be the source or the recipient language.

5. Lexical and structural borrowing in *waynu* songs

In the case of the Ancash region, language contact between Quechua and Spanish, in conditions of inequality, has resulted in the borrowing of numerous lexical items, and also in structural borrowing (of grammatical features) from Spanish to Quechua and vice versa. Moreover, this bidirectional linguistic borrowing involves varying degrees of influence on the overall lexicon and structure in both languages.⁷ In addition, borrowing processes involve not only daily natural speech, but also other forms of language usage such as songs, riddles, and stories.

In language contact situations, borrowing processes, which consist of the adoption by one language of linguistic elements from another language, are very common. Borrowing involves both cases of direct borrowing of a word, and the adaptation of a word into the phonetic-phonological and grammatical system of the other language. According to Campbell (1998), *lexical borrowing* is the process by which one language takes words from another language and makes them part of its own vocabulary.⁸ Likewise, Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 37) affirm that borrowing is “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language.” In our case, borrowing is present in both Quechua *waynu* and Spanish *waynu* songs. In some cases, Quechua is the recipient language (RL)⁹, while Spanish is the donor or source language (SL)¹⁰ (Winford 2003, Haspelmath 2003).

⁷ According to Thomason & Kaufman (1988) there is five-point scale of intensity of contact: (1) casual contact, (2) slightly more intense contact, (3) more intense contact, (4) strong cultural pressure, and (5) very strong cultural pressure.

⁸ Haugen (1950) distinguishes three kinds of borrowed items: *loanwords* (form and meaning are copied completely), *loanblends* (words consisting of a copied part and native part), and *loanshifts* (where only the meaning is copied).

⁹ Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: recipient language (RL), donor or source language (SL), matrix language (ML), embedded language (EL), accusative (ACC), the past tense (PAST), diminutive (DIM),

For distinguishing borrowing from code switching and other language contact phenomena, I follow Poplack and Sankoff (1984) and Muysken (1990) to establish some common characteristics of borrowing. These include: (1) Borrowings are added to the lexicon, (2) Borrowings often exhibit phonological, morphological, and syntactic adaptation, (3) Borrowings are used frequently in natural speech and other forms of languages usage, (4) Borrowings replace a language's own words, (5) Borrowings are recognized by speakers as words in their own language, and (5) Borrowings in some cases exhibit semantic changes.

Lexical borrowings from Spanish into Quechua in *waynu* songs include cases of both need and prestige borrowing (Campbell 1998, Winford 2003). It is common when language contact begins that the corresponding culture contact results in the introduction of new items and concepts to the speakers of both languages. Consider the following four examples.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (4) Liyunta mantsatsu
tingrita mantsatsu,
tsaysuraq mantsaaman
kashpi chanka suegraata .

(Preguntando, Anonymous) | ‘I am not scared of lions
I am not scared of tigers,
then why would I be scared
of my mother-in-law with skinny legs.’ |
| (5) Azucena wayta, way ti ta
kay shumaqlla wayta, waytakuykan...

(Azucena Wayta, Pastorita Huaracina) | ‘Azucena flower, flower
this beautiful flower is flowering...’ |

possessive (POSS), commutative (COM), genitive (GEN), agentive (AGENT), empty morpheme (EM), and assertive (ASERT), 1(1st person), 2 (2nd person), 3 (3rd person). The single angular bracket ‘>’ means the preceding form is followed by the next; the double angular brackets ‘<>’ are used for representing graphemes; the hyphen ‘-’ is used for representing a morphemic boundary, the brackets [] are used for phonetic representation, slashes / / are used for phonemic representation, the sign ^u is used to indicate equivalence or approximate equivalence. Finally, I use symbols of Practical Alphabet, but not International Phonetic Alphabet. These symbols are: /**aa**/=/a:/, /**ii**/=/i:/, /**uu**/=/u:/, /**ch**/=/^h0-! 0**ti**0>0**t**0-! 0**i**0>0**y**0-! 0! **o**0>0**a**0-! 0**mm**0>0**s**0-! 0**s**0>0**f**0-! **boe**! 0**ss**0>0**s**0/

¹⁰ The two languages are very different, genetically, and typologically. These differences occur on all levels, including the phonological and morpho-syntactic levels (see Escobar 2003, Cerrón-Palomino 2003).

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- (6) Wayiyki waqtanchaw, **clavelta plantarqaa** ‘Behind your house I planted a carnation
Wayiyki waqtanchaw, **rosasta plantarqaa** behind your house I planted a rose
Haypa raprallanchaw hutiita **firmarqaa...** in their leaves I signed my name...’

(A las orillas del Conococha, Anonymous)

- (7) **Arusta** niptiyki, **fidyusta** niptiyki ‘If you ask me for rice or spaghetti
pobresallaawan puedillaashaqsuraq with my poverty, I cannot satisfy you
shaqwillawanqa, papallawanqa, but with flour soup, and with potatoes,
wiray, wiraychi waatashqayki. I will keep you strong.’

(Marzu tiempu, Juan Rosales)

In the examples above, almost all of the Spanish borrowed words are motivated by need: leon > *liyun*- ‘lion,’ tigre > *tingri*- ‘tiger,’ clavel > *clavel*- ‘carnation,’ rosa > *rosa*- ‘rose,’ firmar > *firmar*- ‘to sign,’ arroz > *arus*- ‘rice,’ and fideos > *fidyus*- ‘spaghetti.’ None of these items and concepts are originally part of Quechua culture, but have been imported from Spanish. In some cases, Quechua people have incorporated new concepts and meanings for pre-existent concepts. For example, *pobreza* ‘poverty’ in Quechua culture is not connected with the lack of material things and money, but rather it is directly connected with the lack of affection and protection. In Quechua culture, poor people are those who do not have or receive affection and protection. However, from Spanish influence, ‘poverty’ has come to have both meanings (i.e. lack of money and lack of affection and protection). Likewise, in Quechua culture, the concept of beautiful is not connected with physical attributes of the face and body, but rather with vitality and good health. Thus, in Quechua culture a woman is beautiful when she is a little fat and strong. In this sense in (7), the verse *wiray, wiraychi waatashqayki* means that the singer will keep his girlfriend strong and beautiful by feeding her traditional Andean foods.

In the examples above, just two Spanish loanwords have been motivated by prestige. First, the word poder > *puedi*- ‘can’ was borrowed due to prestige in the past for the pre-

existent Quechua word *atiy* ‘can,’ but now it has been fully borrowed. Thus, currently Quechua speakers use the loanword *poder*, because they no longer know any other term expressing this meaning. Second, probably in the past decades, the word *planta* > *planta*- ‘to plant’ has been borrowed due to prestige for the pre-existent two Quechua words with the same meaning *tarpu*y and *mallki*y ‘to plant’ or ‘to sow.’ It is important to note that only a few monolingual elders retain the form *tarpu*y but not *mallki*y in their everyday discourse. However, they prefer to use more the Spanish loanword *planta* as in stanza (6) than Quechua word *tarpu*y (see Julca-Guerrero 2007b, c; Julca-Guerrero and Smith 2007).

In examples (4) - (7) we can see that some Spanish words have been borrowed into Quechua *waynu* songs, directly without any change:¹¹ *suegra* > *suegra*- ‘mother-in-law,’ *azucena* > *azucena* ‘azucena’ (proper name), *clavel* > *clavel*- ‘carnation,’ *planta* > *planta*- ‘to plant,’ *rosa* > *rosa*- ‘rose,’ *pobresa* > *pobresa*- ‘poverty.’ In other cases, borrowed Spanish lexical elements are ‘nativized’ or ‘adapted’ to the structure of Quechua. The process of nativization or adaptation involves different phonological and morphological processes (cf. Thomason 2001). The more common phonological processes observed include vowel raising: *e* > *i*, *o* > *u*: *tigre* > *tingri*- ‘tiger,’ or *arroz* > *arus*- ‘rice.’ This process occurs because Quechua has only three vowels (a, i, u) while Spanish has five vowels (a, e, i, o, u). For this reason, Quechua speakers adapt Spanish *e* into Quechua *i*, and Spanish *o* into Quechua *u*. Another common process is epenthesis: \emptyset > *y*: *dias* > *diyas*- ‘days.’ Quechua syllable structure does not permit the sequence of two vowels. For this reason, when a Spanish word has two adjacent vowels, Quechua speakers insert a glide between

¹¹ Haspelmath (2003: 3) based in Johanson (2002) affirms that “more general terms for contact-induced change are *transfer* and *copying*.”

vowels. A third adaptative process is consonant simplification: $rr > r$: **arroz** > *arus*- ‘rice.’

Quechua has only the tap *r*, so the Spanish trill *rr* becomes *r*.

In verses (4) - (7), we can observe that adapted and non-adapted Spanish loanwords receive Quechua suffixes in the same way. Thus, mixed constituents consisting of a Spanish stem or root with Quechua suffixes result. These examples should suffice to illustrate the transfer type of borrowing under Ancash Quechua as RL agentivity. Moreover, it is important to mention that the stem and root of Spanish loanwords are adapted to Quechua phonological form, which combines perfectly with the Quechua suffixes added to them.

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (8) a. <i>liyun-ta</i> | b. <i>plant-rqa-a</i> | c. <i>pobresa-lla-a-wan</i> |
| lyon-ACC | plant-PAST-1 | poverty-DIM-1POSS-COM |
| ‘lion’ | ‘I planted’ | ‘with my poverty’ |

Furthermore, not only stems or roots can be imported, but also suffixes, such as diminutives. For example, in the case of the word *waytita* ‘a little flower’ in (5), we observe that the root *wayta*- ‘flower’ is Quechua and it receives the Spanish diminutive suffix *-ita*. It is important to note that the diminutive *-ita* has its counterpart in Quechua as *-lla*, which is very widespread in colloquial speech and other forms of language usage.

Lexical borrowing from Quechua into Spanish in *waynu* songs is also very common. Like in the preceding case, some Quechua words are borrowed directly; others undergo some phonological and/or morphological adaptations due to Spanish structure. Depending on the subordinate condition of Quechua, the incorporation of Quechua loanwords into Spanish in *waynu* songs is basically motivated by need.¹² It is important to note that Spanish

¹² Some Quechua loanwords in Spanish due to need are *papa* > *papa* ‘potatoes’, *kuka* > *coca* ‘coca’, and *kuntur* > *condor* ‘condor’. Other small numbers of Quechua words such as *wawa* > *wawa* ‘son or daughter’, *tayta* > *tayta* ‘father, Sr.’ and *mama* > *mama* ‘mother, god, Mr.’ have been fully adopted by rural Andean Spanish speakers due to high prestige of these items. In Andean cities, Spanish speakers use both Quechua and Spanish

waynus also exhibit substrate influence of Quechua on Spanish, where lexical items are Quechua (phonologically and morphologically adapted to Spanish form) and the grammar corresponds to Spanish.

Furthermore, due to the poetic and expressive function¹³ of *waynus*, some Quechua words are used as ‘nonce borrowing’ in order to be more explicit and emphatic, because words of one language do not transmit the same communicative intent. For instance, in (9) below, if we replace the Quechua words *pishto* ‘I cut, kill’ and *chunchulin* ‘intestine’ by Spanish words *mato* ‘I kill’ and *tripa* ‘intestine,’ the resultant expressions are not poetic, but instead become simple declarative sentences. Likewise, in the first line in (10), if we replace the Quechua words *pishco* ‘bird’ and *mikushqa* ‘eaten’ by Spanish words *pájaro* and *comido*, the resultant expression *Manzana comida por el pájaro* ‘apple eaten by a bird’ is not poetic, although it has the same English translation. As we can see, the poetic use of Quechua loanwords in Spanish *waynus* corresponds to stylistic, rhythmic, lyric, and metaphoric characteristics of *waynu* songs. Consider the following examples.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (9) Mañana pishto mi chanco | ‘Tomorrow I will kill my pig |
| chunchulin te voy a dar | its intestines I will give you |
| mañana pishto mi chanco | tomorrow I will kill my pig |
| oketin te voy a dar. | Its anus I will give you.’ |

(Waychaw, Guido Antúnez de Mayolo)

items indistinctly: *tayta* ≈ *papá* ‘father’, *mama* ≈ *mamá* ‘mother’, *wawa* ≈ *hijo(a)* ‘son or daughter’ (Julca-Guerrero 2005).

¹³ Jakobson (1960) distinguishes six functions of language: referential (=contextual information), poetic, emotive (=self-expression), conative (= vocative or imperative addressing of receiver), *phatic* (= checking channel working), and *metalingual* (= checking code working). One of six functions is always the dominant function in a text and usually related to the type of text. In Ancash *waynu* songs, like in poetry, the dominant function is the poetic function: the focus is on the message itself. Poetic function is used in verbal behavior as selection and combination. The selection is produced on the base of equivalence, similarity and dissimilarity, synonymy and antonymy while the combination, the build up of the sequence, is based on contiguity. Both models selection and combination are used in *waynus* which make a special poetic language. Then in a strict sense, from stylistic analysis, Ancash *waynus* can be seen as authentic poems because they share some poetic characteristics used in the field of poetry.

- (10) **Pishco mikushca** manzana ‘Apple eaten by a bird
así me gusta tu hermana... in this way, I like your sister.

(Zorzalito Negro, Gorrión Andino)

- (11) **Shingiritu, shingiritu,** ‘Shingirito, shingirito (Ancash Andean liquor)
es de mi tierra su rica bebida it is my land’s delicious liquor
alivia el alma, alivia el cuerpo it relaxes the spirit, the body
cuando se ha tomado mucho if one experiences companionship.’
cariño.

(Tumbadito, Félix Ferro)

The Quechua loanwords *pishto*, *chunchulin*, *pishco*, and *mikushca* in (9) and (10) respectively may seem like cases of code mixing. However, this is not the case, because they are restricted a single words and a short phrase (*pishco mikushca*). Moreover, Quechua borrowed words do not involve every level of syntactic structure, as is the case in code mixing (see distinction between word borrowing and code mixing in section 6).

In (9), (10), and (11), the sole example of a Quechua word being directly borrowed is *chunchulin* ‘intestine’ which fits with Spanish phonology and morphology. Other words have been adapted into Spanish phonology and morphology. This process of nativization involves different phonological and morphological processes. In the preceding examples, we observe processes of vowel lowering *i > e, u > o*: *pishqu* > *pishco* ‘bird,’ *uqitin* > *oketin* ‘its anus,’ and velarization *q > k*: *uqitin* > *oketin* ‘anus,’ *pishqu* > *pishko*¹⁴ ‘bird,’ *mikushqa* > *mikushka* ‘ate.’ These processes are very common adaptations to the phonological system of Spanish. For example, Spanish does not have a uvular voiceless stop /q/, and so it is velarized as /k/. As in the case of Spanish loanwords in Quechua, Quechua loanwords in

¹⁴ In the song *Zorzalito Negro*, the word *pishco* ‘bird’ appears written with the Spanish orthography using <c> which counterpart in Quechua is <q>.

Spanish can receive Spanish suffixes. For example in (9), the Quechua verb *pishta-* ‘to cut’ carries the fused Spanish suffix *-o* which marks first person and present tense. Likewise, the word *shingir-* receives two Spanish suffixes, the diminutive *-it* and the male gender marker *-o* (which appears as *u*).

Scholars have claimed that not all parts of speech can be transferred from SL to RL at the same scale and frequency. In this process, some spheres of the vocabulary can be borrowed more easily, while others are less likely to be borrowed. For example, basic vocabulary¹⁵ is more resistant to borrowing. Likewise, lexical items are more likely to be borrowed than grammatical items, and words are more likely to be borrowed than bound morphemes. Moreover, nouns are typically borrowed more easily than verbs or adjectives and other parts of speech (Haspelmath 2003, Matras 2004). In our first group of examples of Quechua *waynus*, given in (4), (5), (6), and (7), we can see that from 12 Spanish words borrowed into Quechua, 8 are nouns, 3 are verbs, and 1 is an adjective. These examples parallel Van Hout & Muysken’s (1994) conclusion that in Ecuadorian Quechua, nouns form a higher percentage of loanwords than verbs do. In the same way, in our second group of examples of Spanish *waynus* given in (9), (10), and (11), there are 8 Quechua words borrowed into Spanish. Of these, 5 are nouns, 2 are verbs, and 1 is an adjective. Therefore, as in most of languages around the world, the prevalence of noun loanwords over verbs loanwords holds for Quechua as well as Spanish¹⁶ (Matras op.cit., Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2005).

¹⁵ The basic words or core words refer to the most essential human activities and needs, such as eat, sleep; moon, rain; do, have, be... (Hock & Joseph 1996: 257, cited in Haspelmath 2003: 2).

¹⁶ Muysken (1990), based on Haugen (1950), establishes borrowing constraints which are formulated in terms of a categorical hierarchy: noun>adjective>verb>preposition>adverb>negation element>coordinating conjunction>pronoun>subordinating conjunction. This borrowing constraint is consistent with the patterns found in Ancash *waynu* songs.

The second kind of linguistic borrowing that we consider is structural or grammatical borrowing, which occurs when languages in contact borrow not only lexical items, but also grammatical categories and functions. Winford (2003) affirms that structural change is practically always mediated by lexical transfer.¹⁷ Moreover, he claims that direct borrowing of structural elements is very rare, but indirect structural borrowing is very common. In addition, Winford (*ibid.*) suggests that it is important to know who the agents of borrowing are, if they are monolinguals or bilinguals. In the case of Ancash *waynu* songs, the agents of borrowing involve mainly Quechua RL-dominant bilinguals. Finally, direct structural borrowing varies due to linguistic and social conditions of languages in contact.

Like lexical borrowing, not all structural features can be borrowed at the same scale and with the same frequency. Matras (1998: 283) based on Moravcsik (1978) hypothesizes constraints on borrowing: (a) lexical > nonlexical (=lexical items > nonlexical grammatical property such as linear order); (b) free morphemes > bound morphemes; (c) nouns > nonnouns; (d) derivation > inflection; (e) the rules of linear ordering that apply in the donor language will accompany grammatical elements borrowed from that language; and (f) inflection within a class of constituents cannot apply only to borrowed items. As we can see, lexical items are more frequently borrowed than grammatical items; free elements are more easily borrowed than bound elements, and derivational morphology is more easily borrowed than inflectional morphology (Matras 2004). In this sense, direct borrowing of structural elements typically involves free morphemes such as prepositions and conjunctions (Winford n.d.). Ancash Quechua, for instance, clearly shows direct borrowing of conjunctions and prepositions.

¹⁷ According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), structural borrowing occurs independently of lexical borrowing.

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- (12) Waraymi aywakushaq, ‘Tomorrow I will go,
waraymi yarqukushaq, tomorrow I will leave,
ni qamta, **ni** hukta, neither to you nor to the others
gustuta qushaqtsu. will I give the pleasure.’

(Alégrate corazón, Anonymous)
- (13) ...**pero** manam tsaytatsu nin ‘but, the man’s daughter
nunapa warmi wawan... does not say that...’

(Mi pecho es un cementerio, Pastorita Huaracina)
- (14) **Desde** lejus shamuykaallaptiipis, ‘Although I am coming from far away,
yaykuramuy nimankitsu, you do not say me take a seat,
imanaw shunquyuqtaq kanki. what kind of heart you have.’

(Sin Corazón warmi, Jacinto Garro)

In (12) and (13) the Spanish conjunctions *ni...ni* ‘neither... nor,’ and *pero* ‘but’ have been borrowed directly. Likewise, in (14) the Spanish preposition *desde* ‘from’ has been borrowed directly. Hence, although direct borrowing of structural elements is very rare, there are cases in which certain function words can be borrowed directly as in (12), (13), and (14). In the case of Quechua, structural borrowing into Andean Spanish appears in (11) in the first couplet: *Shingiritu, shingiritu, es de mi tierra su rica bebida...* ‘Shingirito, shingirito it is my land’s delicious liquor.’ In Spanish, possessums precede possessors. In contrast, in Quechua, possessors precede possessums, and both possessors and possessums have independent possessive markers. In the case of (11) there is a direct transference of Quechua structure into Spanish.

- (15) *Shingiri-llu, shingiri-llu marka-a-pa mishqi-q upukuy-ni-n-mi.*
Shingiri-DIM shingiri-DIM town-1POSS-GEN sweet-AGENT drink-EM-3POSS-ASERT
Shingirillo, shingirillo es de mi tierra su rica bebida.

In standard Spanish such a sentence would be rendered ‘Shingirillo, shingirillo es la rica bebida de mi tierra.’ The use of double or triple possessive constructions influenced by

Quechua structure is very widespread in Andean Spanish. In summary, in both Quechua and Spanish Ancash *waynu* songs, there are lexical and structural borrowings between the languages.

6. Code switching and language mixing

In general, ‘code switching’ is a cover-term for a variety of types of bilingual and bidialectal language mixing,¹⁸ which result from different social circumstances and motivations (Winford 2003). In this paper, following Gardner-Chloros (1997), I will define it as the use of two languages (in this case Quechua and Spanish) in the same conversation or utterance. In other words, code switching refers to cases where bilingual speakers alternate between codes within the same speech event or within a single turn, or mix elements from two codes within the same utterance or sentence.¹⁹

In the case of Ancash *waynu*, code switching requires a mastery of Quechua and Spanish. Code switching in *waynu* songs is conditioned by communicative intentions as well as other social factors, such as the identity of interlocutors, topics, and formality.

¹⁸ Consequently, we can find a number of definitions of code switching in the literature. There are broad definitions of code switching which include alternate use of two languages in the same utterance or conversation (Grosjean 1982), as well as narrow definitions that exclude the use of different languages in different situations or activity types. Some scholars, such as Auer (1995), even exclude cases involving non-contiguous stretches of talk: for instance, one occurring at the beginning and the other at the end of a conversation.

¹⁹ Auer (1995) establishes four code switching patterns: (1) *Conversational code switching*: involves switches from code A to code B, or switches within a single speaker’s turn due to shifts in topic, role relationship or activity type. (2) *Preference related switching*: negotiation of language interaction, participants switch from one code to another until consensus is reached on the medium of exchange. (3) *Unmarked choice*: switching between languages in a turn such that no single language can be identified as the base language, used to express strategic ambiguity or as a strategy of neutrality. (4) *Intra-sentential or intra-clause code switching*: momentary switches which do not really change the language of interaction. Matrix Language (ML) in which most of the utterances are produced, Embedded Language (EL) from which some single words or phrases are inserted. Auer’s patterns work not only for natural speech, but also for Ancash *waynu* songs, so it is used in our analysis.

(16) Nunca se enamoren de mujer soltera	‘Never fall in love with a single woman
aswa putunawpis llapampa mutsakunan	like the chicha cup, she is kissed by everybody
Nunca se enamoren de mujer casada	Never fall in love with a married woman
kancha torunawpis riesgo de la vida	risking your life, like entering a bull ring
Nunca se enamoren de mujer viuda	Never fall in love with a widow
Escaleranawpis subida bajada	like a stair, everyone goes up and down
No sirve enamorar mujer divorciada	To love a divorced woman is not good
Awkis mulanawpis chunka maañayq.	like an old mule, she has ten bad habits.’

(Nunca se enamoren, Juan Rosales)

In (16), the singer switches four times from Spanish to Quechua in the same stanza. The singer use two different strategies or forms of switching. In the first two lines and in the last two lines, the singer switches from a Spanish verse to a Quechua verse, where each line constitutes a sentence. In these cases then, code switching operates between sentences. In the third and fourth lines, as well as in the fifth and sixth lines, the singer switches from a complete Spanish sentence to another sentence which consists of a Quechua noun phrase and a Spanish verb phrase. In this case, code switching operates within a sentence between clauses.

As we can see, code switching involves different mechanisms of bilingual language use. On the basis of these cases of code switching, Myers-Scotton (1993) classifies and establishes the distinction between inter-sentential code switching and intra-sentential code-switching. Inter-sentential code switching involves cases in which a bilingual speaker switches languages from clause to clause (Winford 2003). The choice of one code or another is a function of interlocutors, themes, and situations of diglossia. Following Myers-Scotton (1993) and Winford (2003), we define inter-sentential code switching as the process by which *waynu* singers switch between Quechua and Spanish from line/sentence to

line/sentence, from couplet to couplet, and from stanza to stanza. Consider the following examples.

- (17) Tayta cura
willakullashqayki
warmiimi ceelakaman
chichera Mallshitawan.
- Señor intendente
esa mujer miente,
yo duermo con ella
y ella no me siente.**
- (Warmiimi ceelakaman, Anonymous)
- ‘Father Priest
I tell you,
my wife is jealous of me
and Marcelina the bartender.
- Sir Judge
that woman lies,
I sleep with her
and she does not feel me.’
- (18) **A las orillas del Conococha
a las orillas del río Santa
sobre las arenas grabé tu nombre,**
piwan aywakurpis qunqaramankitsu
piwan aywakurpis yarpaaramankiran.
- (Alas orillas del Conococha, Anonymous)
- ‘On the banks of Lake Conococha,
to the banks of the Santa River,
on the sand I wrote your name,
if you go with someone, do not forget me,
if you go with someone, remember me.’
- (19) Waqay cholita, waqay waqay
contigo zambita ya no, ya no
Waqay cholita, waqay waqay
Contigo negrita sí como no.
- (Amor de malva, María Virhuez)
- ‘Cry, girl cry, cry,
with you, little black woman, no more, no more
‘Cry, girl, cry, cry
With you black woman yes, yes.’
- (20) Suegrallaapis kuyamantsu
warmillaapis wayllumantsu
cuál será mi mala suerte
borachiitullam kakullaa.
- (Callejón de Huaylas, Gorrión Andino)
- ‘My mother-in-law does not love me
my wife does not love me
why do I have such bad luck?
I live my life drunk.

Examples (17) - (20) exhibit inter-sentential code switching. In (17), the singer switches from Quechua to Spanish from stanza to stanza. It is important to note that in this case, code switching is related to the rhetorically constructed recipient. In rural areas,

Catholic priests usually speak or at least understand Quechua, but lawyers and judges live in cities, and they often do not speak or understand Quechua. Thus, the *waynu* singer according to the rhetorically constructed interlocutor switches from one language to another (priest or judge). Examples (18) – (20) illustrate other patterns of stanza-to-stanza or line-to-line code switching.

Intra-sentential code switching consists of cases in which speakers switch some clauses and single-morphemes of languages (within a sentence or clause). Winford (2003) claims that single-morpheme switching is typical of intra-clause code switching, and that is very common across bilingual communities. Likewise, Auer's (1995) fourth pattern of code switching indicates that intra-sentential or intra-clause code switching is a momentary switch that does not really change the language of interaction. Moreover, she refers to the language in which most of the utterance are produced as the Matrix Language (ML) and the language from which some single words or phrases are inserted as the Embedded Language (EL). Following the above-mentioned authors, we assert that intra-sentential code switching consists of the insertion of single words or short phrases within a sentence or clause.

- (21) Shumaqlla wayta **amapolita** ‘Beautiful Amapolita flower
dices que tienes kuya kuya you say that you have a lover, a lover
ya me tienes enfermito you make me suffer
shunqullaata kuyapaykuy. please, love my little heart.’
(Shumaqlla wayta Amapolita, Jorge Peje)
- (22) Para todos hay mañana ‘For everyone there is tomorrow
sólo para mí no hay cuándo, only for me there is no future,
aunque te falte cheque circular although I could not give you a paycheck
washkullawanpis, te lo pagaré. at least with alcohol I will pay you.’
(Chachacoma, Anonymous)
- (23) Nuqapa suegraaqa ‘My mother-in-law
suegra conocidam, infamous mother-in-law

pitsqa ruripayuq with five Andean dresses
media hechicera. a little witch.'

(Nuqapa suegraqa, Anonymous')

In the first two lines in (21), the singer inserts a single Quechua word into each Spanish verse. In (22), the Quechua word-phrase²⁰ *washkullawanpis* 'at least with alcohol' is inserted into Spanish sentence. In (23), Spanish phrases are inserted into Quechua sentences. These stanzas exhibit several cases of intra-sentential code switching. In (22), it is clear that the ML is Spanish and the EL is Quechua, because the entire stanza is in Spanish within which is inserted a single Quechua phrase, *washkullawanpis*, 'at least with alcohol.' In (21) and (23) it is not easy to define which language is the ML versus the EL because both languages are used almost equally. Nevertheless, if we examine the songs in their entirety, we can identify the ML and the EL. Thus, in (21) the ML is Spanish and the EL is Quechua, while in (23) the ML is Quechua and the EL is Spanish.

Although in some cases the distinction between different kinds of code switching is clear, in other cases it is difficult, because the boundary between intra-code switching and interference is not clear. In this paper, following Winford (2003), we assume that code switching is practiced by competent bilinguals while interference is exhibited by people who are in the process of acquisition of a second language. It is important to note that interference represents an individual and temporary case. When speakers become competent in the second language, the interference phenomenon usually disappears. Since Ancash *waynus* are sung by competent bilinguals, these songs exhibit inter-sentential code switching not interference.

²⁰ Due to agglutinative characteristic of Quechua, in this language words are formed by attaching a number of suffixes onto the ends of lexical roots, such that what might be expressed as phrases or sentences in other languages is expressed with a single word in Quechua. For instance, *wayinkunallamanpis* 'at least to their little house' in Spanish cannot be expressed with just one word, but rather by the following phrase: 'Por lo menos hasta sus casitas.'

The intra-sentential code switching is a common mode of bilingual language use. Sridhar (1996) and Epps (2007) review the work of several scholars who define this as *code mixing* (Bhatia & Ritchie 1989, Bokamba 1988, Kachru 1992, and Sridhar & Sridhar 1980, Muysken 1995).²¹ Others, like Aurer (1995), refer to ‘transfer/insertion.’ In this paper, I assume intra-sentential code switching to have the same meaning as code mixing. In some cases, the distinction between word borrowing and code mixing can be difficult and unclear. In order to clarify the distinction between code mixing and borrowing, I follow Sridhar & Sridhar (1980, cited in Sridhar 1996: 58): (1) Borrowing may occasionally involve a few set phrases but is usually restricted to single lexical items. Code mixing, however, involves every level of lexical and syntactic structure, including words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. (2) Borrowed words can occur even in the speech of monolinguals, whereas code mixing presupposes a certain degree of bilingual competence. (3) The set of borrowed expressions in a language typically represents semantic fields outside the experience of the borrowing language, whereas the expressions that occur in code mixing may duplicate existing expressions – in other words, code mixing is not always used to fill lexical gaps. (4) Borrowings represent a restricted set of expressions, with some creativity on the margins, whereas code mixing draws creatively upon practically the whole of the vocabulary and grammar of another language. (5) Borrowings represent mostly nouns and, marginally, a few adjectives and other categories, whereas code mixing draws on every category and constituent type in grammar.

Based on the above distinction, we can identify in the following lines and couplets in the stanzas (24), (25), and (26) as cases of code mixing, but not word borrowing.

²¹ Sridhar (2006) claims that establishing distinctions between code switching and code mixing is important in conducting grammatical analyses.

- (24) **Despachadora, despachallaamay,**
hasta el Puente de Calicanto,
tsaypitanachi aywakullaashaq
casadawanpis, solterawanpis.
(Me voy mañana, Anonymous) ‘Woman who says good-bye, send me away,
up to the Calicanto Bridge,
from there I will go
with a married or a single woman.’
- (25) Llamikatsiqman, **probekatsiqman**
estofaduchaw probekatsiqman
loca, locaran wararamunkiman.
(Shimpicha avisa, Alejandro Collas) ‘If I make you try
If I make you try estofado²²
You will wake up crazy.’
- (26) **Borrachu, borrachu** nirkuryan
qamqa **despreciallaamanki**
borrachu, borrachu kaykarpis
siempre kikiipa **mediuwan.**
(Callejon de Huaylas, Gorrión Andino) ‘Saying drunkard, drunkard,
you despise me
Although I am drunk, drunk
it is always with my own money.’

Examples (24) - (26) exhibit single-morpheme insertion, a special case of code-mixing. I consider this kind of code mixing to be closely connected with stylistic use of languages. It is clear that *waynus* are an expression of bilingual culture, in which processes of mixing play an important role (Muysken 1990). In contrast to bilingual use of Quechua and Spanish in natural speech, in *waynus* both languages are used in various ways to create special poetic effects. Thus, in (24), (25), and (26) we find, due to more intensive appeal to the poetic and expressive functions of language,²³ more extreme cases of language mixing than in the most instances of ordinary daily language use.

7. Sociocultural implications of code switching and code mixing

²² A kind of food prepared with meat and rice.

²³ According to Jakobson (1960: 358), verbal communication, as well as poetic communication, involve basically the connection between the addresser and the addressee (in addition to the factors of message, context, code). In the case of Ancash *waynus*, the addresser could use different directionality of message: the addresser to himself or herself (the addresser is at the same time the addressee), the addresser to addressee, and mixing forms. Therefore, in relation to communicational attitude of the “poetic me”, we find three perspectives: monologue (20, 23), dialogue (16-21, 24) and monologue-dialogue (22).

In the case of the Ancash region as in other parts of the Andes, Spanish and Quechua are in a diglossic relationship because they do not have the same value, status, functions, acquisition, and literary heritage (Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1967). On the one hand, Quechua is considered to be an inferior language and it is used in familiar and informal communication mainly in rural areas. On the other hand, Spanish is considered as a superior language used in formal and informal communication not only in urban areas, but also in rural areas. Consequently, Quechua (subordinate language) and Spanish (dominant language) are in a clear situation of inequality which has resulted in both the expansion of Spanish and the progressive contraction of Quechua. In this context, Quechua exhibits different grades of linguistic vitality and shift depending on different social factors such as location, socio-economical condition, level of education, age, gender, bilingual educational programs, and transmission to young generations (see Julca-Guerrero 2007b, c).

In the context described above, language use is perceived as a prime marker of a separate identity, and code switching and code mixing are less acceptable in everyday speech, but they are tolerated in *waynu* songs. Monolingual Spanish speakers have negative attitudes to code switching and code mixing made by bilingual Quechua speakers, believing that this shows a deficit, an inadequate command of language, or a lack of mastery of both languages (Sridhar 1996). Moreover, they believe this to be a form of corrupted Spanish, which needs to be corrected. In this sense, even bilinguals in Quechua and Spanish themselves have defensive attitudes about their bilingual language use and attribute it to laziness or sloppy language habits (Baker 2001). On the contrary, processes of code switching and code mixing in *waynu* songs are accepted by monolingual Spanish speakers. I consider code switching to be a highly valuable linguistic tool that is used not at random but according to particular purposes and logic related to changes in languages. The bilingual

language use is a characteristic of bilingual competence because bilinguals develop competence in each of the codes. They use one or another language depending on discursive themes, interlocutors, contexts, and specific situations. In summary, processes of code switching and code mixing in *waynu* songs and in everyday speech do not have the same value, while in the first case they are accepted, in the second case, they are rejected.

It is important to explain why code switching and codes mixing in *waynu* songs have a different value than code switching and code mixing in everyday speech for monolingual Spanish speakers and bilinguals. In the case of linguistic choices in *waynu* songs, we need to observe the reasons singers and composers have for choosing one language or other language in different parts of a song. In this analysis, the notion of domains is very important. *Domains*, according to Fishman (1972: 437), explore “who speaks what language to whom and when in those speech communities that are characterized by widespread and relatively stable multilingualism.” There are different domains of language use, such as the family, the playground and street, the school, the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and governmental administration (*ibid.*). In the case of *waynu* songs, we can identify it within the domain of literature. In Ancash *waynu* songs the singers and composers use basically metaphorical code switching and code mixing, such that the language switch has a stylistic function, for example to mark emphasis, to indicate the punch line of a joke, to refer a sarcastic expression, to signal a transition to the sublime or the ridiculous, or to signal a change in tone from the serious to the comic. Actually, all these characteristics of Ancash *waynu* songs allow to identify them as authentic Andean popular poems that are esteemed and practiced not only by Quechua people but also by Spanish speaking people and bilinguals in Quechua and Spanish. The creative composers and singers use both codes as a powerful expressive resource to convey bicultural experiences. Therefore, code

switching and code mixing in *waynu* songs serve the same functions, and they are thus not random but functionally motivated. They serve important sociocultural and stylistic functions as an expression of certain types of complex personalities and communities.

Although code switching and code mixing in *waynu* songs are valued, in general review of the language use in them exhibits a process of language shift that is also reflected in everyday speech. In the Ancash region, as in other parts of the Andes, Quechua and Spanish are in a diglossic relationship which has permitted both the expansion of Spanish and the progressive reduction of Quechua. In this context, Quechua speakers, mainly of younger generations, become bilinguals in Quechua and Spanish, and after that, they abandon their mother language and use only Spanish. In the same way, I consider the directionality of language shift in Ancash *waynu* songs from monolingualism in Quechua to bilingualism in Quechua and Spanish, and from this bilingualism to monolingualism in Spanish to be a consequence of the diglossic relationship between Quechua and Spanish in the Andes. Thus, bilingualism in Quechua and Spanish is not likely to be the final pattern of language use in the Andes, but it is rather only a step in the process of transition from Quechua monolingualism to Spanish monolingualism.

This sociolinguistic reality has several sociocultural implications for language planning, language teaching, and language preservation and revitalization. For example, language teachers and other professionals need to review their attitudes with regard to the status and value of bilingualism, since bilingualism has come to be identified with a low level of intelligence, poor educational performance, and socioeconomic stagnation. Likewise, speakers of Quechua and Spanish need to recognize that all people are capable of adding languages to their existing repertoires. This additive bilingualism should be bidirectional such that Quechua speakers learn Spanish and Spanish speakers learn Quechua.

In the literature of second language acquisition, this positive role of transfer in bilingual communication has received much less attention than the negative “interference” role (Sridhar 1996). Such a relaxed, open-minded, or tolerant attitude to language variation is characteristic of traditionally multilingual societies and contributes to the promotion of linguistic and cultural pluralism.

8. Conclusions

Although *waynus* do not represent colloquial language use, Ancash *waynus* show different kinds of bilingual language use, and are particularly rich in lexical borrowing, code switching, and language mixing. Thus, *waynus* display different levels in which Quechua and Spanish interact. We can see, therefore, bilingual language use covers not only everyday speech events, but also other kinds of language usage such as *waynu* songs.

Borrowing is bidirectional between Quechua and Spanish. The frequency and scale of word borrowing in *waynus* varies due to the language in which songs are composed. Spanish *waynus* exhibit more Spanish words, but Quechua *waynus* use considerable Spanish loanwords. Nevertheless, the number of loanwords in Quechua and Spanish *waynus* depends on stylistic, poetic, and special expressive factors. In the process of linguistic borrowing from Spanish to Quechua and vice versa, some words are transferred directly without any change, but in other cases, loanwords of the SL are adapted or nativized into phonological and morphological patterns of the RL. In addition, the categorical distribution of the borrowings in Ancash *waynus* is asymmetrical between nouns and verbs, and content words and function words.

Code switching and code mixing in Ancash *waynus* are common phenomena. Like in everyday speech, *waynu* singers frequently switch from Quechua to Spanish or vice versa, in

some cases between lines and couplets, and in others between stanzas, which include exclamations, quotations, and persons addressed. For instance, Spanish *waynus* often end in a Quechua stanza which is usually sung twice. In other cases, code switching takes place inside of lines and couplets (clauses or sentences) and frequently involves prepositional phrases. Therefore, Ancash *waynus* show two kinds of code switching: inter-sentential (between sentences) and intra-sentential or code mixing (within sentences). The extensive use of code switching in *waynus* is related to stylistic, poetic, and expressive language usage.

Ancash *waynus* exhibit familiar patterns of bilingual language use in relation to borrowing and code switching processes. In some cases, Ancash *waynus* show extreme lexical borrowing and code mixing; in contrast with everyday discourse, they respond mainly to symbolic and poetic functions of language. From language contact and sociolinguistic perspectives, like everyday natural speech events, Ancash *waynu* songs reflect long-term language contact between Quechua and Spanish, which has resulted in a variety of outcomes. Thus, now there are no “chemically pure” *waynus* either in Quechua or Spanish, because they have mutually influenced each other. Furthermore, Ancash *waynus* offer rich material for further studies from different disciplines such as linguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropology, literature, and education.

Finally, the directionality of language shift in the Ancash region works in the same way in everyday communication and in *waynu* songs. The direction is from monolingualism in Quechua to bilingualism in Quechua and Spanish, and from this bilingualism to monolingualism in Spanish. This change is a consequence of diglossic relationship between Quechua and Spanish in the Andes. This sociolinguistic situation has several sociocultural

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implications for language planning, language teaching, and language preservation and revitalization in the Andes.

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