1973

The speech of the andean mestizo in the novels of ciro alegria

Catherine Thorburn Neale

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarship.richmond.edu/masters-theses

Part of the Spanish and Portuguese Language and Literature Commons

Recommended Citation

THE SPEECH OF THE ANDEAN MESTIZO IN THE NOVELS
OF CIRO ALEGRIA

BY
CATHERINE THORBURN NEALE

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND
IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN SPANISH

MAY, 1973

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND
VIRGINIA
### CONTENTS

**PREFACE**  
1  

**MAP**  
iii  

**I  THE NOVEL AND ALEGRÍA**  
1-10  

- The Spanish-American novel between 1920 and the early 1940's  
  1  
- The indigenous novel  
  1  
- Popular speech as a primary characteristic  
  2  

**II  ALEGRÍA'S EMPHASIS ON THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE**  
11-25  

- The importance of sounds  
  11  
- The importance of the spoken word  
  16  
- Contrasts in different social levels of speech  
  18  

**III  THE SPEECH ENCOUNTERED IN THE NOVELS**  
26-63  

- Phonology  
  26  
- Morphology  
  43  
- Syntax  
  51  
- Vocabulary  
  59
IV THE ROLE OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE MESTIZO  

Its use for communication 64

Its place in art 65

Its place in relationship to the Spanish language 68

INDEX OF WORDS 72-97

LIST OF WORKS CITED 98-99

VITA 100
PREFACE

This inquiry is made and presented from the point of view of a language teacher. After a student has acquired the basic skills of reading, writing, and speaking the foreign language, a most practical medium with which to continue his language study is literature. As well as gaining an understanding of people through literary study, he also may see the language in use as a tool for communication and become aware of some possibilities of it as an artistic medium.

This study is concerned with the works of the Peruvian writer Ciro Alegría, who includes in his novels many examples of popular speech from the region of his birth, the same region depicted in his novels. His works can be used in answering some of the student's recurring questions. "Does everybody really talk like this?" "Don't speakers of Spanish have a variety of dialects?" "What are some of the differences that occur in dialects?" Literary works, such as those by Alegría, offer to the student an opportunity to note how different people actually say things, to ask about changes that occur in the spoken language, to observe the differences in speech as it is used by an individual, by a social class, and according to geographic location, and to investigate the possibilities of influence by a dialect on language.
In the course of this paper the writer proceeds to study the speech of the area in which Alegría's novels are set through the predominant speech found in his novels. The objective is to provide an explanation of this speech by noting and describing certain linguistic phenomena and pointing out observations from the diachronic aspect.

In sum, this paper seeks to describe the speech of a certain area, the dialect of a region of the Marañón Valley in Peru, as seen primarily in Alegría's novels, and concludes by making observations concerning his use of the language for communication and in art.
The region about which Alegría writes is that from Bambamarca south to Huánuco, along the valley of the Marañón River and through the surrounding mountains.
I

THE NOVEL AND ALEGRÍA

In order to give as completely as possible a picture of the situation in which the novelist uses the language that will be studied, the procedure followed includes a brief commentary on the indigenous novel in general; Ciro Alegría, the novelist; the society present in Alegría's novels; and the content of the novels.

The Spanish American novel from 1920 to the early 1940's is one which deals realistically with life; the novelist tries to reproduce and interpret his surroundings. Reflected in the novels is man's struggle against either a primitive nature or forces in society.¹ His frequently unsuccessful outcome is perfectly exemplified in the final words of Rivera's La vorágine, "Se los tragó la selva".

In the regions inhabited primarily by the Indian, it is the life and problems of the latter that emerge as the primary source of literary interest during this period. The indigenous novels usually are written by authors of non-Indian descent. Most of these writers show the Indian's dilemma in a situation over which he has no control. Usually his

hopelessness stems from the power held over him by an exploiter. Novels describing such may serve as a social protest. They attempt to awaken the conscience of the reader, the majority of whom would be in the upper class, and to call forth improved conditions for the Indian.

Some writers of the indigenous novel, Alegria as an example, also include the picturesque aspect of the Indian's manner of living.

One of the primary characteristics of the novel of this period is the use by the author of the spoken tongue in a given area. The dialogues within the novel reflect the speech of the region where the novel is laid. Assuming that such speech represents what is actually said as opposed to a fictionalized creation on the part of the author, the reader is able to discern in the novels features of the various dialects existing in the Americas within the Spanish language. Rivera's dialogues reveal some traits of the speech within certain areas of Colombia; Gallegos; Venezuela; Azuela's, Mexico; Guiraldes, Argentina; Icaza's, Ecuador; and Alegria's, Peru.

There is usually a wide gap between the literary language and the actual speech of many inhabitants of an area. Amado Alonso explains


\[\text{3Aida Cometta Manson, El indio en la novela de América (Buenos Aires; Editorial Futuro, 1960), p. 16.}\]


\[\text{5Pedro Henríquez-Ureña, Literary Currents in Hispanic America (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1946), p. 196.}\]
that the two are simply different ways of using the same language. The literary language may contain all words of common usage, but these words obey certain aesthetic designs according to the writer's intention. The novelist of this period often narrows the gap by using the popular speech at least in his dialogues which in some cases may compose a third of the novel.

Charles Kany explains that at the beginning of the twentieth century, due to criollismo or nationalism, writers abandon scholastic preoccupation with language and direct their observation to their local milieu. They give literary form to the popular expression in an attempt to reproduce regional differences, social problems, and ideals.

In Alegría's novels of the indigene, he includes many samples of speech from the region that he depicts. The early years of his life provide for him source material for both content and language in his works.

Ciro Alegría (1909-1967) was born in the province of Huamachuco, situated in a northern valley of the Peruvian Andes through which runs the Marañón River. He spent his childhood in this region first on his grandfather's hacienda and later on his father's ranch, Maracal Grande. Referring to his youth and this location, Alegría said, "Con todos los

---


seres y las cosas de la tierra intímé allí."\textsuperscript{8} Worthy of notation are his own words included in the prologue to his novel \textit{El mundo es ancho y ajeno}.\textsuperscript{9}

Nací en una hacienda, crecí en otra—ambas pertenecientes a la provincia de Huamachuco, en los Andes del Norte del Perú—, y desde niño hube de andar largos caminos para ir a la escuela y al colegio, situados en la ciudad andina de Cajabamba y en la costeña de Trujillo. Así me llené los ojos de panoramas y conocí al pueblo de mi patria.

Mujeres de la raza milenaria me acunaron en sus brazos y ayudaron a andar; con niños indios jugué de pequeño; siendo mayor alterné con peones indios y cholos en las faenas agrarias y los rodeos. En los brezos de una muchacha triguena me aboreció el amor como una amanecida quechua. Y en la áspera tierra de surcos abiertos bajo mis pies y retadoras montañas alzadas frente a mi frente, aprendí la afirmativa ley del hombre andino.

Supe también de su dolor. Mi padre administraba la hacienda con ánimo justiciero.

La hacienda está en las ribera del río Marañón. Una vez llegó un hombre de río abajo, con una enorme llaga tropical que le estaba comiendo un brazo. Mi padre lo curó y él se quedó a vivir en Marcabal. Era un gran narrador de cuentos y sucedidos.

Y además a mis padres les gustaban las letras y las artes y tenían una biblioteca por la que yo también fuí tomando afición. En las noches, cuando no leía, escuchaba conversar entretenidamente a mi padre o a mi madre y mi abuela materna, cantar canciones viejas y nuevas como la tierra.

De tal vida no me habría de olvidar jamás y tampoco de las experiencias que adquirí caminando por los jadeantes caminos de la cordillera, de los hechos de dolor que vi, de las historias que escuché. Mis padres fueron mis primeros maestros, pero todo el pueblo peruano terminó por moldearme a su manera y me hizo entender su dolor, su alegría, sus dones mayores y poco reconocidos de inteligencia y fortaleza, su capacidad creadora, su constancia.

It is seen from Alegria's background that he knew intimately the area and the people that he depicted, and the language used by the Indian and


mestizo, including their manner of speaking.

Alegría's major literary contribution consists of three novels: La serpiente de oro (written and published in 1935), Los perros hambrientos (1938), and El mundo es ancho y ajeno (1941). All three represent memories of his country because he was absent from Peru, in exile, when each of his novels was written.

Alegría was of Hispanic-Irish descent, a member of the upper class, but his familiarity with the Indian's way of life, and that of the mestizo, prepared the way for his descriptions and protests against the injustices that they experienced. In his works Alegría presents the three social classes mentioned, describing certain traits of each class and providing examples of the interactions among them.

The educated man of Spanish descent who lives in the coastal areas, especially in the cities, comprises the majority of the upper class. Those few who are met in Alegría's novels inhabit the interior, but each one serves in a superior position—perhaps as priest, engineer, lawyer, or landowner. They maintain close relationships only within their own social group; they look to the city as the center of activity; their principal goal appears to be the acquisition of wealth; and they look down on and attempt to dominate those of a lower class.

The person of mixed Spanish and Indian descent is called a cholo, the mestizo of the Peruvian Andes. He usually inhabits the lowlands, for example the Marañón valley. His livelihood is earned from the work that nature affords him, perhaps from growing some of the many possible plants,
or from hunting, or from navigating the river for the purpose of transporting people and products. Alegría shows us that the cholo is generally independent of the members of the upper class. When nature fails to provide for him, he is forced to seek aid which the upper class often denies him.

The Quechua Indian, the descendent of the Indians under the rule of the Inca at the time of the Spanish exploration, is usually an inhabitant of the highlands, although a few individuals may have drifted elsewhere. He earns his living from his crops and animals, often sharing responsibilities in a commune. Alegría explains in an autobiographical account, included in Arturo del Hoyo's prologue to the Novelas completas, that the wealthy man who acquired land practiced an unwritten law which assumed that the Indians belonged to the land and were part of an acquisition.10 Often, then, the Indian finds himself subject to the white man and is serving him in the fields, mines, or in road construction. He stays within his own group, looking to the outside only on rare occasions when certain needs arise, for example, the need to trade his products for those of the lowlands, the infrequent attempt to reach a lawyer or a priest, or, if he is under an overlord, a request for mercy or assistance.

Alegría shows class distinctions in his novels which are directed toward carrying out his ideas of possible social reforms; however, the concern primarily in this paper with the three social classes is the difference shown in the language of each one.

Before entering into a study of the popular speech in these three novels, it seems desirable to summarize the general content of each work. The novels are taken in order of composition and publication. The first one (La serpiente de oro) deals primarily with the cholo, the second (Los perros hambrientas) with the cholo and Indian, and the third (El mundo es ancho y ajeno) mainly with the Indian.

Alegría in La serpiente de oro has identified with the cholo to such an extent that the narrator is a cholo in the novel:

Los cholos de esta historia vivimos en Calemar.11.

The reader meets the cholo; senses the natural beauty in his existence; hears his conversations, his stories and tales of the past; hears described his encounters with the Marañón, the river which controls his life, and learns of his dependence on the balsa; meets Indians with whom the cholo cooperates; and encounters the white man with his materialistic philosophy.

A young engineer arrives in Calemar with full confidence that he will be able to use the river as the transportation route for mining in the mountain areas. He has learned his engineering well, but he has not learned how to survive against nature. When he least expects it, he is bitten and killed by a snake, a serpiente de oro, the name he has given to the winding river that is to be the route to so much wealth. He is killed because he has not learned what the cholo could have taught him about survival; also, symbolically, he is killed by his materialistic interests.

11Ciro Alegría, La serpiente de oro (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1963), p. 10. Hereafter, quotations from said novel will be indicated within the text by the initial S, followed by the page number.
From beginning to end the narrator mentions events that occur over a five-year period. The conclusion emphasizes life continuing as it always has. All attempts to relate with the outside world have shown the cholo that such a world is unjust. He continues his adventurous encounters with life, unaware or with mind closed to the fact that a world exists beyond his own experience.

Alegria's second novel, Los perros hambrientos, deals with dogs and their masters. The masters are the major concern, but Alegria uses the dogs as a basis for comparison to get across certain points. The beginning is a presentation of life in the Andes. The dogs and people enjoy life and perform their duties and tasks well. From time to time the dogs are mistreated by a thief or an enemy of their master and the cholos are mistreated by a wealthy landowner or by the authorities. Basically there are very few problems until a drought comes; then every morsel is consumed and nothing remains for nourishment. The dogs attack and eat the sheep over which they are to watch, people rob, all suffer, and some die. The people are like hungry dogs at the mercy of someone who has, but who cares not to provide. Simón Robles, a strong cholo accustomed to making a living from the land, pleads with a rich landowner:

Peyor que perros tamos. Nosotros sí que somos como perros hambrientos.12

The landlords continue feeding their animals but nothing is provided for

12Ciro Alegria, "Los perros hambrientos", in Novelas completas, 3ª ed. (Madrid: Gráficas Órbe, 1963), p. 361. Hereafter quotations from said novel will be indicated within the text by the initials P, followed by the page number.
the peones. Finally the rain comes and ends the crisis. The once hungry dogs return home to be reunited with their owners, and Robles welcomes his dog:

_Has guésto como la lluvia güena._ (p 367).

The _cholo_ cannot condemn his dog for his actions when he is a victim of circumstances. Perhaps due to the acts of inhumanity that he has seen among men, the _cholo_ is unable to repeat such acts, even against his dogs.

There are many stories, songs, and quiet scenes that depict man alone with nature. More than narrating events or recording histories, this novel creates an image of life in the Andes as _Alegría_ would have the reader see it. He shows man's helplessness as he encounters the forces of nature, but these are easier to accept than the forces of exploitation that other men bring on him.

_El mundo es ancho y ajeno_ is about the Indians of Rumi who share a communal life. They are organized and productive in their work. The men of the community build a school so that their children may have the advantages that they did not have. All of this is destroyed when a rich landowner who wants the labor of the Indians at his command legally but unjustly takes over their land. The Indians leave their birthplace and settle on unclaimed land in the highlands. They have to change their way of life in order to adjust to the colder climate and higher altitude. They succeed again in developing a productive and happy community, but the landlord returns to claim their land. This time the Indians defend their property physically. The white man believes that the Indians are
rebels, and he sends the army which overpowers them. The community is destroyed. The dying men advise their surviving families to leave, but the latter do not know where to go. The world is wide but beyond their community it is foreign to them. They remain grieving over those who died defending them, and they continue to maintain their love for the land that they believe is theirs.
II

ALEGRÍA'S EMPHASIS ON THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE

In his novels Alegría places emphasis on the spoken language. In our attempt to illustrate this, we shall note certain features of his works: the attention given to sounds, the importance of the spoken word, and the differences in speech that reflect differences in social class.

When Alegría includes the speech of the cholo, he does so in a way that the reader may get the approximate sound of what the speaker is saying. Alegría does not just say that the cholo speaks in his rustic way and then continue to write the dialogue in the literary language. He disregards rules of written language and puts down whatever represents the sounds of vernacular expression. An example may be seen in "¿Y quié veniduste hacer puacá?" (§ 16) which in literary language would be "¿Y qué ha venido usted a hacer por acá?" Alegría shows that the speaker combines, changes, and drops certain sounds. For example "quía veniduste" shows that the speaker drops the /o/ or it is combined into /u/, the /e/ of que was changed to /i/ and usted has lost the final /d/. These changes are dealt with more specifically in the phonological study, but the comments here indicate that Alegría does write the speech so that
the reader may hear or imagine it.

Sounds of nature, along with sounds of speech, reach the reader's ear. Working together they help to draw the reader into the world of the cholo. They appear to go hand in hand making justifiable the consideration of their kinship.

As Alegría begins La serpiente de oro, the first sense to which he appeals is that of hearing.

Por donde el Marañón rompe las cordilleras en un voluntarioso afán de avance, la sierra peruana tiene una bravura de puma acosado. . . . Cuando el río carga, brama contra las peñas invadiendo la amplitud de las playas y cubriendo el pedrerío. Corre burbujeando, rugiendo en las torrenteras y recodos. . . . Un rumor profundo que palpita en todos ámbitos, denuncia la creciente máxima que ocurre en febrero. (§ 9)

The reader imagines the water's sounds. The river seems to be the voice of the Peruvian Andes. It makes the sierra appear to have the fierceness of a pursued cougar, while a voice with a different sound and message might cause the sierra to impart another impression. The voice calls attention and influences the impression that one has of a speaker, be the speaker a force of nature or man. Alegría in describing the voice of a person says, "Su voz suave y delgada." With this description he helps form the impression that others will have of that individual. (§ 15)

The cholos of the Marañón valley hear many sounds in nature. The river speaks.

Nosotros, los cholos del Marañón escuchamos su voz con el oído atento. . . . ella nos habla de su inmensidad. (§ 9)

The valleys, too, speak.

Nos hablan con su ancestral voz de querencia, que es fuerte como la voz del río mismo. (§ 10)
Lucinda who runs away with the cholo Arturo is driven by nature's call.

Es la voz del río, imperiosa e incontarastable... La Lucinda sólo escucha aquella voz y se entrega, rendida a la corriente. (§ 42)

The cholo believes that he and nature coexist on earth. He speaks; so does nature. "Bravo, el cholo... El río también es bravo" says Matías and then he continues to explain that the cholo cannot escape nature, specifically the river, "porque somos hombres y tenemos que vivir comues la vida." (§ 90)

From all sides nature speaks. Alegria makes us aware of these voices mainly by his description of them rather than through the quality of the sounds in the vocabulary that he chooses.

Centenares de pajaros, ebrios de vida, cantan a la sombra de la floresta y mas allá... engordan los caballos y asnos... Cada relincho es un himno de júbilo. (§ 12)

Los bohos se despiertan entre un concierto de chiroques y chiscos al que los jergones añaden el coro de sus voces estridentes. Se aduermen arrulladas por el canto de tuco y las pacapacás y todo el día sienten la melodiosa parla de los pugos y las torcaces. Hay siempre música de aves en la floresta, y el Marañón, con su bajo teno mayor, acompara la ininterrumpida canción. (§ 24)

These two passages describe some of the sounds that may be heard in the valley. These sounds are as commonplace as those of the cholo in his daily conversations.

Sounds play an important part in Los perros hambrientos, too. The introduction again awakens the sense of hearing.

El ladrido monótono y largo, agudo hasta ser taladrante, triste como un lamento, azotaba el vellón albo de las ovejas conduciendo la manada. (P. 119)
Here a dog's bark, almost a lament, sets the scene for the following account which describes hunger and suffering. Alegría continues to focus our attention on sound by the use of the dog's bark.

Las voces de Zambo y su familia junto con las de otros perros vecinales formaban un coro ululante que hacía palpitar la noche andina. (P 226)

The sounds that the dogs make help to set the mood as do people's remarks and sounds of nature.

The little shepherdess, often alone with her dogs and sheep, sings to keep herself company.

Nube, nube, nubeé... Viento, viento, vientoóoo. (P 220)

By repeating the last vowel of each line, Alegría makes the reader imagine how this prolongation would sound. Alegría explains that this girl sings the refrain in such a manner,

Porque así gritan los cordilleranos. Así, porque todas las cosas de la naturaleza pertenecen a su conocimiento y a su intimidad. (P 220)

Sometimes the wind would come "mugiendo contra los riscos, y silbaba entre las pajas." (P 221). She says to her dog jokingly, "Ves, vino el viento. Hace caso . . ." (P 221). She knows that she has no control over nature but she feels close to it since it makes the only sounds that she hears the whole day through.

Although the author describes many sounds, on occasion he contrasts such descriptions with silence in nature or the lack of speech. He describes the sierras as a place where silence prevails and its inhabitants, reticent. Referring to the Indian guide and the terrain of the highlands, Alegría writes, "él está mudo e imposible como las rocas". (S 66). The author
relates an incident in which there is a lack of words and again he finds a comparison in nature. The authorities carry away Mateo for military service. Mateo's wife tries to explain to the small son what has happened, but she cannot find the words.

In his last novel, *El mundo es ancho y ajeno*, Alegria gives us a scene in which silence has tragic implications. Rosendo encounters an old couple watching their flock. The Indians do not speak. Rosendo recognizes that they belong to the work force of a certain powerful landlord. "Esos pobres son de los que reciben látigo por cada oveja que se pierda." (P 84-85). The couple has either lost the desire or they fear to speak; whatever the reason, their muteness very likely is caused by the suffering they have endured.

Alegria has his reader listen as he describes a harvest scene.

The description helps the reader imagine the sounds of the harvest as Alegria's dialogue in other places may draw the reader into the scene.

In all of the novels Alegria makes reference to the importance of music.
in the region he describes. He includes many sung verses. He speaks of the dances, the dancers, and the musical instruments—drums and variations of the flute—antaras, quenas, and flautas. Describing Rosendo's days of imprisonment he says,

De noche los presos solían cantar, especialmente los cholos. Los indios preferían tocar sus antaras y flautas. (M 319)

This fits into what the novelist tells us about the speech of the two groups, the cholo being talkative and expressive, the Indian more withdrawn and pensive.

Alegría has many forces working together to help create in his reader's imagination the sounds in this region of the Andes. Conversations, voices of nature, the many types of sounds made by animals, musical notes—all make his descriptions vivid. He shows that in the lowlands nature expresses herself with many noises as does the inhabitant, the cholo, while the Indian and the nature of the highlands are more somber. Alegría calls attention to sounds, makes a realistic setting for his speech and, in doing so, tells us some things about the people and their attitudes toward nature.

One notes first of all in Alegría's novels the importance of the spoken word. Except for infrequent fiestas in the village, the main social functions are the gatherings to talk. In La serpiente de oro, for example, the night the engineer arrives in Calemar, the cholos gather with don Matías to greet the newcomer.
Un forastero de tan lejos—donde diablos quedará esa Lima tan mentada—es un acontecimiento, y nos ponemos a charlar de todo. . . . Este señor responde a la ligera nuestras preguntas y en cambio se asombra de cuánto hay. Tenemos que darle explicaciones. . . . Se deshace en preguntas el joven éste y don Matías suelta la lengua sin que tenga que jalársela. (S 17)

The visitor gives an added incentive to share thoughts and experiences.

The engineer returns a year later and all gather to catch up on the events of the past year.

La charla va de aquí para allá. El viejo recuerda todo lo importante que pasó y los comentarios y las suposiciones menudean. Las noches del Marañón, con su cálida oscuridad, invitan a la conversación mientras el sueño llega. Es un gusto acercarnos a nuestras peripecias, recordar los duros trabajos y agregar retazos nuevos a la visión de todos los días. (S 138)

Alegría points out that nature provides a conducive setting for these conversations which are an important part of the life of the cholo.

Some of the major characters of each novel are good story tellers. Simón Robles in Los perros hambrientos delights in relating tales whenever family and friends gather. He can entertain for one evening with stories that explain the origin of his dogs' names. Alegría describes for us a specific night when all are gathered around, the men chewing coca leaves:

Simón, con su natural habilidad de narrador, callóse para provocar un expectante silencio. El Mashe y su familia, que gustaban de los relatos, eran todo oídos. Los que ya lo conocían se aprestaban a escucharlo con gusto, pues el Simón sabía agregar algún detalle nuevo cada vez. (P 314)

Simón knows how to capture his audience, unravel details, and fabricate in order to make each retelling have new appeal. He thus uses his language to fulfill the need for entertainment and escape in his fellowman.
Other speakers draw attention from those gathered with the story of their lives. This ties in with Alegría's social protest as he gives people a chance to explain why they believe that they are victims of society or to explain how society mistreats and causes people to break laws or do wrong in their own defense. A fugitive from the authorities has been on the run for twenty years. He tells his story and Alegría has him do so in his own manner of speaking.

Aura quianque no seya yo, mechan la culpa e muertes que no las hago... Cuando muere e repente cualesquier cristiano que lo maten poray, la polecía dice: "eses el Riero." (§ 163)

This man or others like him, who can never appear outside of his group of friends for fear of being captured, sends his message to the reader.

The speech of Alegría's characters reveals the social class to which each one belongs. The language that is used, the choice of topic being discussed, and the mention of certain characteristics in the manner of the speaker all are features that identify the class of the speaker.

The people of the upper class, the whites sometimes called by Alegría togados, speak what we may call the standard language. A standard, as Pei and Gaynor have explained it in *A Dictionary of Linguistics*, is the dialect of a language which has gained literary and cultural supremacy over the other dialects and is accepted by the speakers of the other dialects as the most proper form of that language.13 The standard is usually the language of a small percentage of the population. Entwistle says that

---

it is spoken by an influential educated minority who speaks with intentional accuracy. Throughout Spain and the Americas there may be a number of standards representing areas with different features in speech. The standards show much uniformity. They do not accept some phenomena, mainly in the fields of phonology and vocabulary, that may or may not be desirable in standard speech elsewhere. The primary concern as we examine the speech of Alegria's novels is with the standard Peruvian Spanish, the language accepted by the educated people of Peru as being superior. It is the Spanish taught in the schools and universities. Some of the differences between standard Peruvian speech and the speech of other areas will be mentioned later.

In _El mundo es ancho y ajeno_ there is a priest from Spain who uses standard Castilian.

Don Gervasio Mestas hablaba un castellano presuntuoso, si se tiene en cuenta a quienes lo dirigia. Su servidumbre habia llegado a comprenderlo despues de mucho. Las demas gentes casi no le entendian. (M 215)

Upon welcoming the Indians, he addresses them,

Decid, buena gente,  qué os trae por aqui? (M 215).

The difference occurring in his speech and that acceptable to the standard Peruvian is his use of the verb in the second person plural. It will be noted that such forms are not used in Peru.

Also there are topics of conversation that set apart the speakers belonging to different social classes. Politics, government, Lima, and

---


revolution are heard discussed only by the upper class. (M 50). As
the engineer points out,

Esos cholos de Calemar son atentos pero no hablan
sino de lo suyo. (S 50).

No one but the beautiful, rich, protected Melba, lover of the lawyer
Bismarck, can say,

Nos iremos a la costa, amor. Sólo por un tiempo a
pasear. No te pido que abandones tu trabajo para
siempre. (N 200)

This same Bismarck explains his name to the comuneros.

Yo soy Bismar, como el gran hombre, ¿No saben
ustedes quién fué Bismarck?

Of course the Indians had never heard of him. (M 93)

Some indications of the manner of speaking in this class are evi-
dent in the novels. The young engineer surrounded by lower class people
is pleased when he hears, in contrast to the voice of the cholo, one that
produces

un castellano claro y suelto aunque con el acento
de la región. Era el reencuentro del mundo dejado
allá abajo, hacia el sur, muy lejos. (S 50)

Throughout the novels there are certain characteristics that seem
to reappear concerning how members of the upper class speaks to those of
the lower classes. The priests, although their manner may be courteous
to those beneath them, speak in a way that shows that they do not under-
stand their problems. The dialogue makes obvious the lack of communication.

One priest often calls the cholo "hijito mío," but when a group pleads
that he say an individual mass for each dead loved one, he responds,
"Si quieren misa aparte, cinco soles por cada una." (S 97). When the
comuneros go to the priest whom they respect for advice, he lets them
down by being noncommittal and saying only, "Obedeced los altos designios de Dios y tened fe." (M 215). The speakers of the upper class, usually landowners, repeatedly show lack of respect, even disgust and disdain, toward the cholo. Speaking in mandatory tones, they reveal their lack of intention to permit a two-way communication. Don Cipriano commands:

Siembren, siembren. Ya ven que fue malo el año que pasó. Si éste es así, saberá Dios lo que pasara con sus hijos. (P 309)

Don Juvencio warns his peones, "Agradézcan que no los mato como a perros." (P 360)

Alegria shows the cholo to be very talkative. He talks about his experiences, nature, the past, legends, about life and death. These statements serve to illustrate:

Matías seguía hablando de cuanto se le ocurrió. . . . El viejo es de los que conversan a gusto cuando hay que contar de su tierra. (§ 17)

Todos a excepción del presumido forastero, conversamos animadamente. (§ 21)

Concerning the manner of the cholo in speaking, Alegria describes his voice:

Suena la voz amistosa. (§ 16)

Hablan con voz alta y tonante, apta para los amplios espacios o el diálogo con las penas. (§ 15)

The cholo reveals in his speech that he is not totally submissive to the upper class. On one occasion the group becomes angered at a priest who refuses to say individual masses that he has already been paid to say. They yell and shout insults:

—No seyaste mentiroso!
—Es un descaro!
--El cura sia güelto avariento.
--Yo voy atajalo. (S 98)

When the rich landowner refuses to help the hungry cholos, Simón Robles is the spokesman for his fellowmen:

Patrón, ¿cómo que nuay nada? Sus mulas y caballos finos tan comiendo cebada. No vale más quien animal un cristiano . . . Nosotros sí que somos como perros hambrientos. (P 361)

After a negative response from the white man, a call to attack comes from among the cholos:

Sonó una voz potente:
-Vamos pal terrao... Ay ta la puerta. (P 362)

The class of the cholos may be subdivided. The cholos who leave their local environment and acquire a position of authority look down on the other cholos. Some may become civil guards or aides through whom the rich landowners enforce their own laws on the lower classes. When all gather in the towns for a celebration, the civil guards abuse the cholos, especially through their language. On one occasion the guards, angered in an encounter with the cholos of Calemar, shout to one:

Insolente. Ya te vamos a enseñar como se respeta a la Guardia Civil... Tuestos son unos gran perros. (S 36-37)

In another incident the guards arrive one day without warning to take away young Mateo for military service. His wife protests, one slaps her to the ground and says to Mateo, "Camina, so jijuna." Then to the other guard he says, "Pa que aprienda a cumplir con su deber este cholo animal." (P 243)

Among the upper class the Indian has the reputation of not talking. This is exemplified in an incident in which an Indian guides the engineer to the mountain top. The engineer tries to make small talk and the following
dialogue ensues:

--¿De dónde vienes?
--Bambamarca, taita.
--¿Vas al Mananón?
--Sí, taita.
--¿A traer coca y plátanos?
--Sí, taita.
--¿Lloverá hoy?
--Nuay ser, taita.
--¿Por qué no hablan los bambamarquinos?
--Así es su ser, taita.
--¿Y tú?
--También, pue, taita. (S 61)

Alegría concludes this dialogue with the following explanation.

El indio de la hacienda guarda el secreto al de la comunidad y el suyo propio. Sabe bien que todos hablan, larga y entretenidamente, pero no con los blancos. Apenas ven un rostro claro o una indumentaria diferente a la suya, sellan sus labios y no los abren sino para contestar lo necesario. (S 61)

Alegría tells us that the Indian does converse when among those of his own group. In the following words, the author conveys the topics of the Indian's dialogue:

Solamente sus coros fraternos formados en familia a la puerta de las chozas o comunitariamente al borde de las eras o las chacras, escuchan las disertaciones sobre las incidencias de la vida diaria y las bellas consejas. Allí se sabe del sollozo de las plantas en la sequía, de cómo la laguna se pone roja recordando la muerte de muchos guerreros antiguos que fueron degollados y arrojados a ella por sublevarse, de lo que dice el sol cuando las nubes pasan frente a él y cómo los truenos son producidos por San Isidro, el patrón de los chacareros, quien—jinete en un corcel herrado y brioso—galopa por los cielos ordenando la lluvia buena. O también una maravillosa historia... (S 61-62)

In the manner of speaking, the Indian shows less emotion in contrast to frequently displayed emotion by the whites and cholos. The engineer who
has climbed the mountain with his Indian guide feels close to death because of the lack of oxygen, and his situation is relieved by chewing coca leaves that the Indian shares with him. After recuperating he looks out over the marvelous view and the author says of him that

 quiere articular su emoción y vuelve los ojos al guía pero él está mudo e impasible como las rocas. (§ 66)

The guards who threaten the Indian Rosendo about sending out spies are surprised by his reaction. Alegría writes, "No sabían qué actitud tomar ante este despectivo silencio." (M 223)

The novelist tries to impart to his reader a certain tone characteristic in the voice of the Indian which reflects his attitude towards life. He says of the utosos, men with a disease peculiar to the area, "que saludan con voz ronda". (§ 10). Also he describes their voice as "una queja de agonía". (§ 115). Elsewhere, the engineer hears a song of a young shepherdess.

Guapi, guapi, cóndor,
no te lleves mi corderu
no te lleves mi corderuuuu. . . (§ 63)

Then Alegría explains what the sounds meant to the engineer.

La voz es delgada y se expande blandamente en una mezcla de sollozo y de ruego; pero luego se levanta y arrebata sin dejar por eso el tono de melancolía. . . . Es contagiosa la tremenda congoja de esos cantos que articula el dolor desde las entrañas de una raza sufrida y paciente, víctima de una servidumbre despiadada y de la cordillera abrupta e inmisericorde. Cantos que son hijos del hambre y el latigo, de la roca y la fiera, de la nieve y la niebla, de la soledad y del viento. (§ 63-64)

There is little difference, if any, between the actual speech as used by the cholos and that used by the Indians in Alegría's novels; however,
this speech is different in some ways from the standard language of the upper class. These differences will comprise much of the study of the next part.
III
THE SPEECH ENCOUNTERED IN THE NOVELS
Phonology

We will take a brief look at certain factors that may explain the existence of the phonemes in the speech that Alegría includes in his works. Charts will indicate the phonemes of the standard Peruvian Spanish, they will make reference to certain phonemes as described in linguistic studies, and they will point to variations seen in the speech of the cholo and of the Indian. Comments and conclusions will follow the charts.

The Spanish language was brought to the New World by the conquerers and settlers from Spain following the discovery of 1492. They brought a language which had consolidated its essential characters under the leadership of the kingdom of Castile.17

The two most obvious differences between the Spanish of the New World and that of Spain are the seseo and yeísmo (See chart, p.32).

16Lapesa, p. 341.

These same articulations are also present in the speech of Andalusia. The fact that they occur in both places leads to the discussion that has continued for years concerning the possible Andalusian influence upon American Spanish.

In Amado Alonso’s study of the basis for pronunciation in the Americas, the writer attempts to discredit the theory of Andalusian influence. He points out that yeismo was documented in America before it was documented in Andalusia, and that seseo appeared concurrently in these places. He adds to his argument the point that American Spanish does not have the other traits that distinguish Andalusian from the remaining dialects of Spain. Based on works such as Historia verdadera by Bernal Díaz de Castillo, written at the time of the explorations, Alonso says that a great number of Spaniards came from the northern and central parts of Spain. He disputes the arguments that the only ports were those in southern Spain by pointing to the northern ones that sent ships after 1529. His theory basically holds that both the Spanish of the Peninsula and that of the Americas underwent certain similar changes about the same time, and thus that similar phenomena resulted in both regions.

Lapesa goes on to point out that there are factors which indicate that the Andalusian dialect may have exercised some influence over American Spanish, at least in developments that occurred in the early colonization.  

---


19 Lapesa, p. 350.
During these years Andalusia monopolized commerce and relations with the New World. The major ports were located there and the metropolitan influence was that from Andalusia. Lapesa also points out that according to the Boyd-Bowman studies of 1963, the majority of the settlers were from Andalusia. Because of this and the communication between the two areas, the language of both continued to develop along the same lines.

At the time of the conquests, the Andalusians were confusing the articulation of the sibilants. There is evidence that these confusions also existed throughout the Americas. The question was settled in both places with the sibilants being articulated in one manner, that of the seseo.

Yeismo appears later in the language than does seseo and is not as widely accepted in the Americas as is the latter. Yeismo is attested among the Andalusian Moors in the early seventeenth century. It appears attested in Peru in the poetry of Juan del Valle Caviedes between 1665 and 1695.

The fact that the distinguishing traits of American Spanish do occur in the speech of Andalusia indicates a large degree of communication between the two areas when the traits were in the process of their development.

---

20 Lapesa, p. 350.
21 Lapesa, p. 361.
22 Lapesa, p. 353.
When Canfield studies the pronunciation of Spanish in America today, he sees it as a manifestation of present circumstances and past influence.\(^{23}\) People continue to speak in a way according to their linguistic tradition, but, so that the language may continue functioning or serving the speaker, the present calls for coping with some changes. Thus the spoken language is a result of historical forces and present day adjustments. Canfield proposes to study Spanish American pronunciation by examining

los fenómenos de la pronunciación hispanoamericana como sistema de actividad historicamente determinado—sistema que resulta del esfuerzo del individuo por hablar conforme a la tradición de su comunidad, ¡de hablar como los otros! Y dentro de esta actividad tradicional, el cambio fónico es, en rigor, reconstrucción y renovación para que siga funcionando el lenguaje, y la norma de realización obedece en cualquier momento a lo que se ha dicho.\(^{24}\)

The tradition of Spain ceased to be the major factor as the settlers began to live and talk in a new world. Strange objects and new experiences required special attention as they were encountered by the traditional language.

One factor that has had its possible toll on the present day language is the Indian substratum.\(^{25}\) The area of the Andes was under the rule of the Inca at the time of the conquest. The principal language spoken by Indians who live there now as well as by their ancestors is Quechua.

\(^{23}\)Canfield, p. 57.

\(^{24}\)loc. cit.

\(^{25}\)Lapesa, p. 344.
Another factor is the particular geographical area that was settled which may or may not have permitted easy communication with other regions. In the interior where communication with the cities is difficult because of geographical barriers, the language does not encounter the same changes. Again, in the case of Peru, the barriers caused by the mountains and the difficulty of traveling the Marañón River have made transportation to and communication with the cities of the coastal region almost impossible. Under these conditions exposure to innovations in the language were improbable, thus possibly accounting for some of the archaisms noted in the pronunciation.

We now attempt to determine the phonemes present in the speech in Alegría's works. From a written language in which the symbols are not assigned phonetic value, it is impossible in some cases to determine accurately the sounds that they represent. The orthography that the writer uses may indicate one of several pronunciations. Alegría calls attention to many sounds by changing the orthography of the written language to that which he thinks best represents the sound of the popular speech. When he writes jue for fue, one may assume that he is indicating to the reader that the pronunciation is phonetically [x]. If he does not call attention to the sound, one might assume either that the variation is one of little significance to Alegría, or it is one that the readers would automatically assume from their knowledge of the language and the area. There may be other sounds and variations that Alegría has not indicated in his novels.

26 Canfield, p. 69.
The charts that follow point out features of sosco, ceceo, yeismo, and lleismo. They also indicate vocalic and consonantal phonemes used in Peruvian speech.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segments</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Represented by</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>voiceless, alveolar fricative (dorsum presses against alveolar ridge and the tip of tongue rests against the lower incisors).</td>
<td>s, z ce and ci</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Represented by s, z ce and ci</td>
<td>peso [peso] caza [casa]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Represented by s, z ce and ci</td>
<td>cinco [sɪŋko]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θ/</td>
<td>voiceless, interdental fricative</td>
<td>z, ce, ci</td>
<td>caza [kaθa] cinco [θĩŋko]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>voiceless, alveolar fricative (apico-alveolar, the tongue touches behind upper incisors)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Represented by s peso [peso]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>voiced palatal fricative (Point of tongue goes against lower incisors and the dorsum against palate, air passes through center opening)</td>
<td>11 and y</td>
<td>halla [aŋa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Represented by 11 and y</td>
<td>halla [aŋa]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Represented by 11 and y</td>
<td>haya [aŋa]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


28 Navarro Tomás, p. 109. Navarro Tomás used the term ceceo to refer to the articulation of all sibilants as the fricative /θ/. This occurs in some parts of Andalusia.
Phonemes of Standard Peruvian Spanish

Vowels

/a/ central low vowel
/e/ palatal mid-front vowel
/i/ palatal high front vowel
/o/ alveolar mid-back vowel
/u/ velar high back vowel

Phonemes of Popular Speech according to sources and as seen in Alegria's works

/a/
/I/ neutral phoneme, realized either as /e/ or /i/
/U/ neutral phoneme, realized either as /o/ or /u/

---


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemes of Standard Peruvian Spanish</th>
<th>Phonemes, not shown by Alegría, but present according to certain studies (Variations only)</th>
<th>Phonemes probably in Alegría's popular speech (Variations only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occlusives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/ voiceless bilabial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ voiceless dental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/ voiceless velar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/ Voiced bilabial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/ voiced dental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/ voiced velar</td>
<td>gue &lt; hue [gwe]</td>
<td>gue &lt; hue [gwe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hueso [gueso]</td>
<td>[gwenø]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>Quechua words, hua &gt; gua</td>
<td>guacho &gt; guacho [gwaØ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/ voiceless labiodental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/x/ voiceless velar</td>
<td>fui &gt; juerte [xwerte]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/ voiceless alveolar</td>
<td>fruta &gt; jruta [xruta]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/ voiceless interdental</td>
<td>hierro &gt; fierro [fjero]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/ voiced palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/ voiceless palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


32 The information in this column is compiled from the following sources: Bertil Malmberg, Estudios de fonética hispánica (Madrid: Gráficas Oviedo, 1965), pp. 56, 114; and Lapesa, p. 353.
Nasals

/m/ voiced bilabial
/n/ voiced alveolar
/p/ voiced palatal

laterals

/l/ voiced alveolar
/L/ voiced palatal

Tap

/r/ voiced alveolar

/r/ /ɾ/ When final

por > po

[por] [po]

vamos a hacerlo >

vamos hacelo

[bamosasela]

Trill

/ɾ/ voiced alveolar

Semi-consonants

/w/ voiced bilabio-velar fricative

/j/ voiced palatal fricative
In considering the vowels, Alegría’s dialogues show us examples of a diminished vowel system. He writes, "¿Quién míá cortao el palo?" "¿Luan cortao?" (§ 13). Some of the words that contain such changes and are repeated frequently follow: añus, tuel in tuel día, aura, peru, nu, esu, and tuavía. As seen in these words, the /e/ and /o/ still exist in the popular speech. When the change occurs, the vowel in question is usually not in the stressed position in the word.

Canfield explains the phenomenon in the language of the region as apparently a lack of distinction between /i/ and /e/ or the classification of both sounds as being under one neutral phoneme or archiphoneme /I/. This happens also with /o/ and /u/ being under the archiphoneme /U/.

The individual speaker appears to be at liberty to use either sound where the other might occur.

Zamora Vicente has pointed out similar changes in the popular speech of the Peninsula and in some examples in literature prior to the Conquest. Two of his examples were tuavía and sigún. In many cases where there once was thought to be strong indication of influence by the Indian language, the phenomenon has more recently been discovered to exist in Spain also.

There are many vocalic variations in rustic speech that are not accepted in standard speech. The phenomena that occur primarily are caused by the speaker’s search for the easiest possible point of articulation

---

33 Canfield, p. 23.

Following are frequently noted phenomena:

\textit{aunque} \rightarrow \textit{anque, el otro} \rightarrow \textit{lotro}, vowel omitted;

\textit{creer} \rightarrow \textit{crer, va a ser} \rightarrow \textit{vaser}, dropping or combining similar or like adjacent sounds, (synalepha);

\textit{traer} \rightarrow \textit{trair, rodear} \rightarrow \textit{rodiar, pelear} \rightarrow \textit{peliar}, reducing two syllables to one, \(e \rightarrow i\), (syneresis), or in part due to substantum influence, tendency to change \(e \rightarrow i\);

\textit{feyo} \rightarrow \textit{feyo, caer} \rightarrow \textit{cayer, peor} \rightarrow \textit{peyor, traer} \rightarrow \textit{trayer}, insertion of sound to make transition easier from one sound to another, (epenthesiis);

\textit{nadie} \rightarrow \textit{naide or naides}, transposition of vowels within a word, (metathesis);

\textit{civil} \rightarrow \textit{cevil, miletar} \rightarrow \textit{militar}, differentiation of analogous sounds, (dissimilation);

\textit{aprender} \rightarrow \textit{apriender, comprender} \rightarrow \textit{compriender, prender} \rightarrow \textit{priender}, diphthongization in learned words.

Observing the chart on consonantal phonemes, one notes that there is no /v/ in standard speech. The written symbol \(v\) is pronounced as /b/.

The Peruvian poet César Vallejo, one of Alegría's teachers, shows in his peotry a confused orthography which perhaps reflects the speaker's confusion concerning the pronunciation of \(b\) and \(v\). Several lines from one poem of \textit{Trilce}:

\begin{quote}
Vusco volvver de golpe el golpe...  
Busco volvver... 35  
Fallo bolver...
\end{quote}

It is not insinuated here that the purpose in his usage is to make a linguistic point, but the fact that he did alternate the \(b\) and \(v\) may

reflect the confusion of the sounds in the area.

The reader of Alegría's novels notes immediately that in the popular speech he shows ɾ used for de. This is due to the customary loss of the intervocalic [ɾ]. \(^{36}\) This probably too accounts for the use of onde for donde, since in many usages the word is not the initial utterance in the phrase.

Malmberg says that in the same areas where güeno is said for bueno, güévo is also used for huevo. \(^{37}\) Alegría does show the use güe-for hue-, but no indication of the latter substitution is given. Malmberg explains that the velar element of the [ɾ] has been reinforced until it becomes the occlusive [ɾ]. He then recalls the group of words adopted from the Quechua language beginning with hua-, the[h] being very weak in its aspiration, which were changed to gua- in Spanish. Two examples are huanaco > guanaco and huacho > guacho. He adds that in the Andes area these words were pronounced like Spanish words that began with hu- or [ɾ]. From Alegría's writings there are no hints as to a pronunciation other than that in standard speech, but as has been stated before, his omission does not necessarily exclude the possibility of such pronunciation in the region.

The examples in the chart on page\(^3\) showing changes from/f/ > /x/ in the popular speech have to do with the archaism of the aspirated /h/.

---

\(^{36}\)Entwistle, p. 260.

\(^{37}\)Malmberg, p. 56.
In the development of speech into Spanish from Latin, /h/ frequently occurs as an initial sound. Often the /f/ was changed to /h/. The /h/ represented an ejection of air or an aspiration, but it was very weak and finally it disappeared in Spain. During the sixteenth century, the time of the first settlements in the New World, the /h/ was still used in southern parts of Castile, Leon, and in Andalusia, especially in the popular speech, and today continues to be pronounced in rustic speech. Alegria shows that in the popular speech of his region, the once initial Latin f is still pronounced as /h/ in some cases, especially if the diphthong ue [̯we] follows. However, the reader cannot be sure if the actual articulation is realized as /x/, as Alegria's spelling would indicate, using a j, or if the aspiration is slightly weaker as it was in the phoneme /h/ in early Spanish. There also appears to be other words that begin with /h/ which have lost that sound in standard speech, although the speakers continue to use the aspiration, huir > juir, [xwir]. This is carried to the point in which the speaker completely confuses the /f/ and /h/ or /x/ sounds and pronounces a word like fruta as [xruta] or hierro as [fjeɾo].

Concerning the final /r/, its disappearance is noted in popular speech whenever a pronoun is added to an infinitive. "Vamos haceslo." (§ 42).


39 Lapesa, p. 248.

40 Lapesa, p. 354.
On the chart the loss of /r/ from por is indicated. A similar phenomenon could possibly describe the loss of /r/ in para> pa. This word is frequently used, and the final a would combine with the initial sound of the following word. The final /r/ then may have been omitted as had occurred in por.

Although in standard speech the phoneme /l/ does not occur, it is reported to exist in mountainous areas of Peru. Lapesa and Malmberg suggest the substratum influence as the possible reason for the preservation of the /l/ in that area.\textsuperscript{41} The Quechua language also has the phoneme /l/. Another explanation for its preservation could be due to the fact that yeismo was an innovation after the early settlements, and that Peru's geographical features prohibited communications that would transmit such changes. The question, based on Alegría's writings, as to the pronunciation of \textsuperscript{1} in this area remains unanswered since he gives no indication as to which it might be. It can be noted here that Rivera, a Colombian novelist of the same period who includes popular speech in La Vorágine, uses y to indicate the presence of yeismo in his region. He writes caballo as cabayo. Alegría, however, does not do this.

In the popular speech another sound which is probably due to Quechua influence is /ʃ/; its orthographic symbol is sh. This is not a Spanish sound, and Alegría in reference to a dog's name Shapra says:

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{41} Lapesá, p. 353.  
Malmberg, p. 114.
En el lenguaje cholo, algunas palabras keswas superviven injertadas en un castellano aliquebrado que sólo ahora empieza a ensayar su nuevo vuelvo. (P 231).

This sound is noted in certain Indian names or alterations in other names. "El Mashe se llamaba Marcelino en cristiano". (P 312) "Nasha o, en buen cristiano, Narcisa". Lucas is called Lusha by his beloved. The chulos refer to a monster who is believed to inhabit the Marañón and his name is Cayguash. Also the words caisha, (child), cashua, (an Indian dance), and cushal, (soup), are used daily in speech by the people who inhabit the Marañón valley and the nearby mountains.

In looking over the phonology of the popular speech as a whole, one fact that stands out is the lack of uniformity. Different phenomena may work on one word and that word may be said in several ways. Todavía is said in the popular speech as todavía, toavía, tuavía, and tovia. The word todo is said as todo, to, tu, and sometimes as a diminutive toito.

An attempt has been made to describe any differences in sound between the popular speech and standard speech. It may be noted that there are relatively few differences. Among the vowels, /e/ and /o/ are changed to /i/ and /u/, especially when not stressed. Among the consonants, changes from [bu] > [gw] and [f] > [x] or [h] > [x] take place. The other

42 Ciro Alegria, El mundo es ancho y ajeno, 2a ed. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1968), p. 194. Hereafter quotations from novel will be indicated within the text by the initial M followed by a page number.
differences consist of the loss of certain sounds, and in one additional sound /ʃ/ which appears to be used in naming either people or things such as food, or a certain dance.

We look to certain factors that have influenced the development of the present day speech among the cholos. The state in which the language was brought from Spain, the influence that Peninsular Spanish continued to have on it, especially through Andalusian, all have contributed to the present speech. Certain possible influences from Quechua have been noted, including the tendency to reduce the vowels to three from five, the possible use of the phoneme /ɔ/, and the /ʃ/. Influences probably due to geographical barriers have been cited. Many of the phenomena in popular speech are due to the tendency to reach the easiest points of articulation and these same phenomena often are found in other regions in the Spanish-speaking world.
Some of the word formations that Alegría uses are pointed out. Also we call attention to remarks by certain linguists concerning some of these constructions.

Concerning the morphology, the reader may note that there do not appear to be very many variations in the formation of the words in Alegría's speech from those in standard Peruvian Spanish. One might keep in mind that the speech that the novelist uses is limited to describe the situations in the novels. In actual speech there may be many more variations, of course.

One example noted for the singular-plural formations is that used by the cholo when he calls out to his fellowman, "Hom". "Pasa, hom... llega, hom." (§ 16). Later in the same novel, el Arturo, speaking to the men gathered, says, "Homs a la balsa, a pasar luego". (§ 19). This is an example of the pluralization by adding s instead of the standard es to a consonant. Also it may be noted at this point that hom is used for hombre, thus exemplifying the use of a shortened form.

Another variation in pluralization occurs with verbs in an affirmative command form that have a pronoun object attached. Instead of the n being placed before the inflection, it is attached to it, making the
command delem (§ 101) instead of denle, but this is not always the case, as shown in "Pásemme coquita". (§ 139)

Also noted is a frequent use of the diminutive. The diminutive in Spanish implies more than the word suggests, that of being small-sized. The cholo uses the diminutive in all types of words. One notes it especially in adverbs where it appears to be used to emphasize time, quantity, or manner. The following are some examples:

Vámonos aurita. (§ 41)

La balsa no se va dir solito. (§ 41)

Salgo lueguito. (§ 81)

Mañana tempranito. (§ 112)

The nouns, pronouns, and adjectives made diminutives indicate also an emphasis, a special entreaty on the part of the speaker, or possibly speech in a pleasant situation. One would not say "adiosito" to someone that one does not like. The use of the diminutive is broader than simply an indication of affection or pity. Some examples follow that show a variety of uses:

Oracioncito po lamita el difuntito Pedro. (P 37)

Más una nadita y ya llegamos parríba. (§ 64)

Todos a excepción del presumidito forastero. (§ 21)

Lultimito día e fiesta. (§ 38)

The augmentative inflection is also used, although less frequently than is the diminutive.
Los cholones andan a matarse. (§ 57)

Una iglesuca mira el valle con el ojo único de su campanario albo. (§ 11)

El Arturo es un balserote de cuenta. (§ 69)

We note, too, an -azo ending that would suggest a superlative. Both Lapesa and Zamora Vicente point out this formation as being popular in American Spanish. Exclaiming over the fact that so many had claimed to have seen the blue cougar, el Matías says, "Juasucristazo!" (§ 37) The dog telling his story says, "Me dieron e ju étazos". (P 272)

Many of the girls have names that end in -inda. Some examples are Florinda, Lucinda, Hormecinda, Orfelinda, Hermelinda. This ending may be peculiar to the region and it may emphasize the beauty of the girls. Lapesa points out that lindo is the word most often used for "pretty" in American Spanish. Alegria could have grouped the women in this way to show their role in Calemar:

Sus bellos nombres nos endulzan la boca. Ellas mismas nos endulzan la vida. Son como la coca. Las queremos mucho los cristianos de estos valles. (§ 48)

Still dealing with names, the speaker on two occasions in La serpiente de oro shows affection or admiration for another person and alters that person's name by using an ending with -sha or a variation of it. Florinda and Lucas are involved in a conversation which reveals their mutual love:

---

43 Lapesa, p. 358.
Zamora Vicente, p. 344.

44 Lapesa, p. 360.
--Yo, de a verda, te quiero mucho...
--Sia de mentir usté, don Lusha...
--¡Lusha!, ¿de ónde sacas eso?
--Se me hace más bonito que decile Lucas. (§ 158)

In another example, don Osvaldo returns to Calemar after a year of exploration in the valleys and mountains. He has acquired many of the local habits, including the use of the coca leaf. Don Matías exclaims, "¡Bah!, don Oshva, quien aprende a coquiar puacá se queda." (§ 140).

Groups or groupings are noted by a certain ending. When -ada is added to the noun, it indicates a group of what or whom the noun implies. Lapesa especially notes these collective forms as characteristic of American Spanish.45

La cholada ha rodeado el bohío. (§ 100)
Venía mucha palizada también. (§ 19)
Una bandada de loros cruza. (§ 87)

Noting variations in pronoun usage, Alegría in his texts uses lo and le for the direct object:

Su servidumbre había llegado a comprenderlo después de mucho. Las demás gentes casi no le entendían. (M 215)

When le is used, it is reserved for persons. In his dialogues of popular speech lo appears to be the only pronoun for "him" that the author uses. The use of lo is another trait of American Spanish, especially in speech.46

45 Lapesa, p. 361.
46 Kany, p. 102.
In standard speech the object pronoun is considered enclitic or proclitic, depending on position. On occasion in an affirmative command, the pronoun, not the verb, receives the stress. "Quedensé, cómo no, quedensé." (§ 110)

Several notations might be made concerning verb formation. Entwistle, Lapesa, and Zamora Vicente all state that the synthetic future is replaced in American Spanish by the periphrastic formation. This is not done as much in literary language as in speech, but in the study of Alegría's popular speech, the synthetic form appears to have more usage. Some examples follow:

Tendremos que dir a Shicun. (§ 22)

Primero tomaremos algo en el fundo y trairemos algunos poros del jerte para convidar. (§ 22)

One of the relatively few examples of the periphrastic use is "¿Qué van a hacer los indios?" (M 342)

Also it might be noted there is an exclusive use of the -ra form of the imperfect subjunctive. This, too, is a trait of American Spanish.

No había quien cultivara las chacritas. (M 334)

Deseaban que los llevaran. (M 334)

Si fuera el valle como la puna, ¡libre de todo mal! (§ 112)

---

47 Entwistle, p. 260.
Lapesa, p. 360.
Zamora Vicente, p. 345.

48 Kany, p. 182.
Some present subjunctive variations are vaiga, ir; seya or seiga, ser; haiga, haber. The past subjunctive differs from standard speech in the verbs traer and decir, which have the forms trajiera and dijiera. Semos is used for somos; dir for ir. In two very common two-syllable verbs, estar and haber, the first syllable is often omitted in speech. From estar one finds, tar, toy, ta, tara, taba, taban; from haber are ber, biendo, bia, biera, biéramos, and bieran.

Dizqué is a form of decir, meaning dicen que or se dice que, the impersonal "they say", and sometimes through repeated usage it may have just the meaning of que. In Spain the form dizqué ceased to be used to any extent, except maybe in rustic speech, by the end of the sixteenth century; however, it flourishes even today in American Spanish, mainly in rustic expression. Kany especially notes its use in the Andean highlands. We give examples:

... Yun cristiano que dizqué juel teniente me quiere pescar. (§ 163)

El puma azul ... dizqué puma azul. (§ 125)

Its usage in Alegría's novels is frequently noted in story telling. Pancho begins a story, "Un cura dizqué taba queriendo mucho onde una niña." (P 222) Kany does not note an accent mark on the word, but the mark that Alegría uses(dizqué) indicates that the stress is on the last syllable.

The expression quesqué from que es que is also used. Kany notes

49 Kany, p. 244.
50 Kany, pp. 247-49.
51 Kany, p. 246.
it as an expression that means *que*, but Alegría seems to use it as a statement denying what has just been said:

--- ¿Le duela la mano?
--- Quesqué--gruñó--es una corazonada lo que mi dado... (§ 71)

--- ¿Y aquí toman el agua turbia del río?
--- Quesqué, señorcito. Se junta e la quebrada... (§ 20)

From the speech that we see in Alegría's novels one can say that the singular-plural formations are basically the same as in standard speech. An exception is noted in a word in which the original formation has been altered by apocope. Since this is not found in other nouns, one might consider the entire treatment of the word as an exception to the usual pattern of formations possibly due to the common usage of the word. Also in pluralizations of verbs, there appears to be some confusion as to the placement of the *n* when a pronoun is attached.

The diminutive, augmentative, superlative, and groupings appear in all areas that speak Spanish, but their abundant use and their application to words peculiar to this region seem to indicate that they are very popular and a predominant feature distinguishing the speech of the area. The concept of affectionate naming is not original to this area, but the ending *-sha* or a variation, belongs to this region and may well be from the Quechua language.

*Lo* for the direct object pronoun "him" and the *-ra* imperfect subjunctive form are both used in standard speech and reflect a usage throughout the Americas. The manner of expressing future time,
synthetically and periphrastically, both are used in standard speech. The major difference in verbs from those in standard seems to be shortened forms or variations in verbs that are frequently used.
Syntax

Some syntactical features that vary from those of standard speech are noted. Voseo is described with a brief diachronic look at how it came to be used. We note other variations in the use of artículos, titles, a counting pattern, a possessive, and certain individual words.

One of the primary features of syntax that is noted in Alegria's speech of the cholo is the use of vos in address. Voseo means the use of the familiar singular vos to replace tú, with the verb being either in the second person singular or second person plural, together with the pronouns te, vos, for ti, and the possessives tu and tuyo.52 In Spain during the Middle Ages, vos although it referred to a singular person, was originally used with the second person plural verb, and it was used as a form of address showing respect. Kany cites examples from the Poema del Cid, "Vos tomades, vos llegastes".

52Kany, p. 56.
Tú was the pronoun used in addressing persons of inferior rank. By the fifteenth century the distance between vos and tú had lessened in its indication of respect or inferiority and, in fact, the two were interchanged. During the course of the seventeenth century, in Spain vos was replaced by tú for familiar address, but, as Kany points out, vos to this day has survived vigorously in American Spanish.53

In the American regions where voseo is used, it generally consists of vos with the plural verb forms, such as vos amáis, vos amasteis or amastes. The imperative form that accompanies vos is amá from amad.54

We focus now on voseo in the region of Peru, and more specifically in the region of Alegría's novels. When the American colonies were established, both Spain and the new settlements used voseo. As noted, while Spain ceased to use vos, use of it generally continued in the colonies. The areas in the New World that followed more closely Spain's tradition were those where the viceroyalties were the strongest and the communication with Spain the greatest, as in Mexico and in Peru. Therefore, in standard speech in Peru, voseo is not found. Kany explains that among the upper class the use of vos immediately recalls rustic speech. In an attempt to elevate the use of voseo, the semi-cultured or those who use vos but know it is not accepted in standard speech, substitute the correct second person

53Kany, pp. 58-61.
54Kany, p. 61.
singular verb for the second person plural, for example, vos tomas, vos comes.\textsuperscript{55}

The substitution of the singular verb for the plural is the voseo that is seen in Alegría's popular speech. One would not believe that the cholos who use this voseo consciously try to elevate their speech by the substitution, but it must be this form that has come to them originally from the semi-cultured as it is that which has been used through the years.

In Alegría's novels vos is not used among the upper class, reflecting its absence in standard speech. This class uses tú to speak to the lower classes and usted among themselves in formal address. The cholos and Indians use usted to speak to people of superior rank and to unfamiliar people, and they use vos with singular verb in speaking among themselves. All use ustedes in the plural and follow it with the third person plural verb, a feature which is predominant throughout the Americas.

A look at Alegría's novels reveals how the upper class speaks in direct address. The engineer speaks to his equal whom he did not previously know, "Pero usted sabe que la ciencia domina todo". (\S 52) The girl speaks to her lover, "No te pido que abandones tu trabajo". (M 200) The engineer says to the Indian guide, "¡Me has traído a matar aquí, indio bestia?" (S 65). He uses usted in his formal conversation. Speaking intimately and to a lower class he used tú with second person verb.

\textsuperscript{55}Kany, pp. 61-62.
There appear to be no differences in how the Indians and cholos use vos, so we group them together and give examples of their speech. Don Matías, a cholo, asks the engineer, "¿Cómo se llamaste?" (§ 16). At first glance this appears to be the familiar form of a verb, but it is formal and results from the fusion of llama and usted. Arturo and Lucinda first meet and Alegria writes:

--- ¿No vasté?
--- Nuay querer mi mama.

... Se arriesga a tutearlav56 por fin,
--- Tías güelto güenamoza!
--- Y vos tías güelto mentiroso. (§ 28)

Rosendo and Jacinto, two leaders in the Indian community, always use usted in speaking to each other. Both are imprisoned, suffer, and later meet in prison. Jacinto greets Rosendo with, "Rosendo, sientate en este banco". (M 318). Alegria adds,

Hermanados por la desgracia, habían comenzado a tutearse espontaneamente. (M 318)

The lower classes apparently have dropped tú in the region that provides the background for these three novels. With vos and the second person singular verb, te is the reflexive pronoun and tu is the possessive adjective.

¡Tías güelto güenamoza! (§ 28)

¿Tienes tu libreta militar? (§ 36)

Again we might note that all use the one direct address for the plural, ustedes and the third plural verb. A landowner ordered his begging peons, "Váyanse". (P 361)

--- 56 Kany, p.56. Kany explains that tutear means to use tú and second person singular verb, but here Alegria uses tutear to indicate vos with second person verb.
Probably due to Alegría's upbringing, when he thinks of his characters and their names, he automatically refers to them as el Arturo, la Lucinda, el Simón, using the article with the given name. He does this in his prose passages as well as in the popular speech, but this is not always encountered in his last novel. Kany explains this use of the definite article as surviving in rural regions and probably stemming from its common practice in Spain at the time of the colonization. The article was used with Arabic names, el Cid; in the vocative, "Digas tú, el marinero"; with nicknames, el Cojo; and sometimes before don. It also continues to be used with given names in popular speech in Spain today. The characters in Olmo's play, La camisa, refer to la Maruja, la Lola, el Agustinillo and others.

In the popular speech the titles don and doña are found accompanying the given names of people of the upper class as well as those of the lower classes; however, one from the upper class does not use don for one beneath his social level. Among the lower class those older man worthy of much respect are called by such a title. Referring to an old respected cholo, Alegría says, "Don Matías Romero vivía con su mujer, doña Melcha". (§ 16). In popular speech for doña we find na. "Es la sobrinita e na Mariana". (§ 137). The Indian leader Rosendo has the respect of all the comuneros. "¿Qué es de don Rosendo?" (M 210). All men of the upper class are referred to by the lower with the title of don. "Y don Juvencio nos dijo: 'Conque ustedes, ¿no? . . .'" (p 360)

57 Kany, p. 24.
Señor is found in direct address, but not accompanying a surname. A shortened form is used sometimes among the lower classes. The cholo Matías talking to the engineer said, "Ah, señor!" (§ 19). The Indian with the disease says to the cholos, "Dios lo pague, ñores." (§ 119)

Antuca, instead of using the established pattern of counting in standard speech, counts by pairs:

Antuca, la pastora, como sus taitas y hermanos contaban por pares... Su aritmética acendía hasta ciento para volver de allí al principio. (P 219)

The use of this pattern as well as the use of popular speech reveals the lack of formal education, but it also shows a very practical use of the language.

Regarding possessives, an example is seen that may represent a phenomenon due to Quechua influence. Rosendo summons his dog, "Candela, Candelay". (M 84). The -y suffix may be related to the Quechua trait of agglutination in order to show possession. "Candelay" would mean "my Candela."

Repeated in the popular speech many times are words that we might call interjections, words used to call attention, to express emotion, or said while the speaker forms his thoughts. They do not have any relation to the words following except maybe to set the mood. There are very few examples of interjections used among the upper class in the novels; however, this may be explained by the fact that these works do not give us intimate conversations on the upper class level. There

58 Entwistle, p. 238.
is a minimum of upper class conversation and it is usually based on the dealings of its members with those from the lower classes, not on conversational topics that call forth interjections.

Some of the interjections used by the cholo or Indian are pue, acau, and velay. Pues or the more popular pue is used frequently, in fact, so much so that either form does not appear to have a meaning.

No puedo, pue. (S 22)

Tamién, pue, taita. (S 61)

Acua indicates that a sorrowful response follows. "Acua, ya murió". (S 152). Velay calls one's attention to the fact to be said. "... Y velay que pasó tiempos." (S 162)

In popular speech, onde, a variation of donde, is used in more circumstances than donde is used in standard speech. In literary language it may be replaced with en, de, a, por, or para. Some examples from Alegría follow:

Si muero, dile onde la china Flori que jué po vela. (S 80)

... la niña no lo quería onde él. (P 222)

La llevó onde su casa. (P 222)

In looking at the syntax in Alegría's popular speech, one continues to note archaic influences, for example, voseo, although it is altered from the original usage. One notes also the use of articles with given

---

59 Kany, p. 363.
names. With the possessive there is a possibility of substratum influence. Other features simply help the speaker to communicate, his main purpose in speaking, and from his point of view, perhaps to communicate with more clarity. By the use of titles he shows respect. He finds a more practical way of counting. He says words that imply his mood, and, in the case of onde, he uses this one word to replace several concepts that exist in standard speech.
Vocabulary

From Alegría's novels an attempt is made to pick out vocabulary which originates or has special meaning in the Americas with emphasis given to words from the area that the Peruvian author describes in his works. Examples will be given that show the use of some of these words in the novels.

One finds many Americanisms in Alegría's works, words that have their origin in the New World or which acquire a different meaning in the New World. The explorers found themselves in a new environment with different plants, animals, people, and experiences. What to call each thing, person, or experience was their decision, and they frequently settled for the word that the Indians of that particular area used. This fact accounts for the variation in vocabulary from one region to another. Very little influence by the Indians is noted in the development of American Spanish, but the Indian names used in identifying things are a contribution to the entire language.
Alegría uses some words peculiar to his region and other words originating there that may now have broader acceptance. At times he explains or describes to the reader what the word represents. In this portion of the study, the vocabulary does not come only from the dialogues or the popular speech, but it comes from the entirety of his works, for Alegría's language reflects the vocabulary of the region where he spent his formative years.

We note some of the most commonly used words and their origin.

The following are from the Quechua language:

- alpaca
- antara
- coca
- cóndor
- chacra
- charqui
- china
- guacho
- jalca
- jora
- llama
- mate
- oroya
- palta
- pampa
- pongo
- poro
- puma
- puna
- quincha
- vicuña
- yaraví

---

60The information on the origin of the words is obtained from Juan Corominas, Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1961); Augusto Malaret, Diccionario de americanismos, ed.3 (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1964); Entwistle, p. 243; and Lapesa, p. 347. The words listed on this page that are found in La serpiente de oro or in Los perros hambrientos are also included in the Index together with their meanings.
Other words have their origin in other Indian languages and were borrowed by the Spaniards and thus carried to Peru. From Arawak come the following: 61

ají          canoa          poncho
bohío        maíz          yuca

There are some words for which the country of origin is given in resource materials, but not the specific language. One might assume that the words are from the leading Indian language of the area, but this cannot be stated as a fact. From Argentina comes taita; from Peru:62

huaino       rauma         uta
olluco       quina, quinua

Some vocabulary used in Spain during the time of the Conquest of the New World is today considered outdated in that country. Some such words continue in use in the Americas. Two of the archaisms are pollera (skirt), which has been replaced in Spain by falda, and quebrada (small river or brook), by arroyo.63

There are words that are used throughout the Spanish-speaking world that Alegriá shows as having a different meaning in his region. In the area of the Marañón valley, we note these differences:64

61Corominas
   Malaret
   Entwistle, p. 243.
   Lapasa, p. 347.

62loc. cit.

63Lapasa, pp. 360-61.

64Alegriá, La serpiente de oro, "Vocabulario", pp. 176-79.
cristiano, civilized person
infiel, an uncivilized person
moro, an unbaptized person
juerte, strong drink
togado, educated person
cajero, drummer

In many cases Alegria actually explains the meanings of words or shows that the words represent an essential part in the lives of the cholos. In looking at the following examples, the words and how they are used in the sentences, one will note that the author does define words for the reader unfamiliar with the environment:

Balsa "Balsa: feble aramón posada sobre las aguas rugientes como sobre el peligro mismo! (§ 14.6)

Coquear"Cholos e indios en los descansos de las tareas, coquean masticando lentamente la hoja." (P 250.6)

Corrido "Sólo que es un corrido. La justicia lo persigue." (§ 160.9)

Cushal "Los indios . . . le sirven a usted un gran lapa de papas y un gran mate de cushal, o sea sopa." (§ 160.9)

Checo "Tenemos que darle explicaciones hasta de nuestros checos caleros, diciéndole que estos pequeños calabazos sirven para guardar la cal." (§ 17.17)

Chicha "La chicha abunda en baldes, en poros, en vasos, en mates. . . La atmósfera se penetra de alcohol." (§ 29.5)

Masato "Para hacer el masato se masca la yuca y luego se la arroja a recipientes de madera, donde fermenta con el agua suficiente." (§ 57.16)

Pacra "Traigan también pacra." La aludida es también una pequeña planta de las alturas. . . El cordillerano las utiliza para dárselas al ganado, molidas, junto con la sal. Tienen fama de hacerlo engordar y procrear." (P 753.12)
IV

THE ROLE OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE MESTIZO

Consideration is given to the role that popular speech plays in Alegria's novels by looking at its use for communication and its place in the author's artistic creation. This chapter concludes with ideas of certain linguists and with some conclusions concerning the role of local speech in relationship to the language and its future.

One may recognize Alegria's use of popular speech as a method for communication with the reader. Alegria introduces the _cholos_ and Indian, describes their surroundings, and delivers a social message through allowing these people to talk. He uses popular speech to point out the lack of communication between people, and between classes. One short dialogue between the _cholo_ and engineer on their first encounter serves as an example:

---¿Comes su gracia y quiá veníusté hacer puacá?
---¿Gracia?
---Sí, ¿cómo se llamaste?
---Ah! Osvaldo Matínez de Calderón. (5 16)

The engineer fails to comprehend the _cholo_ and the inquiry concerning his name due to varying terms and structures. The disunity in language that Alegria shows in his novels is a concrete indication of the different worlds in which the speakers or classes live.
It might be said then that in Alegría's novels popular speech is a technique for the purpose of communication. It also may be an artistic stroke, or a feature which helps build the author's literary creation. It is not really Alegría's own language, that which he used in real life, although he had been close to it as a child. In his last novel, a very long one written in less than four months, he uses the popular speech to a lesser degree. Only short dialogues exist in this speech, just enough to remind the reader that he is describing the cholo and Indian of his earlier novels. These dialogues call attention to the scene and the speaker, and then, possibly for conservation of time and effort, he continues with his own language, one more easily understood by the upper class.

An example from each novel may exemplify his use of popular speech as a technique in communication, the principal one in his first novels and perhaps one to a lesser degree in El mundo es ancho y ajeno.

Matías begins in this manner:

Enton voya contales y no lolviden po ques cosa quiun cristiano debe tenela presente. (§ 168)

Then he proceeds to tell his story in his accustomed popular speech.

Yera po un tiempo quel Diablo salió pa vender males po la tierra . . . (§ 168).

El Simón begins his story with an allusion.

Esperó a que alguien le preguntara por la razón de la tontería del aludido y prosiguió:—En tiempos pasaos, bía un cristiano que tenía mujer quera viuda . . . (P 218)

El Fiero says,

... les voya explicar ... Con verdá, con todita

la verdá. (§ 175)
Then Alegría enters and says,

El Fiero estuvo contando quizá una hora, quizá dos, y aderezó su relato con abundantes detalles cuya mención integra demandaría abultadas páginas. Sin restar los aspectos característicos no alterar el espíritu de la narración, preferimos ser más breves.

And then he begins the story,

... Y era por un tiempo en que el Fiero ya había caído de lleno en la mala vida ... (M 125)

Attention is called to part of the short introductory dialogue in the popular speech, then to words in which Alegría explains his different approach, and finally to the story he proceeds to tell.

There is no reason to believe that Alegría walked among the cholos and Indians with pencil and pad and recorded their actual speech in order to be able to include in his work exactly what and how they spoke. In fact, we know that he was absent from Peru when he wrote all of his novels; it should be remembered, however, at this point that he spent many years among these people—hearing and probably imitating their speech. There is also reason to assume that the sounds of the speech weighed heavily on his mind as he showed us that the sounds of nature had stayed with him through the years. Through his experiences and this particular appreciation or talent for sound perception, there seems to be a basis for saying that the speech that he uses represents closely what people actually say. This study points out certain linguistic phenomena found in Alegría's works that have been noted by linguists who have studied carefully the language of the area where his novels take place. In almost every case, the sounds, structure, usage, vocabulary have been observed by these linguists; however, Alegría does alter and arrange, as one does in a literary language to
create desired effects. In other words, he transforms the popular speech of the area of the Marañón Valley into a literary language.

Arturo del Hoyo, in his prologue to the Novelas Completas, states that in his opinion these three novels do not belong to the category called fiction but to

\begin{quote}
 otro que arranca de Homero y arraiga en el "Poema del Cid", la vieja épica cuyo destino era decir a los hombres los grandes sufrimientos, los gozos, los trabajos, y días de lucha de otros hombres. Estamos, pues, ante un escritor que inventa ... y lo canta para que otros sepan sus luchas y sus trabajos.\footnote{Alegría, Novelas Completas, "Prólogo", p. 11.}
\end{quote}

In an addition written after Alegría's death, del Hoyo adds,

\begin{quote}
 El estilo de Ciro Alegría, con sus corroboraciones y recordaciones, que hoy damos a la palabra, el de un juglar; un juglar hispánico que, una vez más, exalta la grandeza moral de un héroe y de un pueblo.\footnote{Alegría. Novelas Completas. "Postmortem" p. 44.}
\end{quote}

To say that Alegría expresses himself in the manner of a minstrel implies that he sings out the story of the people, and this he does through his novels. From the description of the actual music within, the songs sung, played, danced to, including the music of nature's sounds, the beauty of a story simply told for the sake of story telling, and men relating their own histories of joy and suffering—all of these together produce the song that is sung.

It is most fitting to tell the story of the cholo in the language of the cholo. He permits the reader to know his thoughts by hearing him speak, or, in the case of Rosendo, by reading the description of what he felt and thought. After hearing about daily events, fears, joys, the
reader is in sympathy or identifies with the characters. He feels drawn to the scene, almost as if he were in attendance at a dramatic presentation or as if he were touching elbows with the characters.

Before concluding such a study in which the emphasis has been on speech used among the cholos, it seems worthwhile to consider that speech in relationship to the continuity of the entire language. One may question if popular speech or dialect is a threat to the unification of the Spanish language. Some ideas have been gathered which may reflect the thoughts of leading linguists as they have considered the matter.

Entwistle points out that there are a great number of speech variations from one area to another in Spanish America, and from this apparent state there exists a possibility of not just one speech but a family of languages similar to the Romance family. This possibility is attributed to isolation, illiteracy, novel surroundings, and the pressure of other languages.

There actually were efforts in Argentina during the nineteenth century to make the language of the gaucho the standard language. The new standard was to be bound up in rural living and the desire for such was inspired by the belief that there were insufficient resources for the expression of Argentine experience in the Spanish language. The idea was abandoned because of disadvantages such as the possible loss of communication with neighboring countries, especially due to the vocabulary based on Guaraní.

67Entwistle, p. 231.

68Entwistle, pp. 254-55.
Along with the actuality of many dialects and popular developments, there has been continued concern for the future of language unity. The Congress of the Academies which met in 1956 dealt with the unification problems within the language. Dámaso Alonso presented the problem:

La lengua está en peligro, nuestro idioma común está en un peligro pavorosamente próximo... La misión académica es evitar que dentro de pocas generaciones los hispananlantes no se puedan entender los unos a los otros, impedir que nuestra lengua se nos haga pedazos.  

In attendance also at the sessions, don Ramón Menéndez Pidal suggested that certain differences such as seseo and yeísmo be eliminated. His idea was that if efforts for unification were made in the Americas beginning with the children,

la pronunciación de un idioma se formará mañana con acento universal. La palabra radiodifundida pesará sobre el habla local de cada región, las variedades dialectales se extinguirán por completo.

Some linguists have not considered the diversity so grave. Lapesa, referring to the spoken language says,

Sus variedades son menos discordantes entre sí que los dialectalismos peninsulares, y poseen menor arraigo histórico.

Rosenblat adds,

El español hispanoamericano tiene, desde el Río Grande hasta Tierra del Fuego, una portentosa unidad, mayor que la que hay desde el norte al sur de la Península Ibérica. Esta unidad está dada, mucho más que por los rasgos peculiares of Spanish in the Americas.

69 Angel Rosenblat, El castellano de España y el castellano de América (Caracas: Cuadernos del Instituto de Filología, 1962) p. 52.
70 Rosenblat, p. 50.
71 Lapesa, p. 341.
del español hispanoamericano, por lo que el habla de Hispanoamérica tiene de común con el castellano general.\textsuperscript{72}

Zamora Vicente too, says,

\textit{Hay menos diferencia entre dos regiones cualquiera\textsuperscript{es} de la enorme América que entre dos valles vecinos de Asturias.}\textsuperscript{73}

There are forces constantly at work to unify the language. All of these linguists point to the fact that among the educated speakers there exist very few differences. The standard language serves as a norm and as a safeguard against very rapid change, and it is the language used by the press, by writers, by radio and television. With increased technology, mass communication becomes more possible. Increased education helps to forge the broken links in communication.

One might conclude that the major differences in speech throughout the Americas are found in popular speech. The upper class or the users of standard speech maintain throughout all regions a level of speech in which variations are minor. Based on this unity now known in the language, in spite of the substrata influence and the years of little communication from one region to another, and based on present day advances in education and communication, one expects to see continued unification.

Such speech as that seen in the novels of Ciro Alegría exists as evidence of social distinctions. As long as there are different social worlds, speech continues to reflect the distinctions. Linguistic tradition is a major guide for the speech of a group and while the \textit{cholos} continue to live in the same fashion, they will speak in the same way. Their speech has

\textsuperscript{72}Rosenblat, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{73}Zamora Vicente, p. 306.
little influence on that of the members of the upper class, and the speech of the latter, the standard, continues to be the unifying force in Spanish throughout the Americas.
INDEX OF WORDS

In the following list there are words used by Alegría in La serpiente de oro and Los perros hambrientos that originate in America or that have a different meaning from the recognized use. Following a brief definition of each one, there is a listing as to where the word is found in the novels. In order to be able to use and interpret the data in the index, one may need to note the following abbreviations and statements of procedure:

* Word defined by Alegría in vocabulary lists at the conclusion of the Novelas completas.

? Word not found in resource materials. The definition listed is one reached by considering the use of the word in context.

Cor. Juan Coríminas
Ent. W. J. Entwistle
Ka. Charles E. Kany
Lap. Rafael Lapesa
Mal. Augusto Malaret
Mor. Marcos A. Morínigo
R. A. Real Academia Española, Diccionario
Zam. V. Alonso Zamora Vicente
S La serpiente de oro
P Los perros hambrientos

Plurals appear in the listing with the singulars; diminutives and augmentatives with the nouns from which they are formed.

Verb forms appear under the infinitive. If the forms vary greatly from the infinitive, cross references are made.
A
cacau* Interjection expressing pity.
§: 116.17; 152.12; 158.30
aguaitar To watch over, lie in ambush. (Lap. 360)
§: 103.12
alalalu* Interjection expressing affection.
P: 353.3
amadrinado* One directed by a leader, used by the author in reference to inexperienced cattle led by a trained member in the herd.
amadrinada §: 19.4
andar corrido* To be in flight from the authorities.
§: 36.39; 162.5; 164.15
antara* Musical instrument made from cain, a type of flute, used primarily by the Indians.
antaras §: 42.24; 85.13; 102.30; 154.7; 155.11
array* Interjection expressing fear.
§: 31.36; 109.37
avellana* Type of firework, used in celebrations.
avellana §: 28.10
**Balsa**

American tropical tree yielding light, strong wood used in making rafts or boats called by the same name. (Cor. 79)

$\$: 9.24; 13.12,16,35; 14.4; 15.11; 18.39, 22.10,16; 23.7,20; 26.1; 42.3,37; 46.3,13; 56.36;
68.13,26; 73.28,30,38; 74.1,15,23; 75.1,29;
76.5,23,29,33,35; 78.5,12,19; 79.5; 80.8,12,15
82.24,32; 83.15; 86.15,23,30; 88.25,28;
89.6,20,29; 90.8,11,22; 129.14; 134.6,10,13;
135.10; 166.8; 167.1; 172.25; 173.16; 175.14

$\$: 265.13; 304.21

**balsas**  
$\$: 9.18; 13.39; 14.3; 17.30, 34.41;
103.22, 174.2,38;

$\$: 230.20

**balsita**  
Diminutive, see balsa.

$\$: 17.37; 20.29; 68.3

**balsada**  
Price of a trip by balsa.

$\$: 30.3

**balsear**  
To navigate the balsa

$\$: 23.8; 29.21; 104.18; 110.19

**balseo**  
Travel by balsa. (?)

$\$: 128.11

**balserazos**  
-azo, superlative ending (Lap. 358), see balsero

$\$: 166.17

**balsero**  
Person who navigates balsa. (?)

$\$: 18.21; 21.4; 45.38; 68.12; 72.21; 108.21;
balsiar -ear and -iar suffixes confused. (Lap. 362). See balsear.
S: 21.25
balsear S: 10.3; 18.21; 45.38; 68.15; 72.14; 74.26; 76.25; 113.30; 133.18; 174.22,34
balsearote -ote, augmentative, see balsero.
S: 69.32
balsero S: 110.7; 114.1; 132.21,28
balseros S: 25.5; 10.3; 18.21; 45.38; 68.15; 72.14; 74.26; 76.25; 113.30; 133.18; 174.22,34
balsiamos S: 62.8
balsiabamos S: 167.40
balsiando S: 35.6
balsiaremos S: 119.23
balsiar S: 21.25
balsiamos S: 167.40
balsiando S: 35.6
balsiaremos S: 119.23

barbacoa* Cot made of cain.
S: 16.31; 21.27
P: 241.14; 270.13; 274.31; 337.21; 340.20

bohío Hut of the Indian or cholo. (Zam.V.318)
S: 87.5; 96.21; 97.27, 99.16, 100.27; 104.19;
107.8; 110.10; 112.2933; 116.37; 117.19;
120.15; 124.12; 130.12; 131.24; 132.4; 138.9
161.8; 164.7
P: 232.3; 236.9; 238.32; 243.4; 245.9; 246.10;
248.16,31; 262.6; 265.15,31; 291.12; 294.1,24;
296.8; 298.10; 300.25; 301.31; 302.30; 305.16;
313.31; 317.29; 322.17; 333.5; 334.4; 336.32;
337.4; 338.33; 340.26,29
bohíos S: 24.3; 123.4; 125.27
P: 338.12; 364.20

bola* Roll of coca leaves.
S: 77.38; 99.24; 156.34;
P: 238.13; 249.27; 250.5
bolas, P: 278.14, 30

buitrón* Cleared, sunny location for drying coca leaves.
S: 153.8

C

cachacos* Guards or policemen.
P: 242.32; 244.19; 273.26

cachaquitos S: 37.16

calama* Child.
S: 88.12; 90.5

calishita Diminutive, see caisha.
S: 161.24

cala* Drum.
P: 224.13; 233.29; 251.6; 319.29; 327.9; 360.1

cajeros* Drummers.
S: 28.20

callana* Pot used for cooking, made of clay or gourd.
P: 336.18; 339.1

camotes Sweet potatoes. (R.A., 238)
S: 21.38

cancho* Toasted corn.
S: 163.19
P: 262.15; 353.9
canchaluco*  Animal from family of opossum, has long tail for catching prey.
P: 248.12,13,19

canoa  Canoe. (Ent.238)
S: 57.25,27,29

cañazo*  Alcoholic beverage made from sugar cane.
S: 22.20; 29.7; 38.26; 72.3; 73.1,36; 79.19,26; 81.11,16; 83.16, 92.39, 94.36, 95.1,7; 115.22
   116.22; 117.2,35; 119.14; 167.6

capacito*  Very probable.
P: 266.29

cashua*  Indigenous dance.
S: 20.1

cashuas  S: 28.24; 85.15; 93.4; 98.23

catay  Interjection. (?)
S: 96.40; 167.39

coca  American shrub, the leaves of which are shewed by the Indian and cholo. Cocaine may be obtained from the leaves.
   23.5; 24.19; 33.9; 38.5; 46.21; 48.4; 61.11,22;
   63.20; 68.27; 75.37,38; 77.37; 81.12,14,36;
   84.16,24; 92.33,39; 95.1; 104.1,32; 106.22;
   109.7; 115.22; 116.26; 127.10; 130.13; 139.36;
   143.13; 149.23; 150.18; 151.39; 153.2,7,19,24;
   155.17,19,35; 156.2,3,4,5,15,20,25,33; 157.26,27,33;
   158.26; 159.13; 166.38; 167.8; 168.16; 174.10;
   175.22

P: 236.13; 243.1; 249.25; 250.1,8; 262.26; 266.3;
   275.25; 278.13; 294.22,295.30; 300.22; 301.12;
   305.27; 313.32; 314.27; 325.18; 359.31
coquita Diminutive, see coca.

\[ S: 65.20; 139.39; 162.24 \]

cocal Location where the coca plants are cultivated. (R.A.,313)

\[ S: 153.3 \]

cocales \[ S: 12.19 \]
cocalito Diminutive, see cocal.

\[ S: 90.2 \]
cóndor Large vulture found in the Andes. (Ent. 243)

\[ S: 32.20; 37.31; 63.27 \]

P: 257.33; 342.1,11,14,25,35; 343.8,16

cómores \[ S: 120.21 \]

P: 265.22; 343.30; 344.27; 355.1

357.31; 359.24

coquear To chew the leaf of coca plant. (?)

coquea \[ S: 17.38 \]
coquean \[ P: 250.6 \]

coqueando \[ S: 115.23; 157.30 \]
coqueen \[ S: 60.15,16 \]

coqueras Chewing coca, adjective used to describe mouths. (?)

\[ S: 128.7 \]

corazonada* Presentiment.

\[ S: 71.13 \]

P: 349.5

coriquinga Name of a bird of the Andes. (?)
Alegría gives this name to a dance group.

\[ S: 32.8,14 \]
corrido  Person on the run from the authorities. (?)  
S: 36.39; 160.9; 161.1; 162.5,20; 164.8; 164.4, 16

cristiano*  Civilized person, person living in region where novels take place.  
S: 13.10; 18.4,19; 20.3; 26.4; 31.36; 48.5; 54.5; 58.21; 71.9 86.11; 96.39; 99.21; 104.1,34; 105.20,32,34,39; 106.10,11,12.26; 108.22; 115.32; 116.1; 126.2; 129.41; 138.14; 160.8; 161.11,15; 163.14; 164.23; 168.30;
P: 278.34; 279.12,19,29; 280.5; 295.34; 328.21; 361.30

cristianos  S: 10.40; 48.5; 72.2; 96.29; 110.11,20,25; 112.25; 113.23; 114.11; 27; 115.3,34; 116.11; 135.7; 145.2; 165.7; 168.4; 169.10; 170.7; 173.38; 174.10,30  
P: 277.15, 26; 295.3

cristianito  Diminutive, see cristiano.  
S: 21.8; 137.73; 163.18;

cristianitos  Diminutive, see cristianos.  
S: 41.22

cushal*  Soup.  
S: 59.40; 130.11
P: 262.15

cuy*  Guinea-pig.  
S: 27.6

cuye*  Another way to say cuv.  S: 31.40

cuves  S: 31.27

Ch

chacareros  Those who work in the fields or chacras. (?)  
S: 62.9
chacchar* To chew coca leaves.

chaccho. S: 155.17

chacchaban P: 314.27

chacra Cultivated field. (Ent.242)

S: 116.2,3,4; 131.39; 132.12

P: 280.15,25; 281.24; 282.8; 284.2; 308.7,16;
309.13,18

chacras S: 62.1; 66.32; 144.24

P: 228.20; 236.7; 237.5; 240.6; 253.23;
254.17; 277.5,28,34; 311.6; 323.35;
325.11; 362.7

checo* Gourd, used mainly to hold lime.

S: 12.39; 20.22,40; 61.11; 63.20; 81.36; 106.22;
110.22; 157.40

P: 249.26; 259.1,2,7; 251.17; 359.30

checos S: 17.17; 149.13

chicotazo Blow given with whip. (R.A.409)

P: 260.27

chicotazos S: 170.36

chicha* Alcoholic beverage made from corn.

S: 26.32; 27.39; 29.5; 31.24; 38.26; 39.5; 38.26; 40.4

P: 238.21; 272.4; 319.27; 320.31; 327.14

chichita Diminutive, see chicha.

S: 31.4.

china* Girl, woman, usually from the social class of cholos.

S: 42.8; 43.17,27; 47.24; 76.20; 80.35; 84.4; 88.12
china* (CONT) 90.4; 92.5,25; 97.7,36; 101.10; 106.7; 117.38; 155.5; 174.35;
P: 233.31; 241.9; 258.3; 319.15; 325.9; 335.6
china  S: 35.6
chinas  S: 40.14; 47.36; 97.7,36; 101.10; 106.7; 117.38; 174.35
chinita  S: 98.38; 108.12; 137.27,36; 147.41
P: 270.14
chinitas  S: 33.5

chirapas* Light showers or showers while the sun shines.
S: 103.1

chirapear To rain lightly or while sun shines. (?)
P: 44.19

chirimoyo Class of American tree. (R.A.411)
S: 44.19
chirimoyas P: 251.21; 306.4,10 Fruit.

chiroques Birds of a class. (?)
S: 24.4

chola Person, woman, of mixture of Spanish and Indian blood. (?)
cholae  S: 75.39; 149.33
cholita Diminutive, see chola.
S: 27.3,10; 28.38; 29.32; 39.6,20; 73.17
cholitas P: 280.10

cholada* Group or gathering of cholos. -ada indicates gathering.
(Lap.358)
S: 74.4; 93.20; 100.26
cholo*  Person of mixed blood, Spanish and Indian.

cholos  Diminutive, see cholo.

cholitos  Diminutive, see cholos.

disqué  "They say" or used as an interjection. (Ka.244)

echar el guante*  To trap or deceive.
f**ete* Whip.

P: 233.11; 271.27

foetazos -azo, augmentative or superlative

P: 243.18

G

galgas* Rolling boulders.

S: 19.18

guacho* Orphan or person who lives alone.

S: 112.10

gualango Class of tree. (?)

S: 45.18; 114.13

gualangos S: 131.2; 148.34

P: 297.10

guanacos* Beasts of burden in Andes (Mor.219), but Alegria calls people this implying stupidity on their part.

P: 290.35

guano* Fertilizer, excrement.

P: 227.13

guapear* To be valient. Form used is guapiar; confusion of -ear and -iar endings. (Lap.362)

S: 90.38

guapi* Interjection used to frighten away vultures.

S: 63.27

P: 237.33
guapiar  See guapear.

guarapo*  Alcoholic beverage made from juice of sugar cane.
§:  21.34; 84.19; 85.7; 92.39; 115.22

guayabas  Fruit of the guava tree.  (Zam.V.318)
§:  11.28
P:  251.22

guayabos  Guava trees.  (?)
§:  12.20

guazamaco*  Lazy, worthless person; name used for a dance group.
§:  32.23,35

Guazamacos  §:  32.22

H

hom  Man, shortened form of hombre, or used as interjection.  
     (Ka.418)
§:  16.34; 22.30; 40.18,19; 41.21; 46.15; 73.8; 74.15; 75.19,23,33; 76.25,26,31; 
     77.10,43; 80.33,34,35; 81.8,26,30,38; 85.28; 105.17; 106.1,6,16; 109.21; 
     155.13; 161.10
P:  290.21; 293.29; 295.18; 297.6; 298.17; 305.14,22,23; 306.14,18

homa  §:  114.19; 120.19,21; 166.33,34
P:  295.19; 296.22

huaino*  Indian dance or song.  See waino.

HUAINOS  §:  85.15
ichu* Pasture land, usually dry and cracked, in the highlands.
S: 62.38
P: 219.4; 327.1; 354.39

indiada* Group or gathering of Indians.
S: 26.28

infiel Uncivilized person usually belonging to tribes in the jungles. (?)
S: 56.40

infieles S: 57.25; 58.14,17

Intihuaraka Indian name for a class of golden colored snakes. (?)
S: 151.3

J

Jalar To row 'or pull. (R.A.694) From halar.
S: 25.24
jalarola S: 17.26
jalaba P: 261:1
jalamos S: 19.26; 166.11
jalando S: 18.25;
P: 258.2; 260.6; 343.7,14

jalca* Plateau.
S: 35.6

jalquino Describes things of the plateau, adjective. (?)
S: 11.32
P: 267.5; 292.19
Jalquino (cont) jalquino S: 96.14; 104.32; 111.36
P: 333.3; 354.51

Jergones
Birds of a kind. (?)
S: 25.26

Juerte* Alcoholic drink, cañazo. From fuerte, strong.
S: 22.36; 72.12; 80.33

Juete Whip: (?) See foete. P: 272.2

L

Letraos Lettered, learned persons. (?)
S: 105.3

M

Machorra* Sterile female
S: 25.37

Madrina* Leader, animal that leads.
P: 230.32

Maguey Plant, agave. (Mor.380)
S: 17.2
Magueyes S: 42.8; 50.18

Maíz Corn. (Mal.525)
S: 54.24
P: 225.27; 244.28; 280.26; 281.24; 284.3; 322.31
327.15; 366.18
maizal  Field of corn. (Mor.381)
P: 242.7,17; 280.20; 281.3;26; 283.12,15,35

mama*  Mother.
S: 21.11; 155.7
P: 272.4; 274.29; 340.8,14; 341.28

mamita  Diminutive, see mama.
P: 34.28; 356.11

mango  Class of tree and its fruit. (Mor.390)
S: 17.10; 84.15
P: 271.28

mangos  S: 11.27; 12.19; 46.22; 110.16

masato  Alcoholic beverage made from corn or yucca. (Mal.545)
S: 57.14,16,18,32

mate*  Gourd from which food and drinks are served.
S: 59.40; 112.20; 130.10
P: 262.18

mates  S: 24.3; 29.6; 109.30; 115.25
P: 238.12; 241.10; 262.16; 322.32; 366.15

mero*  Same, mere -- adjective.
S: 38.16; 99.3; 118.33; 138.7; 163.39; 168.12; 169.17
mera  S: 38.16; 99.3
meros  S: 168.12
meras  S: 138.7

minga*  Custom of sharing in harvest work.
P: 244.25
montal* Area with many trees.
P: 243.2; 267.33; 273.7; 298.5

monte* Forest
P: 268.18

moro* Person who has not been baptized.
S: 92.21

mote Stewed corn.
P: 341.28

ojotas* Sandals
S: 15.7; 51.31
P: 237.29; 250.35; 341.6

ollucos Plants with edible tubercle. (R.A.942)
S: 11.24
P: 225.27

onde* Replaces a, en, donde, para, por. (Ka.363)
S: 17.31; 21.25139.41; 80.35; 97.40; 111.13; 112.11; 113.2; 114.31; 140.11; 170.3
P: 222.28,30; 242.20; 248.33; 252.10,21,29; 257.18 279.10,28,30,32; 295.1,8; 314.22; 315.6,26,27; 316.1; 336.2,3,4,7; 341.1; 343.25; 349.3; 358.33,35; 362.9

onde? Replaces donde? S: 90.26; 158.9; 163.33

ondel Replaces onde el. S: 21.8, 71.5; 137.13

ondera Contraction of onde era. S: 161.28

ondese Contraction of onde ese S: 163.36
onde* (cont) ondestá Contraction of onde está. S: 101.23
ondestán Contraction of onde están. S: 42.13

oroyeros Name of dancers who imitate crossing river by holding to a system of cords. The system is called orova. (Mor. 438) S: 33.36; 34.33

pacapacas* Small owls. S: 22.4; 24.7

pacra Plant from highlands, fed to cattle. (?) P: 253.11; 255.15

pajonal Field with tall grass. (Mor. 448) P: 220.24; 257.9; 265.3; 271.15
pajonales P: 224.5; 255.12, 29; 26412.32

palada Stroke of an oar. (?) S: 74.21; 76.5; 90.21

palizada Collection of wood that is swept through water by the current. (Mor. 448) S: 9.25; 19.25,37; 103.15; 114.1,6; 134.31
palizadas S: 68.2; 174.10

palto Class of tree, alligator pear or avocado. (Mor. 450) S: 13.15; 25.26,32
paltos S: 12.20; 46.21; 131.2; 175.20
paltas  Avocados. (Mor.450)
P: 251.22

gallas*  Girls who dance at celebrations.
S: 30.29; 32.1; 33.10,18; 34.32; 34.34; 35.27; 37.19

papa  Potato (Mor.454)
P: 238.15,21

papas  S: 11.24; 20.12; 31.26; 59.40; 116.2
P: 238.12,27; 252.12,22,24; 335.22

papaya  Class of fruit, papaw. (Mor.455)
S: 24.13
P: 306.1,10

papayas  P: 284.6; 300.23,24,35; 304.7; 305.22,23

papays:  Class of tree, (Mor.456)
P: 300.25; 305.21

pate  Class of tree with bark used in making drugs and medicine. (Mor.464)
S: 11.7

pates  20.7; 8,15; 44.35

plantanales  Areas cultivated with bananas. (?)
S: 12.19

plantanar  Area cultivated with bananas. Synonym for plantanal. (?)
S: 23.3; 68.24

plantanares  S: 86.11; 175.19

plantano  Class of tree or its fruit, banana. (Mor.507)
plátano (cont)  S: 12.34; 115.7,28
plátanos  S: 11.25; 21.1,38; 22.22; 23.6; 61.22
73.36; 79.19; 85.29; 109.16; 144.38; 158.14.
P: 266.3; 300.22; 304.20; 305.27

pollera  Skirt. (Lap.360)
S: 31.15; 84.9
P: 221.3; 222.6; 328.31
polleras  S: 30.30
P: 318.33

pollerón  Long skirt. (Mal.674)
P: 246.17
pollerones  P: 240.8; 253.9

poncho  Cloak blanket with a slit in the middle for the head. (Ent244)
S: 23.15; 32.33; 50.2; 65.7; 72.24; 73.4,10; 104.23;
107.13; 119.15; 167.27
P: 224.32,33; 226.21; 228.8; 240.22; 244.5; 250.34;
276.10; 295.34; 309.1; 331.26; 341.11; 345.34;
347.14; 349.17; 355.22; 360.7
ponchos  S: 30.32;; 50.2; 73.37; 93.38; 110.26
P: 253.9; 255.31; 271.12; 292.20; 309.14;
318.32; 361.2; 364.8
ponchito  Diminutive, see poncho.
S: 90.26

pongo*  Servant. Strait through which a river passes.
S: 51.18; 69.9; 166.13,23
P: 357.7
pongoes  S: 57.26
poro*  Gourd used to hold liquids, beverages.
S:  57.32; 80.1,33; 83.16,18; 167.3
P:  338.34

poros  S:  29.5; 73.36; 81.11; 97.35; 117.35

poto*  Gourd from which one drinks.
S:  31.29; 31.39; 37.37

pugo:*  A class of doves.
S:  24.8; 25.1,10

puma  Cougar. (Mor.526)
S:  9.3; 109.40; 118.4; 119.38; 120.25,27; 121.1,10,12,
121(cont).27.35; 122.1,5,11,12,21,32; 123.2,9,20,28;
124.22.; 125.16,36,40; 126.4; 128.6; 138.30; 154.38
P:  221.26; 247.7,14,19,29; 251.19; 252.8,12,15,23;
253.1;

pumas  S:  121.35
P:  226.4; 248.29; 249.22; 252.23; 265.23;
307.14; 359.4

puna  Tableland or plateau. (Mor.526)
S:  11.14,35; 32.10; 53.2; 61.15; 112.2; 172.28
P:  260.10; 291.9; 292.7,25; 356.2

punas  S:  292.2

punta*  Group of animals.
P:  293.1;294.4;295.2; 296.10; 341.23; 361.31

puntear*  To dance using little steps.
S:  40.1
quebrada  Brook, valley, or ravine through which water passes.  
(Mor.530)

S:  11.15; 20.17; 35.10; 43.36; 44.5,20; 103.25; 
  105.21; 107.6,7,18; 128.17,35; 129.33; 130.23,30,32 
  131.5; 132.7; 170.14

P:  225.5; 228.31; 243.2; 266.10; 268.21; 273.5; 275.18; 
  277.19; 280.27; 296.29; 297.4; 306.5; 337.32; 350.7 
  366.28

quebradas  S:  163.21

P:  228.3; 248.10; 254.18; 277.32; 311.32; 
  324.14; 355.4; 357.15; 359.12

quena*  Flute.

P:  222.32

quengos*  Curves or zigzags.

S:  44.34; 49.7; 136.7

quesqué  Exclamatory negation.  (Ka.250)

S:  19.32; 20.17; 71.13

quienquien  A class of bird.  (?)

S:  157.36

quienquienes  105.30

quincha*  Wall made of cain or cain and clay.

S:  16.27; 21.41; 88.10; 157.39

P:  245.9; 296.14

quinchar  To make walls of cain and clay.  (Mor.536)

S:  47.18
quinina  Quinine. (?)  
S: 47.23

quinua  Plant from which quinine is taken. (Ent.242)  
P: 240.8; 244.29

quipé*  Heavy pack carried on shoulder.  
S: 21.1,6,13

ratanya  Plant. Purple dye is obtained from its root. (?)  
P: 253.4; 255.15

rauma  Harvest of coca leaves. (Hal.706)  
S: 153.9

raumero  Worker who removes leaves from coca plant. (?)  
S: 108.21

reparar*  To look at  
S: 105.31

repuntero*  Worker who helps in rounding up cattle.  
P: 230.10

repunteryos  S: 171.7

repunteryos  P: 230.20,34; 270.10

rocoto*  Round, red pepper.  
S: 17.24
shilico*  Inhabitant of the province of Celendín.

S: 18.4

soroche  Mountain sickness, dizziness caused by lack of oxygen.  
(Mor.594)

S: 65.20

T

tabaco  Plant, tobacco.  (Mor.599)

S: 85.39

taita  Father, term of respect, or Reverened Father.  (Mal.755)

S: 25.9,25; 27.20; 47.25; 50.29; 61.19,21,23,27,32,34; 65.1,3,20; 69.37; 84.5; 88.11; 90.2,5; 92.10,26,27; 96.38; 97.8; 104.40; 155.3; 156.38; 158.20; 161.11; 163.37; 174.38

P: 225.24; 236.8; 241.22; 335.10; 336.3,7,11; 340.9,15; 349.10,14

taitas  S: 35.33; 26.22; 108.13; 109.10

P: 219.8; 245.4,7; 336.2

taititos  Diminutive, see taita.

P: 243.10; 245.7

togados  Learned, educated people, people of the upper class. (?)

S: 30.32

togaos  d usually dropped in speech.

S: 19.39; 162.26

tosto  All, diminutive form of todo. (?)

S: 106.3; 163.40
toito (cont)  toitos  S: 169.20  
              P: 252.8,29  
toitas  S: 128.22; 144.24

torcaces  Ring-doves (Mor.636)  
               S: 17.9; 24.8

tucos*  Owls.  
               S: 22.3

U

uta  Disease, primary symptom being facial ulcers. (Mal.805)  
             S: 111.1; 119.35

utoso  Person ill with disease, see uta.  
             S: 115.26,38; 119.6; 121.25

utosos  S: 110.41; 111.9; 112.26; 113.4,21; 114.3,21

V

vacada  Herd of cows. (Lapo358) -ada indicates collective idea.  
             S: 171.9,21  
             P: 270.2; 295.11; 329.8; 349.6

velay  Synonym for he aquí (here is). (Mal.810)  
             S: 86.26; 162,24,28,37,38; 163.8; 167.31; 168.15; 169.4,20,30  
             P: 222.29,34; 234.13,22; 251.25; 252.13; 278.27; 279.18; 295.6,34; 315.3; 324.11; 340.15
vizzaca Large kind of hare. (Ent.243)
P: 254.30,33; 255.3,7

W

waino* Indian dance or song. See huaino.
P: 255.2

\[ wainos \quad 222.18; \quad 328.23 \]

Y

yuca Plant, the root of which constitutes a popular food, yucca. (Mor.682)
S: 57.16; 68.13; 127.10
P: 305.27

\[ yucan \quad S: \quad 21.1,38; \quad 46.14; \quad 109.12,16; \quad 115.25; \]
\[ 119.29; \quad 144.38 \]

\[ P: \quad 266.3; \quad 267.31; \quad 294.3; \quad 300.22 \]

yucaí Cultivated field of yucca. (?)
S: 17.30

\[ yucales \quad S: \quad 12.19 \]

yaraví* Indian song, sad.
P: 222.19; 24,32; 223.1,18

Z

zancudos Mosquitos. (Mor.686)
S: 22.7
LIST OF WORKS CITED


VITA

When born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, in July, 1940, I was given the name Catherine Morrison Thorburn. My childhood was spent with my family on a dairy farm, and I attended Spotsylvania County Public Schools.

In 1961, I received a bachelor of arts degree in Spanish from Westhampton College and the following September began teaching at Douglas Freeman High School. My teaching experience consists of seven years at the same school and two summers at Virginia Commonwealth University.

While we were both students at the University of Richmond, I met Hobby Milton Neale, and we were married in 1962. We have two children; Rebecca is six years old, and David, almost two.