Foreword

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In this book, Bruce Mannheim, drawing on his lengthy bibliography, gives us a wide-ranging review and synthesis of the relevant linguistic, sociocultural/linguistic, and sociopolitical scholarship of the half-millennial history of Southern Peruvian Quechua, one of the major high culture languages of Native America. He also forges a precedent for a truly historical and diachronic sociocultural linguistics that saliently interconnects language change with the “social ecology of language”; he shows, for example, why and how regular sound change must be combined with an interpretation in terms of less regular variables such as sound imagery. He gives us intimations of a future sociocultural linguistics that will work synergistically between synchrony and diachrony, language and culture, speech and society, and, as defined below, a comprehensive macrolinguistics and a primal, dialogical linguistics. Given the author’s sustained and encompassing vision of language and society/culture as continuously interacting—reminiscent of a Möbius strip where one side continuously shades into another—the most effective or representative way to sketch his contributions would be to follow his own argument while dwelling briefly on the major bends and turns of its theoretical import.

The overall arch of linguistic and sociopolitical history starts in medias res with the Inka empire where, for example, surplus was extracted via labor and services (with obvious linguistic consequences) in the context of an organizing “template” of 328 “sacred places” arranged in forty-one lines that ran “like spokes on a bicycle wheel” out of Cuzco. The extraordinary multilingualism of those times was gradually replaced after the conquest in 1532 by an agonizing “double bind” situation where Southern Peruvian Quechua, the language of Cuzco and the imperial lingua franca, was retained as the favored speech form of the Spanish colonials and their descendants while at the same time it de-

volved into the stigmatized language of a majority that was as huge as it was powerless. Mannheim cogently analyzes the antagonistic ideologies and political sociologies of this "dual society." There is a suggestive review of the literary and linguistic history of postconquest Southern Peruvian Quechua, including the "Quechua Renaissance" of the eighteenth century (which ended with the failed revolt of 1781), as well as the tension-ridden contemporary situation in the southern highlands of Peru where the urban Spanish-speaking minority opposes the great majority (over ninety percent Quechua-speaking). Particularly revealing are the pages where Mannheim characterizes the Quechua value of reciprocity that bonds Quechua speakers to each other and sets them off from the Hispanic "other society." Similarly revealing is the way he shows the long-term continuity of linguistic and cultural ideologies (including softhearted "assimilationism") that keep validating the same political oppression. Chapter 3 on "Language and Colonialism" should be read by all Andeanists, particularly those outside language studies proper, and by all those interested in issues of linguistic colonization.

Mannheim summarizes a whole series of themes or interconnected problems and concerns: for example, the four themes of diachronic sociocultural linguistics (e.g., the noncontiguous territorial organization) or the four themes in the social ecology of "endogenous variation" (e.g., the *ethnocentric* character of linguistic features "above the threshold of awareness"); his discussion of "the dimensions of language variation" (i.e., covertness, equivalence, ethnocentrism, nonsystematicity—giving one term of each dimension); his definition of hegemony at a level of both New Gramscian theory and his own no-nonsense lingo ("When I say that Spanish is 'hegemonic,' I mean . . . the gnawing closure that it places on the lives of Quechua monolinguals . . . the silence of Quechua-speaking children in a Spanish-speaking classroom . . . the pride with which a Quechua peasant *writes* his name . . . the shame of a military draftee who cannot understand the Spanish spoken around him . . . bilingual puns used in the marketplace . . . the insults shouted at a monolingual Spanish speaker . . ."). A final example of these sets of themes is Mannheim's creative adaptation and utilization of the idea of the "social ecology of language" that was launched by Haugen, the Voegelins, and others. "The social ecology of language consists of the ways in which linguistic differences are organized and set into a social landscape; of the ways in which language and dialect differences are institutionally channeled and used; of the degree to which diversity is encouraged or, conversely, restricted by language standardization; of the particular contexts of written attestations; of the social evaluation of linguistic differences; and of the cultural and psychological resonances of linguistic differences for their speakers." Mannheim's project is to operationalize

this master concept and to show how Southern Peruvian Quechua data can be informed by it.

The bulk of this study deals with "Linguistic Change," with topics that run from "The Sound Pattern of Common Southern Peruvian Quechua," to the chapter on the sibilants (Mannheim agreeing with Landerman's two-sibilant solution), to a long discussion of the author's chief concern: the complementary relation between syllable-final weakenings and the flourishing of ejective and aspirate stops (at the beginning of lexical roots only). The inadequacy of standard phonological theory and the notion of "exceptionless sound laws" and recent homologues to it leads the author to a brilliantly formulated hypothesis of the spread of ejective and aspirate stops throughout the Quechua sound system through the workings of "sound imagery and associative lexical influences" (in a model derived mainly from Peirce). When Mannheim moves bridgily between specific, conventional linguistic sets (e.g., an array of cognate sets) to the dynamic, structuring force of lexical sets (illustrated, for example, by the connotations of the *yll* root as formulated by the poet Arguedas), we have a (highly anthologizable) demonstration of the creative interaction between structure and process in historical linguistics.

Just as striking as the sorts of crossovers just described is the solid instantiation of what might be called (unjargoning a bit of jargon) "thick philology." Mannheim's inferences and hypotheses are massively cross-referenced and buttressed by texts, dictionaries, historical grammars, and the like. One would think that he had been trained in Indo-European linguistics and philology by Emile Benveniste! An entire chapter is devoted to "Reading Colonial Texts," where a close reading of many texts is discussed in terms of Becker's (Emersonian) idea of "exuberances" and "deficiencies" in translation and interpretation. But perhaps the most original part of Mannheim's linguistic analysis comes in the tenth chapter when he discusses "The Word as Diagram, Diagrams of the Word"; using a Peircean and Jakobsonian sort of conceptualization, and implicational hierarchies à la Jakobson and Greenberg, and morpho-phonological analysis à la Sapir and Kuryłowicz, Mannheim shows that, in his own words, "there is a definite hierarchical and sequential order among the changes . . . the erosion of syllable endings follows a predictable course that reflects the internal grammatical structure of the Quechua word, from suffixes into stems. . . . Paradoxically, [these patterns] emerge only when language change is viewed in a perspective that is both more fine-grained and more holistic; more fine-grained, in that a variety of evidence—especially philological and dialectological—is used to reconstruct the precise course followed by the erosions of syllable endings over five hundred years; more holistic in that the course of

these changes has been constant from change to change over the entire period."

A final linguistic contribution of *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* with great cultural and archaeological implications, which space prevents me from elaborating here, is phylogenetic. Mannheim concludes that, despite many shared features and spatial/temporal association, Quechua is not related to the contiguous Aymara language—an example of "splitting" that contrasts with the current trend to "long-range comparison" that lumps together all New World languages as "Amerind" except Na-Dene and Eskimo!

Mannheim's masterful synthesis of Quechua scholarship and avant-garde sociocultural linguistics suggests two contrastive, complementary approaches. On the one hand, we can interrelate the social patterns of dyads such as two friends, or small groups such as the household, to the relatively empirical patterning in the use of words, conversational regularities—or poetry in immediate, even intimate social contexts. Such sociolinguistics is relatively close to native experience, requires comparatively few moves between language/speech and sociocultural process, and could perhaps be dubbed immediate, intimate, primal, or *dialogical* sociocultural linguistics (good examples are the work of Abu-Lughod or Tannen). The second approach, on the other hand, goes further from the native model and stretches into the analytical recesses of the variables whose interrelation is our object of inquiry and tends to embrace larger entities such as the city, nation-state, or a linguistic-cultural region such as Southern Peruvian Quechua. This might be called extended or *encompassing* sociocultural linguistics (good examples include the work of Errington and Haugen). This book, by synthesizing a fully realized encompassing (or macro-) sociolinguistics with the elements of a primal (or micro-) sociolinguistics, creates or at least suggests an essentially new model for sociocultural linguistics, one that will be pursued for many decades by scholars with the talent, skills, and open-mindedness for the requisite inferences from fieldwork and historical evidence.