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FOUR

The Voices of Don Gabriel: Responsibility and Self in a Modern Mexicano Narrative

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In "Discourse in the Novel," Bakhtin identified a central question for the study of responsibility in discourse: the moral choice required of the speaker among the terministic and linguistic possibilities presented by the "heteroglossia" of any community of speakers. For Bakhtin, this choice constituted a formative moment in the emergence of consciousness, which "everywhere . . . comes upon 'languages' and not language. Consciousness finds itself inevitably facing the necessity of *having to choose a language.* With each literary-verbal performance, consciousness must actively orient itself amidst heteroglossia" (Bakhtin 1981: 295).

In order to explore this problem of choice, Bakhtin proposes a thought-experiment: He asks us to imagine a peasant. At first, Bakhtin's peasant, although immersed in a variety of language systems (of course he is a Russian peasant, so we may imagine that he spoke some local Russian variety, heard his priest pray in Old Church Slavonic, and dictated to the local scribe petitions to officialdom couched in the local "paper" language), does not coordinate these dialogically. Instead, "each was indisputably in its own place, and the place of each was indisputable" (ibid.: 296). Bakhtin proposes that for this peasant there will come a moment which is identical to the moment of formation of literary consciousness, when "a critical interanimation of languages began to occur in [his] consciousness . . . [when] it became clear that . . . the ideological systems and approaches to the world that were indissolubly connected with these languages contradicted each other and in no way could live in peace and quiet with one another . . . [when] the inviolability and predetermined quality of these

languages came to an end, and the necessity of actively choosing one's orientation among them began" (ibid.: 296).[1]

The present study follows Bakhtin's directive to "examine a peasant." It explores the practices by which a speaker of modern Mexicano claims a moral position among conflicting ways of speaking, weighted with contradictory ideologies, by distributing these across a complex of "voices" through which he constructs a narrative about the murder of his son.

Don Gabriel was said to be the last speaker of Mexicano in San Lorenzo Almecatla, a town of about eight hundred inhabitants which crowns the top of a small hill about five miles north of the city of Puebla, just west of the bustling industrial suburb of Panzacola. We went to interview him on a hot Sunday afternoon in the dry season, when dust and fumes from the factories blew through the rutted lanes around the house where he lay dying. In his great *sala* it was dim and cool, with only the buzzing flies to remind us of the outdoor heat. Emaciation and the pale ivory of his skin after months of illness and shade gave the old man the face of a Quixote. Pneumonia was gathering in his lungs, and coughing and spitting punctuated his speech. Indeed, though, to speak Mexicano with our young interviewer would be *cē lujo* 'a luxury'. So the tape recorder was set up beside him on the bed, and the interview began. Don Gabriel's life had been full, with hard work and community service. He held fervent opinions on the contrast between the *rigor* of the old days and the softness of today. God be thanked, he had never suffered any accident, never been ill. The interviewer, pressing for text on this "danger of death" question, a standby of sociolinguistic interviewing (Labov 1972), tried to verify this claim:[2]

INT: Huān cē acci'dente 'āmo 'quiēnman?	And never any accident?
DG: ´Mm?	Mm?
INT: ´Cē acci'dente.	An accident?
DG: Acci´dente 'ni lo ´quiera 'Dios.	No accident, by God's will.
INT: _Aah.	Aah.
DG: 'Āmo. \Āmo āmo] acci´dente 'āmo,]$_{P,INT}$ ›´sola¯mente,]$_{1\,N}$	No. No, no accident, no, only]$_1$
›ōquimic'tihqueh 'cē nomu^chacho.]$_{2\,N,S}$	they murdered my son.]$_2$
... Qui´piāz 'como: ... como si'ete ... como ´ocho nueve 'años.]$_{3\,N}$	... It will be like ... like seven ... like eight, nine years.]$_3$
Zan por in ´dicha 'fábrica ōquitlā'lihqueh.]$_{4\,N}$	They left him right by that factory.]$_4$

Episode 1.A

Huān ōqui'chīhqueh 'cē: ...	And they made a ...
'cē con´venio 'entre in	an agreement among
den ni¯cān, .. den ´mismo ¯pueblo,]$_{5\,N}$	those here, .. of the same town,]$_5$
que ccala'quīzqueh cē ´carro 'de: ... de pa'saje.]$_{6\,N}$	that they would put in a passenger bus.]$_6$
Huān ōqui´nōtzqueh 'de: ... 'ser teso'rero	And when they called him to ... to be treasurer
īmi´nāhuac]$_{7\,N,A}$	among them,]$_7$
neh ācmo 'ōniccā'huaya,	I did not give him permission,
porque]$_{8\,P}$ lo ´mismo 'ōyec presi'dente.]$_{9\,N}$	because]$_8$ he was municipal president as well.]$_9$
INT: _Aah.	Aah.
DG: Huān niqui¯lia,	And I tell him,
^{h}\"Ācmo ximocomprometerō;	"Don't make any more commitments;
^{h}\xiccāhua, hijito.	leave it, son.
^{h}\Nōn xiccāhua."]$_{10\,N,Q}$	As for that leave it."]$_{10}$

Episode 1.B

In carre¯tera, por \yeh ōmotlapoh nōn.]$_{11\,N}$ Hasta ›divi´sión 'ōyec.]$_{12\,N,T}$	It was opened up by way of the highway.]$_{11}$ There was even a quarrel.]$_{12}$
INT: _Aah.	Aah.
DG: Hasta ōquitlatī'lihqueh in īal'mīāl.]$_{13\,N}$ ^{h}\Bueno,]$_{14\,N,P}$	They even burned his fodder stack.]$_{13}$ Well,]$_{14}$
tonte^{h}\rías ōquichīhuāltihqueh.]$_{15\,N,P}$	it was foolishness that they did to him.]$_{15}$
Huān qui¯lia, ^{h}\"Ācmo nimocalaquīz."]$_{16\,N,D}$ ›Pero 'todas ma'neras ōquitlāni´lihqueh 'in īvolun¯tad.]$_{17\,N,T}$ ^{h}\Siempre ... ō- ... ›ō'calac.]$_{18\,N,P,T}$	And he tells him, "I won't go in anymore."]$_{16}$ But after all they won from him his agreement.]$_{17}$ Always ... he, ... he went in.]$_{18}$

Episode 1.C

'Ya 'yōne'miya 'yōquichī'huaya ne'gocio, para 'nōn compro'miso.]$_{19\,N}$ Pero, ...	Now he was going about doing business, for that agreement.]$_{19}$ But, ...
des´graciadamente 'nīnqueh cris¯tianos, in āquin	unfortunately these people, who
ōquipi'ayah ambi'ción de 'nōn ... de 'nōn tra¯bajo,]$_{20\,P,N}$ ōqui¯milih,	had ambition about that ... that "work,"]$_{20}$ when he told them,
"\Bueno, in āquin 'nequi ´nōn,	"Well, whoever wants that,
quēnin nanqui'nequih, .. 'nōn:,	how do you all want it, .. tha-a-t,
´nōn 'sobra, .. o 'nōn: ... 'nōn	that surplus, or tha-a-t ... that

a¯horro, ˡcā´nin
ca¯laquīz"?]$_{21\ N,D}$ (clears throat)
Quihtoah in yeh¯huān, "Pero ´para
in 'pōxahtli, 'no. ‹Āmo de
'nōn."]$_{22\ N,A}$ Porque bas'tante
'feo co¯rázōn.]$_{23\ P}$ Con rá´zōn
quihtoah in 'gente in ¯pueblo, que
timote'huiah īpan in 'cargo por
'base de inte¯rés.]$_{24\ P,B}$
INT: _Mhm.
ʰ\Āmo.]$_{25\ P}$ "Xicpensa'rōcạn
¯cualli, huān 'mā motē'maca
ʰ'luz."]$_{26\ C}$ Pues ´nēci āmo
'ōquimpade¯ceroh]$_{27\ P}$
ōcuīqui'lihqueh ven'taja.]$_{28\ N,P}$

savings, where
will it go in"?]$_{21}$
They say, "But for
'the pocket,' no. None of
that."]$_{22}$ Because of such
ugly hearts.]$_{23}$ With reason
the people of the town say, that
we fight one another about a
job due to personal interest.]$_{24}$
Mhm.
No.]$_{25}$ "Think you all
well, and let people be given
light."]$_{26}$ Well it seems that it
did not appear to those]$_{27}$
who took advantage of him.]$_{28}$

Episode 2.A

Ōcuīquili'lihqueh ven'taja huān
cē 'tōnal ...]$_{29\ N,P}$
WOMAN: De ʰ\pura política.
DG: ‹'Qué?] (unintelligible reply)
De ma´nera ō¯ninen]$_{30\ N}$
huān ocachi 'īhcih, ōnah´cico]$_{31\ N}$
nēchi'liah 'este, ..
"Xicmecharhuiʰ'lihqui cē 'taco
noʰ\nāhuac"]$_{32\ N,D}$ Niquilia,
"Aʰ\yāmo nimaʰ\yāna]$_{33\ N,Q}$ ´Cān
ōticcāh in moc¯nīh, para
in, in yōl'cāmeh?"]$_{34\ Q}$
Quihtoa, "Pos ´hasta ōmpa
ōni'cuālcāh'tēhui, para
‹quinhuā'līcāz."]$_{35\ N,D}$ Niquilia,
"´Mā niquin'chia.]$_{36\ N,Q}$ ˡ´Cān
tiyāz in 'tẹh?"]$_{37\ Q}$ Este,
"¯Chiāhueh 'Tlāx'cuāpa."]$_{38\ D}$ "Para
¯tlen?"]$_{39\ Q}$ "¯Chiāhueh,
ticttā¯tīhueh 'este ... este
ticcāhua'tīhueh in to¯mín, 'den:"
...]$_{40\ D}$ ʰ\Tlenōnōn
ōnēchilih?]$_{41\ P}$ (clears throat)
"Ticcāhua'tīhueh in ´tomín
'para in: ... pues para in per¯miso,
vaya, para in ¯placas, o: ..."]$_{42\ D}$
ʰ\Āmo niquilnāmiqui quēn
ōnēchilih.]$_{43}$ Niquilia, "ʰ\Bueno,

They took advantage of him
and one day ...]$_{29}$
Nothing but politics.
What? (unintelligible reply)
For some reason I went walking]$_{30}$
and early, when I arrived,]$_{31}$
he told me uh, ...
"Come have something to eat
with me."]$_{32}$ I say,
"I'm not hungry anymore.]$_{33}$ Where
did you leave your brother, for
the, the animals?"]$_{34}$
He says, "Well I went to leave
him over that way, for
him to bring them."]$_{35}$ I tell him,
"Let me wait for them.]$_{36}$ Where
are you going?"]$_{37}$ Uh,
"We're going to Puebla."]$_{38}$ "What
for?"]$_{39}$ "We're going
in order to see about uh ... uh
to go leave the money, fo:r"
...]$_{40}$ What was it
he told me?]$_{41}$
"We are going to leave the money
for the: ... well for the permit,
I mean, for the plates, o:r ..."]$_{42}$
I don't remember what
he told me.]$_{43}$ I say, "Well,

a'dios."]$_{44\ N,Q}$ ‹ˡ"Ps āmo
tihueh'cāhuah."]$_{45\ D}$ ›"ʰ\Āmo."]$_{46\ Q}$
›Yō'yahqueh, .. 'mero den: .. 'īpan:
... 'īpan: ... 'īpan cēm´pōal huān
chicuacen 'tōnal de: ... de: 'julio,
Nuestra Se'ñora Santa 'Anạ.]$_{47\ N}$
(spits)

goodbye."]$_{44}$ "Well we won't
be long."]$_{45}$ "No."]$_{46}$
He went, .. exactly on: .. on:
... on: ... on the twenty-
sixth of-f ... of-f July,
the day of Our Lady Saint Ann.]$_{47}$

Episode 2.B

›´Tonz cē tōnal 'antes,] ō'yahqueh
ō'huāllah oc´cē 'tōnal.]$_{48\ N}$
Ō'huāllah cē des¯pues,]$_{49\ N}$
nēchi'lia este ...
"Timotlapia'lītịh?"]$_{50\ N,D}$ =
Niquilia, "ʰ\Quēmah niquimpiatih
in yōlcāmeh.]$_{51\ N,Q}$ ´Nēchilia, "Mā
ti'ācạn īhuān noc´nīh,]$_{52\ N,D}$ huān
'ōncān ni'cuālcāh'tēhuāz.]$_{53\ D}$
Xicmoma'quilī cē 'vuelta ītech in
'campo."]$_{54\ D}$ Ō¯niah]$_{55\ N}$ ›huān
ōni'huāllah lo 'mismọ.]$_{56\ N}$
Quemeh ´nīn hora 'ye,
ticcha'rohtoqueh in ī'taco]$_{57\ N}$
nēchilia, "Xonhuālʰ\moīca,
tiquecha'rōzqueh cē 'taco."]$_{58\ N,D}$
= Niquilia, "ʰ\Ah, hijo, aʰ\yāmo
nimaʰ\yāna.]$_{59\ N,Q}$ In moc'nīh
ō'mocah ītech in 'campo."]$_{60\ Q}$
Niquilia, "Nic´chia mā
'huāllāz."]$_{61\ N,Q}$ Huān este, "Ps,
ʰ\cān tiyāz?"]$_{62\ Q}$ Quihtoa
este, .. "'Chiāhueh
yōtcarregla'rohqueh in
a'sunto,]$_{63\ N,D}$ ya no más zan
mocā'huatih in to¯mīn,]$_{64\ D}$ huān
este, monom'brarōz in direc'tiva,
de ´nōn a'suntọ.]$_{65\ D}$ (spits)
Ni´quilia, "Pues ʰ\tlen diario
āhueliti nancarre'glaroạh?"]$_{66\ N,Q}$
"\Está bien quēmạh."]$_{67\ D}$
Toz niquilia, "Aʰ\yāmo xiā," o
"ʰ\Āmo xiā."]$_{68\ N,Q}$ (clock begins
tolling music and 11 A.M.) Quihtoa,
"ʰ\Āmo, ‹pero
yōnimocomprome'teroh."]$_{69\ N,D}$

Then one day before, he came and
went another day.]$_{48}$
When he came some time
later,]$_{49}$ he tells me uh ... "Are
you going to go shepherding?"]$_{50}$
I tell him, "Yes I went to watch
the animals."]$_{51}$ He tells me, "Let
you and my brother go,]$_{52}$ and
I will be staying over there.]$_{53}$
You go take a walk around the
fields."]$_{54}$ I went]$_{55}$ and
I came back the same way.]$_{56}$
Like at this hour now, when we
used to go to eat something,]$_{57}$
he tells me, "Come, let's have
something to eat."]$_{58}$
I tell him, "Ah, son, I'm not
hungry now."]$_{59}$ Your brother
stayed in the fields."]$_{60}$
I tell him, "I'll wait until he
comes."]$_{61}$ And uh, "Well,
where are you going?"]$_{62}$ He says
uh, .. "We are going
to take care of the
business,]$_{63}$ just
to go leave the money]$_{64}$ And
uh, to name the directors,
of that business."]$_{65}$
I tell him, "Well it can't be you
all have to take care of things
every day?"]$_{66}$ "It's O.K., sure."]$_{67}$
Then I tell him, "Don't go now," or
"Don't go."]$_{68}$
He says,
"No, but I have an
appointment."]$_{69}$

ācah cah.]$_{129\ O}$ Ōni´huāllah occēppa nicān]$_{130\ O}$ nitlahtlanīco]$_{131\ O}$ āmo āmo tle¯nōn.]$_{132\ O}$ "›'Toz ´tlen pa'noā?"]$_{133\ R,T}$ Hasta al ´cabo de rato 'este, .. niqui´lia, "Pues 'āmo ācah ¯nēci.]$_{134\ O,R}$ A ´ver]$_{135\ R}$ occēppa 'mā niquit´tā,]$_{136\ R}$ ōmpa ītech in 'ichān 'xāmo ōcoch¯huetz,]$_{137\ R}$ huān ōmo¯catcac]$_{138\ R}$ huān āhueliti]$_{139\ R}$ ^{h}\vaya."]$_{140\ R}$ ‹Āmo motlapoa in ^puerta.]$_{141\ O,S}$ nobody there.]$_{129}$ When I came here again]$_{130}$ when I came to ask]$_{131}$ not not anything.]$_{132}$ "Then what is going on?"]$_{133}$ After a while uh, .. I tell him, "Well it seems there's nobody.]$_{134}$ Let's see]$_{135}$ let me see again,]$_{136}$ if he might be asleep there at his house]$_{137}$ and the door being closed]$_{138}$ he can't hear,]$_{139}$ O.K."]$_{140}$ The door does not open.]$_{141}$

Episode 4.D

Ō¯niāh]$_{142\ O}$ yō´nicah'cito in .. ¯maestra,]$_{143\ O}$ niqui'lia este, ōnictla´paloh,]$_{144\ O}$ niqui'lia, nēchon´maca rázōn]$_{145\ O,Q}$ āmo 'cah, 'āmo ōncān cah in ¯dueño."]$_{146\ Q}$ Quihtoa, "›'Āmo, ‹^{h}\āmo āmo."]$_{147\ O,I}$ "^{h}\Está bien."]$_{148\ Q}$ I went]$_{142}$ I went to find the .. teacher,]$_{143}$ I tell her uh, I greeted her,]$_{144}$ I tell her, "Tell me why]$_{145}$ he's not there, the householder isn't home."]$_{146}$ She says, "No, no no."]$_{147}$ "It's O. K."]$_{148}$

Episode 4.E

Nic'maca ¯vuelta]$_{149\ O}$ huān 'ōncān in 'plaza nimotēl¯quetzā,]$_{150\ O}$ huān nitla´chīxtō ihquīn īc tla¯tzīntlan]$_{151\ O}$ cuāc ōni'quittāc.]$_{152\ O}$ ´Yōah'cico ōme 'cōchix.]$_{153\ O}$ (spits) "^{h}\Āquinonōn huelīz?"]$_{154\ R}$ (clears throat) ´Cē noher'mano quipia in 'īcōchix]$_{155\ N,P}$ chānti de 'nē, 'nē, 'lado de co'lonia.]$_{156\ N}$ Nēchi¯lia, "´Tlen 'ticon'chīhua]$_{157\ N,J}$ 'cualcān yō'tonmēh."]$_{158\ J}$ Niquilia, "Pues cuāndo precisa´rihui 'ihcōn."]$_{159\ N,Q}$ Nēchilia este, .. niqui¯lia, ih¯cōn] "'Cuando 'tiyā ti¯huītz,]$_{160\ N,Q}$ 'āmo tiquit´tā 'algo, 'ōmpa den I'm walking around]$_{149}$ and I'm standing over there in the plaza]$_{150}$ and I went to look down below this way]$_{151}$ when I see it.]$_{152}$ Two cars came.]$_{153}$ "Who can it be?"]$_{154}$ My brother has a car,]$_{155}$ the one who lives on that, that, that side of the town.]$_{156}$ He says to me, "Hello]$_{157}$ you got up early."]$_{158}$ I tell him, "Well when it's necessary, I do it."]$_{159}$ He tells me uh, .. I say to him, thus "When you went out]$_{160}$ did you not see anything, there on

carre¯tera?"]$_{161\ Q}$ Nēchilia, "^{h}\Āmo,]$_{162\ N,J}$ ›¯tlīca?"]$_{163\ J}$ Niqui´lia, "Tic¯matīz,]$_{164\ N,Q}$ ‹quil yō'quimic'tihqueh in no'conēh.]$_{165\ Q}$ ‹^{h}\Xquittā nīn āmatl."]$_{166\ Q}$ O'quittāc.]$_{167\ O}$ Quihtoa, "¯Ah, pues ticon'matīz,]$_{168\ N,J}$ pero, ōtite¯mōcoh,]$_{169\ J}$ ōtiquit¯tāqueh]$_{170\ J}$ pero ^{h}\āmo āmo.]$_{171\ J}$ ‹^{h}/Āmo yen yeh."]$_{172\ J}$ Niquilia, "^{h}\Cómo no?"]$_{173\ N,Q}$ "^{h}\Āmo yeh."]$_{174\ J}$ "^{h}\Cómo no?"]$_{175\ Q}$ 'Mati ōnē'chilih īca 'cē 'suéter, ¯gris.]$_{176\ N,J}$ Niquilia, "'Āmo,]$_{177\ N,Q}$ 'cē cami'solas de ¯tana, īca 'nīn īpan'tálōn casi¯mir, huān īzapa'toshuān.]$_{178\ N,Q}$ ^{h}\Ha de ser yen yeh."]$_{179\ Q}$ (spits) Quih'toa "Pues ^{h}\fácilmente ticonmatīz inīn."]$_{180\ N,J}$ "^{h}\No cabe duda ha de ser yen yeh."]$_{181\ Q}$ "Pues, ›ti'āhueh]$_{182\ J}$ ›xon¯tlehcō]$_{183\ J}$ ^{h}\tiāhueh ttātīhueh."]$_{184}$ the highway?"]$_{161}$ He says to me, "No,]$_{162}$ why?"]$_{163}$ I tell him, "You'll see,]$_{164}$ they say they murdered my son.]$_{165}$ Look at this paper."]$_{166}$ He saw it.]$_{167}$ He says, "Ah, well you'll find out,]$_{168}$ but when we came to go down,]$_{169}$ we saw him]$_{170}$ but no no.]$_{171}$ It isn't him."]$_{172}$ I tell him, "Why not?"]$_{173}$ "It's not him."]$_{174}$ "Why not?"]$_{175}$ I think he told me about a sweater, grey,]$_{176}$ I tell him, "No,]$_{177}$ a tan vest, with his cashmere slacks, and his shoes.]$_{178}$ It has to be him."]$_{179}$ He says, "Well it's easy for you to find out about this."]$_{180}$ "There's no doubt that it's him."]$_{181}$ "Well, let's go]$_{182}$ climb in]$_{183}$ let's go see."]$_{184}$

Episode 5

›Ōti¯ahqueh,]$_{185\ O,T}$ ›^{h}\de melāhuac yēcah gente nē.]$_{186\ O,P,T}$ Este, ›´vaya yōte'mōcoh in 'yehhuān, .. ¯miēcqueh]$_{187\ O,T}$ ›huān oc'cēqui mu'chachos,]$_{188\ O,T}$ ›huān yōni'temōc]$_{189\ O,T}$ ›'niah, 'niah īncui¯tlapan,]$_{190\ O,T}$ ›huān ō'catcah cēqui zoā'tzitzīn]$_{191\ O,T}$ huān nēchi'liah este, \quiliah in nocnīh este, "^{h}\Tlenonōn nōn señor?"]$_{192\ O,T,K}$ Qui'lia este, ‹"Este ī^pāpā."]$_{193\ O,S,J}$ "^{h}\Āmo xiccāhuacan mā mopacho,]$_{194\ K}$ ^{h}\āmo xiccāhuacan!"]$_{195\ K}$ ›Neh 'zā niman ōni¯quīxmat.]$_{196\ O,T}$ When we went,]$_{185}$ for sure then there were a lot of people there.]$_{186}$ Uh, well when he went down they were .. many]$_{187}$ and some boys,]$_{188}$ and when I went down]$_{189}$ I went, I went up behind them,]$_{190}$ and there were some women,]$_{191}$ and they tell me uh, they tell my brother uh, "Who is that gentleman?"]$_{192}$ He tells her, "This is his father."]$_{193}$ "Don't let him come close,]$_{194}$ don't let him!"]$_{195}$ As for me I knew him at once.]$_{196}$

ʰ\Pos yah yeh.]$_{70\ O}$ ›" ’Āmo, tlen hora ’tihuītz?"]$_{71\ Q}$
ʰ\"Āmo."]$_{72\ D}$
"›/Cualcān?"]$_{73\ Q}$

Well he went.]$_{70}$ "No, what time will you come back?"]$_{71}$
"No."]$_{72}$
"In the morning?"]$_{73}$

Episode 3

Como ni’cān, zoā’tzīntli ōmopahti’aya ¯Puebla,]$_{74\ N}$ huān zan ´neh ni’cān ōni’catca nochi in no-, noni’etas.]$_{75\ N}$ (coughs) Ō’huāllah (coughs, spits) ’cē nozo’āmōn de ´nē ’lado de ’cē nomu’chacho ^máyōr.]$_{76\ N,S}$ (Clock stops tolling 11.) Nēchilia, "Pápā ā’yāmo timēhtzī´noa?"]$_{77\ N,E}$ Niquilia "Ā’yāmo."]$_{78\ N,Q}$ Nēchi’lia "Xic’mottil ’tlen yōnic’ahcic."]$_{79\ N,E}$ Niquilia "ʰ\Tlenōnōn?"]$_{80\ N,Q}$ Nēchilia "´Yōnic’ahcic cē ’carta."]$_{81\ N,E}$ "´Āquin ōccāʰ’huaco?"]$_{82\ Q}$ "´Quién ’sabe,]$_{83\ E}$ nōn neh ōnic’ahcic ītla in, ītla in ’puerta den ’záguān."]$_{84\ E}$ "A ¯ver,]$_{85\ Q}$ ’xicuā’lica ni’quittāz."]$_{86\ Q}$ Ye ni’quittā.]$_{87\ O}$ (clears throat) Quih’toa este, "Nimitzonanticiparhui’lia]$_{88\ N,F}$ xiconit´tā in ’moco¯nēh, porque]$_{89\ F}$ yō’quimic¯tihqueh]$_{90\ F}$ huān ¯huetztoc, ītech in carre’tera de Tlax’cala, ah, ōmpa ’cerca de San Fe’lipe."]$_{91\ F}$ ›’Nēci quen ’āmo ōnicnel’tocac]$_{92\ O,P}$ como ´āmo qui’piāc.]$_{93\ O,P}$ ʰ\Cpāctiaya alguna cosa.]$_{94\ O,P}$ Pues ʰ\āmo ōnicneltocac.]$_{95\ O,P}$ INT: ‹’Aaah. DG: ’Āmo,]$_{96\ P}$ pero de ’toda ma’nera niquih¯toa "´A ver]$_{97\ O,Q\ or\ R}$ ʰ\mā niquittā."]$_{98\ Q\ or\ R}$ =

Well the lady here had gone to the doctor in Puebla,]$_{74}$ and I was here with all my, my granddaughters.]$_{75}$ My daughter-in-law on that side, my elder son’s wife, came over.]$_{76}$ She says to me, "Papa, you’re not up yet?"]$_{77}$ I say to her "Not yet."]$_{78}$ She says to me, "Look at what I have found."]$_{79}$ I say to her, "What is it?"]$_{80}$ She says to me "I found a letter."]$_{81}$ "Who came to leave it?"]$_{82}$ "Who knows,]$_{83}$ I just found it under the, under the door to the courtyard."]$_{84}$ "Let’s see,]$_{85}$ bring it for me to see."]$_{86}$ Now I see it.]$_{87}$ It says uh, "I am warning you,]$_{88}$ see your son, because]$_{89}$ they have killed him]$_{90}$ and he has fallen on the highway to Tlaxcala, ah, over there near San Felipe."]$_{91}$ It seems like I did not believe it]$_{92}$ like she did not have it.]$_{93}$ He’d been happy about something.]$_{94}$ Well I did not believe it.]$_{95}$ Aaah. No,]$_{96}$ well in any case I say, "Let’s see,]$_{97}$ let me see about it."]$_{98}$

Episode 4.A

›Ō¯niah]$_{99\ O}$ huān nicnā’miqui ’cē mu’chacho te’quīti ’Puebla]$_{100\ O}$ huān /huītzeh lo mismo de ¯yoac.]$_{101\ O}$ Huān niqui’lia este, "Īc ´ōncān ’nan´huītzeh ’den carre¯tera.]$_{102\ N,Q}$ ʰ\Āmitlah ōnanquittāqueh?"]$_{103\ Q}$ Quihtoa "ʰ\Āmo Don Gabriel, ‹\āmo.]$_{104\ G}$ ›¯Tlīca?]$_{105\ G}$ Niquilia "ʰ\Xquitta nīn carta."]$_{106\ N,Q}$ = Quihtoa "ʰ\Ay, carambas!]$_{107\ N,G}$ ʰ\Āmo, āmo, para ʰ\tlen tictōzqueh ōticttāqueh?]$_{108\ G}$ = ‹ʰ\Āmo, nōn ’tlenōn.]$_{109\ G}$ ´A ver]$_{110\ G}$ ʰ\xonyah xontlahtlanī."]$_{111\ G}$

I went]$_{99}$ and I met a young man who works in Puebla]$_{100}$ and comes home the same at night.]$_{101}$ And I tell him uh, "You came over there by way of the highway.]$_{102}$ Didn’t any of you see anything?"]$_{103}$ He says, "No Don Gabriel, no.]$_{104}$ Why?"]$_{105}$ I tell him, "Look at this letter."]$_{106}$ He says, "Ay, carambas!]$_{107}$ No, no, why would we say we saw it?]$_{108}$ No, nothing like that.]$_{109}$ Let’s see,]$_{110}$ you might go and make inquiries."]$_{111}$

Episode 4.B

›Ōnictlahtla’nīto in īcu’ñado]$_{112\ O}$ ›ye ’nōn ōcatca presi’dente,]$_{113\ O}$ ›in īcu’ñado.]$_{114\ O}$ (spits) que lo ’mismo quil a´yāmo huītz.]$_{115\ P,H}$ Toz neh ōnicmalpen’sarōh como]$_{116\ N,P}$ ō’catca ’fuerte in .. in po’lítica den yeh¯huān.]$_{117\ N,P}$ Niquihtoa "A lo ’mejor ‹’xāmo ōquinmā’gaqueh.]$_{118\ N,R}$ ‹īpan ’yoal ōquimispia’rōhqueh.]$_{119\ R}$ A ´ver ʰ\tlen sudērihui.]$_{120\ R}$ ʰ\Āquin nictlahtlanīz?"]$_{121\ R}$

When I went to ask his brother-in-law,]$_{112}$ the one who had been president,]$_{113}$ his brother-in-law,]$_{114}$ it was the same, that he "hadn’t come."]$_{115}$ Then I didn’t like him since]$_{116}$ their uh .. politics used to be fierce.]$_{117}$ I say, "Most likely maybe they beat him up.]$_{118}$ At night they spied on him.]$_{119}$ Let’s see what happens.]$_{120}$ Who will I ask?"]$_{121}$

Episode 4.C

Y ’ōnitlahtla’nīto este, . in ’īchān, como]$_{122\ O}$ in ’īchān āmāca ¯chānti]$_{123\ O}$ ōquihtlani’lihqueh pa co’legio.]$_{124\ O}$ Como ´huēi in ¯pieza]$_{125\ O}$ tlani’lihqueh pa co¯legio]$_{126\ O}$ ‹āmo ōc’tēmacac.]$_{127\ O}$ "Mā nitlahtla´nī"]$_{128\ R}$ aʰ\yāmo ayāmo

And when I went to inquire uh, at his house, since]$_{122}$ at his house nobody is home]$_{123}$ they went to inquire at the school.]$_{124}$ As the room is large,]$_{125}$ when they asked at the school]$_{126}$ nobody answered.]$_{127}$ "Let me ask"]$_{128}$ still still

›'Zā niman, 'zā niman
ōni¯quīxmat.]$_{197\ O,T}$
‹" 'Teh."]$_{198\ Q}$ ....
Ih´quīn ōquitê^cāqueh,
īpan 'cē:, īpan 'cē: ´tetl 'nōn de,
de ca'mīchis,]$_{199\ O,S}$ huān
ōquilpal'tihqueh cē 'náilōn,]$_{200\ O}$
ōquīxtlapa'choqueh īca in
'náilōn.]$_{201\ O}$ ^{h}\Ōmpa ihcōn
ōquiyēctēcāqueh.]$_{202\ O,P}$
Ni \modo este.]$_{203\ R}$
\Āmo ōnēchcāhqueh.]$_{204\ O,P}$ Ye
nēchilia, "Ps, 'ya, 'ya /āxan
quēmah yō'mottāc."]$_{205\ N,J}$
´Niquilia pues 'este,
"›¯Ya."]$_{206\ N,Q}$ ‹"´A ver]$_{207\ Q}$
\tiāhueh ticttātihueh.]$_{208\ Q}$
/A ver]$_{209\ Q}$ ^{h}\tlen Dios
quimihtahuilīz."]$_{210\ Q}$ ›Neh 'nicah
'casi ya la^crado.]$_{211\ O,S}$

At once, at once
I knew him.]$_{197}$
"You."]$_{198}$ ....
They had laid him down this way,
on a, on a rock of, of
camichis]$_{199}$ and they had covered
him with a plastic sheet,]$_{200}$
they had covered his face with a
plastic sheet.]$_{201}$ Thus they had
laid him down nicely.]$_{202}$
Nothing to be done.]$_{203}$
They didn't permit me.]$_{204}$ Now
he tells me, "Well, now, now, now
for sure he's been seen."]$_{205}$
I say well uh,
"Done."]$_{206}$ "Let's see]$_{207}$
let's go see.]$_{208}$
Let's see]$_{209}$ how God
will dispose."]$_{210}$ I'm
almost destroyed now.]$_{211}$

Episode 6

´Yō-, yōti'huāl'lahqueh para
ni'cān.]$_{212\ N}$ ... Este, ōni´cānaco
algo 'de to¯mīn.]$_{213\ N}$ Este,
ōah´cico nōn 'den judi¯cial.]$_{214\ N}$
Nēchilia "´Tlen
ticonchīhuāz,]$_{215\ N,L}$
xicompreparārō in
cen'tavos,]$_{216\ L}$ huān ōmpa ton´yā,
ītech 'in:, 'ītech in
espec¯ción."]$_{217\ L}$
"^{h}\Está bien."]$_{218\ Q}$ (spits)
›´Yōnihuāllah.]$_{219\ O,T}$
›Niquinnāmiqui 'cēqui de
›judi´cial ni'cān
in sa'lida.]$_{220\ N,T}$
›´Pues zan
'ōtēchtēmo'ihqueh,]$_{221\ N,T}$ ..
›ōtēchtla'tēmo¯lihqueh.]$_{222\ N,T}$
Nēchi'lia:, in 'jefe den judi¯cial,
nēchilia, "¯Teh,"]$_{223\ N,M}$ nēchilia,
"^{l}In teh'huātzīn ton'tētah den
mu¯chacho?"]$_{224\ N,M}$ Niquilia,
"^{h}\Quēmah."]$_{225\ N,Q}$ Quihtoa "^{l}´Tlen

We, we came by
this place.]$_{212}$ ... Uh, I came to
pick up some money.]$_{213}$ Uh,
that official came.]$_{214}$
He tells me, "What
you'll do,]$_{215}$
is get the money
ready,]$_{216}$ and you go there
to the, to the
inspection."]$_{217}$
"O.K."]$_{218}$
I went.]$_{219}$
I met some
officials here
on the way out of town.]$_{220}$
Well they just inquired of
us about the matter,]$_{221}$ ..
they made inquiry of us.]$_{222}$
He tells me:, the chief official, he
tells me, "You,"]$_{223}$ he tells me,
"Sir, are you the father of the
young man?"]$_{224}$ I tell him,
"Yes."]$_{225}$ He says, "Why

ōnemiya ar¯mado?"]$_{226\ N,M}$ Niquilia
"^{h}\Aīc.]$_{227\ N,Q}$ ›Aīc ōquino-,
ōccono'ceroh alguna 'arma de
‹qui'nemi, ‹qui'nemīz.]$_{228\ Q,T}$
Desde in ´tiempo que 'ōyec por
e¯jemplo]$_{229\ Q}$ ōyec nom'brado
como autori´dad]$_{230\ Q}$ 'āmo
ōqui'pāctih."]$_{231\ Q}$ "Pues,
^{l}t´cahxilihqueh 'cē pis´tola,]$_{232\ M}$
'īca .. (´mati 'ōnē´chilih) cē ōme
'car¯tucho.]$_{233\ M,(N)}$
Ōctla¯tihqueh,]$_{234\ M}$ huān 'cēqui
'tiros īhtec in ī¯pōxah."]$_{235\ M}$
Niquilia, "\Āmo, de ^{h}\nōn
āmo."]$_{236\ N,Q}$ "^{h}\Está bien."]$_{237\ M}$
›Cuāc nēchi'lia]$_{238\ N}$
ōnēchcāhtē'huilih in
a'puntę.]$_{239\ N,S}$ ... Nēchilia "Tlā
´algo 'mitzonofre¯cerōz,]$_{240\ M}$
este, (spits) nimitzon'chia en tal
´lugar."]$_{241\ M}$ ^{h}\Mati
ōchāntiya ītech cē hotel
parece.]$_{242\ P}$ "\Ōmpa
nimitzon\chia."]$_{243\ M}$
"\Está bien."]$_{244\ Q}$ ›^{h}\Āmo, ´āmo
ōni'caten¯derōh,]$_{245\ O,P}$
o´cachi ōni'caten'derōh in
‹'cuerpo.]$_{246\ O}$

did he go armed?"]$_{226}$ I tell him,
"Never.]$_{227}$ He never knew any
weapon for walking around with,
to walk around with.]$_{228}$
Since the time that for example
when he was,]$_{229}$ when he was
named an authority]$_{230}$ he didn't
like it."]$_{231}$ "Well,
we found a pistol,]$_{232}$
with .. (I think he told me) a few
cartridges.]$_{233}$ They'd been
fired,]$_{234}$ and some
rounds in his pocket."]$_{235}$
I tell him, "No, it
can't be."]$_{236}$ "O.K."]$_{237}$
Then he tells me]$_{238}$
he left me an
address.]$_{239}$ .. He tells me "If
I can do something for you,]$_{240}$
uh, I'm at your service in such-
and-such a place."]$_{241}$ I think
he lived in a hotel, it seems
like.]$_{242}$ "I'm at your service
there."]$_{243}$
"O.K."]$_{244}$ No, I didn't
pay any attention to him,]$_{245}$
I was thinking more of the
body.]$_{246}$

Episode 7

Zan 'niman ōmoquīx'tihqueh para, ..
para in 'pántiōn.]$_{247\ N}$
›Chīhuī'lihqueh in
opera¯ción.]$_{248\ N}$ ›Ōtcuāl'cuepqueh
ya ye 'tiōtlac.]$_{249\ N}$ ´Occē tōnal
a, .. casi 'āmo, . ´āmo
ō'motlāl´lāquih,]$_{250\ O,P}$ por
'cues'tión de fam¯iliąs.]$_{251\ O,P}$
xitīn'toqueh,]$_{252\ O,P}$
ōhuāl¯lahquęh,]$_{253\ N}$
›ōtquin'chīxquęh,]$_{254\ N,T}$
›ōmosepul'tarōh.]$_{255\ N,T}$
^{h}\Todavía āmo ōnēchilihqueh
quemeh.]$_{256\ P}$ ‹A los (mati) a los
´ocho o nueve ¯días,]$_{257\ O}$

Then they took him to, ..
to the cemetery.]$_{247}$
They did the
operation.]$_{248}$ We returned him
already by afternoon.]$_{249}$ The next
day uh, .. they almost didn't, .
didn't bury him,]$_{250}$ because of
the relatives.]$_{251}$
They were scattered,]$_{252}$
they came,]$_{253}$
we waited for them,]$_{254}$
he was buried.]$_{255}$
They've never told me
how.]$_{256}$ After (I think)
eight or nine days,]$_{257}$

nicreco'gerōz in i'ropa.]$_{258\ O}$
›^{h}\Āmo ōnicrecogeroh, ›^{h}\āmo.]$_{259\ P}$
› ´Ihcōn 'este, › ´solo nōn
fra'caso, ›'ōnēch'panǭc.]$_{260\ P}$ =

I was to collect his clothing.]$_{258}$
I didn't collect it, no.]$_{259}$
Thus uh, only that
mistake, happened to me.]$_{260}$

Coda

›\Ah pues, ‹ayāmo tlen 'huehcah lo
'mismo.]$_{261\ P}$ ›Cē nomu'chacho
'máyōr ni'cān 'chāntı̣.]$_{262\ N}$ Lo
'mismo]$_{263\ N}$ de que
'nemi īca in . borra'chera
como]$_{264\ N}$ te¯quiti]$_{265\ N}$ (spits)
quibalacea'rohquẹh.]$_{266\ N}$
›Ccalaqui'lihqueh tres 'tiros,
'ya me'ritǫ.]$_{267\ N,T}$ ›Pero
ōnimāvi'vārǫh.]$_{268\ N}$ Pues, este,
^{h}\ōyec sano hasta āxan.]$_{269\ P}$
^{h}\Ōyec sano.]$_{270\ P}$ \Nada más
\cosa de ´neh,
nopersonali'dạd.]$_{271\ P}$
´Quihtōz āquinonōn,
"´Algún accidente?"]$_{272\ P,INT}$
\Āmo ... ^{h}'Āmo 'āmo.]$_{273\ P}$
INT: ‹\Aaaaah.

Ah well, not long ago it was the
same thing.]$_{261}$ My oldest son
who lives here.]$_{262}$ The
same thing]$_{263}$ that some one
going around . drunk
as]$_{264}$ he was working]$_{265}$
they shot him.]$_{266}$
They put three bullets into him,
just like that.]$_{267}$ But
I survived.]$_{268}$ Well, uh,
he was healthy until now.]$_{269}$
He was healthy.]$_{270}$ It's just a
personal thing,
a personal matter.]$_{271}$
If somebody should ask,
"Some accident?"]$_{272}$
No ... No, no.]$_{273}$
Aaaaah.

To tell his son's murder, Don Gabriel must address an ideology, the capitalist idea of doing "business for profit," that is antithetical to the values of reciprocity and community solidarity which people in towns like Almecatla hold sacred. Don Gabriel's son was murdered for what local people call *envidia*, a destructive form of envy which leads to revenge against its object. Dow (1981) proposes that *envidia* is seldom directed against those who prosper in the ordinary way, through hard work in domestic production and exemplary citizenship within the traditional order. Instead, *envidia* targets those who practice true capitalist accumulation, thereby tipping the delicate balance of reciprocity by which towns like Almecatla "defend themselves" against the tightening vise of appropriation of their resources. In order to speak about the murder, then, Don Gabriel must invoke the ugly lexicon of dealings for profit, which for Mexicano speakers is drawn entirely from Spanish. This lexicon remains for him alien, and his struggle with it—a principal source of dysfluency in the otherwise eloquent flow of his narrative—supports Bakhtin's intuition that in intertextual practice in the heteroglossic speech community there will always

be words which "cannot be assimilated into [the] context and [will] fall out of it; it is as if they put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker" (Bakhtin 1981: 294). To analyze this struggle, I look closely at his narrative, focusing on the voice system.

I adapt from Bakhtin (1984, 1981; also Voloshinov [1986 (1930)] and Silverman and Torode [1980]) the concept of a system of "voices" as the site of consciousness and subjectivity in discourse. This voice system must be recognized as a new subsystem in what Woodbury (1985, 1987) has called "rhetorical structure" of discourse.[3] While reported speech is an important site for the study of the voice system,[4] the system is realized as well through other rhetorical strategies. The voice system is the field for dialogue and for conflict, where authorial consciousness attempts to dominate and shape the text through its chosen voices. The voice system interacts with prosodic structure; prosodic strategies, particularly intonation, are important to its development and a prosodic interruption, the break through the narrative voice of an "intonational shadow" which may index "artless" emotion, will be shown to pose a paradox for a search for a subject, a "self" which might be the locus of consciousness and choice in narrative. Lexical choice and language choice are clearly important components of "voices," as is the distribution of these across the large structures of the discourse such as episodic structure, plot structure, and systems of oppositions in geography, gender, and the like. In order to assimilate (at least partially) the Spanish lexicon of business-for-profit into his narrative, while making clear that his "own" moral position is firmly grounded in the peasant communitarian value of reciprocity, Don Gabriel constitutes the voice system of his narration along a moral axis (supported by a moral geography), and distributes this lexicon among voices which are far removed from the moral center of his text. When the lexicon of profit penetrates close to this center, he tries to dominate it with a euphemism.

The problem of the voice in speaking directs us to inquiry as to how the self should be understood. Other authors have shared Bakhtin's intuition that individual consciousness is constituted through a choice of voices, although not all of these authors have shared his view that responsible, choosing consciousness, rather than an affected, emotion-producing entity, is the core of individuality. Goffman (1974) found in reported speech and other multivocal phenomena his most important clues that the "everyday self" can be considered as a framed dramaturgical presentation; I employ his taxonomy of the laminations of voices in conversational narrative, which for Goffman demonstrated that the "glassy essence" of the self[5] is in fact a kaleidoscope. Singer (1980), drawing on the work of Charles Peirce, sees the self semiotically, as a dynamic system of signs distributed by communication across a "loosely compacted person." Becker

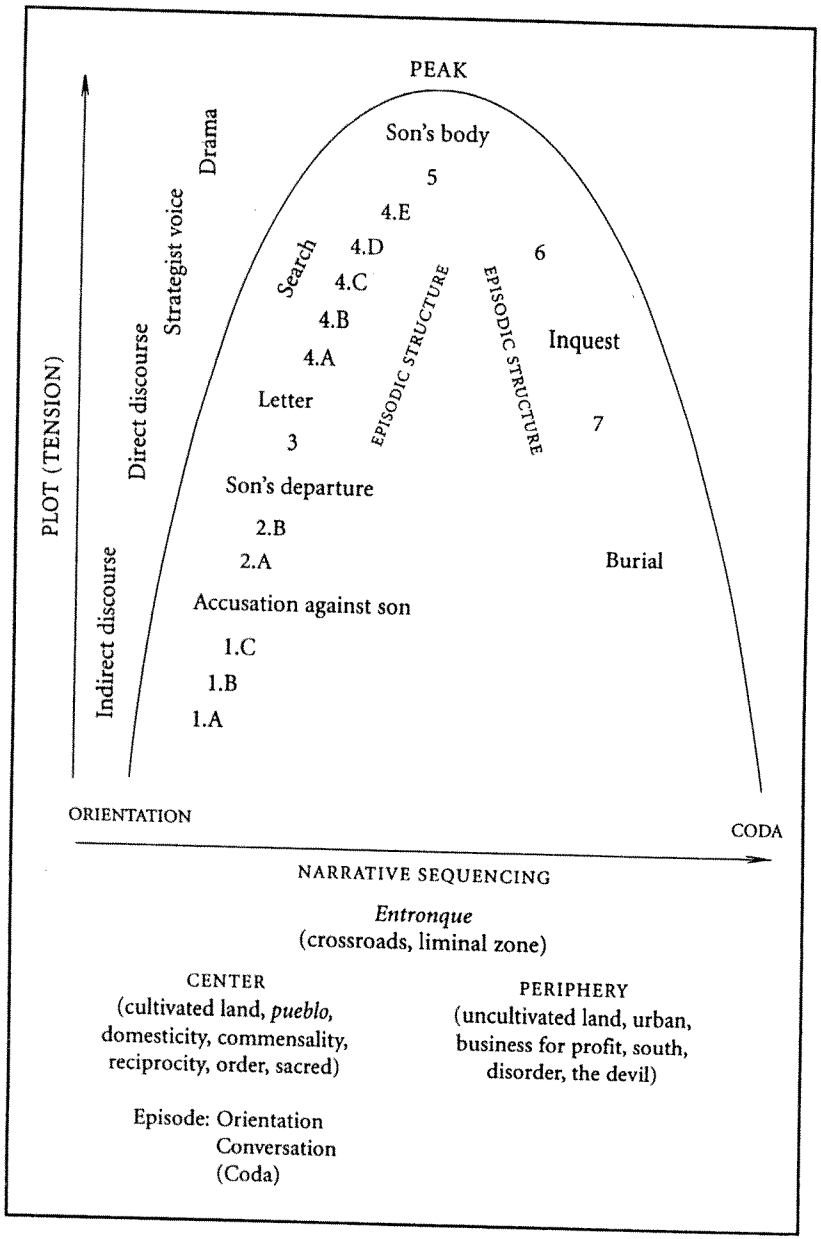

Figure 4-1. Dimensions of the text structure.

(1979, 1983) has suggested that the self is an intertextual entity, the product of a text-building process. Similarly, I show that the "Don Gabriel" constructed through his deeply felt narration is a complex construction, which cannot be seen as mere elaboration around a single "essential" core of the self.

The artful practices of lamination of frames through which Don Gabriel constructs the voice system, the principal moral axis of his narrative, can only be understood within the context of the other rhetorical strategies in his narrative. These include the construction of a system of oppositions, the most important being a moral geography; a sequential or narrative system; and a system of tension or plot. These are organized by an episodic system. The voice system is distributed across these other systems, and is both constrained by and constrains them. These systems are diagrammed in figure 4-1; the detailed diagram of the voice system itself is found in table 4-1.

THE MORAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE NARRATIVE

Warman (1982) argues that although the peasants of Mexico are incorporated within capitalism, they retain a substantial autonomy, with distinctively peasant forms of production, ideology, and consciousness. Taussig (1979) shows that Latin American peasants represent their opposition to the values of individual gain which are central to capitalism by attaching these to the dominant symbol of the devil, the force of darkness which resides particularly in money and its exchange for profit. Taggart (1977, 1982, 1983) has pointed out that among the Nahua speakers of the Sierra de Puebla, the region immediately to the northeast of the Puebla-Tlaxcala valley, the opposition between the orderly human realm and the domain of the devil is often constituted geographically as a contrast between a center and a periphery. Folktales represent this contrast by telling of the journey of a hero, who survives a passage out from the center into the periphery, the devil's world. Don Gabriel assimilates his narrative to this journey form in order to create a moral geography in which spaces associated with peasant communitarian values are contrasted with spaces associated with danger and business-for-profit.

In Don Gabriel's narrative, the episodes which occur before the peak (Longacre's [1976] term for the moment of plot climax) in episode 5 take place entirely in the "center," the community of Almecatla itself, which symbolizes safety and order. However, Don Gabriel's text is ironic, for even in this center the worm of greed—action "para in pōxahtli" 'for the pocket' (private profit) (22),[6] rather than "para den pueblo" 'for the

community'—has appeared. The peak and postpeak episodes take place outside the town, in a peripheral realm where disorder prevails. The moral geography is constructed through three devices: by the specification of physical locations of episodes, by the themes of the conversations which are the core of each episode, and by the journey of Don Gabriel as he searches for his son, finds him, and buries him.

Early episodes locate characters in or near their homes. In conversations between father and son they speak of fields and animals—the core of the peasant way of life—and of commensality between family members. In episode 3 commensality is again a theme, albeit a presupposed one, for when Don Gabriel's daughter-in-law arrives, local hearers know that she has come to prepare his breakfast, a duty which falls to this relative when a wife is away. (In Almecatla, an eldest son will set up his household next door to his father's home, so the daughter-in-law does not have a long journey.) In this episode, where a wife, granddaughters, and a daughter-in-law are mentioned, Don Gabriel is in a realm of women; women are considered to be particularly *Mexicano* and so stand for peasant values (cf. J. Hill 1987). But a stunningly ironic note is struck when the daughter-in-law, representing domestic conformity and tradition, brings to the old man the anonymous letter which informs him that his son is dead.

In episode 4 the journey motif begins, and sections A through E trace the geography of the community, the moral center, as Don Gabriel wanders from house to house, eventually reaching the central plaza. Again we see irony, for during the journey doors are closed to Don Gabriel that should be open, and he must reflect on the politically based enmity between relatives (in 4.B). An ironic note is struck again when, precisely in the center of the town, the plaza, in episode 4.E, Don Gabriel learns from his own brother where his son's body lies.

The peak episode, 5, where the body is found and identified, and the postpeak episodes take place outside the town in the dangerous peripheral realm. Don Gabriel and his brother leave the town in a car,[7] and find the son's body laid out at the edge of the highway. The description of the site at (199)—"Ihquīn ōquitēcāqueh, īpan cē, īpan cē tetl nōn de, de camīchis" 'They had laid him down this way, on a, on a rock of, of "camichis"'—is the most detailed specification of physical setting in the narrative, and makes clear that because of the rocky degraded soil—*camīchis* (probably *caliche*, hard, lime-encrusted earth)—we are in *monte* 'uncultivated land', and not a cultivated field, part of the peasant order of things. In this dreadful place a crowd of women, symbols of Mexicano tradition, try to keep Don Gabriel from the sight of his son's body; again, as in the episode of the letter, women mediate a revelation of horror.

In the first postpeak episode, 6, the conversation with an official (a representative of an external and clearly dangerous order) takes place in a liminal zone, the "salida" 'exit' (220), the road out of town. The burial takes place in a peripheral realm, the cemetery on the edge of town.[8] In the episode of the burial the broken moral geography of Don Gabriel's family is made clear: "xitīntoqueh" 'they were scattered' (252) and could hardly even gather for the interment. This constitutes a sharp contrast with the domestic intimacies of the prepeak episodes.

The physical flow of information and participants in the narrative also follows the center-periphery axis. The initial conflict is a matter of "mismo pueblo" 'the community itself' (5), but the climactic events take place in the periphery, and disorder—in the form of people who cannot answer Don Gabriel's questions—flows into the center from this periphery. Thus Don Gabriel questions a young factory worker returning from the night shift (in 4.A), and the teacher arriving from the city to open the school (in 4.D); neither can help him.

While in Taggart's narratives from the Sierra de Puebla *monte* is the most important feature of the periphery, in Almecatla the city, and the Spanish way of life which it represents, are also part of the peripheral realm of death and disorder. The city of Puebla, where Don Gabriel's son goes to do business, lies only five miles south of Almecatla (Taggart has pointed out that the south is the devil's realm). The dry-farming lands which once surrounded the town have largely given way to soil erosion, shantytowns, and the spread of industry. From the plaza of Almecatla one looks west into the storage lots of the Puebla Volkswagen plant, the largest factory in Latin America. Nearby to the east and south several plants make products such as glue and chemical fertilizer; fumes from these installations drift continually over the town. While the people of the region value the factories for the wage labor they provide, they consider themselves *campesinos* 'cultivators', and are deeply suspicious of the city, which is seen as a place where criminals run free to prey on the meek, and as a source of real physical pollution, *esmog* 'smog'.

The fundamental plot complication in Don Gabriel's narrative is his son's involvement in the establishment of a bus line which will link Almecatla closer to the city. Don Gabriel's son is murdered along the road which the buses travel. Roadsides, and particularly *entronques* 'crossroads' are liminal zones, and crosses are planted there to ward off danger. *Entronques* with major highways are of particular significance; in 1982 the Virgin appeared miraculously at the *entronque* between the road from the town of Tenancingo and the new Vía Corta, the expressway from Puebla to Santa Ana Chiauhtempan. Don Gabriel's son's body is found at the *entronque* where a minor road from Almecatla joins the main Puebla-Tlaxcala highway, near the reeking factories, on barren rocks amid lurking demons.

THE SEQUENCING OF EPISODES AND THE BUILDING OF PLOT TENSION

The central moral axis of the text, constructed through moral geography and the voice system, is crosscut by the systems of narrative sequence and plot tension. The sequential skeleton of the narrative is constituted first by the sequence of narrative verbs (Labov 1972). In Mexicano the unmarked narrative verb is perfective, and is prefixed with the antecessive ō-; an example can be seen in *ōquichīhqueh* 'they made it' in sentence (5), the first sentence on the narrative main line. In Don Gabriel's narrative many verbs lack the antecessive prefix and are examples of the historical present. These verbs lend immediacy by constructing a "presentness" of events, while temporal sequence is sustained by an agreement between narrator and listener about the sequential nature of turn-taking in conversation. Most of these historical-present forms are locutionary verbs, such as *niquilia* 'I tell him' in sentence (10), but some nonlocutionary verbs also appear in the historical present. Here listeners may infer that sequence is represented unless there is evidence to the contrary. Thus episode 4, the search, begins with a perfect verb *ōniah* 'I went' (99). But the next verb, in (100), is *nicnāmiqui* 'I meet him', a historical-present form. The main narrative line is sustained entirely by historical-present locutionary verbs until the end of the subepisode. Episode 4.B then begins with a perfect verb, *ōnictlahtlanīto* 'I went to ask him', at (112).

A higher-level sequential system is the sequence of episodes. Each episode is framed by a brief orientation, which establishes time, place, or other relevant background. Often this contains imperfect verbs marked with the suffix *-ya*, which mark material as being background for the narrative main line (Labov 1972). Many of the episodes are terminated with a brief coda, including moral evaluation of the events just recounted. Thus, at the end of episode 1.B, the coda is the judgmental "Siempre ō-, ōcalac" 'Always he went in' (18), evaluating the conduct of the son. Concluding the letter episode, 3, is a coda at (92–95) in which Don Gabriel observes that the letter was so shocking that he could hardly believe that it existed. The core of each episode is a conversation, through which a new complication is established. Each of these, except for the three brief interchanges in episode 4, builds to a climax of mimetic "drama" (Longacre 1976), in which utterances are exchanged without locutionary verbs.

Overlaid on the sequence of events and episodes is the trajectory of the plot, structured through tension. Plot builds to a peak and "untangles" (ibid.) in postpeak events. This trajectory is repeated each episode and subepisode, so that the large wave form of the building of tension to peak is partially constituted by the sequence of smaller waves. Tension builds

from the presentation of the first conflict—the son agrees to become involved in the bus line—to the peak when his father sees his dead body. The plot "untangles" in the postpeak episodes of the inquest and burial.

Don Gabriel uses several techniques to develop plot tension. First is the increasing frequency of historical-present verbs on the narrative main line. Second is reported speech. Episode 1 has relatively little reported speech, and what appears is mainly in indirect discourse, as in (5),(6), and (7). As peak is approached, reported speech constitutes a larger and larger proportion of each episode. In some subepisodes of episode 4, reported speech alone constructs the narrative line, and an inner voice that Goffman (1974) called a "strategist" takes over the narrative (this can be seen in clauses [118–21]). A subtechnique in the deployment of reported speech is a shift from dialogue, where the exchanges of conversational turns are marked by sequences of locutionary verbs, to drama, where these verbs disappear. This can be seen in (173–76), and (181–84) in subepisode 4.E. The peak of the narrative, sentence (198), is constituted by a single word in dramatic speech, *Teh* 'You!' spoken at the moment of recognition of the son's body.[9] This is the only instance in the narrative where no turn sequence is established by a previous sequence of locutionary verbs. The speaking by a single voice, with no reply, is a powerful representation of a confrontation with death.

A third technique for the building of tension is "change of pace" (Longacre 1976). This can be seen at peak. The climactic sentence of the narrative (198), is the single word, "Teh" 'You!' Preceding it at (196) and (197) are two short, repeated sentences, spoken very rapidly; one contains also an internal repetition: "zā niman ōniquīxmat. Zā niman, zā niman ōniquīxmat" 'At once I knew him. At once, at once I knew him'. Preceding and following these brief sentences at peak are the long, intricate compound sentences which begin the peak episode (185–92), and the equally elaborate sentence describing the laid-out body and its location (199–201) which follow the long pause after the moment of recognition at (198). The long sentences at (199–201) which attend so closely to material details (the only time in the text such attention occurs), contrast sharply with the mimetic drama of peak at (198).

Yet another tension-building technique is "concentration of participants" (ibid.). Except in the climactic scene, only two people are on stage at any time. But the discovery of the body occurs in a veritable mob—young men, women, the brother, Don Gabriel—and at least three people are speaking. The cry of the women, "Āmo xiccāhuacan ma mopacho" 'Don't let him come close' (194–95) seems to come from several throats as Don Gabriel pushes his way through the crowd.

THE VOICE SYSTEM

Don Gabriel's narrative is, to use Bakhtin's (1981) term, "polyphonic" in its attention to verbal detail. At least twenty voices are compressed into the seventeen minutes of the text; they are listed in table 4-1. There are snatches of vernacular wisdom, a quotation from the Bible, threats from hard and corrupt men, the inauthentic concern of officialdom, the gentle respect of a young woman for her father-in-law, the evasive conversations of a father and son at odds.

Many of these voices are what Goffman (1974) has called "figures": personages created by the speaker (who functions as what Goffman called an "animator," a machine for speaking), represented in both direct and indirect discourse. Other voices are laminations of some self belonging to the animator: in order of their distribution along the moral axis of the voice system from its center out (Goffman [1974] has called such a center the "addressing self," suggesting its fundamentally dialogic nature), these are the intonational shadows (S and T), the evaluator (P), the father (Q) (a "protagonist" [ibid.] who intersects between the system of self-lamination and the figure system), the "strategist" (R, Don Gabriel's inner voice which appears briefly in episode 4 and at peak, and which is also a reported-speech voice which intersects with the figure system), and two narrative voices, the involved narrator (O) and the neutral narrator (N).

In addition to the novelistic polyphony of the figure system and the self-lamination system, the voice system includes at least two different "languages" (which constitute encodings of ideology, following Bakhtin's usage). These represent the fundamentally opposed ideological positions of peasant communitarianism and the economics of reciprocity in the Mexicano-speaking community on the one hand, and the pursuit of individual profit in the Spanish-speaking world of the marketplace on the other.

I have pointed out above the importance of irony in the system of moral geography. This trope also organizes the voice system, for the entire narrative can be seen as an ironic "interruption" (Silverman and Torode 1980) of a word, *accidente* 'accident' proposed by the voice of the interviewer, who asks: Had Don Gabriel ever been so ill, or in such a bad "accident," *accidente*, that he thought he would die? Don Gabriel's opening line incorporates this word by echoing and then denying its terms: "Accidente ni lo quiera Dios. Āmo. Āmo āmo accidente āmo" 'No accident, by God's will. No. No no accident no'. The interruption is the narrative, an elegant trajectory of episodes which trace the dimensions of life's contradictions in Almecatla, leading to the culmination, of Shakespearean intensity, in which the tragedy foretold in the opening lines is realized as Don Gabriel

Table 4-1. The Voice System of the Text

1. The "Figures": Reported Speech of Others
   - A The voice of son's business partners, murderers "voice A"
   - B People of the town
   - C Ephesians 5:14
   - D Son
   - E Daughter-in-law
   - F Letter (may be voice A)
   - G Young worker
   - H Son's brother-in-law
   - I Teacher
   - J Brother
   - K Women in the crowd
   - L First official
   - M Second official
2. Self-laminations of Don Gabriel
   - N Neutral narrator
   - O Involved narrator
   - P Evaluator
   - Q Father (center of point-of-view; intersects with system of "figures")
   - R Strategist (Don Gabriel's "inner voice," also intersects with system of "figures")
3. Intonational shadows (so called because they "cast a shadow" on the voices with which they appear)
   - S *Cantante* ("singsong" intonation marked with ^)
   - T Desperate (high pitch, voice breaks)
4. Languages encoding ideology
   - Spanish
   - Mexicano

gazes on the murdered body of his son. In the final lines (272–73) Don Gabriel again offers the interviewer his own word: "Quihtōz āquinonōn, 'Algún accidente?'? Āmo. Āmo āmo." 'Would someone say, "An accident?"? No. No no'. Indeed, in Almecatla the death of sons is no accident.

This ironic use of the voice of the interviewer to frame the narrative is excellent evidence for Sperber and Wilson's (1981) proposal that irony is best understood as a dialogic phenomenon, as the representation of "What someone else might say." And the sustaining of this frame across an "interruption" of seventeen minutes attests conclusively to the artful attention of the narrator to structural tension at the most abstract level, and to the possibilities for very large-scope structures in oral discourse.[10]

THE DIALECTIC OF STRUCTURE AND DISCOURSE

The problem of defining the function of the voices in narrative is part of a more general issue: can these voices, manifestations of the order of intertextuality at the level of discourse—Bakhtin's "centrifugal" order—be discussed in terms of the abstract and timeless systems of structure—Bakhtin's "centripetal" order—or do they themselves constitute this order? The voices do have a constitutive function, but their polyphonic play occurs within a dialectic field which includes the systems of sequence and plot, and the syntactic organization of individual sentences. These systems are part of a level of context-free, reiterable structure that Bakhtin saw as being in dialogic interaction with the order of the contextualized, immediate, unreiterable utterance.[11]

The voice system, particularly the system of figures, constitutes the core of each major episode as a conversation. The sequence system is carried by these conversations, through the sequence of locutionary verbs and through the convention of turn-taking. These conversations also build tension in the plot system, through the shifts from dialogue to drama, and in the one-word conversation at peak, *Teh* 'You!' (198) where we must draw on larger conventions about life and death to understand who is speaking.

Dialogic interaction between the narrator (N, O) and evaluator (P) voices shapes episodic structure. The narrator establishes material orientation, while the evaluator draws moral conclusions in codas. The evaluator voice introduces explicitly moral terms, such as *desgraciadamente* 'unfortunately' (20), and "loaded" words such as *ambición* 'ambition' (20) or *ventaja* 'advantage' (28, 29). The strategist (R) voice also functions as a moralist, expressing suspicion against the son's political enemy, his brother-in-law (118–19). Other figure voices are also used in this evaluative function. When the young worker is shown the anonymous letter, he exclaims in horror, "Ay carambas!" 'Oh my heavens!' (107). When the father learns that the son must go again to the city on business, in episode 2.B, he says "Pues tlen diario āhueliti nancarreglaroah?" 'Well it can't be that you all have to take care of things every day?' (66).

Reported speech is a particularly appropriate site for the embedding of evaluation. It is a domain of flexibility and openness, which can be exploited to a variety of purposes. In addition, as Tannen (1980) and Clancy (1980) have pointed out, reported speech lies on a different "world line" from the propositions of the main narrative line, so its truth is less accessible to question by the hearer.

While voices in reported speech can be exploited as sites that are open to evaluation, their appearance is constrained by the systems of the episodes, plot, and clause-level syntactic structure. The first constraint, at the

episodic level, is part of the construction of point-of-view (Chafe 1976). Point-of-view is centered in the voice of the father (Q), the only figure which appears in every episode to engage other voices in conversation. The figure of the strategist (R) (which may shift point-of-view "inward" from voice Q) is more restricted, appearing only in the search, episode 4, except for one line at peak, "ni modo este" 'nothing to be done' (203), which may belong to this voice (it is possible that [207–10] are also voice R, the strategist, but I have assigned them to voice Q). However, the search episodes are in turn constituted by this voice, gaining their sequential and plot-level coherence by having the movement of the father in the episode motivated by the inner speech voice of the strategist.

The son (D) is second to the father in amount of dialogue and in number of episodes in which he speaks; he appears in episode 1, and becomes the ideologically dominant voice (although point-of-view does not shift from the father) in episode 2.B. The daughter-in-law (E) appears only in episode 3, as does the voice of the letter (F) (although the latter is implicitly present in episode 4 as people react to it). The brother (J) appears in episode 4.E, and has two lines in the polyphonic peak episode (193 and 205). The official (there may be two, with the first appearing in [215–17], the second later, so I have distinguished official voices L and M) appears only in episode 6. There are no foreshadowings of these voices, and no flashbacks to them except indirectly, as in the reactions to the letter in episode 4, and the remark by the evaluator in the coda to episode 3: "Cpāctiaya alguna cosa" 'He had been happy about something' (94).

The appearance of the two narrative voices and the evaluator is constrained at the intra-episodic level. The evaluator appears primarily in the codas of episodes, identifiable by its direct-address intonation contours and by its use of morally loaded terministic choices. This voice occasionally appears outside the codas (e.g., in the "orientation" at [8] and [20]), and is perhaps the most interruptive of the voices, interjecting contradictions to other voices, as at (23) or (92–93). However, even in these interruptions, the appearance of the voice is constrained by clause-level syntax or by restriction to the periphery of clauses.

The distribution of voices by clause structure can be seen in the long sentence which includes clauses (7), (8), and (9): "Huān ōquinōtzqueh de ... ser tesorero īmināhuac]$_7$, neh ācmo ōniccāhuaya, porque]$_8$ lo mismo ōyec presidente]$_9$" 'And when they called him to be treasurer with them, I would not give permission, because he was municipal president as well'.

In (7), the protasis of the sentence, the narrator N and voice A appear, with voice N uttering the locutionary verb *ōquinōtzqueh* 'they called him', a perfective verb on the main narrative line. Voice A utters its complement, appearing as reported speech in indirect discourse, and is identifiable by

the switch into Spanish business language in "de ser tesorero" 'to be treasurer' (this switch, which occurs in violation of Gumperz's [1982] Verb-Verb Complement Constraint, is discussed in J. Hill 1985). The interruption by the evaluator, at (8), is recognized by the presence of the negative *ācmo* 'no longer' (negatives were noted by Labov [1972] as an important component of evaluation), and by the imperfect verb *ōniccāhuaya* 'I allowed him'; Labov has also pointed out that imperfect verbs signal evaluation by departing from main-line sequencing. The voice of the narrator, using characteristic nonterminal "sequencing" intonational contours, resumes in (9).[12] This sentence has a very intricate voice structure, but gains coherence through syntactic organization in which each voice is assigned its own clause.

Clause structure is not perfectly constraining on the voice system; a number of lexical items, for instance, are almost certainly "double-voiced" (Bakhtin 1981). To illustrate, in (10) voice Q, the father, utters the expression "Ācmo ximocomprometerō" 'Don't make any more commitments'. Voice A may also be present, since at some point his business partners must have said to the son, "Ximocomprometerō" 'Make a commitment!' However, since this lexical item is used by everyone locally, and almost certainly could be used by Don Gabriel himself without suggesting any special ideological tone, I have not indicated the possible presence of voice A at (10). Further examples of voice interaction at the lexical level are discussed below.

A second syntactic technique which Don Gabriel uses to embed the voice of the evaluator into narrative sentences is to take advantage of the flexibility of the preverbal complex (Hill and Hill 1986). Malinche Mexicano is a verb-initial language. The position before the verb functions as a site for connective, expressive, and relational particles, for topicalized arguments of the verb (arguments which are not topics or otherwise in focus are represented only by verbal prefixes), and often for locative or manner adverbial phrases. For instance, *solamente* 'only' in (1) plays a relational role, signaling that the speaker will interrupt the interviewer's voice, and an expressive role as ironic mitigation of the tragedy which will be narrated. The preverbal complex is a favored site for the appearance of the evaluator voice. Thus in (14–15), the preverbal complex has two elements. The adjective *bueno* 'good' functions as a POP element (Polanyi 1982); it signals a return to the main narrative line from a brief digression. This element is in the evaluator voice with direct-address intonation. However, it also has an ironic "expressive" force, since what has gone before is in no sense *bueno* 'good'. (The topicalized object *tonterías* 'foolishness' is also ironic. It refers to the burning of the *almial*, the rack of dried corn stalks which is used to feed stock through the dry season, a middle stage in the

escalation of *envidia*. Surely such arson, with the attendant danger of the spread of the fire to buildings and trees, and the loss of winter fodder, is more than "foolishness.") The evaluator voice in the preverbal complex is also heard at (18) where the evaluative preverbal element *siempre* 'always' is in this voice.

A very intricate preverbal complex occurs in (20) in episode 1.C. Here, the connective relational element, *pero* 'but' belongs to the evaluator, and interrupts the previous sentence which takes "going about doing business" to be quite ordinary. The weighty adverb *desgraciadamente* 'unfortunately' includes in its scope all of the rest of the sentence. Following this expressive adverb is a long and complex topicalized object, which includes a relative clause of a rare and highly hispanized type (Hill and Hill 1981, 1986), in which *in āquin* 'the ones who' appears as a relative pronoun with the overt nominal head *cristianos* 'people' (this may be an ironic choice of terms, but *cristianos* is often used in Malinche Mexicano to mean simply 'human beings', rather than 'Christians' in the narrow sense). The narrator appears only at the verb *ōquimilih* 'he told them' (21), after which the voice of the son is embedded as direct-discourse reported speech.

A third linguistic technique employed by Don Gabriel to embed evaluation and to dominate voices in the figure system is to exploit the Mexicano particles *mati* and *quil* to comment upon indirect discourse. *Mati* 'it seems' makes evidential reference to the form of representation, and means that, since the speaker cannot remember exactly how something was said, no claim is made for the fidelity of the representation. The evidential *quil* implies that the speaker is faithfully representing form, but is questioning the veracity or accuracy of its propositional content. Instances of *mati* are found in the conversation with the brother at (176) in episode 4.E, and in the conversation with the official at (233) in episode 6. It appears also in (242), bracketing with *parece* 'it seems', a Spanish form, a somewhat nonfaithful representation of a speaking attributed to the official. *Quil* can be seen in (115) in episode 4, where it casts doubt on the veracity of the brother-in-law's claim that the son had not returned home. I have tried to capture this in the translation by placing the brother-in-law's speaking in quotation marks. *Quil* appears again at (165) in episode 4.E, where its use suggests that Don Gabriel, telling his brother about the letter, has still not accepted its claim that his son is dead.[13]

Quil and *mati* can appear only when reported speech is represented in indirect discourse. This constraint on the occurrence of these evidentials in Mexicano supports the claims noted above by Tannen (1980) and Clancy (1980) that direct-discourse reported speech establishes a new "world line" that is not accessible to anaphoric constraints, or to truth conditions which operate in the world of the main narrative line. Thus, reference to truth

conditions can be accomplished only if reported speaking is drawn into the narrative line syntactically, by representing it as indirect discourse, using the deixis of the narrative-line world.

In codas, the evaluator voice usually has as its scope an entire sentence, as in the conclusions of episodes 1.B, 1.C, 3, 5, 6, and 7. But even in codas the evaluator is sometimes in complex interaction with other voices. An example is the odd rhyme which links (23), "porque bastante feo corázõn [koráso:]" 'because of such ugly heart(s)', to the immediately following "con rázõn [ko:ráso:]" 'with reason'. In Malinche Mexicano word-final [n] variably disappears (the stress in these forms is on the penultimate syllable, as in Mexicano). This rhyme links the evaluator to voice A and to the "people of the town," and will be discussed further below.

The two narrative voices appear throughout the text. The second narrative voice, O, appears as peak approaches, and is distinguished from voice N, the more neutral narrative voice, by a higher frequency of sharply dropping terminal sentence contours (which do not seem to be accompanied by pause), by the frequent use of historical-present narrative verbs, and, in the peak episode 5, by a series of short, "excited" clauses (at 187–92). The narrator voices interact with other voices, functioning to orient episodes and speak locutionary verbs under which reported speech is embedded. Many examples of this framing technique can be found in the text. Usually the shift from the narrative voice of the locutionary verb to the reported speech involves the shifts of deixis, and attention to the form of the purported original according to conventions of "fidelity" (Leech 1978), characteristic of direct discourse. However, the text also contains examples of representation of reported speech as indirect discourse, in which the reported voice is dominated by the point of view of the narrative voice. Sometimes such indirect speakings are embedded, not under true locutionary verbs, but under other so-called metapragmatic verbs (Silverstein's [1985] expression for verbs which refer to speech acts and events and their purposes). For instance, in (6) the clause "que ccalaquīzqueh cē carro de pasaje" 'that they would put in a passenger bus' is the complement of "ōquichīhqueh cē convenio" 'they made an agreement'. This is not explicitly locutionary, although it clearly represents an event where speech occurred. Similarly (7), "de ser tesorero īmināhuac" 'to be treasurer with them' is embedded under "ōquinōtzqueh" 'they called him', an inflection of *nōtza* 'call, speak with purpose'. What is represented must have been a speech event, and the content, although not the form, of that speech can be reconstructed.

INTERACTION BETWEEN VOICES

The voices in Don Gabriel's narrative interact not only with narrative sequencing, episodic structure, plot, and syntactic structures but with one another, in at least five major ways: dominance of the evaluator voice noted above, lexical interactions, conversational interactions, intonational breakthrough, and in the several types of confrontation between the Mexicano voice of peasant ideology and the Spanish voice of business-for-profit.

Lexical and Topical Interactions of Voices

The level of lexical and topical interaction involves harmonic or antiphonal relationships between the terministic choices of different voices. Silverman and Torode (1980) point out that word choice can commit one voice to participation in a premise established by another. This participation can be the echo or repetition of words uttered by another voice, or the use of relational particles which acknowledge that utterance, even though the expressive force of the particles may be contradiction.

An excellent example of intervoice lexical interaction is seen in the repetition of the verb *calaqui* 'go in', which is endowed early with a fatal resonance. This verb first appears in (6), where it is transitive, referring to "putting in" a bus line in an indirect-discourse representation of voice A. In (16), the son states in direct discourse, "Ācmo nimocalaquīz" 'I won't go in any longer'. But in (18) we hear the verb again, this time in the coda offered by the evaluator: "Siempre ō-, ōcalac" 'Always he, he went in' (technically, what is repeated is the antecessive particle ō-, not the third person, but it is impossible to render this in English). Thus, even though in (16) the son denies that he will "go in," he is speaking within the terministic framework established by voice A, a voice which is probably that of his murderers. The intonational complexity of (18), and the dysfluent repetition of ō-, may derive from the confrontation of the evaluator voice with this verb, which has been rendered problematic by being the terministic choice of voice A. Next, the verb appears in a pivotal speech by the son in (21): "Cānin calaquīz?" 'Where will it go in?' a reference to the cash surplus which he, as treasurer, must deal with. In its reply, voice A implicitly echoes this term by ellipsis, in the accusation at (22) which specifies where the surplus might "go in": "pero para in pōxahtli, no" 'but for the pocket [embezzlement], no'. The next, and final, instance of the verb is in the last coda, the brief subnarrative about the recent murder of Don Gabriel's eldest son: "Ccalaquilihqueh tres tiros" 'They put three shots into him' (267).

The interaction of voices can also occur at the level of topic. Mutual acknowledgment of a topic can suggest a unity of purpose between two

voices. For instance, in the initial stages of the conversations between the father and the son in episodes 2.A and 2.B, the topic of conversation, about the location of the other son (family solidarity) and the pasturing of the animals (the peasant way of life) is mutually established. Both voices use the same crucial terms, such as the verb *tlapiatia* 'to pasture, care for animals' (50–51). The conversation in 4.E, between Don Gabriel and his brother about the identity of the body which the brother has seen, is also of this type, as is the conversation with the official in episode 6, about whether or not the son carried a gun. This kind of cooperation about a topic can be sustained even though the conversation represented is an argument, as in the latter two examples.

In the representations of argumentative conversations we must distinguish between two types of negative responses. Cooperative negatives acknowledge and reply appropriately to questions, while agonistic negatives attempt to establish new conversational terms. For instance, when the father is represented as replying to the son's invitation to eat with "ayāmo nimayāna" 'I am not hungry now' (33, 59), this answer, while not affirmative, acknowledges the question and cooperates with its topic.

Voices can appear in disharmony or antiphony as well as in harmony, and in such cases we see agonistic negatives. Examples are found in (69) and (72). Here, in the conversation between father and son, the son's negatives are not appropriate topic-acknowledging replies to yes-no questions. In (69) the first negative, *āmo* 'no' is an inappropriate reply to a negative imperative, *āmo xiā* 'Don't go!' (68), but it is followed immediately by a 'cooperative' particle with negative force, *pero* 'but', which seems to acknowledge the imperative. However, by (72) the voice of the son is represented as abandoning any attempt at cooperation, replying *āmo* 'no' to a question about what time the son will return from the city.

Perhaps the most ominous examples of agonistic negatives are uttered by voice A in (22). Here, the first *pero* 'but' is not cooperative; it is a reply to a request for specific information, rather than to a proposal or a command which might appropriately be answered with "but." Its use implies that an inappropriate proposal was made. The strong Spanish negative *no*, which is vanishingly rare in Malinche Mexicano usage (*āmo* 'no' and *quēmah* 'yes' are strongly preferred to Spanish *no* and *sí*)[14] completes this utterance. In the coda negatives voice A repeats itself with still more negatives: *āmo de nōn* 'none of that'. The expression "not for the pocket" is a local cliché; "for the pocket" is embezzlement. Thus, this speech by voice A is intricately intertextual. It is allied with the indirect discourse attributed to the "gente den pueblo" 'people of the town' immediately following at (24), where "por base de interés" 'on the basis of (personal, conflicting, illicit) interest' would be known to a listener to be also a cliché. It is also

allied by the rhyme between "feo corázōn" 'ugly heart' (23)—a property assigned by the evaluator to the people who could make such an accusation—and "con rázōn" 'with (ugly?) reason', a property assigned to the people of the town. The vox populi is clearly an ambivalent one.

Conversational Interaction

The second type of interaction of voices involves the dominance and subordination of conversational roles.[15] The shifting balance of domination between figures is seen in the conversations between the father and the son represented in 2.A and 2.B. This is the only pair of episodes which is not clearly sequenced. Episode 2.A concludes with the sentence (47): "Yōyahqueh .. mero den: īpan: ... īpan ... īpan cēmpōal huān chicuacen tōnal de: ... de julio, Nuestra Señora Santa Ana" 'They left exactly on, o:n ... o:n ... on the twenty-sixth of July, Our Lady Saint Ann'. The careful attention to detail in this sentence suggests that on this day the son departed, never to return. But in 2.B he appears again in conversation with the father. Don Gabriel tries to accomplish episodic sequencing by some corrective measures, such as the explicit sequential connector *tonz* 'then' (from Spanish *entonces*) at (48), and an explicit allusion to temporal order, "cē tōnal antes" 'one day before'. This fragment, delivered in the sharp down-drop intonation contour usually used by the evaluator voice, is apparently an attempt to establish coherence with 2.A, and suggests that Don Gabriel is backtracking to a day before July 26. But the narrative voice then enters with the orientation, "ōyahqueh ōhuāllah occē tōnal" 'they went they came (they made a journey) another day' (48), which might suggest that the episode is sequenced after 2.A. This problem can be resolved if we consider episode 2.B to constitute an overlay (Grimes 1972), an expansion and replay of 2.A, with new embellishments and a subtle alteration of the relationships between the two figures of father and son.

The first conversational topic in both episodes is "taking care of animals." In 2.A, the conversation begins with the father's refusal of food (at 33), which makes him dominant. The father continues in dominance by posing a question (asking the son where he has left his brother and the animals [34]) which by both sequential and ritual constraints requires an answer. But in episode 2.B the son asks the first question (at [50]), and tells the father to go to the fields with the brother (52–54). Thus, the son is in dominance in this conversation, although the topic, about animals and food, is the same as in 2.A. The impact of the shift in dominance in 2.B is heightened by a change in position of the talk about animals and fields. In 2.A, this comes after the son's invitation to the father to have a snack, while in 2.B it appears at the beginning of the episode, before the invitation. Since the main evaluative work accomplished by these conver-

sations is an assertion that both father and son follow a peasant way of life, which is threatened by the son's fatal involvement in business for profit, the shifting of dominance relationships between 2.A and the overlay in 2.B is of great interest.

The talk of commensality and the care of animals in the countryside in 2.A and 2.B contrasts sharply with the second major conversational topic in these episodes: the son's business in the city. In 2.A, the father controls this topic, introducing it with the question in (37). In (38), the son tries to evade the full pragmatic force of the question, answering only that he is going "to Puebla." The father then forces a reply by his question at (39) "para tlen?" 'for what?' In 2.B, the father again introduces the topic, at (62), and the son replies with a full account of the business. The father challenges the need to do the business, at (66) (but adopts the son's terministic choice, the verb *arreglaroa* 'arrange'); the son refuses to accept the challenge. After this refusal, conversational harmony breaks down. In 2.A, at (45), the son is represented as assuring the father that he will not be gone long. In 2.B, we encounter the agonistic negatives of (69) through (73), as the father becomes more and more indirect in his challenge, moving from the imperative "Don't go" (at 68) to the question "When will you return?" (at 71), to the even more open-ended question, "[Will it be] in the morning?" at (73). The son refuses to answer even this courteously vague plea.

The subordination of the voice of the father in episode 2.B is particularly clear when this conversation is compared to the long interchange between the father and his brother in 4.E. Here also there is an argument, but the brother utters only cooperative, not agonistic, denials of the father's proposals. The father controls topic choice throughout, and completes the conversation with a strong assertion, the authoritative hispanized utterance at (181), "No cabe duda ha de ser yen yeh" 'There is no doubt, it must be him'.

Intonation and Intonational Breakthrough

Intonation provides a third device which Don Gabriel exploits to express interaction between voices. Intonational rhyming suggests harmony between voices, intonational opposition suggests disharmony, and intonational shadows can break through other voices to suggest an additional layer of presence in the text.

While Don Gabriel's diseased lungs present some problems for his control of pitch, in his narrative, as in all Mexicano narratives which I have examined, the "faithful" reproduction of intonational contours is a focus of the representation of reported speech. Mexicano storytellers attend to intonation as much as English speakers attend to pitch (and Mexicano

speakers hardly attend to the latter at all). Only attention to language choice (cf. K. Hill 1985) receives as much attention as intonation contour.

The details of the notation for intonation in the text are given in note 2. The major components of intonation represented by speakers are contour amplitude, the direction of terminal contours, undulation or sharp drop of the total contour, and relative pitch level. Contour amplitude is the distance between the highest and lowest pitches of the intonational contour. In Mexicano, high amplitude (represented in the text by superscript h) seems to be an index of interlocutor solidarity, low amplitude (represented by superscript l) an index of neutrality and distance. Mexicano high-amplitude contours can be quite striking; in greetings by women, they begin with a falsetto squeak and fall to creaky voice. Male contours are less extreme, but still exhibit far more amplitude than any common contours in English.

Terminal contour can fall, rise, or remain level. Terminal contour direction in Mexicano matches the intonational universals proposed by Bolinger (1978). Sharp terminal fall in Mexicano signals finality and elimination of tension, while level or rising contours signal increasing tension. In narrative, relatively level contours mark the ongoing narrative sequence. Absence of any terminal fall signals a dependent clause prior to a main clause. Very high terminal contours are an index of extreme tension, and mark impolite prodding questions, desperation, or threat.

Total contour quality contrasts undulation or sharp drop. Undulating contours exhibit a series of falling pitch accents (represented as ' in the text), and tend to have a slight down-step at each new fall (actually a rise-fall when such pitch accents follow one another). It should be noted that Mexicano long vowels have a slightly lower pitch than surrounding syllables when they occur within the domain of a ´ or ¯ pitch accent, which complicates contours; these slight drops are predictable and so are not noted in the text notation. Undulating contours are characteristic of ongoing narrative. Sharply dropping contours are used to mark direct address, both in conversations represented in narrative and in "real life" conversations. In their extreme wide-amplitude version, as noted above, these contours index great solidarity between speaker and hearer.

Finally, Mexicano relative pitch reflects a pattern which is fairly common in the languages of the world, with low pitch often indicating threat and ominousness, while high pitch indicates fear, desperation, and the like.

Intonation is an important marker of voices in the system of self-laminations. The two narrator voices are contrasted by intonation. The narrator voice N is characterized by low amplitude, moderate terminal fall, moderate undulation, and pitch in the middle range. Relative pitch tends to be elevated slightly at the beginning of episodes and at other major

structural breaks. This pattern can be clearly seen in the early sentences and orientation of the first episode (1–6). The first sentence is interrupted by an intonational shadow which I have labeled the *cantante* 'singsong' contour, which will be discussed below. The moderate amplitude of the N voice distances it from the hearer, signaling that no reply is required, and the moderate fall on terminal contours signals that the sequence of the narrative will continue.

The narrator voice O appears at the moment of a particularly important complicating action, the discovery of the letter, at (92–95). Unlike the undulating sequences of falling pitch accents preferred by the narrator N, the O voice often uses sharply falling contour dropping to low pitch, marked by \. This voice builds involvement on the part of the hearer in at least two ways. The sharply falling contours are characteristic of intimacy and direct address, and thus invite attention and reciprocity. The low finals of the terminal contours suggest finality, even though the sequence of the narrative will continue. Thus the listener can find each new clause in the narrative sequence somehow surprising, which increases tension and the sense of collaboration in the narrative work as the surprise is accepted.

Wide-amplitude undulation and/or sharply falling contours, as opposed to the slightly undulating downstep of narrative sentences, are characteristic of Mexicano direct address, particularly in such speech acts as greetings, invitations, questions, and commands. Sharply falling contours express great politeness (the most extreme examples, with a fall from falsetto to creaky voice, are used between ritual kin, especially by women). These contours can perhaps be accounted for in terms of Bolinger's (1982) claim that relatively flat intonational contours are an icon for control of tension. If this is the case then, by contrast, the sharp fall can index solidarity so great that there is no tension to control.

Don Gabriel's narrative contains several representations of speech with quite sharply falling total contour, and the voice of the evaluator uses it. Examples of the contour in the representation of reported speech can be seen in the conversation in episode 4.E, where the father and his brother argue cooperatively in a reciprocal exchange of total contours which fall sharply from high to low pitch, at (173–75) and again at (179–81). In 4.A, at (104) and at (107–11), the figure of the young worker uses this contour in his replies to Don Gabriel, indexing his deferential cooperation with the old man's purpose. The use of the contour by the evaluator voice P can be seen in the word *siempre* 'always' in (18). The use of this contour by the evaluator voice is immediately followed by a response from the interviewer, which supports the suggestion that the evaluator is in some sense a direct-address voice instead of a narrative voice *sensu stricto.*

While very sharply dropping contour with the scope of an entire utterance is one form which wide-amplitude intonation can assume, other patterns are possible, such as undulation within utterances. A good example of such an undulating wide-amplitude contour within a sentence is in (33), in the father's reply to the son's invitation to eat. To the English speaker, the contour of (33), "a^{h}\yāmo nima^{h}\yāna" 'I am not hungry now', sounds whiny, even rude. However, in Mexicano it is very polite. I have often heard children use it to reply to questions from parents, who accept the contour without taking any redressive action. Like the high-low contours, this wide-amplitude contour apparently suggests solidary absence of tension and a concordance of views, and forthcoming cooperation or obedience.

While wide-amplitude speakings suggest politeness, solidarity, and relaxed cooperation, low-amplitude contours, particularly in direct address, suggest great tension. They are at best distancing, and can be threatening. The flatter the contour, the greater the tension. An example of a low-amplitude speaking by the son occurs at (21), when the son asks his business partners what he should do with the money. Here, the low-amplitude contour suggests tension between the interlocutors. The drops at the moments of dysfluency (represented here by the falling pitch accent ', since their scope is over single words) may come from interruption by an intonational shadow which rejects the attempt to use a term for business-for-profit by signaling finality before the term is reached. Another example of an unexpectedly flat contour can be seen at (37), where the father first asks the son where he is going.

An excellent example of the contrast between solidary and tense contours can be seen in the two representations of almost the same sentence in episodes 2.A and 2.B. In 2.A, in the first representation of the conversation between the father and the son about the son's business in the city, the father asks the son at (37), "^{l}'Cān tiyāz in 'tęh" 'Where will you go?', with a relatively flat contour, as noted above. In the replay at (62), the father asks the same question with a very sharp high-low total contour. The difference between these two representations is part of the shift in dominance between the two figures discussed above. In 2.A, the father is in control, free to disapprove frankly of the son's business. In 2.B, the father has become the supplicant, pleading with his son and trying to establish a common ground for discussion. Additional examples of flat, tense contours can be seen in episode 6, at (224) and (226), where the official speaks to the father. Here these contours indicate the dominance of the official and the great social distance between him and the father. The official's statement at (232), "Pues, t'cahxilihqueh cē pis'tola" 'Well, we found a pistol', exhibits a very slight terminal rise on the final high pitch accent in *pis'tola;* this makes the question very ominous indeed. The reply by the

father is represented with very deferential high-low contours in (236). And the official, apparently satisfied, echoes this in (237).

High rising terminal contours, noted with /, signal great tension. At (73), the father uses the high rise to plead for an answer which he does not expect to receive. At (172) the brother insists, of the corpse he has seen, "‹^{h}/āmo yen yeh" 'It isn't him' (the son); the contour suggests that he is, in fact, uncertain of this conclusion.

Other types of high pitch are also tense. Both appearances, at (105) and (163), of the question "›¯Tlīca?" 'Why?', are uttered on a high, flat note; such a question is intrusive, and the nearly falsetto pitch is "tense," or "negative" politeness (Brown and Levinson 1978), as opposed to the solidary, positive politeness of the high-low drop. Low pitch can be seen in (22) and (194), which are both warnings.

The intonational contours reviewed above appear in rhyming and nonrhyming relationships in the representation of conversation in the narrative. The example of intonational rhyming between the father and his brother at (173–75) has been noted above. The intonational rhyming heightens the sense of the solidarity of these figures.

Harmonic, rhyming intonational patterns contrast with patterns of intonational dissonance, which show lack of cooperation in conversation. For instance, in episode 2, the intonational patterns of the father and the son consistently fail to achieve rhyming. Where the father's are tense and flat, the son's show sharp high-low drop. Where the father has wide amplitude, the son exhibits low amplitude. In 2.B, we see an increasing dissonance of contours. The negatives at (68) and (69) share high-low contour, but in (69) the polite negative is followed by the low-pitched refusal to break the appointment in the city: "‹pero yōnimocomprome'teroh" 'but I have an appointment'. But in (72, 73) the contours themselves go in opposite directions. Dissonant contours can also be seen in the conversation between the father and the official in episode 6. The official maintains relatively flat low-amplitude contours, while the father uses a relatively deferential wide-amplitude drop in his replies. Only at (236–37) and in the final exchange in (243–44), where the official invites the father to come and see him if he needs any help, do the contours begin to rhyme. However, at (245), in the evaluative coda, the evaluator and narrative O voices make it clear that the invitation was ignored. An inhabitant of Almecatla would be foolish to involve himself with such an official beyond the minimal requirements of the law. Don Gabriel notes that he even failed to collect his son's clothing, probably to avoid the risk which attends contact with the police. The dissonance of intonation contours throughout this conversation may, then, represent the fundamental distrust which people like Don Gabriel feel for officials of governments beyond the community.

The Breakthrough of Intonational Shadows

The intonational shadows are apparently "artless" voices that interrupt the artful allocation of intonational patterns to sustain plot tension and sequencing. Two major intonational shadows appear in the text. The first, the S shadow, is the *cantante,* marked by ^. This contour is a stereotype in vernacular Mexican Spanish, where it is especially common in joking among men. Mexicano speakers use the contour, but the environments for its use are restricted and its functions have changed: its appearance seems to signal negativity, anguish, or ominousness. In Bolinger's (1982) terms, the sharp control over the down-drop of terminal contour which is the special mark of the *cantante* intonation signals extreme tension "under control." This contour appears at several points in the narrative. The first appearance is at (2) "ōquimic´tihqueh 'cē nomu^chacho" 'They killed one of my sons'. It appears again at (76), when we learn that the daughter-in-law is the wife of Don Gabriel's eldest son, "'cē nomu'chacho ^mayōr." Of course in the brief coda at (262–69), we learn that this son was also murdered. The contour appears very clearly in (211), the evaluative coda of the peak episode: "›Neh 'nicah 'casi ya la^crado" 'I'm almost destroyed now'.

The second intonational shadow is a "desperate" voice, which exhibits very high pitch and a weak, breathy, almost tearful voice quality. This shadow appears at points of no return in the plot. It first appears in (18), the coda sentence of the first episode, where it interrupts the utterance by the evaluator voice, "^{h}\Siempre ... ō- ... ›ō'calac" 'Always he, he went in'. This brief utterance has a very intricate contour, which terminates on a less-than-usual drop from the final ' pitch accent. The desperate shadow appears again in (196) and (197), where the narrator describes the moment of recognition of the son's body: "›Neh 'zā niman ōni¯quīxmat. ›'Zā niman, 'zā niman ōni¯quīxmat" 'As for me I knew him at once. At once, at once I knew him'. It appears at (206), when the father "accepts" the death: "›¯Ya" 'Done'. It is seen again at (219), where the narrator says "›´yōnihuāllah" 'I came'—to go through the ordeal of the inquiry by the officials—and at (228), as the father tries to convince the official that the son never carried a weapon. Here, this "voice break" shadow appears on an unusually low pitch and accompanies an interesting switch from a present-tense to an irrealis verb form, ". . . ‹qui'nemi, ‹qui'nemīz" 'for walking around with, to walk around with'. At (133) the inner voice, the strategist, is interrupted by this voice, when, after repeated inquiries which have failed to yield any information, the strategist asks, "›^{l}Toz ´tlen pa'noā?" 'Then what is going on?'

At least two interpretations of the intonational shadow voices may be advanced. They may represent moments where the work of lamination be-

tween the animator and the voices which this animator establishes breaks down, and the grief and emotion of some core of the self pierces the layers at moments of special significance. If this account is correct, then we cannot consider the direct-address voice of the evaluator, the "addressing self," as the core, but must see this voice instead as artfully managing the task of moral evaluation, while the desperate intonational shadow is somehow the "real" Don Gabriel, the parent devastated by the death of a child. However, even the intonational shadow voices perhaps should be considered "artful." No one who hears Don Gabriel's narrative can fail to be affected by the agony which penetrates lines (196) and (197): "›Neh 'zā niman ōni¯quīxmat. ›'Zā niman, 'zā niman ōni¯quīxmat" 'As for me I knew him at once. At once, at once I knew him'. The sense of "lack of control," constructed partly by the breakthrough of the high pitch, is part of the intensity of this narrative moment. The possibility that this intonational shadow should be understood as another manifestation of Don Gabriel's art, rather than some kind of breakthrough of an authentic self, perhaps can be supported by contrasting this moment of tragedy in (196–97) with the reading of the letter at (88–91). At the end of episode 3 (92–95) the evaluator tells us that the letter was so horrible that Don Gabriel did not even accept its reality. As late as episode 4.E, the voice of the father still refers to its contents under the evidential particle *quil,* which questions the veracity of its content. When the father "reads" the letter (88–91), the reading is represented in a very flat, singsong tone which lends great immediacy—it is precisely the sound of a person who does not read much reading a text for the first time, there before the listener. The flat contours also suggest the lack of full comprehension of the meaning of the letter. (The reading of the letter can also be usefully compared to the use by the evaluator voice of the biblical quotation at [26]. This is represented with a very earnest tone, suggesting the strong commitment of the evaluator to this message [which is probably Ephesians 5:14, where people are urged to turn away from darkness, as seen in corruption and bad feelings between people, and receive Christ's light].) The "reading" of the letter shows that part of the art of fidelity to intonation in the narrative is the reproduction of precisely the emotion of the moment, even though the "real" Don Gabriel has had, at the time of the telling of the narrative, ample time to reflect on the horror of the letter. Thus, the "intonational shadow" of the desperate voice may be equally a faithful representation of emotion in the narrative world, not in the world of the "I-before-you."[16]

Both the reading of the letter and the breakthrough of the desperate shadow may be examples of the art of creating the type of frame which Goffman (1974) has called "insider's folly": "a glimpse behind the scenes [to induce] the belief that you are seeing the backstage of something"

(ibid.: 475). If this analysis, that the intonational shadows are laminated by an "insider's folly" frame, is correct, then we cannot claim that the "addressing self," the moral center from which our vernacular theory of personality suggests the text must emanate, is in fact represented overtly anywhere in the voice system. We hear only the animator, and must ask, "Who is Don Gabriel?"

The Moral Orientation of Narrative Consciousness

Having sketched in the major systems of the narrative: structural oppositions, episodic sequencing, plot, and the voice system, we can turn to the problem raised at the outset, Bakhtin's formative moment of literary consciousness, when the author must choose an orientation among the moral and ideological implications of the voices of the heteroglossic world.

Don Gabriel must address two central problems: the fact of the murder and the motives for it. His handling of the two problems contrasts strikingly: the fact of the murder is narrated with great fluency, but when Don Gabriel addresses the problem of motive, serious tensions in composition appear: in Bakhtin's terms, the alien lexicon of business-for-profit "falls out" of the voice system of the narrative and resists assimilation to it.

The lexicon of business-for-profit in the Malinche is Spanish. Malinche Mexicano usage incorporates an enormous amount of Spanish material at all levels of the borrowing hierarchy, from nouns to particles and other "function" elements, and exhibits substantial convergence with Spanish (Hill and Hill 1986). The syncretism with Spanish is viewed with profound ambivalence. Malinche speakers often say that "mixing" has polluted Mexicano, and Spanish itself is assigned an ambivalent functional role, being the language of elevated public spheres such as religion and government but also of drunkenness, cursing, and insincerity. It is, par excellence, the language of the market economy: buying, selling, the making of profit, the counting of money. The Spanish lexicon of business in the marketplace provides a "vocabulary of motives" (Mills 1940) which Don Gabriel cannot avoid, even though this lexicon carries with it the ideology of the urban, individualistic, profit-seeking sphere which is antithetical to the peasant values of communal reciprocity which Don Gabriel clearly places at the center of his narrative structure.[17] The most important strategy which Don Gabriel uses to handle the moral dilemma posed by the necessity to use this lexicon is to assign "speaking of business-for-profit" to figures in reported speech, and, in the system of self-lamination, to the neutral narrative voice, the voice farthest from the moral center of this part of the voice system. When a voice which is very close to this center, the evaluator, must speak of business-for-profit, it is done in euphemistic terms. However, even with this strategic allocation of terms, there

is considerable evidence in the narrative of struggle and resistance against "speaking of business," particularly manifested in lexical dysfluencies.

First, let us consider the distribution of speaking of business-for-profit along the moral axis of the voice system. I have shown that the narrative contains two major classes of voices: laminations of the animator and figures, with the protagonist, the figure of the father, and the strategist, Don Gabriel's inner voice, belonging to both categories. In the first group, the narrator voice N is distinguished from the others by being neutral, divorced from the I-thou world of direct address and belonging entirely to the narrative world, functioning to sustain the narrative main line and to give material orientation. The other voices in the self-lamination system are all located closer to the I-thou world and hence to the moral center of the narrative work. They provide overt moral commentary or engage in direct address (as in the case of the evaluator voice), or they use techniques of immediacy, such as sharp down-drop terminal contours separating sentences in the narrative sequence, or historical present verbs, as in the case of the narrator voice O. The father is the focus of point of view in the narrative. The father's voice is at the intersection of the self-lamination system and the figure system, and seems to be at the moral center of the latter. Among this group of voices, Don Gabriel's self-laminations, only the distant, neutral narrator N speaks of the son's business affairs. Examples of the treatment of business by this voice are seen at (5) and (19), which are part of the orientations to episodes 1.A and 1.C respectively. Here the voice uses Spanish terms: *convenio* 'agreement', *negocio* 'business'. In episode 4.B, at (116–19) the narrator N voice addresses the related question of *política* 'politics' (I take *fuerte* in [119] to be the evaluator's word).

Most of the discussion of business is handled by two figures, voice A, the voice of those who were envious of the son and who may have caused his murder, and the son himself. In (7) voice A, represented in indirect discourse, uses the code-switched expression *de ser tesorero* 'to be treasurer'. But most speech about business-for-profit is assigned to the son, in sharp contrast with the father, who never uses this lexicon. The son's voice first addresses the business at (21), using the terms *sobra* 'surplus' and the explicitly financial *ahorro* 'savings'. In the conversations in 2.A and 2.B, the son uses a fully developed vocabulary of business, discussing *tomín* 'money', and various papers, at (40) and (42). In the replay conversation, the son discusses *asunto* 'business' and money at (63–65). A third reported-speech voice which is exploited briefly to make a moral judgment about business-for-profit is the indirect-address representation of voice B, the "people of the town" at (24), which evaluates the motive for fighting: "que timotehuiah īpan in cargo por base de interés" 'that we fight one another over the job due to personal interest'—that is, for personal gain.

It is easy to imagine different distributions of the vocabulary of the profit motive. For instance, the voice of the father could spell out the details of the "business" in its accusations and questions, or the voice of the evaluator could elaborate and comment about the "business" in rendering judgments about it. But these voices never mention the "business," and their comments on it derive meaning only by being adjacent to more explicit statements assigned to other voices.

In one instance the evaluator cannot avoid mentioning the "business" as this voice makes a moral judgment. The problem is solved by euphemism. This occurs at (20), where the evaluator voice appears in a very intricate preverbal complex, which makes a moral judgment about the presumed origin of voice A: "nīnqueh cristianos, in āquin ōquipiayah ambición de nōn, ... de nōn trabajo" 'these people, who had ambition about that ... that work'. We can be sure that this is the evaluator, because of the expressive sentence adverb *desgraciadamente* 'unfortunately' and the negatively loaded term *ambición* 'ambition'. The term *trabajo* 'work', used here for the business, is a euphemism for *asunto* or *negocio*, terms which are used by the son and the narrator N. The business, of course, is the bus system. In the Malinche towns, bus systems are private enterprises, and the son is involved with a group of partners who are seeking permission from the urban government to run the system. For a number of years in the 1960s and 1970s, while gasoline prices were still very low in Mexico, partnership in a community bus system was a virtually certain route to wealth. The right to participate in such partnerships was intricately intertwined with local politics, because of the need for official permissions. Thus, the bus system was clearly an *asunto* or *negocio*, a business for profit (although the partners would claim that it was for the good of the town), and its affairs were *política* 'politics' (a term which has the same negative resonance for Mexicano speakers that it has for many English speakers). Don Gabriel represents himself as having urged his son to stay out of the business as an illegitimate conflict of interest with his legitimate public service as municipal president.

Mexicano has no indigenous terms for business-for-profit. The term which is used for enterprise in the peasant way of life is *tequipanoā* 'pass along by work', often translated into Spanish as *mantenerse* 'to maintain oneself'. The element *tequi* in this verb appears in other expressions. As a possessed noun it means "responsibility, concern" in a very general sense, such that the Mexicano expression *āmo notequi* translates into English as 'it's not my responsibility' (but not as 'it's none of my business'!). The nonpossessed (absolute) noun *tequitl* is usually translated by Mexicano speakers as *trabajo* 'work'. In Classical Mexicano the *tequitl* was the work done to pay the tribute, the portion collected from the peasantry by the

state. All other terms which intersect with the English notion of "work" have very specific designations in Mexicano (for activities such as cultivation, woodcutting, animal care, carpentry, kitchen tasks, and the like), and are usually referred to collectively with the Spanish term *oficio* 'occupation'. Such *oficios* are occasionally referred to as *trabajo,* but *trabajo* is prototypically wage labor. It is certainly not routinely used, as "work" is often used in English, to mean the pursuit of business for profit. Thus, the usage of this term by the evaluator at (20) is a rare extension of the word into this realm, and should be considered a euphemistic terministic choice, which preserves the moral distancing of the evaluator voice from the words of the realm of business-for-profit.[18]

The assignment of the lexicon of "business" to reported speech voices or to voices far from the moral center of the self-laminations does not entirely overcome the resistance of Don Gabriel's speaking to the incorporation of this lexicon. Most of the major dysfluencies in the text appear when "business" is mentioned, and these dysfluencies can occur regardless of which voice is in play. An example can be found in the speech of the evaluator in the passage at (20) discussed above, where there is a dysfluent repetition and pause in "de nōn ... de nōn trabajo" 'about that ... that work'. Dysfluencies also occur in the voice of the narrator N. Thus, at (5) there is a dysfluent repetition and pause: "cē: ... cē convenio" 'a:n ... an agreement'. Such dysfluencies even occur in representations of the voice of the son, as in (21): "nōn:, nōn sobra, .. o nōn: ... nōn ahorro" 'tha-a-t, that surplus, .. or tha-a-t ... that savings' (in Mexicano it is the final /n/ which is lengthened, not the vowel of *nōn*).

The most dramatic breakdown in fluency occurs in an attempt to represent the voice of the son in episode 2.A. Here, the son is explaining to his father what he will do in the city, so the details of the "business" must be mentioned. The son begins speaking at (40), in response to the father's insistent questioning; his utterance contains hesitation forms *(este, den)* and pauses. Then he is interrupted completely by what seems to be the evaluator, at (41), who says "Tlenōnōn ōnēchilih?" 'What did he say to me?' This interruption is particularly startling, since elsewhere in the text qualifications about fidelity are expressed with particles such as *nēci* or *mati* 'it seems'. Elsewhere, of course, Don Gabriel represents quite complex texts, such as the text of the letter, with little dysfluency or hedging about his memory. After this interruption, Don Gabriel again tries to represent the voice of the son, at (42), and again encounters extreme dysfluency. Finally, at (43), the evaluator voice rejects the matter entirely, saying "Āmo niquilnāmiqui quēn ōnēchilih" 'I don't remember what he told me'.

I have pointed out above that episode 2.B appears to be an overlay or replay of episode 2.A, but that in episode 2.B the son, not the father, is in

dominance in the reported conversation about business. Strikingly, in the representation of the son's discussion of business in 2.B, there is none of the dysfluency which was so apparent in 2.A.

The narrative is very fluent overall. The only dysfluencies in it, other than those encountered upon "speaking of business-for-profit," are of the "accounting" type. Examples of "accounting" dysfluencies appear at (3), where Don Gabriel tries to remember exactly how many years ago his son was killed, at (47), where he tries to remember a date, and at (199), where the hesitation is associated with a search for the correct word to describe the kind of rock his son's body lay upon.

The "accounting" dysfluencies are important, for they present evidence for how we should think of dysfluencies in general, and particularly those which occur in connection with the mention of "business." Dysfluencies are not easily assigned to narrative art, and it is tempting to adopt a naive Freudian approach to dysfluency that assumes that it reveals for us the presence of an authentic subconscious locus of affect, the self. But accounting dysfluencies suggest a different interpretation. The self which produces these is a responsible self, which attends to precise representation. Thus dysfluencies in connection with terms for "business" may represent precisely responsibility, a property not of the emotional unconscious but of the active, choosing consciousness to which Bakhtin directs our attention. It is this consciousness which may lie at the moral center of the narrative, and the dysfluencies index its presence. This is an important hypothesis, since anthropological literature has focused on the self as the locus of some continuity of emotional response, and not a continuity of responsibility. Mauss (1985), in his famous essay "A Category of the Human Mind: The Notion of Person, the Notion of Self," suggested that during the last two hundred years westerners have tended to unite the two qualities—the notion of the "responsible" legal person and the notion of the "emotional" person with an inner life, in a single socially relevant entity. The present analysis suggests that the close study of oral discourse may be an important research site for exploring the relationship between these two very closely related properties of human actors.

The murder itself, in contrast to the motives for the murder, offers no resistance to assimilation into Don Gabriel's narrative. The English speaker imagines that the great problem for such a narrator might be to come to grips with the horror of the violent death of a child. However, passages having to do with the death are among the most artful and fluent in the narrative. While morally central voices never address "business-for-profit" directly, almost all discussion of the murder and the body is assigned to the morally central figure, the father. The evaluator, the morally central voice in the system of self-laminations, also discusses the matter. Other

Table 4-2. Distribution of Topics of Business-for-Profit and Death among the Voices

	Business	Death
Moral Periphery		
Anonymous letter		90
Voice A	6,7	
People of town	24	
Son	21,40,42,63,65	
Narrator N	5,19,116,117,213	
Narrator O		2,266,267
Evaluator		196,197,199,200,201,202,246
Father	20(euphemism)	
Moral Center		165

figures, including the daughter-in-law and the several figures which appear in episode 4, the search, never use the verb *mictia* 'kill' or nouns such as *cuerpo* 'body', which is used by the evaluator at (246), in the coda to episode 6. The distribution of the topics of "business-for-profit" and the murder among the voices is shown in table 4–2.

In contrast to "business-for-profit," there is little dysfluency associated with discussion of the son's death. Instead of dysfluent pausing and repetition, in discussions of the murder we find breakthrough by intonational shadow voices, such as the *cantante* shadow at (2) and (211), or the "desperate" shadow at (196–97), (206), and (211). A brief dysfluency appears at (192) in the climactic scene: "nēchiliah este, quiliah in nocnīh este" 'They tell me uh, they tell my brother uh', but this seems to be an "accounting" dysfluency having to do with attention to accuracy in managing the peak-marking strategy of "concentration of participants," and is not related to any problem of incorporating the lexicon of murder into the art of the narrative.

Don Gabriel can speak the death of a child. What resists his voice and "falls out" of his fluent narrative art is the language of business and profit. This resistance, demonstrated through the close analysis of his narrative, is additional evidence which supports the contention of Taussig (1979), Dow (1981), Warman (1982), and others that a peasant consciousness is at least partially constituted as a domain of ongoing ideological resistance to a capitalist ideology. This resistance persists even in communities like Almecatla, which dependency theorists would consider to be fully incorporated into the peripheral capitalist sector. There could hardly be more dramatic evidence for the persistence of this consciousness than that given us by Don Gabriel, who can report the moment when he gazed upon

the murdered body of his son with elegiac elegance, but who stammers when he must speak the motives for that murder in the Spanish lexicon of gain. The value of this evidence shows the relevance for the great problems of anthropology of close analysis of oral narrative which has been developed in recent years by scholars such as Labov (1972), Hymes (1981), Tedlock (1983), and Woodbury (1985, 1987). The narrative reveals a veritable kaleidoscope of "emotional selves," which are all art, distributed in fragments across the rhetorical systems of the narrative. But the narrative does give us evidence of the integrity of another self, the "responsible self" which we may call consciousness, and allows us a privileged glimpse of the moment of "active choice" when this consciousness orients itself as a voice in a heteroglossic universe.

NOTES

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The term "Mexicano" has been used for nearly five hundred years for the Uto-Aztecan language also known as Nahuatl or Aztec. "Mexicano" is strongly preferred local usage; for speakers, it stands for a claim of prototypical citizenship in the Mexican state.

1. Interest in Bakhtin's concept of the dialogic interaction of voices (which can be seen, for instance, in Silverman and Torode [1980] and Bruner and Gorfain [1984], as well as in the present work) advances a tradition of concern for the development of a unit of discursive consciousness, found in the work of Sapir (in a number of papers in his *Selected Writings* [Mandelbaum, ed. 1949]; see discussion in J. Hill [1988]), and particularly in work by Hymes, who has argued that the "voice," the manifestation of the "individuality" which must develop communicative competence, must be a fundamental unit of linguistic study (Hymes 1979), and that "vocal realization" is an important system of representation in oral literature (Hymes 1981). Friedrich (1986) has suggested that the properties of the individual voice are best captured by considering it as a poetic "imagination." Subjectivity has been proposed as a basic unit of linguistic and discourse analysis by Benveniste (1971), Lyons (1982), and Banfield (1973, 1981, 1984). The present study draws on this work, but takes as central Bakhtin's "voice," which defines subjectivity as dialogic in its essence, and, most appropriately for the topic in this volume, as the locus of "active choice" and responsibility.

2. Notation of the text uses the following conventions:

Right bracket], followed by subscript numbers, approximates the units of the voice system (sometimes these are clauses, sometimes utterances with more than one

sentence). In order to avoid proliferating brackets, by convention I have not separated off locutionary verbs (uttered by one of the narrative voices, N or O). It is impossible to bracket clearly the structural units of the voice system, since often quite short utterances contain several voices in a multidimensional array. Brackets without numbers occur occasionally to mark the end of intonation contours.

Subscript letters following brackets and numbers. These refer to "voices" listed in table 4–1 in the text, and indicate (roughly) the voices which participate in the bracketed units. Marking direct-discourse reported speech clauses with a subscript for one of the narrative voices means that that voice is assigned to the locutionary verb which introduces the reported speech.

Where speakers other than Don Gabriel (DG), such as the interviewer, are speaking, their voices are indicated in capital letters before their contribution.

The transcription of Mexicano-language material follows the usage of Karttunen (1983); a macron over a vowel indicates a distinctive long vowel. Spanish loan words have distinctive long vowels at the location of Spanish-language stress; to avoid proliferation of diacritics beyond what is absolutely necessary I have not indicated these vowels as long, except where stress has shifted, e.g., *rázōn* 'reason' at (24). Spanish loans are spelled as in Spanish, except in such cases. Note that the Spanish acute accent is placed over the vowel, e.g., *fábrica* 'factory' (4); when the acute accent marker is before a vowel, it indicates rising pitch accent, as discussed below. Native Mexicano words, with very few exceptions, are stressed on the penultimate syllable.

Colon following a vowel or consonant indicates extra length, e.g., *nōn:* (21), where final /n/ is extra long as the speaker hesitates.

Unspaced dots, e.g., "cē: ... cē convenio" (5) indicate noticeably long pauses. The number of dots reflects the length of the pause. Other notations for pause phenomena include comma and period, which are normal clause-final and sentence-final pauses accompanied by characteristic terminal pitch accents.

= is used to indicate absence of pause where punctuation such as ? is required due to content, or where an episode ends but is not accompanied by a pause. Examples are at (106), (109).

Notational conventions for intonation contours are as follows:

a. Pitch accents appear on tonic syllables: the penult, e.g., "ōqui´nōtzqueh" 'they called him' (7), rarely on secondary-stressed syllables (the penultimate before the penult, e.g., "ōni'cuālcāh'tēhui" 'I went to leave him' [35]), or sometimes on some other syllable prior to this, for reasons which are not clear to me; an example is "'ōquimpade¯ceroh" 'it appeared to them' (27), and on syllables with long vowels where the word contains a single long vowel which is not the penult, e.g. "ni¯cān" 'here' (5). Pierrehumbert (1987) suggests that pitch accents will always fall on "stressed syllables"; the accommodation of this proposed universal to Nahuatl metrics is beyond the scope of this essay.

b. Three pitch accents are noted:

1. ´ is rising pitch. After this pitch accent, pitch remains high until another pitch accent or tonal contour occurs. High pitch accent is not interrupted by brackets, commas, or periods. An example can be seen at (130), where the high pitch accent in "ōni´huāllah" 'when I came' initiates high pitch which continues until the fall on "'tle¯nōn" in (132).
2. ¯ is a high flat "nonterminal" contour. Pitch rises to high (or remains high after rising pitch accent), and remains high only until the end of the word on which the pitch accent is marked. Pitch is low at the beginning of the following word; this new low pitch is not marked. Pitch remains low until the next marker.
3. ' is a rise-fall or fall. If pitch has been low (as after ¯ or a previous '), pitch will rise on the marked syllable and fall again to low on the immediately following syllable. If pitch has been high (as after ´), it will remain high on the marked syllable and drop to low on the following syllable. Pitch remains low until the next pitch accent marker occurs. A sequence of ' pitch accents will exhibit down-step; this is not marked. This occurs, for instance, in (48), where the overall fall from the preverbal complex marked with › (a non-numbered bracket marks the domain of the ›) is as striking as in the ^{h}\ contour type, but is not identical with it since the undulation of the sequenced ' pitch accents is clearly audible.

c. Three special intonational contours are indicated: \, /, and ^. \ indicates an uninterrupted fall from high to low which continues until the following comma, period, right bracket, or next pitch accent or contour marker, whichever comes first. / indicates a rise from low to high with the same domains. ^ is the *cantante* contour; the first syllable following the marker is high, while the next drops slightly to a flat pitch which is much higher than a normal terminal contour. An example is seen at "nomu^chacho" (2). The next clause then begins with low pitch, which is not marked.

d. An underlined vowel after a ' pitch accent indicates that the fall is not as "low" as normal, although the flat quality is not as striking as in the ^ contour, e.g., "presi'dente" (9). Underline at the beginning of a word, e.g., "_Aah" (uttered by interviewer in opening conversation) indicates a low contour with a slight fall-rise.

e. › indicates that pitch is unusually high. ‹ indicates that it is unusually low. The unusual pitch level continues until the end of the bracketed section in which it appears.

f. Superscript ^{h} indicates a high-amplitude contour. This is most commonly seen with \, e.g., "^{h}\Ācmo ximocomprometerō" (10) (in opening conversation); this contour indicates respectful courtesy to the interlocutor, and is very common in Mexicano direct address. Superscript ^{l} indicates a low-amplitude or unusually flat contour; this may indicate tension between interlocutors. Both high- and low-amplitude contour markers can also occur with regular pitch accents to indicate an overall strongly undulating or unusually flat quality to the sequence. The domain of these is until the end of the bracketed element where they appear.

3. The analytical framework here, of a system of rhetorical practices which includes narrative sequence, plot tension, and the voice system, owes much to several recent studies. Hymes (1981) has distinguished plot and incident as aspects of

content, and poetic form, rhetorical form, and vocal realization as aspects of presentation. Woodbury (1985) has proposed "rhetorical structure" as the practices which organize systems of text-building such as prosody, particles (which I have neglected in the present discussion), and syntax. Hymes distinguishes his concept of "vocal realization" from the more usual notion of reported speech, since it includes what I have here called "fidelity" and "drama," as well as audience response. This concept seems close to, but not identical with, what I have here called the voice system.

4. Major recent studies of reported speech in oral discourse include Larson (1978), Longacre (1976), Hymes (1981), Sherzer (1981), Silverstein (1985), Coulmas (1986), and Lucy (1993). Labov and Fanshel (1977) have explored voice differentiation in therapeutic discourse. Leech (1978) has examined the implications of reported speech for formal pragmatics and semantics.

5. Singer (1980) borrows the term "glassy essence" for the self from C. S. Peirce, who in turn took it from Shakespeare.

6. The numbers in parentheses refer to clause numbers in the text, found immediately after the right-facing brackets (]).

7. Hymes (personal communication) has suggested that some features of the text suggest ambivalence on Don Gabriel's part about wealth. In a comment on J. Hill (1985), he proposes that the switch in (7) to the Spanish *ser tesorero* 'to be treasurer' may signal pride in the son's career, as well as being a representation of voice A and of Spanish market ideology. The mention of the brother's car at (153) and (155) is additional evidence for the correctness of this suggestion. At this period a car, perhaps more than any other material possession, signaled that a person was a *rico* 'a rich person'. Don Gabriel's substantial house also suggested that his family was quite wealthy relative to the Malinche norm. The entire narrative might be seen as an assertion that, in spite of his wealth, Don Gabriel insists that he is committed to peasant values; the framing in such a case would become even more complex than has been suggested here.

8. The movement of cemeteries to the edge of town is an innovation in the Malinche region. Traditionally the dead were buried in the churchyard itself, at the center of town, but crowding in these areas, and concerns for sanitation, led priests and national health administrators to insist on the installation of new cemeteries outside the habitation zone. Many people on the Malinche object to the new cemeteries and indicate that they wish they could be buried in the churchyard beside their ancestors.

9. The form *teh* is perhaps best translated 'thou'; it is a "T-form" (Brown and Gilman 1960) which is contrasted to the "V-form" *tehhuatzīn* and, in Mexicano, to an even more formal pronoun, *momahuizotzīn* or *īmahuizotzīn* 'your reverence', 'his/her reverence', respectively.

10. Much of the cognitivist attention to discourse structure has focused on units at the lowest level, as in the exemplary work of Chafe (1980). Phenomena like the sustaining of an ironic frame in the present text (and indeed Chafe's own work on short- and long-term memory structures [1973]) suggest that important cognitive systems at the long-term memory level as well might be investigated through the study of oral discourse.

11. Silverstein has suggested that in Chinookan narrative "descriptions of speech interactions . . . constitute the very textuality, the cohesion and framework, of the narrative art" (1985: 145). He criticizes the tendency for narrative analysts to start with higher-level narrative structures (ibid.: 144). Here I take higher-level narrative structures to have an independent systemic existence, and I assume an interaction between these and the voice system, perhaps shaped by a rhetorical structure as suggested by Woodbury (1985, 1987).

12. Note that in numbering the sentences I have followed a convention proposed by Silverman and Torode (1980), and assigned the complementizer *porque* 'because' to the evaluator voice in (8), which plays the role of making logical or moral connections, instead of to the narrator voice in (9), which plays a temporal sequencing role. This assignment does not match the intonational system of Mexicano, where clause-final flat terminal contour does not include these elements, which instead drop to low following the word containing the flat contour, just like other unmarked clause-initial words.

13. In addition to the particle *mati* 'it seems' and its Spanish (rough) equivalent *parece* 'it seems, it appears', a hesitation form *este* appears in the text. *Este* may be the voice of the "animator," the "machine for speaking" suggested by Goffman (1974). However, it might also be assigned to the same "responsible" voice which is the source of dysfluent hesitation and is discussed in the section "The Moral Orientation of Narrative Consciousness." While *este* is a very important element, I am not sure of how to analyze it, and so have not assigned it to a separate voice in the marking of the bracketed units. It is possible that *mati* and *parece* should be grouped with some instances of *este* as lexical choices of the "responsible" voice.

14. The avoidance of Spanish *sí* and *no* may perhaps be explained in terms of politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1978). Spanish is a language of power and distance on the Malinche. A negation in particular is a heavy threat to positive face; an appropriate strategy of mitigation would be to utter negations in Mexicano, the language of solidarity. Analysis of many conversations shows that *sí* and *no* occur only when interlocutors are seriously at odds, even exchanging insults.

15. An important technique for representation of conversational interaction, the distribution of voices across turns in the turn-taking system, is not exploited in the narrative. Flores Farfán (1986) has shown that in market interactions in Mexico, Spanish speakers dominate speakers of Indian language by taking all the turns in a bargaining exchange.

16. Dennis Tedlock (personal communication) has pointed out that a breaking of the voice, as in the intonational shadow case, may begin as "uncontrolled," but become, through retellings, a part of the art of a text. Tedlock cites an example from a Zuni storyteller's narrative of the death of his sister.

17. The fact that Don Gabriel centers his narrative on the values of peasant communitarianism does not, of course, mean that making a profit is impossible within a "traditional" way of life, where participation in markets, both local and regional, is entirely in order. Don Gabriel himself was an "upper peasant," with a substantial house and furnishings, many animals, and (at the time of the interview) a venerable flatbed truck. As noted above, "business" is objectionable from this point of view when it brings in extraordinary benefits which are seen as un-

reasonably extracted from the community and never returned to it in the form of redistribution or reciprocity.

18. Chamoux (1986) has recently considered the Nahuatl concept of work, and finds also that the term *tequitl* does not include the notion of business-for-profit, but implies work which especially constructs appropriate gender identification, ritual involvement, and the like.

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