LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL BOUNDARIES: IDENTITIES AND BELONGING 4

Rita Tamara Vallentin

Language and Belonging

Local Categories and Practices in a Guatemalan Highland Community

PETER LANG

LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL BOUNDARIES:
IDENTITIES AND BELONGING 4

Rita Tamara Vallentin

Language and Belonging

In this book, the author introduces *belonging* from a sociolinguistic perspective as a concept that is accomplished in interaction. *Belonging* can be expressed linguistically in social, spatial and temporal categories – indexing rootedness, groupness and cohesion. It can also be captured through shared linguistic practices within a group, e.g. collectively shared narrative practices. Using conversation analysis and an analysis of narrative as practice bolstered with ethnographic knowledge, the author shows how *belonging* is tied to locally contextualized use of deictics and to collectively shared narrations of the past in a Guatemalan community. The book examines the understudied phenomenon of belonging at the intersection of pragmatics and linguistic anthropology.

The Author
Rita Vallentin is a researcher and lecturer at the Faculty of Cultural and Social Sciences of the European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder). Working at the intersection of linguistics and sociology, she focuses on the relations of belonging and identification with linguistic practices, especially in Hispanophone and Lusophone communities.

www.peterlang.com

Language and Belonging

LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL BOUNDARIES: IDENTITIES AND BELONGING

Edited by Konstanze Jungbluth und Mônica Maria G. Savedra

VOLUME 4

PETER LANG

Rita Tamara Vallentin

Language and Belonging

Local Categories and Practices in a Guatemalan Highland Community

PETER LANG

Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available online at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

Zugl.: Frankfurt (Oder), Europa-Univ., Diss., 2017

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Dissertation der Europa-Universität Viadrina
Datum der Disputation: 21.11.2017,
Betreuerinnen: Prof. Dr. Konstanze Jungbluth und
Mônica Maria Guimarães Savedra

Cover image: © Rita Tamara Vallentin.
Edited by Eva Gerth.

D 521
ISSN 2509-4505
ISBN (Print) 978-3-631-73560-2
E-ISBN (E-PDF) 978-3-631-76892-1
E-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-631-76893-8
E-ISBN (MOBI) 978-3-631-76894-5
DOI 10.3726/b15796

Open Access: This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution Non Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 unported license. To view a copy of this license, visit https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

© Rita Tamara Vallentin, 2019

Peter Lang – Berlin · Bern · Bruxelles · New York · Oxford · Warszawa · Wien

This publication has been peer reviewed.

www.peterlang.com

Acknowledgments

This book is the result of a year-long, largely collective endeavor, which formed a diversified and multi-layered *community of practice* around it. Here, I want to thank the people who became an integral part of this specific community, and who supported me in the realization of this project.

My greatest thanks go out to the community members of the *Nueva Alianza,* who opened up their homes and their memories to me. I hope this book successfully tells their story in the best way possible, and contributes to their story being heard in academia.

I am deeply grateful to my *Doktormutter* Konstanze Jungbluth. Thank you for the (academic) journeys, the introduction to the scientific community and their *practices,* and for your constant encouragement in my pursuing this book and other academic projects. I also want to wholeheartedly thank my supervisor Mônica Maria Guimarães Savedra for her openness and valuable insights on this project. Thank you for the inspiring talks and conferences, the new perspectives, and for giving me the opportunity to find academic – and personal – *belonging* in Brazil.

The year-long process of preparing and finally writing this book would have been unthinkable without the many inspiring and constructive discussions with my colleagues and friends from the Europa-Universität Viadrina, the Universidade Federal Fluminense, the Universidad de Oviedo and many others.

I am very grateful to André Vallentin for the technical processing of the manuscript and to Eva Gerth for making the graphics included in this book.

Thanks to Carrie Byrne and Todd Ehresmann for proof-reading this book. The remaining mistakes are my own.

I cannot imagine to have been writing this book without the support of Concha Maria Höfler and Dominik Gerst. Thank you for your critical reading, which was absolutely essential for the final edition.

For Karla and Sewan

Contents

List of Tables ... xiii

List of Figures ... xv

Transcription Convention ... xvii

Abstract ... xix

Zusammenfassung ... xxi

Resumo ... xxiii

1. Introduction ... 1

1.1. Belonging and Language Use in Current Research ... 5

1.2. Empirical Foundations: The *Comunidad Nueva Alianza* and its Story. ... 8

1.3. Outline of the Book ... 13

2. Belonging and Identification ... 15

2.1. Making Sense of Ourselves and Others ... 16

2.2. Processes of Identification ... 17

2.3. Personal and Social Identification ... 18

2.4. Social Identification and Groups ... 19

2.5. From Social Positioning to Belonging ... 22

2.6. Concepts of Belonging ... 24

2.6.1. Spatial Belonging ... 25

2.6.2. Social Belonging ... 27

2.6.2.1. Intersected Belonging: Social Location and Social Positionality ... 29

2.6.2.2. Regimes of Social Belonging ... 32

2.6.3. Temporal Belonging 35
2.7. Conclusion: Conceptualization of Belonging 36

3. Doing Belonging 39
3.1. Language and Belonging 39
3.2. The Practice Approach in Contemporary Linguistics and Social Sciences 44
3.3. *Doing* Belonging 49
3.4. Communities of Practice 51
3.5. Interim Conclusion 54

4. Tracing Belonging in Spoken Data 55
4.1. Membership Categorization and Conversation Analysis 56
4.2. Positioning 61
4.3. Narrative as Practice 64
4.3.1. Narrative and Belonging 69
4.3.2. Positioning in Narrative 72
4.4. Interim Conclusion – What to *Do* with the Data? 74

5. Data Collection and Processing 77
5.1. The Field 77
5.1.1. Population 78
5.1.2. Location and Structure 78
5.1.3. Organization and Projects 80
5.2. Accessing the Field 83
5.3. The Researcher as an Outsider Participant 89
5.4. The Corpus 94
5.4.1. Narrative Accounts from Semi-structured Interviews 94
5.4.2. Narratives for Visitors 97
5.4.3. Interactions with Outsiders 98

5.4.4. Community Interactions ... 99
5.4.5. Fieldnotes ... 99
5.5. Data Transcription and Selection ... 100

6. Belonging as a Local and Interactional Problem ... 103
6.1. The Setting ... 104
6.2. Problematizing the Term *Étnico* ... 105
6.3. Adding Language as a Relevant Category ... 113
6.4. Processing the *Étnico* Question ... 122
6.5. Processing the Language Question ... 134
6.6. Clashing Category Systems ... 137
6.7. Interactional Positions ... 146
6.8. Interim Conclusion: Belonging as a Local and Interactional Problem ... 150

7. Narrating as a Local Practice of Belonging ... 155
7.1. The Narrative Corpus ... 156
7.2. Types of Narrations and Types of Narrators ... 157
7.3. Stories by Practiced Narrators ... 160
7.3.1. Positioning as Narrative Experts ... 161
7.3.1.1. Navigating Interactional Context and Story Structure ... 161
7.3.1.2. Displaying Expert Knowledge: Chronology and Detail ... 175
7.3.2. Positioning Own and Other Voices ... 180
7.3.2.1. Speaking on Behalf of the Community ... 181
7.3.2.2. Different Voices ... 184
7.3.3. Interim Conclusion: Stories by Practiced Narrators ... 191
7.4. Spontaneous Narratives ... 192
7.4.1. Positioning the Narrated Self ... 193
7.4.2. Interim Conclusion: Spontaneous Narratives ... 205

7.5. Re-Narrated Stories ... 207
7.5.1. 'It says' – The Story as Community Knowledge ... 208
7.5.2. 'There is' – Generalization in Re-Narration ... 211
7.5.3. 'We were workers' – We-voices in Re-Narrations ... 214
7.5.4. Interim Conclusion: Re-Narrated Stories ... 217
7.6. One Story – Thirty Versions – Shared Core Elements ... 218
7.7. Interim Conclusion: Narrating as a Local Practice of Belonging ... 223

8. Excursus ... 229
8.1. Excursus I: Grounding Belonging in the Local Adverb *aquí* ... 229
8.2. Excursus II: Regimes of Belonging ... 239

9. Summary and Discussion ... 245

10. Conclusion and Prospects ... 255

Bibliography ... 261

Appendix ... 289
A. Speaker Table ... 289
B. Interview Questionnaire ... 291

List of Tables

1 Sample of Narrative Accounts from Interviews ... 97
2 Types of Narratives and Speakers ... 158
3 Narrative Classification Based on Use of Pronouns and Verb Forms ... 225
4 Occurrences of *aquí* in the Interview Corpus ... 234
5 Occurrences of *acá* in the Interview Corpus ... 236
6 Speakers in the Corpus ... 289

List of Figures

1 Simple Map of the Nueva Alianza ... 80
2 Relations of the Community and the Company ... 82
3 Speaker and Topic Orientation in Extract 1 ... 108
4 Category System of the Trainer for the "Ethnic Group" ... 111
5 Speaker and Topic Orientation in Extract 2 ... 116
6 Speaker and Topic Orientation in Extract 3 ... 128
7 Speaker and Topic Orientation in Extract 5 ... 140
8 Narrative Structure JavierI ... 164
9 Narrative Structure JavierJV ... 166
10 Narrative Structure CarlosI ... 171
11 Narrative Structure CarlosYG ... 173
12 Narrative Structure Maria ... 197

Transcription Convention

°	inhalation
(.)	micro pause estimated, up to 0.2–0.5 seconds
(-)	short pause estimated up to 0.2–0.5 seconds
(–)	medium pause estimated up to 0.5–0.8 seconds
(—)	longer pause estimated up to 0.8–1 seconds
(1.3)	measured pause
[ ]	overlap and simultaneous articulation of two or more speakers
because=eh	latching
bec/	abrupt cut-off
<<laughing>>	laughing utterance with range; other para- and non-verbal activities dim (diminuendo)
(inc. 1.2))	incomprehensible sequence with duration
(and)	unclear or probable item
: :: :::	lengthening, duration analogue to pauses
akZENT	focus accent
,	rising to mid pitch movement
;	falling to mid pitch movement
↑ ↓	pitch jumps at the beginning of the intonation phrase

Abstract

This book is an inquiry into the concept of belonging and its relation to language use. The empirical focus lies on a Guatemalan rural community and how its members achieve belonging in interaction. The concept of belonging is defined first as the spatial, social and temporal categories that speakers use to attribute themselves and others *to*. Second, belonging is conceptualized as encompassing specific practices that are distinctive to a community and that index belonging *with* it. These practices are shared by group members, and together with the categorical attributions often determine who can belong and who cannot. The analysis is based on data collected in 2009 and 2011 during four months of ethnographic research. The corpus combines two broad types of spoken data: first, narratives on the community's transformation in semi-structured interviews and for visiting tourists; and second, other community interactions with visiting outsiders and amongst group members. The analysis of these interactions follows the methodological considerations developed in membership categorization, ethnographically informed conversation analysis and positioning theory. The findings suggest that "place" is pivotal in grounding belonging, emphasizing collectivity and tracing a temporal trajectory that connects group members' "origin" to that place. The analysis of the narrative corpus reveals shared elements in the individual narrations of the community story. Narrating the community's story in this way points to the participants' shared experiences and knowledge, and thereby consolidates belonging *with* the community through engaging in this language-based practice. This book, thus, offers a new theoretical approach to the concept of belonging and its relation to language use. Furthermore, it offers a holistic analysis of the community's belonging as it is achieved in interactions with different outsiders.

Zusammenfassung

Die Arbeit befasst sich empirisch und theoretisch mit dem Konzept der *Zugehörigkeit* und seiner Verankerung im Sprachgebrauch. Die theoretischen Überlegungen stützen sich auf sprachliche Daten aus einer guatemaltekischen ländlichen Gemeinschaft, in denen Zugehörigkeiten hergestellt und verhandelt werden. Zugehörigkeit wird hier zum einen als sprachlich hervorgebrachte räumliche, soziale und zeitliche Kategorien, mit denen die Sprecher*innen Selbst- und Fremdzuordnungen vornehmen definiert. Zum anderen wird Zugehörigkeit über die Ausübung bestimmter geteilter Praktiken gefasst, die für Gemeinschaften spezifisch sind. Durch die Teilhabe an gemeinsamen Praktiken und durch sprachliche Kategorisierungen können Sprecher*innen ausdrücken, wer dazugehört und wer nicht. Die Arbeit liefert damit einen Beitrag zu einer überindividuellen Analyse von Zugehörigkeiten im Kontext des Sprachgebrauchs indem sie auch kollektiv orientierte *Zusammengehörigkeit* in den Blick nimmt.

Die Analyse basiert auf einem sprachlichen Korpus, der 2009 und 2011 in viermonatiger ethnographischer Feldforschung in einer ländlichen *comunidad* in Guatemala gesammelt wurde. Der Gemeinschaft gelang Anfang der 2000er Jahre eine Transformation, von einer Kaffee- und Macadamiaplantage in Großgrundbesitz zu einem selbstverwalteten und demokratisch organisierten Agrarbetrieb mit dörflichen Strukturen. Das Korpus besteht aus zwei Datentypen: zum einen aus Narrativen über den Wandel in der Gemeinschaft, die für Besucher und in semi-strukturierten Interviews erzählt werden. Zum anderen umfasst das Korpus Interaktionen der Gemeinschaftsmitglieder unter sich und mit Besuchern von außerhalb. Diese sprachlichen Daten werden mittels der *membership categorization analysis* (MCA), einer ethnographisch informierten Konversationsanalyse und einer Positionierungsanalyse ausgewertet. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass ein Bezug zur Räumlichkeit als zentrale Zugehörigkeitsdimension von den Sprecher*innen relevant gesetzt wird. Dies ist insbesondere in der vorwiegend durch ethnische Zugehörigkeiten geprägten ländlichen Region Guatemalas bemerkenswert. Die Verbindung zum Raum bestimmt auch die soziale Zugehörigkeit. Erst eine über eine bestimmte Zeit aufgebaute Beziehung zu dem Raum, macht auch die Zugehörigkeit zur Gruppe möglich. Geteilte sprachliche Praktiken zeigen sich in meinem Korpus vor allem in den Narrativen der Bewohner*innen über die Zeit der Transformation. Die Anordnung und Verwendung bestimmter erzählerischer Elemente sowie gleiche oder ähnliche

Kategorisierungen und Positionierungen in jedem der Narrative verweisen auf geteiltes Wissen und geteilte Erfahrungen der Sprecher*innen. So markiert das Erzählen der Geschichte die Zusammengehörigkeit mit einer spezifischen *community of practice*. Die Arbeit bietet eine umfassende theoretische Fundierung des Konzepts der Zugehörigkeit und Zusammengehörigkeit, die grundlegend durch deren sprachliche und interaktive Herstellung in der Empirie gestützt ist.

Resumo

Este livro é uma investigação sobre o conceito de pertencimento e sua relação com o uso da linguagem. A pesquisa empírica centra-se na realização interacional de pertencimento em uma comunidade rural guatemalteca. O conceito de pertencimento é definido, em primeiro lugar, como as categorias espaciais, sociais e temporais que os falantes usam para atribuir a si mesmos e a outros ("belonging *to*"). Em segundo lugar, o pertencimento é considerado como práticas específicas que são distintivas para uma comunidade e que indicam pertencer à mesma comunidade ("belonging *with*"). Essas práticas são compartilhadas em todo o grupo e, juntamente com as atribuições categóricas, muitas vezes determinam quem pode pertencer a ele e quem não pode. O corpus foi coletado entre 2009 e 2011 em quatro meses de pesquisa etnográfica. Ele combina narrativas sobre a transformação da comunidade coletadas em entrevistas semi-estruturadas, em narrativas para turistas, bem como interações entre seus próprios membros. A análise das interações baseia-se nas premissas da categorização de pertencimento (MCA), análise da conversa etnograficamente informada ("ethnographically informed conversation analysis") e análise do posicionamento discursivo. Os resultados mostram uma relevância crucial da categoria de "lugar" em relação com a "origem", a importância de coletividade e a conexão entre o local e o grupo numa trajetória ao longo do tempo nas enunciações dos participantes. A análise das narrações mostra elementos compartilhados nos relatos individuais sobre a história da comunidade. A relevância das categorias de outras interações é repetida nesses relatos. Narrá-los desta forma aponta para experiências compartilhadas o conhecimento dos participantes e, assim, para uma consolidação do pertencimento à comunidade ("belonging *with*") através do envolvimento nesta prática baseada em linguagem. Este livro, portanto, oferece uma nova abordagem teórica sobre o conceito de pertencimento e sua relação com a linguagem. Além disso, segue um viés analítico holístico sobre o pertencimento de uma comunidade, estabelecido em várias interações com diferentes interlocutores não pertencentes à comunidade.

1. Introduction

It was a damp morning during the summer of 2009 in Guatemala when Lola[1] climbed up a steep path with her eldest daughter and myself to collect ripe macadamia nuts from her small parcel of land. During a short break, and with a view over the community houses, smoke billowing from their hearths, she points to a small piece of land where the cemetery lies. She tells me that her grandparents are buried there because they were born 'here', that her father is buried there as he was also born 'here' and that, one day, she too will be buried in the very same cemetery because *aquí nací y aquí voy a morir* 'I was born here and here I'm going to die'. As unanticipated as LOA's articulation of life and death that morning on our way to work was, it was deeply revealing regarding her understanding of local attachment through the trajectory of generations. It pointed to a specific *spatially* bound conceptualization of *belonging*.

Arriving at this conclusion, and, hence, the overall topic of this book, has been a long journey. It started when I traveled to Guatemala as a Master's student in 2009. I was doing research on *global connectedness* and its repercussions on community members' perceptions of being part of a global *imagined community* (Anderson, 1983) based on the experiences of a rural community in the western highlands of Guatemala, the *Nueva Alianza*. The Alianza has an extraordinary story of struggle, and, as a result, its local people today run several projects with links to national and international governmental and non-governmental institutions. This is quite unusual given that it is a small village of just 350 inhabitants located in the mountains near Quetzaltenango. During the two months I stayed in the community, I participated in long hours of routine daily work, and in the evenings spent time with the families and attended organized projects and meetings. I have analyzed the interviews I conducted at that time for their content on relations of the community with outsiders and their experience with global topics such as organic and fair-trade farming, environmentalism and peasant struggle. However, while focusing on the relations of the community with the outside world, insights into the actual collective self-conceptions of the community as consolidated and linked to place and group emerged as a side topic to my initial interview readings. In particular, the narratives unfolding at the beginning of each interview seemed to be a favorable locus for interlocutors to establish their self-conceptions. Moreover, I noticed that certain topics and linguistic means repeated themselves

1 All names except the name of the community leader have been changed.

in the narratives. There was "something" to the narratives and the interactions with the community members during my first research stay that I could not yet pin down in succinct analysis. Neither could I use them to form a concise research question back then. Because of this, I returned to the community in 2011, this time focusing on interactions of the community members with "outsiders" other than me, as well as in-group meetings among themselves.

My guiding questions during this second fieldwork trip focused broadly on the concept of *identity*: How do community members speak about their identity, and which categories play a role in their identifications? The more specific research questions that ultimately drove me to write this book only emerged after a prolonged period of engagement in the field, and after meticulous re-reading of the recorded interactions from 2009 that I complemented with other interactions during my second stay in 2011. I was particularly intrigued that ethnic categories or practices seemed to play no role in the everyday lives of the community. The community is not only noteworthy for its struggle to acquire land, but also for its identification with non-ethnic categories. This is unusual for a rural village in the Guatemalan western highlands, where the majority of communities identify as either indigenous or as being from a "mixed" origin. Especially after participating in an interaction in which ethnic categories were explicitly negotiated and rejected (analyzed in detail in chapter 6), the recorded data seemed to merit more specific questions about *belonging*, a concept that encompasses spatial, temporal and social[2] categories of identification *as well as* shared practices that bind a group together. Therefore, the questions this book seeks to answer are as follows:

1. How do the speakers establish belonging to their community in interaction?
2. What categories and positions play a role in these linguistic accomplishments?
3. How can belonging *with* the community be accomplished by participating in the shared practice of narrating?

These questions are truly "grounded" (Glaser & Strauss, 2006 [1967]) in the data. They emphasize the relevance of theoretical concepts in the specific field of research (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007; Hughes-Freeland, 1999). The theoretical

2 The order of the categorical terms goes back to Cassirer's (1923, 166–208) philosophical approach to language in which space is immediate in its "translation" of perception into words and thus primordial to time and the social as the linguistic differentiation between *I* and *you/he/she* etc. For the categories of belonging that are relevant to this particular community I will order them according to the local relevance participants imbue them with: spatial, social and temporal categories.

concept is not pre-determined and “applied” to the local community context. A preliminary analysis of the means with which speakers talk about themselves and the community inspired me to write this book, as it encouraged theoretical thinking, not as initially planned in terms of *identity*, but rather in terms of *belonging*. The analytical reading of the narratives from 2009 or the interactions with community members such as Lola makes much more sense in retrospect in the light of this rather new theoretical conceptualization. Accordingly, this book sets out to describe and analyze a rural community’s belonging as expressed with linguistic means through narratives, categorizations and positionings in different interactional contexts. It is a second objective of this book to provide a theoretical overview of the heretofore under-theorized concept of *belonging* and how it is linked to, but still different from concepts of *identity.*

This work is broadly positioned at the junction of *linguistic anthropology, ethnography* and *pragmatics.* The first disciplinary placement is due to this book’s “focus on language as a set of symbolic resources that enter the constitution of social fabric” (Duranti, 1997, 3). Belonging in the community is tied to specific categories and positions, which are expressed through language. They obtain a specific meaning in the contexts of interaction in which belonging is made implicitly or explicitly relevant by the speakers, but also in the historical context of the community. To understand these contexts and the *emic* and *local* linguistic means in establishing categories and positions, the question of belonging is also approached from an ethnographic angle as a:

> “study of people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally” (Brewer, 2000, 10).

Finally, the pragmatics approach focuses on the actual use of language (the “Handlungsqualität von Sprache”, Ehlich 1992, 961) and how people can “achieve” or “do” something with linguistic means in particular social and interactional contexts. The “communicative problem” (Hausendorf, 2000, 99) of belonging needs to be generated by the speaker and reconstructed as such by the analyst.

Why does a book on belonging and language use matter? My discussion and analysis addresses the larger issue of inclusion and exclusion, and how both are conceptualized and established locally. In a world that seems to be more and more fragmented – where people are mobile (voluntarily or forced) and borders and boundaries can (seemingly) be trespassed with ease – politics of belonging, of inside and outside, and questions of who is allowed to belong and who is not

gain increasing importance. In the uprising of national agendas (for instance in the U.S., Germany, Britain and Poland), the analysis of these issues and the role of language use as a tool to extend power becomes more and more pressing.[3] This study, of course, is limited in its empirical range as it focuses on a very specific case with comparatively few participants; however, it offers an approach to belonging grounded in categories and practice, helping the reader to understand local and emic constructions of belonging that do not comply to categories applied from outside this region. Grounding a theory of belonging in specific empirical data will provide insights beyond the specific case; namely how belonging is established in interaction in other – and larger – communities.

Finally, I want to comment on the issues of ethics and anonymity in this book. In the following chapters, I write about a real community and interactions between real people in this community. In terms of anonymity, exposing a small-scale community like this and describing it in the detail necessary for my analysis might be perceived as problematic. During my research stays in the Nueva Alianza, community members frequently emphasized that they want to make their story known – that they want the example of their struggle and success to be spread to other parts of the world and to as many people as possible. As a researcher with the intention of writing a book, they decided that I could serve as someone to communicate their story, goals and needs. Thus, they encouraged me to use the real community name and make their story known to a broader audience. After all, tourism and interest from visitors is one of their main sources of income, and this research another way to support this project. The individual speakers will, nevertheless, be anonymized using changed names in the course of the analysis.[4]

In section 1.1, I will give a short overview of recent developments in research on belonging in relation to language use, and how my approach can complement the present insights on the topic. Secondly, the community Nueva Alianza will be introduced in section 1.2, beginning with their historical development from a plantation to a self-administered community, and emphasizing their unique features as a backdrop for the participants' local achievements of belonging in interaction. Finally, in section 1.3, I will outline the structure of the rest of this book.

3 They are tackled for example by large-scale projects on national discourses in Reisigl & Wodak (2001), Krzyżanowski & Wodak (2009) or Wodak (2016).

4 The only exception is community leader Javier who explicitly wished for his name to appear.

1.1. Belonging and Language Use in Current Research

Since I started my research for this book some years ago, *belonging* has turned into a promising concept that continues to attract increasing academic interest. There is an ever-expanding corpus of studies and research dealing with the political circumstances, boundary drawing, as well as spatial and social attachments associated with the concept. For example, the *German Anthropological Association* (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde) dedicates its biennial conference in 2017 to "Belonging: Affective, moral and political practices in an interconnected world".[5] Generally, two trends emerge in the literature on belonging. First, studies define belonging as a term that captures place-relatedness, and in this relatedness specifically the "local", the small scale or the community-level in contrast or in relation to the "global".[6] Second, a wide corpus of research is devoted to the political conditions and making of belonging, the "regimes" (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011) governing the in- and exclusion of people in larger social and political entities like nation states, diasporas or specific cultural and social groups.[7]

A thorough and extensive theoretical examination of the concept of belonging will be undertaken in section 2.6. This is why, at this point, I want to focus on empirically grounded contributions to the field that are predominantly concerned with belonging established through *language use*. One of the "classics" to consult on this specific relationship is Hausendorf's (2000) "Zugehörigkeit durch Sprache" ('Belonging through language'). Belonging in his book is defined as membership to social groups, which is accomplished by means of social categorization (Hausendorf, 2000, 4ff.). In his study, Hausendorf examines a wide range of linguistic means speakers use to index and evaluate social belonging in a large corpus of spoken language ("Ostwestkorpus", Hausendorf 2000, 155f.). Amongst these, there are also temporal and local indicators that point to specific social categorizations of speakers. Hausendorf pursues a conversation analytical approach to the data and "reconstructs" belonging as dealt with in interactions as a "communicative problem" (Hausendorf, 2000, 99f.). His approach to belonging and its expression through social categorization is a valuable starting point for

---

5 As presented on the DGV web page: https://en.dgv-net.de/gaa-conference-2017 (last accessed 04.09.2017).

6 For example in the contributions to Lovell (1998b), in Croucher (2004), Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005), Garbutt (2011), Inglis and Donnelly (2012) and the contributions to Toffin & Pfaff-Czarnecka (2014).

7 The recently published studies of Gairola (2016), Matveeva (2017) and Nititham (2017) represent this research direction.

a linguistically oriented analysis of belonging. This is why we will encounter his work frequently in this book.

Meinhof & Galasiński (2005) contribute with a compelling study on the "Language of Belonging" on the German-Polish border near Guben/Gubin, and at the former German/German border dividing Bavaria and Thuringia. Even though the authors are interested in the linguistic constructions of identities, they frame the analysis with the "metaphor" of belonging as a concept emphasizing context-sensitivity in linguistic identity constructions (Meinhof & Galasiński, 2005, 15). They highlight the local and situated constructions of ethnicity and other forms of identification, and the context-boundedness of "ethnic, regional or local identities" (Meinhof & Galasiński, 2005, 18). The prevalent categories emerging from an analysis of the corpus, which consists of narratives elicited with the help of old photographs on both sides of the (former) border, are "time, place, social relations, and social encounters" (Meinhof & Galasiński, 2005, 20). The two authors, therefore, not only consider interconnections between temporal, spatial and social categories, which I will also show in this book (c.f. chapter 6 and 7); they also emphasize "mutuality" (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 202ff.) between members of a community – or in this case two communities on different sides of the border – as crucial for speakers' conceptualizations of belonging within multiple identifications. This mutuality consists of accounts of (imagined) physical encounters with the "other" across the border. As for the linguistic means speakers use for expressing categories and relations, Meinhof and Galasiński (2005, 65) advocate "a 'grammar of identity' of socially available linguistic resources which, in a given context, can be constructive of identity positions". This includes lexical items (comparable to the lists provided in Wodak et al. 1999), but also an analysis of the discursive resources, such as stories, argumentative patterns or historical conditions that result in certain positionings. The study inspired my methodological considerations on how to trace belonging in spoken data in this book (see chapter 4).

In a recent anthology edited by Cornips & de Rooij (2018a) various contributions relate to belonging as pre-eminently constituted by practices of "linguistic place-making": "Place-making involves the assigning, through interaction, of social meanings to (physical) space(s), thereby creating places that are perceived as the basis of belonging" (Cornips & de Rooij, 2018b, 7f.). The volume presents findings located mainly in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology focussing on language choice, dialect use and speaker agency. The anthology provides a vital and compelling sociolinguistic and cultural anthropological approach to the concept of belonging. However, in the contributions belonging and the linguistic means constituting it are first and foremost limited to place-relations.

In my approach, belonging is a concept which is understood as encompassing both categorical features (spatial, social and temporal) indexing a speaker's belonging *to* certain categories, and also shared practices within a community, such as the practice of narrating. The latter describes belonging *with* other people who share this practice (c.f. section 2.7). Even though De Fina (2003) does not speak about belonging, but rather apprehends categorizations and social orientations as strategies of identification, her study offers a fine-grained analytical perspective on narratives and their shared elements in a community of Mexican illegal migrants to the United States. Narratives for her are a favourable locus for identity constructions as they provide different levels of "shared narrative resources", the "enactment, reflection or negotiation of social relationships" and "expression, discussion and negotiation of membership into communities" (De Fina, 2003, 19). She shows repeated patterns of narrations – for instance pronominal choice, positionings and use of categories – across a group of speakers who share similar migration experiences. Her study suggests an approach where the investigator looks at shared practices within a group of narrators and provides initial ideas of what belonging *with* a community of practice might look like (c.f. section 7.6).

All of the studies introduced here conceptualize belonging (or identity in the case of De Fina, 2003) as a context-sensitive achievement of speakers. The linguistic means of these achievements are temporal, spatial and social categories and positionings that need to be analyzed considering their embeddedness in local interactions and their respective social and historical contexts. However, to my knowledge, no study exists that investigates both the complex interrelations of categorical belonging in combination with specific practices that are shared among a community and, thus, constitutive for belonging *with* it. A "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) living up to both dimensions of belonging in its *local* meaning and relevance can best be pursued with research that is both ethnographically oriented and that draws on different types of data. First, to arrive at possibly emic and context-sensitive "(re-)constructions of what the participants construct at the time" (Wolff, 2004, 48), one must gain at least a basic understanding of the participants' life-world(s). Second, the analytical juxtaposition of a variety of spoken data which revolves explicitly or implicitly around matters of belonging can solidify locally relevant categories that are pivotal – or at least more important than others – for the speakers' sense of belonging. My approach centers on an ethnographic description of one small community, and on presenting data from different contexts and different speakers across the community. The aim is to provide a more holistic conception of how belonging is depicted in language use, and how the shared practice of narrating is constitutive for belonging *with* the community.

1.2. Empirical Foundations: The *Comunidad Nueva Alianza* and its Story

In this section, I will introduce the story of the Nueva Alianza in the larger context of peasant struggle and the fight for land in Guatemala, with the aim of understanding the historical context in which the analysis of belonging as category and practice will be embedded. The community is located in the highlands between the Pacific coastal shore and the second largest town of Guatemala, Quetzaltenango. It is very well suited for an analysis of belonging and language use for three reasons: First, the community members share the experience of having gone through significant social transformation – from a *patrón*-owned large agricultural plantation (*finca*), to a communally organized enterprise embedded in village-like structures. The shared experience of struggle (*lucha*) from this transformation, and the necessity of social cohesion and groupness (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000) during these times, serve to enforce collectively shared feelings of belonging and practices of expressing them. A second unique characteristic of the community is that its members do not make use of ethnic categories to express belonging, but rather ground it in references to spatial categories (mainly *aquí* – 'here'). This is notable because the rural population in the western highlands is, in general, composed of people self-attributing indigenous ethnicities and emphasizing them as major categories of belonging (c.f. Dow 1981, Narciso et al. 2014[8]). Finally, the members of the Nueva Alianza are open to telling their collective story to a variety of community outsiders. Belonging is made an explicit subject of narrative practice and reaffirms the community's success story through acknowledgment received from others.

8 The statistics for the different departments in Guatemala show a high percentage of self-identification as *indígena,* in Quetzatenango 51.7%, in the neighboring northern and central highland departments Totonicapán the indigenous population adds up to 97%, in Sololá to 96.5%. Unfortunately, the available statistical data is not differentiated into rural and urban areas, nor into highlands and lowlands. The Quetzaltenango department covers an area from the highlands down to the lowlands, and almost into the coastal areas, where fewer indigenous people live (a comparison is the lowland and coastal department of Retalhuleu, with a significantly lower indigenous population of 15.4%). The capital of the department has the same name, and is the second-largest city in Guatemala. It can be concluded from the statistical data and my observations in the area that, in the rural highland regions, ethnic identifications such as indigenous or mestizo usually play a pivotal role in defining local belonging, which makes the Alianza case exceptional.

The story of transformation within the community is embedded in Guatemala's history of land appropriation and distribution policies and processes (Bulmer-Thomas, 1978; Smith, 1984; McCreery, 1994; Bandeira & Sumpsi, 2011). Coffee producing *latifundia* were usually managed by *ladino*[9] landowners. The majority of accounts given by my respondents go back as far as three to four generations (some accounts even up to five generations), usually with their great-grandparents 'coming down' from the *Altiplano* 'highlands' to the *finca* Nueva Alianza to find permanent work as a *colono.*[10] *Colonos* were the resident work force on the *fincas,* whom the *patrones* hired to alleviate the lack of peasant seasonal workers. In doing so, they managed to secure a steady workforce on the plantations. They were provided with housing, a secure income for their families, and sometimes with basic supplies as corn or clothes. Most of these families' arrivals in the *finca* Nueva Alianza were between the 1940s and 1950s when the *finca* was still cultivating coffee and saffron. My interviewees do not really know where their ancestors came from. We can only assume that they had indigenous roots, as settlements in the *Altiplano* were comprised of secluded indigenous peasant villages, relying on self-sufficient or locally traded agricultural products to make ends meet. In contrast to other parts of Guatemala (and Central America for that matter), the peasant communities in the western highlands where the Nueva Alianza is located showed a high degree of resistance to cultural and economic appropriation:

---

9 The term refers to Guatemalan population of Spanish (colonial) heritage. The main definition is not of a biological nature, however: "Ladinos tend to identify with whites, in fact they are generally mestizo. It is the social and cultural factors which are taken into account to distinguish one population from the other" (Stavenhagen, 1965, 54). *Ladino* is usually defined as an ethnic category separate from indigenous categories and as representing the hegemonic culture still related to colonialism in Guatemala (del Valle Escalante, 2008, 34). The discursive dichotomization between *indígena* and *ladino* is thoroughly analyzed in Matthew (2006).

10 The actual term *colono* is only used once within the whole corpus of interviews by 33-year-old female Camila. She applied the term to the community group within the *antes* 'before' temporal category of the *finca* developments, and contrasts it with being a *proprietario ahora* 'owner now'. The other participants prefer to speak of *trabajadores* 'workers' when they speak about people in relation with the *patrón* (or general relations between 'workers' and 'patronos') during past times of the *finca* as plantation. In this short historic review, I will nevertheless stick to the term *colono*, because it better depicts relations of responsibility, rights and duties between them and a *patrón* as the owner of a plantation. These relations also apply to the past of the specific *finca* Nueva Alianza.

> "Indians in both poorer and richer zones maintained a steadfast stance of preserving cultural if not economic or political autonomy, and the assimilation process which had produced the Ladino culture elsewhere made little progress in the highland" (Smith, 1984, 216)[11].

Why the ancestors of the community came 'down' to work at the *finca* is a matter of speculation. Even though the peasant communities in the highlands tried to remain socially and economically autonomous, with insufficient access to fertile land and no income source other than agriculture, internal migration was sometimes inevitable. At the *finca* they turned into "proletarianized" (Smith, 1984, 213) wage-laborers without land but with the security of regular work and income.

My participants reported that the workers on the *finca* were unaffected by the civil war (1960–1996) between military and paramilitary groups and guerrilla troops which resulted in massacres of mostly indigenous populations. As the workforce of a *ladino*-led plantation, they were not involved in peasant and indigenous resistance or suspected to support guerilla forces.

In the 1990s, Guatemala and other coffee producing countries in Latin America were highly affected by the global coffee crisis. This crisis was due to the breakdown of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) in 1989, which served to ensure higher and stable pricing for coffee. A glut of coffee supply from Vietnam (which was lower in quality but still preferred by the coffee buying big corporations such as Nestlé etc.), along with increased supply from Brazil, also contributed to the disruption of the global coffee market (Petchers & Harris, 2008, 44ff.). The *finca* Nueva Alianza, now populated with around 40 larger families of *colonos* and the family of the *patrón,* experienced the falling coffee prices and started to grow macadamia nuts, a cash crop suitable for the climatic circumstances in the highlands. In their narratives, community members recall that the aggravation of the crisis and mismanagement on behalf of the *patrón* led to bankruptcy of the plantation. In 1998, after a severe wage cut for the workers, the owner and his close associates on the *finca* tried to delay the workers wage demands, promising payments in the next couple of weeks. Ultimately, 18 months passed in which the resident peasants did not receive any compensation for their labor in the fields. With growing pressure from the workers and their families, the *patrón* left the plantation in 2000. To some of the Alianza community members, this was seen as a clandestine, but unplanned

11 Similar to the findings of Smith (1984), Nash (1958) shows in his anthropological study on the community of Cantel, not far from the location of the Nueva Alianza, how a community accommodates to new forms of industrialized wage labour "without the drastic chain of social, cultural and psychological consequences" (Nash, 1958, 112) that can come along with new economic forms of living.

flight in the middle of the night, so that nobody could pursue them. The *colono*-families started to struggle with making basic ends meet during the last 18 months of the *patrón's* management period. Their economic difficulties increased after the *patrón* left. The families tried to grow food such as corn and bananas on the parcels of land left for use, but starvation was soon a major problem in the community. Except for two families, the former *colonos* started to migrate to the nearest urban centers of Retalhuleu, Quetzaltenango, Mazatenango, or to other rural settlements in the hopes of finding work. Some migrated soon after the *patrón* had left, others tried to stay longer. The two families staying in the community were able to receive support from relatives in the cities, who sent food and money up to the highlands. For most of the respondents, the 'abandonment' by the *patrón* and the subsequent forced internal migration was a devastating and traumatic experience.

The network of families, however, stayed intact despite having been dispersed throughout the region. In the hopes of receiving the salary owed to them by the former *patrón,* they collectively turned to the Workers Union of Quetzaltenango (UTQ), who supported them in initiating a legal battle against the *patrón.* Over the course of around three years, and counseled by the UTQ, the case was put through several juridical procedures and was decided in favor of the workers in 2002. The *patrón,* however, could not be held accountable for the debt any longer, as he declared himself privately bankrupt and transferred his possessions to a bank with which he was in debt – among others, the *finca* itself. The former workers of the Alianza had no one to turn to and no institutional backup for their case. On March 12th 2002, and backed by the UTQ, most of the former *colono*-families decided to occupy the remains of the *finca* with the intent of demanding their money. This was not an unusual measure to take in conflicts about land ownership and distribution in Guatemala (Bailliet, 2000, 195f.); however, it was often accompanied by conflict.

The occupants report receiving threats from the *patrón's* associates, the *patrón's* family members and other supposedly armed groups in the area. In their accounts, narrators often depict the community members as people waiting behind the fence of the *finca* with nothing but pitchforks and sticks. They lived together in very primitive and harsh conditions around the area of the old *patrón's* main house for months. During this time, nobody came to claim the land or expel the occupants. So, in January 2003 the Alianza members turned to the *Fondo de Tierras,* the 'land fund', an autonomous government institution which was established alongside the 1996 peace accords aimed at supporting access to land for indigenous and peasant communities after the atrocities and rural devastation of the civil war (Bandeira and Sumpsi 2011, 145, Alonso-Fradejas 2012, 513f.).

The *Fondo de Tierras* supported the former workers of the Nueva Alianza in negotiations with a Panama-based investor, who at that time held the property rights to the *finca.* After another two years of negotiation, the families of the Alianza, now organized as a "Workers Union of Nueva Alianza", were able to buy the finca from the investor for 1.500.000 Quetzales (approximately 180.000 US Dollars). An amount of 500.000 Quetzales was covered by the *Fondo de Tierras.* 40 heads of families from the community took a loan from *Banrural* for the rest of the sum. *Banrural* supports rural development by giving favorable conditions to peasant beneficiaries with relatively low interest rates. In December 2004, the *finca* Nueva Alianza was officially declared the property of the "Workers Union of Nueva Alianza", and the participants reported unbridled joy and had a *fiesta* that lasted for days. During the year of bank negotiations with the *Fondo de Tierras,* the people started to organize the community into village-like structures, renovated the deserted houses and started to clean the forest and land. The intention to work the farmland communally and make use of the products was established before the members of this new community officially owned the land. After receiving the official title to the lands and facilities in the *finca*, the community evaluated their potential on the agricultural market given their production of coffee beans and macadamia nuts. They started to develop ideas for other sources of income, as a single focus on agriculture was not a promising solution for creating the revenue needed to sustain the community and pay back the bank loan. With the help of foreign volunteers from the U.S. and Europe, they renovated the old house of the *patrón* and started an eco-hotel for visitors; this was in connection with a larger eco-tourism project including guided tours through the community. From the natural water sources in the surrounding forest, a potable water bottling plant was set up. Other projects followed (see section 5.1.3).

To make coffee and macadamia production more distinctive and to emphasize "'local' narratives of coffee-growing communities and their farming practices" (Goodman, 2008, 9), the community decided to grow without chemicals and applied for labels of ecological and fair production. They finally received the fair trade label after a long process of evaluation in 2009. Also, after the *finca* was officially owned by the community members, families of the former *colonos*, who had not participated in the occupation of the *finca*, were asked to come back and contribute to the projects. During the times of the *patrón* the *finca* had a school only up to the sixth grade, with most of the students not reaching that level because their labor was required in the fields. A municipality-supported school with education up to the 8th grade (*basico* cycle) was set up shortly after

the entitlement. The church from former times was reestablished, and in 2006, the former *colono* population of approximately 350 people was again present.

Within the discursive framework of land appropriation and struggle for peasant rights, the story of the Nueva Alianza was considered not only an example of success in the region, but also internationally.[12] They have received much recognition in the print media and beyond, and have been cited as a positive example for Guatemalan rural communities finding ways out of economic and social poverty. The story is told and retold by the community members in various circumstances: to other Guatemalan organizations, to representatives of other peasant and indigenous communities, and to visitors from all over the world. The community members want to make their story heard and construe local and social belonging in the context of the shared experiences of struggle (*lucha*), suffering (*sufrimiento*) and overcoming (*salir adelante*). The salient grounding of belonging in spatial terms, in 'being from here' might be analyzed in terms of the community's story of becoming. The ancestors of the current community population came from different villages, maybe with differing indigenous practices. These practices and ethnic categories that determined their belonging in the past might have diminished or vanished in their identificatory potential within the new community of *finca colonos*. Additionally, the *colonos* found themselves in a work environment adapted to "Ladino culture" (Smith, 1984, 216) by the *patrón* and his associates. This would also explain the community members's accounts of 'not knowing' where they are from, but 'from here' (see chapter 6 and 7). In the interactions and narratives of the community members, we find rich sources for constructions of belonging. How belonging is *done* by interlocutors and how this *doing* plays out in different interactional contexts will be the focus of this book.

1.3. Outline of the Book

This book is divided into three main parts: a theoretical approach to belonging, a methodological approach to belonging, and finally, an analytical approach to belonging in interaction. In the next chapter (2), I begin with a discussion of the concept of *identity,* and argue that *belonging* is necessary as a theoretical concept emphasizing locality, *groupness* and certain regimes of in- and exclusion. In my interim theoretical conclusion (section 2.7), I will define belonging as encompassing spatial, social and temporal *categories*, *positionings* and shared *practices*.

12 In 2006, the community won the "Rural Productivity Award for Guatemala" from the World Bank, which entails an award of approximately 10.000 US-dollars for collective investments.

In chapter 3, the relationship between belonging and language use is explored, focusing specifically on language as practice in which belonging can be accomplished in interaction (section 3.2). This links to a theoretical discussion of the *community of practice* concept in which specific practices, for example narrating the community story, are connected to a specific group of people. Having conceptualized belonging grounded in categories, positions and practices *done* by means of language use, chapter 4 will then present the methodological approach to belonging in spoken data. Membership categorization and conversation analysis, positioning and narrative as practice are elucidated as productive tools in the analysis of belonging, specifically in the data collected in the community.

To account for the process of data collection and the different forms of data that will be analyzed, chapter 5 is dedicated to a detailed description of the field and my position as a researcher within this field. After a description of the different forms of spoken data in the corpus, the chapter concludes with a note on data transcription and selection.

The first analytical part of the book (chapter 6) explores an interaction of community women with an outsider, in which belonging is explicitly negotiated. The relevance of locality expressed by the use of the local adverb *aquí* 'here', and the negotiation between ethnic and local categories of belonging becomes evident in these sequentially and consecutively analyzed extracts of interaction. Chapter 7 provides an extensive display and narrative-as-practice-oriented analysis of the stories told by the participants about the community's transformation. After looking more closely at different types of stories and specific structures, categories and positions the speakers use in these types, shared elements of nearly all narratives of the community will be outlined at the end of the chapter. An excursus concludes the analysis section of the book. In the first excursus 8.1, I will further examine the use of the local adverb *aquí* in all of the interviews. It shows that the meaning of *aquí* 'here' in the context of interaction with outsiders goes beyond spatial reference, since it emphasizes the community's belonging as spatial "rootedness" in the locality of the Alianza. In excursus II, the regimes of belonging are described by also drawing on other forms of interaction. Here, I illustrate other practices of the community whose non-compliance can be sanctioned by exclusion from the social group.

In chapter 9, I summarize and consolidate the results from the analysis and link them to the theoretical deliberations and current empirical findings on belonging. Chapter 10 presents general conclusions regarding my initial research question, and a discussion of the contributions as well as the limits of the present study.

2. Belonging and Identification

Belonging is a multi-relational concept encompassing more than the often bilateral categorizations involved in processes of *identification*. Roughly defined, belonging as it is used here refers to people's processes of making sense of themselves as part of a group in terms of social, spatial and temporal dimensions (see 2.6), and as sharing specific practices with that group. The concept of belonging emerged from discussions about shortcomings or deadlocks surrounding the terms *identity* and *identification*. However, in its present conceptualizations, it still intersects with these concepts. Hence, I will start this chapter with an approach to the term identity and an outline of the turn from identity to identification; later I discuss the relationship between identification and the concept of belonging. Identification covers questions of "who am I" and "who are we" in processual terms of active and intersubjectively achieved boundary drawing. It is, even in its theoretical and analytical differentiation into personal and social identification, always a process involving (imagined) others. It is *per definitionem* a social process. In the following sections (2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4), we will look at the relationship between an individual's social identification and groups, and some critiques between the connection of the self with the social. Finally, a more recent and empirical approach to identity and identification as *social positioning* (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) is introduced in section 2.5. By understanding identification as emerging, as "happening" at different levels in interactive encounters – as relational and as always partial – it provides a useful link to the understanding of belonging that is introduced in the same section.

In the beginning of the second part of this chapter (2.6), the growing salience of the term belonging in scholarly accounts in different fields (such as anthropology, human geography, sociology, psychology and linguistics) is reviewed. In this vein, belonging is presented according to its three major dimensions as "place belonging" (2.6.1), "social belonging" (2.6.2) and "temporal belonging" (2.6.3). After shedding light on the various aspects the term is associated with, I will conclude by delineating my understanding of the concept in the specific context of this book's empirical analysis: as a speaker's indexing (Silverstein, 1976) of social attachment to groups, spatial attachment to place and of construing possible temporal relations between the two. Second, belonging can be accomplished by the very use of these relations in linguistic expressions. Sharing "ways of speaking" (Hymes, 1989) indexes a speaker's belonging to a community of language practice, as will be developed in section 3.2. It is important to note that the properties

of the concept of belonging as used here emerged from an in-depth interrogation of the data, and from an analytical attempt to conceptually grasp what people say and how they speak about "who they are" and "where they belong".

2.1. Making Sense of Ourselves and Others

Over the course of the last decades, many scholars have observed the proliferation, persistence and resilience of the concept of *identity* in scholarly endeavors. The term outlived discussion from post-structuralist and post-modern perspectives, where it was highly criticized in its original definition of being "stable" and based on "sameness", and as being too essentialist (among others by Hall 1996, Brubaker & Cooper 2000, Anthias 2002). On the other hand, increased literature on identities as being constructed, fragmented, uncertain and multiple has also been seen as being too "weak", "saying too little" or limiting the focus on individuals' perceptions of personal and social self (Brubaker & Cooper 2000, 1; Anthias 2002). Regardless, it is hard to imagine sociological, political or linguistic research focusing on how people perceive and make sense of themselves and others in the social world without reference to – or variations of – the term identity (not only, but also because of its actual presence in public discourses and common language use; Fearon 1999, Jenkins 2008, 14). Initially, the term was used in psychology to define the sameness of an individual's self-perception. Erikson (1959) depicts this sameness as challenged by different crises throughout the course of a person's life, and in ideal cases how they deal with these crises. In his stage model, he describes these challenges, and how the individual incorporates and connects experiences from the different crises into her ego identity (or personal identity). Even though this model focuses on ego identity defined as an inherently stable and coherent version of the self, the crises Erikson delineates are socially triggered. He focuses on the strategies of an individual to deal with certain obstacles in her psychological development. The crises are related to respective significant people during the course of one's life. The crisis-work of a person is to see herself from the perspective of these others. Hence, the individual's self-reference can only work if the individual 'steps out' of the self and changes her perspective. Self-reference only functions from a self-reflexive point of view. The ability of the individual to 'step out' and see herself with the eyes of the other is described by Mead (1934) as influenced by the social relations in which she is embedded. The *self* "arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is, it develops in the given individual as a result of his relations to that process as a whole and to other individuals within that process" (Mead, 1934, 135). The incorporated other is an aggregate of viewpoints within the social group in which

the individual is socialized as a member.[13] These viewpoints are condensed into collective attitudes represented by the "generalized other"[14]. Mead explains that subjectivity is always and necessarily tied to intersubjectivity. This relationship is reflected in his conceptualization of the self as being, on the one hand, represented by an *I* as its "individual" side. On the other hand, the self consists of a *me* involving the internalized norms and expectations of the "generalized other" and hence, representing the "social" side of the self. Krappmann (1971) also follows an interactionist approach looking at the structures which make identity "possible" in interaction, emphasizing the "building" of identity in intersubjective relations, and the "negotiation" of the same with other interlocutors. Identity, then, is built upon anticipated expectations of others towards the individual, and the individual's reaction to that expectation (ibid.: 39). The interactive negotiation of identity is a dual process of offer, approval or dismissal, and possible adjustments of self and other. Three aspects can be derived from these reflections on identity. Firstly, a person's sense of self or identity is grounded in interaction with others, especially in verbal communication. Hence, it is constantly negotiated, reaffirmed and adjusted. Second, a person's sense of self concerns two intertwined realms: Being construed by ongoing processes of identification, it is both personal and social. Third, if the *self* is constructed by the interplay of the *me* and others, the perception of the (social) self cannot exist by itself, but rather needs to be acknowledged and confirmed by others.

2.2. Processes of Identification

The aspects above point to a critique on the concept of identity in its original semantic sense as describing (a person's) sameness or features she might "possess". When identity is defined as something which is intersubjectively achieved in interaction, it should rather be viewed as a process: "It is a process – *identification* – not a 'thing'. It is not something that one can *have*, or not; it is something that

13 Simmel (1890, 103) already pointed out that an individual's personal identity is the "individuelle Kreuzung der socialen Kreise in ihr".

14 In human psychological development, the child primarily reflects attitudes of significant others in the phase of "play". This phase could best be described with modes of identification in terms of "mother", "father" or "teacher" – that is, singular persons of reference. These relationships grow more complex in the phase of "game", where individuals are engaged in complex social processes and identify with collectives such as team members, friends, peers, ethnic groups or nations. In this phase the individual incorporates the attitudes of the "generalized other" into her own selfconception (Mead, 1934, 154f.).

one *does*" (Jenkins, 2008, 5, emphases in the original). This processual perspective on identity emphasizes the subject's agency in the sense-making of herself and others, and her engagement in "discursive work, the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of 'frontier-effects'" (Hall, 1996, 3). Furthermore, this process of "knowing who we are" and "knowing who others are" (Jenkins, 2008, 5) is not unilateral (as an emphasis on subjectivity might suggest), but is in fact bilateral. Identification involves the individual's positioning within social structures. This position, however, can be challenged, validated or rejected by others, as already mentioned above. Alternatively, a position the individual does not necessarily identify herself with can be assigned to her externally. A specific case of external assignment will be discussed in chapter 6. Here, the label "indigenous" is assigned to individuals who frame their belonging in spatial terms and not within ethnic categories. The social validity and coercive function of these categorizations, as we also see in the example mentioned, is often related to positions of power and authority. Identity, then, can only be understood as a "depiction" or "snap-shot" of a never-ending process – a reification of past, present and future negotiations, or a "product" of identification processes which are never a finished or a tangible "thing". Hence, we have to differentiate the analytical view on identity from the understanding selves and groups might have of themselves as coherent and continuous.[15]

2.3. Personal and Social Identification

Theoretically, and as Mead's distinction of *I* and *me* suggests, the *self* is often divided into the dimensions of personal and social identification processes (or into the "results" of these processes as personal and social identity). This might cause some confusion, as it implies that these realms, though interrelated, still represent different "sources" for the self or occupy different positions in processes of differentiation. The attempts to define personal identity (still not framed within the processual term of identification) are numerous. They vary from psychological accounts as we have seen in Erikson's model of the self's continuous sameness in a changing environment (Craib, 1998), to "psychodynamic dimension(s)" of the unconscious and emotions as parts of the self (Vogler, 2000, 20f.). Other authors such as Fearon (1999, 25) see personal identity as a hierarchically organized "set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person thinks distinguish her in socially relevant ways", which is associated positively with a

15 As emphasized by Brubaker & Cooper (2000, 4) in their distinction between *categories of analysis* and *categories of practice.*

person's self-esteem.[16] Goffman (1991 [1963]), in turn, conceptualizes personal identity not as hierarchically, but rather chronologically organized experiences that are managed and developed by individuals into something like a biography or a narrative of self.[17] However identity is defined, it is commonly agreed upon that personal identity, even though it might be conceptualized as an inward process or "interior subjectivity" (Jenkins, 2008, 51), is never detached but always related to or established by the social. Knowledge about what is considered a "positive" feature of a person, or what may differentiate an individual from others, can only be gained in interaction, during intersubjective relations. Jenkins (2008, 38) claims that any "kind" of identity (personal or social) is produced in interaction and follows the same kinds of processes. Both rely on processes of similarity and sameness. Hence, he suggests that a division of identification processes into personal and social is theoretically and methodologically not at all necessary or fruitful.[18] Accordingly, a distinction of identification into personal and social processes will not be relevant in this book, as belonging points to its social dimension in collective identification processes. Neither would a distinction into the two realms be analytically beneficial. What we *can* observe is how individuals position themselves in (verbal) interactions, how they categorize and evaluate groups, places and times, and how they relate them to each other. A "narrative of self" or resources of self-esteem are always already related to others, and are therefore social.

2.4. Social Identification and Groups

Our focus is on constructions and negotiations of belonging, which is mainly concerned with the social identification of individuals. An often cited definition of social identity is that by Tajfel (1974, 69). He suggests that it is the individual's categorization of herself and others that matters:

---

16 Fearon's description of personal identity recalls an approach in the tradition of *rational choice* theories (Diekmann & Voss, 2004), in which individuals do things to achieve a maximization of utility (positive feelings about themselves). This implies a much too high level of consciousness about one's own features and some coherence in its hierarchization.

17 Goffman locates the subjective and unconscious parts of the individual in a third part called ego identity (rather resembling Mead's *I*).

18 This likening of personal and social identification processes drastically modifies earlier attempts to "outsource" subjectivity into psychology and "replacing the first-person subject of the Enlightenment thinkers into the sociological subject" (Welz, 2005, 6).

> "we shall understand social identity as that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership."

However, the compositions of the groups and the relations an individual might have with them can vary. Brewer & Gardner (1996, 84) divide the social self into "public" and "collective" facets of the self. Whereas the public self maintains relations with small groups in real face-to-face interactions (e.g. family, peers, colleagues), the collective self "reflects internalizations of the norms and characteristics of important reference groups and consists of cognitions about the self that are consistent with that group identification" (ibid.). Here, we could imagine a membership affiliation to an ethnic or national group. What Brewer and Gardner call public and collective selves can also be seen conceptually as "roles" and "types" – as subcategories of social identities (Fearon, 1999, 16f.). Role identities apply to "some set of actions, behaviors, routines, or functions in particular situations" (ibid.: 17), and hence are identities adopted in specific kinds of interactions where different roles of the individual are most relevant and foregrounded, e.g. a mother, a farmer, a rebel etc. Type identities focus on shared aspects of collectivities (like gender, nationality, origin) and are interpreted by Fearon as something more "adhesive" to the individual. These concepts still point to identity as something that people can "take" or "activate" in specific settings, and are not grounded in the notion of its construction in interaction at a certain point in time. An interactionist perspective (as outlined by Goffman 1959, Krappmann 1971; Bucholtz & Hall 2004, 2005) looks rather at the formation and the possibilities of certain roles and types achieved in discourse.

Even though social identity might be divided into subcategories, the concepts of social identity and collective identity (and identification) are sometimes used arbitrarily or as exchangeable concepts when it comes to individuals' relations to groups. I think, however, that a thorough conceptual differentiation is necessary. Social identity, as we have seen in the definition from Tajfel (1974), emphasizes the individual's perspective of establishing and maintaining links to manifold social groups – of categorizing the social world. Collective identity can be understood as depicting social identifications that overlap. It describes what can happen if different individuals identify with the "same" kind of people (like a community, a sport's group, or a nation), and how people negotiate, guard, or attach a shared definition of the group and its properties. This is why collective

identities are of crucial concern in inquiries about collective action.[19] Critiques of identity as being static and reifying have also been formulated for the conceptualization of social and collective identity. As we can see in Tajfel's definition, groups are perceived as something preceding any individuals' association with them, and the individuals would just have to create the links to these entities. Brubaker (2002) counters this position well, positing that groups do not exist in principle, but are rather created through common sense, journalism, and academia by essentializing "groupism".[20] The only "thing" that exists, according to him, a person's feeling of being part of one or more groups. He is, then, instead interested in the social and political processes that can enhance or mitigate *groupness.* Even though groups are seen from a social constructivist angle, they are, nevertheless, "real" in their social significance (Brubaker, 2002, 168). Groups are more than the "arithmetical aggregates" of their members (Jenkins, 2008, 10), they "are imagined, but not imaginary" (ibid.: 11). People engage with them, and groups do not necessarily unravel when some members do not identify with them any more (especially when they reach the size and complexity of organizations). Callon & Latour (2006, 77) use the term "translation" to describe the process whereby individuals move from their own social identities, and hence from different micro agents, toward collectives as macro agents: "immer wenn ein Akteur von »uns« spricht, übersetzt er oder sie andere Akteure in einen einzigen Willen, dessen Geist und Sprecher/-in er oder sie wird"[21]. In other words, "groups" exist in so far as individuals create them by speaking. However, when individuals speak on behalf of a group, they refer to something superseding their own imagination. Groups, being more than the sum of their parts, rely on ongoing relations between their members; these relations are grounded in practices which are habitualized within a specific community and a material world inhabited by a group (ibid.: 83). Individuals negotiate terms of access to

19 Melucci (1995, 43ff.), for example, states that collective identifications in the form of a 'we' can only emerge within relational identification processes around some kind of action.

20 These two positions do a good job depicting the differences between social psychology and sociology in that matter.

21 Agents who speak on behalf of a group of course can occupy different positions and speaker roles, respectively. Some speakers might be assigned a higher legitimacy to speak on behalf of certain groups (like spokesmen, politicians or village eldest), or they may at least claim that legitimacy. Others' claims to speak on behalf of a group might be denied. Bourdieu (2005, 125ff.) refers to this phenomenon as a "Delegationsprinzip", a principle of delegation.

bounded collectives, they negotiate the attributes a collective might share, and they negotiate their own roles and the membership to different groups in interaction. Negotiation implies that, depending on the context of interaction, different aspects of identification can either be focused on or omitted, affirmed or rejected, and they can be expressed explicitly or implicitly.

2.5. From Social Positioning to Belonging

Incorporating identity as both categorical and relational processes of identification, and pointing at the multiple levels of identity formation, Bucholtz & Hall (2005) propose an empirically oriented framework. They define identity as "the social positioning of self and other" (ibid.: 586). This positioning is interactively achieved. Driven by findings from empirical analysis, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) propose several ontological implications of the identity concept. First, identity is seen as emerging during interactions which has already been discussed above (ibid.: 588). Second, identity in interaction emerges on various and interlinked levels of identification. While it includes "macro-level demographic categories", it also emphasizes "local, ethnographically specific cultural positions", and attached to the (verbal) interaction itself, "temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles" (ibid.: 592). This broadens the view on social identity, which is usually taken as relating to macro categories. However, in the above discussion, these social roles seemed to present a primordial asset of an individual (mother, farmer, occupant), whereas here the position would depend on its negotiation, foregrounding, or mitigation in the course of an interaction. Third, identity is indexed with linguistic means, for example "referential identity categories" (ibid.: 594). Fourth, identity is always relational not only in terms of adequation and distinction, but also in terms of authentication and denaturalization, authorization and illegitimization. Adequation and distinction refer to speakers' emphasis or downplay of similarities or differences between individuals or groups depending on the interactive context (ibid.: 595). Who has the right to speak – and from which position – is regulated by processes of authentication and denaturalization as a "social process played out in discourse" (ibid.: 601). Whether or not identities (on each level) are successfully achieved and established in interaction is negotiated during processes of authorization or illegitimization.

With these different relational processes, Bucholtz and Hall try to encompass both the micro (observable interactive processes) and the macro (larger social discourses or ideological processes) level of identity negotiation. These points allude to the partialness principle, which is the last one in their sociocultural linguistic approach to identity: "Because identity is inherently relational, it will always be

partial, produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other" (ibid.: 605). They try to tackle the structure-agency discussion[22] by conceiving of language use as agency in which structure can be indexed and jointly negotiated by the speakers and their interlocutors.

Identity, when viewed as processes of identification in terms of positioning, is based on the individuals' *doing* of identities. This *doing* encompasses the different levels of interaction in which identification can be achieved, along with the involvement of others in these processes as co-construction or de-construction of different positions the speaker takes. It also emphasizes social identification as not only categorical but also relational at a "point of intersection" of different positions available to a speaker within a specific context of interaction. The model of Bucholtz & Hall (2005, 2004) shows that more recent concepts of identity and identification have answered to the critique of sameness, continuity and stability. The apparent conceptual shortcomings have been addressed with thinking in terms of social positioning and by grounding it in different levels of interaction. Nevertheless, there are three considerations that have led to the introduction of *belonging* as an alternative concept for people's notions of who they and others are in this book. First, and on a less "existential" scale, if one chooses to use the term identity or look at identification processes, one has to be aware of the conceptual "baggage" that comes with it:

> "For, however many 'multi' or 'layered' prefixes we use, it remains the case that what is retained must have some singular meaning in and of itself, otherwise the term 'identity' would be a rhetorical flourish more than anything else" (Anthias, 2002, 495).

Surely, an outright dismissal of the term, as some have called for (e.g. Brubaker & Cooper 2000, Anthias 2002, Pfaff-Czarnecka 2011), is jumping the gun on the debate. However, using it demands a proper positioning within the array of academic literature devoted to the term, and requires a definition of what is actually meant theoretically and methodologically when talking about identity. The second, and empirically grounded consideration, points to the categorical limits of identification. In most cases, identification processes refer to social categorization into groups, and to social relations of speakers in terms of occupied (interactional or macro-level) positions. While "the social" certainly is a

22 The structure-agency discussion is concerned with the fundamental sociological question of what shapes human society – the individual's agency as an acting human being or the social structure in which the individual is embedded; the relations between agents and structure has been discussed among others by Simmel (1908), Berger & Luckmann (1966) and Bourdieu (1977).

hallmark of an individual's understanding of self and others, it is still an abridged approach to how people establish that understanding in interaction. Spatial and temporal categorizations need to be recognized as resources for speakers' identification processes, as I will show in this book. Third, this study investigates shared practices between people that can point to some form of "commonality, connectedness and groupness" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, 20). This shows relational thinking that goes beyond specific positions taken or assigned to others by speakers, in terms of mutually oriented *practice*. Collectivity is not only grounded in categorical "sameness", but also in joint action (c.f. Melucci 1995; 1989). Concluding these three considerations, my theoretical and empirical findings in this book are based on the concept of *belonging*.

Belonging as it is used here encompasses spatial, social and temporal aspects in both categorical and relational dimensions. It overlaps with thoughts about identification as social positioning, but it also goes beyond conceptualizations of "mere" social categories. Belonging is "by its very linguistic force about place, about context and about location" (Anthias, 2016, 178). Furthermore, it also focuses on what Barth (1969, 15) calls the "cultural stuff" social boundaries enclose, the categorical contents, shared experiences *and* practices that can bind people together. In the following, I will introduce different (though sometimes intertwined) conceptualizations of belonging, concluding with an operational definition of the term as it is used in the specific context of this book.

2.6. Concepts of Belonging

Belonging is a concept that draws on the discussions of identity as social positioning (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Identification – personal and social – is not only seen in terms of internal and external categorization (Jenkins, 1994), but comprises relations between people, and hence is also a question of where people position themselves within a social structure and specific place. The relationship between belonging and identity is not entirely agreed upon in the current literature; in fact, we are far from anything resembling a thorough and shared definition of belonging. Similar to identity, belonging as a concept is increasingly present in a wide range of areas of inquiry – among others, political sciences, psychology, geography and sociology (Lähdesmäki et al., 2014, 2016). In (socio-)linguistics, however, the concept has yet to gain a foothold. Socio-linguistics often focuses on *identity* in its different dimensions, and its relation to language and/or language use or linguistic means of identification (see section 3.1). Sometimes implicitly, other times explicitly, belonging accompanies the identity concept

and is sometimes even presented in the form of the *co-occurrence*[23] "identity *and* belonging" (e.g, Kraus 2006, Krzyżanowski & Wodak 2008). However, in comparison to the concept of identity, belonging has not been widely theorized until now (a few exceptions are discussed below). Its common sense semantic meaning of 'feeling at home' or being 'rooted' somewhere might have played into that. What all approaches from the different disciplines agree on is that belonging is at its core a social notion, indicating categorical belonging to groups organized both on the small to large scales, such as families, friends, communities or nations. Belonging has two dimensions within the notion of social identification, depicted by the distinction of belonging *to* and belonging *with,* a division which is semantically more precise in the German language with *Zugehörigkeit* (to) and *Zusammengehörigkeit* (with) (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 202). Whereas belonging *to* points to categorical group memberships, belonging *with* points to the relational dimensions within the group. These include shared experiences, memories, practices, interactions etc. – all the activities that might strengthen the cohesion of collective feelings of belonging, but which are not necessarily based on shared categories. Belonging is hence categorical, relational (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011; Anthias, 2016) and primarily social. A second dimension of belonging covers these kinds of collective relations in specific spaces – social as well as geographic. Temporality is the third dimension in constructions of belonging, which is yet to be treated theoretically and empirically. I recognize that the temporal notions of memory (as depicting collective experiences), continuity/disruption and temporal connections between place and groups are of significance here.[24] The different and interconnected dimensions of belonging will be discussed in the following order: spatial belonging, social belonging, then temporal belonging. This segmentation into spatial, social and temporal belonging improves chapter readability. The concepts are, however, theoretically and empirically indivisible and intertwined, and will refer back to each other in the different subsections.

2.6.1. Spatial Belonging

Antonsich (2010b) discusses belonging in terms of individual feelings of being "at home" and in terms of discursively negotiated politics of belonging. As we will take an in-depth look at the latter in section 2.6.2.2, we will focus on

---

23 Lemnitzer & Zinsmeister (2010, 16) define co-occurrences as two linguistic items that are juxtaposed. If this co-occurrence is of statistical relevance, the two items are defined as a *collocation*.

24 This approach is also envisioned and precisely analyzed by Höfler (forthcoming).

place-belonging for now. Antonsich argues that personal identity in the sense of self-understanding is thoroughly connected to notions of place. Place encompasses an actual geographical space, but also social relations embedded into that specific place. Belonging to place is then the "personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place" (Antonsich, 2010b, 645). "Home" is thought of as a "symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment" (ibid.: 646). Although there is a social aspect within the concept of place-belongingness (in terms of families, friends and communities we imagine in relations to specific places), the concept puts emphasis on the individual's relation with, and attachment to place. The "primacy of place" within the formation of an individual is attributed to the "human subject's mode of being, which is always 'being-in-the-world', 'being in place'" (Antonsich, 2010a, 121). Hence, the self within this conceptualization is not seen in relation to an "other", but is rather rooted in surrounding local materiality in space. This relation is also emphasized by Tilley (1994, 26) when it comes to an individual's basic human needs: "These qualities of locales and landscapes give rise to a feeling of belonging and rootedness and a familiarity, which is not born just out of knowledge, but of concern that provides ontological security".[25] This aspect indicates why a feeling of non-belonging or displacement might have a severe impact on the individual in terms of feelings of insecurity or vulnerability. Lovell (1998a, 1f.) also states that territoriality, locality and belonging are deeply interlinked. In contrast to Antonsich or Tilley's views, she assigns the importance of these links especially to the construction of a "collective memory surrounding place". Place is both crucial for groupness (see 2.4 and 2.6.2) and an individual's self-understanding, a "sense of who one is" as a "bounded self" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, 17f.). Although place-belonging is often addressed in inquiries of collective identities, it is also often underrepresented in works on personal self. It is put into a vocabulary of social identification or of in- and exclusion, as Antonsich (2010b, 129) criticizes. When it comes to the concept of belonging, spatial belonging as fundamental for self-understanding (forming part of personal identification) should be interconnected with social identifications and categorizations concerning place (forming part of social and collective identification). Antonsich draws attention to the defining role place has for biographies and the sense of where we belong. One can belong *to* a place

25 The basic human needs that are put forward by Tilley (1994) recall Maslow's (1970 [1954], 20) five-tier hierarchy of needs. The most "basic" need is physiological (water, food, air, shelter) followed by less basic but still fundamental needs of safety, love and "belongingness", support of self-esteem and finally self-actualization in the sense of personal fulfillment.

but can also belong *with* a place, even though the latter seems to be semantically inappropriate. Belonging *to* a place highlights a person's geographical positioning, in the past, in the present, or in the longing for it in the future. Belonging *with* a place highlights the binding effect place can have for an individual's positioning in the social world. It is the shared experience of a specific place – the shared origin or a shared geographic materiality that can bind groups together in terms of commonality. In the case of the Nueva Alianza, speakers represent relations of origin that are grounded in place – specifically the community and its corresponding land – as essential for social and place-belonging. In this example it becomes evident that an understanding of the self (also as a part of a group) in its relation to place needs to be connected to social and temporal dimensions.

2.6.2. Social Belonging

Belonging is a concept that relies on processes of social identification because it "allows us to study the links between 'the self' and 'society' from the point of view of the person" (May, 2011, 368). In his work on belonging (*Zugehörigkeit*) as communicatively produced with linguistic means, Hausendorf (2000, 1) defines the concept as denoting membership in social groups. Hence, belonging here is thought of as located in an individual's social identity, as in Tajfel's (1974, 69) definition which was cited above. Hausendorf looks at belonging to groups based on social categories speakers make relevant in different contexts of interaction. Categories and the ascriptions or evaluations speakers relate to them point to social structures and groups placed within these structures by the speaker. To put emphasis not only on social categories and memberships that are attributed by speakers to themselves and others, Brubaker & Cooper (2000) are interested in the social and political contexts in which these memberships emerge and introduce the concept of *groupness*. It offers an alternative approach to identity and is conceptualized as a cluster *around* collective (or social) identity. Groupness focuses more thoroughly on belonging as a "Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 20, with reference to Weber 1980). Collective identity has heretofore often been used as a term denoting groups sharing one or more categories, but the authors consider this kind of conceptualization too narrow for the description of group affiliation and (possible) cohesion. Belonging in terms of groupness is flanked by the terms of categorical commonality[26] – "the sharing of some common attribute" – and connectedness – "relational ties that

26 The same term is used in Paff-Czarnecka's (2011) belonging concept introduced in section 2.6.2.1.

link people" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, 20). Both can but do not necessarily trigger groupness – "the feeling of belonging together" (ibid.). Although both commonality and connectedness increase the possibilities of groupness, they are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions for its 'happening'. Brubaker & Cooper (2000, 20) speak of "events", "public narratives" or "discursive frames" that bind people together. These lived experiences are shared but are not categorical features of people. Shared experiences and practices add to the list of possible markers of commonality – which are part of events, narratives or discourses. Dividing up collective identity in an analytically more specific vocabulary focusing on the making of groups (relations between "commonality", "connectedness", "groupness", Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 20), opens the possibility to position research along a continuum of stronger, weaker and changing forms of belonging:

> "belonging can be understood as scalar: one can (feel to) belong to certain groups to a certain degree, for a moment. Thus, while identity implies sameness and coherence within a group or an individual and assumes a shared basis, belonging can account for that which can change and shift in time and place" (Lähdesmäki et al., 2014, 96).

In Antonsich's view, place-belonging certainly falls into the category of stronger forms of belonging, especially when it comes to something conceptualized as "home". In the social dimension of belonging, the nuances of importance of belonging can vary. Belonging to the group of students, workmates, or players in a bridge club may have different levels of importance. Some of these groups are abandoned and membership to others acquired. Multiple belongings of an individual can be differently relevant in different contexts and life stages. However, even though the importance of multiple belongings might be organized on a continuum, not all of them can be abandoned or denied by others without consequences. Not belonging to a group, which is very relevant to an individual's self-understanding, can be as devastating as displacement from "home". Within the Guatemalan community of interest here, there is a high degree of commonality, connectedness and feeling of belonging together, so we can expect significant group cohesion. However, talking about belonging in this context will not be based on (more or less) observable networks or features shared by the community's inhabitants. Similar to Hausendorf, I am instead interested in the production ("Hervorbringung") of belonging by speakers within terms of commonality, connectedness and groupness and the linguistic constructions and negotiations of belonging within narratives and other forms of verbal interaction between community members. Hausendorf's (2000, 111f.) conceptualization of belonging as membership in social groups is based on belonging as something produced by speakers undergoing the steps of categorization (*zuordnen*),

attribution (*zuschreiben*) and evaluation (*bewerten*)[27] as principal tasks (*Aufgaben*) of linguistically indexing affiliation to groups. This is a good starting point when focusing on a speaker's means of producing belonging *to* specific groups. However, if we are also interested in the linguistic production of dimensions of belonging *with* a group, we will then need supplementary forms of methodological approaches, as in identifying practices shared by the community – in our case, narrative practices (see 4.3 and 7).

2.6.2.1. Intersected Belonging: Social Location and Social Positionality

Scholars researching belonging as social location (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 2013) or social positionality (Anthias, 2002, 2009, 2016; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011) draw on the broadening of the term by Brubaker & Cooper (2000), or on an approach which defines groups only as a second-order phenomenon of social positionality. While the vocabulary used to define belonging is very similar to their work, Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011, 201) stresses the multiple different forms of belonging an individual can feel. She defines belonging as an emotionally charged "social location" incorporating "commonality", "mutuality" and "attachments" (ibid.). This definition follows earlier critics in condemning identity as an analytical concept being too focused on categories, emphasizing homogeneity of and dichotomies between 'us and them' (ibid.: 203f.). Following her work, belonging as an alternative term has more potential to encompass both processes of ex- and inclusion, as well as individual and collective perspectives on belonging. Regarding the latter relation, Pfaff-Czarnecka stresses the aforementioned distinction between belonging *to* and belonging *with*. While the former analytically captures what Hausendorf or Tajfel call the individual's membership into a group, the latter describes the norms, values and practices keeping the group together. Commonality, mutuality and attachment are bound to aspects of belonging *with* in Pfaff-Czarnecka's conceptualization. Commonality refers to groups forming around more than just categories. It involves "sharing experience and the tacit self-evidence of being, of what goes without saying; means jointly taking things for granted, and sharing common knowledge and meanings" (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 204). Shared knowledge, experience, values and practices encourage mutual expectations and

---

27 In another paper (Hausendorf & Bora, 2006), the English terms "assigning", "ascribing" and "evaluation" are used to translate the three terms from Hausendorf's original conceptualization (Hausendorf, 2000). However, the chosen translations are more in line with Sacks' membership categorization analysis (see 4.1) Hausendorf's approach is based on.

"norms of reciprocity, loyalty and commitment" (ibid.: 205). Boundaries around social groups and conditions for in- and exclusion (sometimes conceptualized as "regimes of belonging", see 2.6.2.2) are often based on these kind of reciprocal expectations within a group. Finally, attachment encompasses people's relations to material things and immaterial ideas about these relations. These can be possessions, artifacts, landscapes, territories, or places. It refers to and widens Antonsich's concept of place-belonging and underlines the capacity of belonging as a multi-layered concept including not only human relations, but relations to nature, places or possessions such as a house or farm. Attachment does not necessarily need to be related to a group people feel they belong to. For example, I can always feel attached to my home town even though my present social relations and group memberships might not be connected to my hometown at all. Belonging in the collective dimension (*with*), however, is strengthened if members articulate similar kinds of attachments to a certain (im)materiality or place. In the Alianza corpus, we observe a connection between the community and attachment to place that speakers use to strengthen the community's claim to the territory, or to validate their struggle of becoming owners. Attachment to place seems to play a crucial role in the speakers' understanding of self and groups, and is articulated as a central feature of commonality. All three aspects – commonality, mutuality and attachments – form part of belonging *with* a group, they enforce and secure a sense of the collective felt by group members.

An individual's belonging *to* groups is, as I pointed out above, multiple, changeable, and of varying significance. For example, belonging to an activist group defending women's rights might be more fundamental to an individual's self-understanding than belonging to a weekly knitting class. Hence, individuals have to deal with different restrictions and possibilities of belonging *with* a group, and of leaving behind some ties of belonging while forging others (certainly always rendered through the regimes or politics of belonging). Pfaff-Czarnecka (2013) envisions individuals "navigating" these different allegiances and constructing the self within these intersections of multiple belongings.[28] Thinking of individuals as occupying a social location situated at intersections of different belongings widens the analyst's view. Individuals make sense of themselves and of groups from this specific intersectional position; for example, a woman who is also a member of an ethnic group, a church member, a mother

28 This integrates into the feminist debate on intersection in terms of class, gender, race, ability etc. (see for example contributions to Winker and Degele, 2010 and Kerner, 2009).

and a farmer participating in certain practices and having a certain set of experiences. Focusing only on social categories and reducing an individual to her membership in an ethnic group is analytically stinted. Ethnicity might be the most relevant category for her self-conception in a given situation; however, it is just one of many which can possibly be made relevant in interaction. Pfaff-Czarnecka highlights belonging (as social location) as combining "categorical attributes" with "social structure", although the relation between category and structure remains somewhat opaque (ibid.: 216f.). The surplus of belonging as a concept of social location lies not only in the combination of categories and structure, but also in the connection between the two concepts. Speakers use categories to demarcate different forms of collectivities and position themselves and others within or outside these groups.[29] On the other hand, this positioning is not carried out or undergone in a social vacuum, but within a social structure where categories are related to each other, often hierarchically, and where the positioning might be restricted or encouraged by certain regimes (see section 2.6.2.2).[30] The concept of location and the relationship between structure and agency in belonging processes are discussed in further detail in Anthias' (2016, 178) or Yuval-Davis' (2006)[31] conceptions of belonging as "positionality". Social locations connect macro-sociological categories like gender, class or nationality with their "positionality along an axis of power" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 199), and hence point to their hierarchical organization in a specific social system, in a specific place, at a specific time. Belonging in terms of positionality is both geographical and symbolic, and refers to spatial *and* social dimensions:

> "belonging can include an attachment (to place, community), claims (for place, community), attributions (of place, community), formal membership to places through meeting criteria of such membership, as a commitment or practices of consensus to a state/social system" (Anthias, 2016, 178).

Anthias finds the advantage of the concept of belonging over that of identity in not delimiting people's questions of "who am I" and "what am I" to often essential and primordial categories resulting in social groups. Belonging encloses "the actual spaces and places to which people are accepted as members or feel that

---

29 That these might be construed in that very instant of interaction or be conceptualized as 'already there' has been discussed in 2.4.

30 As based on Bourdieu (1977) this structure, however, is not just antecedently "there" but "emergent".

31 Yuval-Davis (2006, 2010) proposes three dimensions of belonging in terms of social locations, identification and emotional attachment, and ethical and political values.

they are members" (Anthias, 2016, 177), and the intersection of these spaces and places in multiple belongings of an individual. Social space is defined in terms of the individual's location within a social structure and related to "organizational, experiential, intersubjective and representational" (Anthias, 2009, 12) patterns the individual can resort to. Place is the actual geographical space to which these social spaces are tied. The agency of the individual lies in her making sense of her own positioning within these spaces and places at a specific time (for example through "narratives of location" as a form of empirical data, Anthias 2002, 2009 uses in her inquiries). These active processes of positioning are by definition context-bound in a social, spatial and temporal dimension. Positionality is, then, the middle-ground between both position (structure) and positioning (agency). Social positions are occupied by different individuals. Sharing a social position and its affiliated practices may then lead to the emergence of collectivities (but, as was argued in Brubaker & Cooper 2000, does not have to). Individuals can not only position themselves in (or navigate through) available "social locations", but they can also negotiate the act of positioning or the attributes and hierarchical organization of the location. For Yuval-Davis (2010, 266), these articulations of social location and belonging to them are expressed in narratives, which will be discussed further in section 4.3.1.

Pfaff-Czarnecka, Anthias and Yuval-Davis point to the same phenomenon of "intersected belonging"; however, in Anthias' and Yuval-Davis' conceptualizations, the individual's agency in positioning processes and in making sense of their social positionalities (surely, within the constraints of belonging politics) is even more accentuated and grounded in empirical findings as "actively lived" social structures (May, 2011, 363). Therefore, it is crucial to introduce the concept of practice as activities associated with specific positions (Lähdesmäki et al., 2014, 96). This will be elaborated in more detail in section 3.2, when we discuss belonging as social positionality. Individual positioning processes can often be empirically 'translated' into 'things people do' linguistically, with their bodies, with material objects etc.: "belonging is pre-dominantly viewed as the product of everyday practices that connect individuals and groups to the social and civic fabric of a place" (Garbutt, 2009, 98f.). For example, people can index belonging to a specific community of narrative practice by organizing their stories in a similar and recurring pattern, as we can see in the Alianza corpus (see section 7).

2.6.2.2. Regimes of Social Belonging

Processes of social identification rely on the basic differentiation of individuals (as specific members of a collective) from others:

> "This may be one of the most troubling aspects of all: the fact that the formation of every 'we' must leave out or exclude a 'they', that identities depend on the marking of difference" (Gilroy, 1997, 301f.).

This holds true for processes of belonging defined in terms of social identification and groupness. Belonging is interactively achieved, and when we talk about who is *in*, we implicitly or explicitly talk about who is *out* – who does not belong. Belonging relies on boundary drawing, i.e. separating one group from another. Lamont & Molnár (2002, 168) define symbolic boundaries as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space".[32] This means that every 'side' of the boundary is occupied by people (in a specific place and time) who are conceptualized as doing things differently than others (Vallentin, 2012b; Jenkins, 2008, 17). These boundaries do not always separate the *we* from the *other,* but are sometimes more complicated and "beyond 'us' and 'them'", as Yuval-Davis (2010, 272ff.) observes. As I have shown elsewhere (Vallentin, 2015), boundaries might be construed not only in dichotomous differentiations of the *we* from a specific *other,* but for example by introducing groups functioning as a liminal 'buffer' between the two. Where to draw boundaries, and what features or practices determine positions between people, is a matter of negotiation. Similarities might be emphasized to enhance group coherence, or downplayed to increase apparent distinction from others (Barth, 1969). The moment of negotiation is where questions of "who we are, where and how we belong" are conceptualized as "regimes" (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011) or "politics of belonging" (Antonsich, 2010b; Anthias, 2016; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011). Regimes underlie Pfaff-Czarnecka's division of belonging into commonality and mutuality. If people share ongoing relations with each other, mutual expectations of behavior emerge which lead to "institutionalised patterns insisting upon investments of time and resources, loyalty and commitment" (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 205). In contrast to the benefits individuals gain by belonging to a group (social capital, rights and security etc.), obliging to the regimes – which means obliging to certain rules and norms – is the "price people have to pay for belonging together" (ibid.). Politics of belonging relate to identity politics as ideologically motivated claims and struggles about social power and hierarchy: "The politics of belonging also include struggles around

32 Lamont & Molnár (2002, 168) define symbolic boundaries in distinction to social boundaries, which are conceptualized as materially represented forms of social difference, for example "landowner" and "peasant". These differences can then cause or be associated with inequalities.

the determination of what is involved in belonging, in being a member of such a community" (Yuval-Davis 2011: 3). This involvement is based on "ethical and political values" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 203) attached to social locations, and according to Yuval-Davis, separated from belonging conceptualized as a "feeling of being at home". Hierarchical boundaries between those who can belong and those who cannot are then politicized concepts of "socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion" (Antonsich, 2010b, 645). Apart from also encompassing a spatial aspect of location, these definitions recall identity politics as processes of in- and exclusion based on specific group memberships and/or contested allocations to them. However, politics or regimes of belonging entail memberships prone to relational shifts – to redefinition and inclusion (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 204). Belonging emphasizes peoples' intersectionality between multiple memberships to different collectives and (social) spaces (Anthias, 2002, 2016; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011). Though this concept may seem quite appealing, especially in its political sense for the negotiation of in- and exclusion in modern and globalized societies, the conceptualizations presented here on regimes and politics of belonging focus rather on macro-scale phenomena within social dimensions of migration, ethnicity or citizenship. Institutional, organizational or political apparatuses are seen as the 'partner' in dialogue granting or denying belonging. Using a macro-scale approach to politics of belonging the 'dialogue' is thought of in terms of (political or social) rights and obligations, for example connected to citizenship (Yuval-Davis, 2011, 3). This points to reciprocity and mutuality, but omits the actual construction of belonging in interaction:

> "We make claims for belonging which others either reject or accept, and therefore, mere familiarity with a place, a group of people or a culture is not enough for us to gain a sense of belonging" (May, 2011, 370).

Of course, this rejection or recognition can be enforced by organizations and institutions representing politics and regimes. It can also, however, be the 'other' in an interaction of verbal exchange, who rejects or accepts our situational construction of belonging. Alterity and the existence of an *alter* (Jungbluth, 2015) is crucial for in situ achievement of belonging in interaction. Individuals index belonging (in its different dimensions) and this must be externally validated, rendered or denied. For social identification processes, Jenkins (2008, 40) called this procedure the "internal-external dialectic of identification", as outlined in section 2.2. This paradigm also holds true for belonging. The alter does not necessarily have to play an active part in interaction, but can also exist within cognitive projections or imaginations of the individual about a generalized other in the sense of Mead (1934). Antonsich (2010b) and Yuval-Davis (2011) conceptualize

politics of belonging as separated from the individual's personal "feeling of belonging" and, in comparison, as collectively achieved, at stake and negotiated. Anthias (2016, 176) counters that even the "affective placement in terms of what we share with others and to what this sharing relates" is infiltrated by the politics of larger social relations, and that belonging in terms of politics and individual feelings cannot be separated. From a social interactionist point of view, the critique goes even further. Regimes and politics of belonging are reproduced on the micro level in day-to-day encounters between people; however, they are also altered, rendered insignificant or are not made relevant at all. An analytical focus on regimes or politics of belonging on a macro-scale can reveal insights about social inclusion, policies of citizenship or global migration. However, the range of forms belonging might take when negotiated in the context of actual intersubjective encounters might be overlooked if there is no complementation of an analysis of belonging on the microlevel. They might deviate from official categories, norms and rules of behavior, and are put up for evaluation and renegotiation with the alter in the interaction. We can see an example of this kind of negotiation in the analysis of an interaction between community women and a trainer from outside the community (see chapter 6). In an excursus (section 8.2), I will outline other possible regimes of belonging that mark the difference between inside and outside of the group.

2.6.3. Temporal Belonging

Temporal dimensions in the construction of belonging are the least theorized in recent literature. A feeling and articulation of belonging to a place or a group which is not present in our current surroundings is still possible.[33] By categorizing ourselves and other people, we might assign social locations associated with backwardness to the others (the "uncivilized wildlings" vs. the "civilized settlers", the "conservative" vs. the "modern" etc.). Hausendorf (2000, 279) finds empirical evidence of temporal indicators of belonging (as social identification) in "formelhaft verkürzte(n), typisierende(n) und verallgemeinernde(n) Rückverweise(n) auf bekannte und deshalb eben gerade nicht differenzierungsbedürftige Zeiterfahrung". This temporal experience is collective, and hence available for every member of a social group (ibid.). The naming of historical events and phases, as well as temporal adverbs or pronouns, are ways in which speakers can display

33 For example, even though the Jewish community is spatially and socially dispersed, there is still a strong sense of commonality, mutuality and attachment to the community (Brubaker, 2005).

belonging; however, more is typically required than the reference to a specific moment in time to indicate that we belong somewhere or to/with someone. Temporal dimensions can create boundaries used to index a time-frame in linguistic interaction, for example in the form of narrated time (Ricoeur, 1988, Part IV), thus binding possible social positionalities, significant places or relevant practices to that specific time.

Temporal dimensions also provide a frame of temporal (and mostly past-oriented) orientation for the speaker and the alter in interaction; they can provide a link between places and/or groups and often work as legitimization devices of belonging to a specific place: "Belonging can in other words be depicted as a trajectory through time and space" (May, 2011, 372, with reference to Certeau 1984). Within my corpus, time plays a crucial role – for example, when it comes to genealogical tracking of family lines and the speakers' biographies linked to the place of the Alianza community. The link between 'back then' and 'now', and the stable relations of the people within that temporal space, is used to highlight the legitimacy of the speakers' belonging to the community and the place they inhabit. Hence, the temporal dimension cannot be omitted in thinking about the interactive construction of belonging.

2.7. Conclusion: Conceptualization of Belonging

Finally, I will outline how the concept of belonging is used in the specific context of this inquiry: It expresses the speakers' identification as individuals and as a group in terms of (1) spatial, (2) social and (3) temporal categories, and in the dimension of shared practices in that group. From the deliberations in this chapter, this can be more productively conceptualized in the terms of belonging than in those of identity, even though identification processes are a crucial part of belonging constructions in interaction.

Spatial forms of attachment which can bind individuals together in groups entail shared relations to place, and may serve to underline their distinctiveness. In the data of this study, place is made relevant by speakers of the community as a marker of categorical place-belonging (= belonging to/*Zugehörigkeit*), and in this very function, also as relational device of shared experiences and memories (= belonging with/*Zusammengehörigkeit*).

Furthermore, belonging encompasses the individual's dimension of being part of social groups (= belonging to/*Zugehörigkeit*). It hence signifies different memberships, whereby some can be more loose and temporary and some can be understood as more defining for an individual's social categorization. Belonging also encompasses a dimension emphasizing shared knowledge, meanings and

practices (commonality), and interactions or mutual expectations (mutuality). Within this perspective, the making of groups as a process entailing more than just categorical sameness, but also practices, is envisioned (= belonging with/ *Zusammengehörigkeit*). This will be discussed in more detail in section 3.

The temporal dimension can relate social and spatial belonging dimensions to each other. For example, a speaker can arrange multiple belongings chronologically or can use time to relate a group to a place. Legitimating the occupation of a specific place in terms of 'we (social) have always (temporal) been here (spatial)' elucidates this possible relation.[34] These spatial, social and temporal dimensions of belonging are linguistically constituted, negotiated and implicitly or explicitly articulated in interaction. How we can analytically live up to a concept of belonging as encompassing categories and practice that are articulated with linguistic means will be discussed in the following sections.

34 The relations between a group and place through time point to the concept of *autochthony.* The concept is discussed i.a. in Ceuppens & Geschiere (2005), Geschiere & Jackson (2006), Zenker (2011) as a label for communities who are (or claim to be) "historically longer in a place" than others, who are consequently *allochthonous.* The concept has recently been presented as a continuum between the two terms by Tacke (2015) and re-conceptualized within the possibility of *neo*-autochthony by Jungbluth (2017) and Savedra & Mazzelli-Rodrigues (2017). It will be revisited in chapter 9 of this book.

3. Doing Belonging

Drawing on the considerations on belonging and identification from the previous chapter, I will argue that the concept of belonging is grounded in practice, specifically in the use of language. Belonging is accomplished through practice by speakers drawing on shared knowledge and displaying shared categories and positions using linguistic means in interaction. The analytical benefit of looking specifically at language when it comes to the description and analysis of practices lies in its key role in providing the social element of interaction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and to enable an account of its organization (Garfinkel, 1967; Sacks, 1995). By looking at how members of the community construe aspects of their belonging in interaction, we can "observ[e] the ways and methods people orient, invoke and negotiate social category based knowledge when engaged in social action" (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2015, 6). The first section 3.1 will outline the twofold relationship between belonging and language both as a symbolic means and as a way of expressing categories and positions of belonging. Second, in section 3.2, the practice approach in linguistics and social sciences will be introduced. This forms the basis for a praxeological approach to language as a practice of belonging (3.3) that will emphasize the situatedness and the role of interaction in belonging achievements. An approach to belonging as accomplished by language practice (such as narrating) is applicable for the analysis of my data in three ways: it recognizes people's language use as shaping local contexts, it starts from the assumption that empirical evidence precedes theory, and it acknowledges speakers' resources of meaning-making and their positioning in interaction. Finally, I introduce in section 3.4 communities of practice, a concept that defines a collective's organization not based on shared categories, but shared (language) practices.

3.1. Language and Belonging

The relationship between language and belonging is complex. Language is considered to be the "foundation of the human condition" (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, 324), as it allows human beings to interact with each other, to socialize, to in- and exclude (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, 321). Thus far, a lot of research and theory has focused on the social aspects of speech acts as "acts of identity". Speakers make conscious or unconscious attempts to define their belonging to a group based on a shared language (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). The intriguing thing about language in its relation to belonging is that it has a double function: on

the one hand, it is a bearer of specific representations (Petitjean, 2009), stereotypes (Roth, 2005; Wodak, 2008) or associated boundaries (see contributions to Rosenberg et al., 2015), and hence, it functions as a *symbolic* and shared property of a speech community (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, 318). That is to say a language (variety) itself – or more accurately, its speakers – are attributed with certain features. For example, speaking K'iche' in the Guatemalan highlands is usually directly attributed with indigenousness. On the other hand, language is a *means* of expressing belonging in its spatial, social and temporal dimensions. A speaker can use words in K'iche' to explicitly express that she is a member of the Ladino community.

I will examine each in turn, beginning with the symbolic function of language. Using language as "external behaviour" (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, 315) is a powerful symbolic means to be identified by others *as* somebody, *as* belonging *to* a specific social group. Identifying someone by looking at her language as a socially shared feature (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, 2) is based on "external identification" (Jenkins 1994, see section 2.2) and is described by Tabouret-Keller (1997, 315) as a transitive process: As speaker X speaks the language L, it can be inferred by the hearer that she belongs to group Y, which is assumed to speak that language. This belonging to group Y, then, also carries representations, ascriptions and/or stereotypes related to that language variety, such as being rather "rural" or "urban", living within boundaries of national or geographic territories and so on. Ascriptions and stereotypical "knowledge" about a language are then often transferred into evaluations and properties of the social groups in question. In this way, links between a community and a language may become reified (Tabouret-Keller, 1997, 321). The association between a language, a group of speakers and its associated properties can be "focused", which means that their bond is rather strong and established amongst the speech community and its various outgroups. It can also be "diffused" if speech acts might only loosely be connected to acts of identity or be associated with very different aspects of identification (Le Page, 1986, 24). In the case of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) study in the multilingual community of Belize, a decades-long process saw the use of the Creole variety emerge as a "focused" feature with the identifying potential of symbolizing "being Belizean". If speech acts as acts of identity are "focused", there is a strong bond of positioning and language use – between who we are (or want to be) and what or how we speak. It is quite obvious that choosing language as a means of identification, or as a means of symbolizing belonging, is a matter of the linguistic options available to the speaker. The more linguistic competence a speaker has, the more she can select from different norms available

(Coseriu, 1976), and hence constitute different and multiple speaker identities ("Sprecheridentitäten", Kresić 2006). Even if the speaker does not have bi- or multilingual competence in another language, she can still vary on the level of style, dialect or register (Edwards, 2009, 27f.) to express divergence (diffusion) or convergence (focusing) (using the concepts of Giles & Powesland 1975 and Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) with the alter in conversation. A second and closely connected dimension of language-based acts of identity is the identification *with* someone:

> "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, 181).

Linguistic behavior is a means for social identification, and at the same time a means for social differentiation. By speaking a certain language or using it in a certain way, the speaker can draw a boundary between herself and others and indicate nonbelonging – this is possible due to the symbolic inscriptions into languages and the reified links between languages and specific groups.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) envision the social dimension in their study, and how language use is focused on social identification. However, spatial and temporal identification can also be envisioned in language use as a symbolic means. All three dimensions of identification fall under the banner of belonging (see chapter 2.6). As a symbol for certain behavioral associations related to its speakers, a language often is also associated symbolically with a specific geographic region. Therefore, language is not only a behavioral attribute of its speakers, but also indicates something about the potential spatial placement of the speaker. Concerning the temporal dimensions of belonging, the symbolic dimension is a little bit more difficult to conceptualize. Thinking of languages' diachronic development and the changes that have occurred in a given language, it is hardly possible to associate a contemporary English speaker with that of a 15th century English speaker (maybe we could, if she is an actress in London's Globe Theatre). However, sometimes a specific type of language use can be idiosyncratically related to a specific time, and hence the speaker's temporal belonging can be inferred. This is especially relevant in times of transformation, when languages might change their symbolic content due to political and/or social changes. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, for instance, many native Russian speakers found themselves to be minorities overnight in (re)emerging nation states with a different national language (Pavlenko, 2008; Popova, 2016). Russian was all of a sudden linked to symbolizing a burdened past associated with its

speakers. Also, the temporal dimension is able to link belonging to a certain age group, as individual language develops during the course of one's life. As I have emphasized above, these spatial, temporal and social aspects are only representations related to language varieties, and therefore do not make the associations hearers and speakers have less "real" (Brubaker, 2002). A relationship between language and belonging can also be drawn within languages' second function as a means of expressing spatial, temporal or social associations to specific areas, time frames or groups. This implies:

> "[…] seeing language primarily not in its communicative functions but as a vehicle – the major vehicle – through which we make acts of identity, project ourselves upon others, represent in words our positions in the universes we each create in our minds" (Le Page, 1986, 24).

Language not only works as a charged symbol, it is also the primary means of communication for explicitly or implicitly defining or expressing categories, experiences, imaginations etc. It helps us communicate where we belong, beyond the representations possibly associated with a language variety. This is especially important if language as a category for belonging is, in the words of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), rather diffused and not focused – if there is no clear-cut and established connection between the language spoken and the conceptualizations people have about belonging.[35] In the case of the community in question, the language spoken is the Guatemalan variety of Spanish, with its phonological, lexical, grammatical and pragmatic particularities.[36] However, the language itself has no symbolic meaning for the community. It might lead to the observation that community members form part of the Spanish speaking community, for skilled listeners, even to the speech community of western Guatemalans. But speaking this variety of Spanish is not related to the community members' own conceptualization of belonging, at least not the kind of belonging based on a community level (see 6.3). This is instead tied to the shared history and experiences as well as a strong spatial sense of being rooted *aquí,* 'here', on a specific *tierra,* 'land' (Vallentin, 2012a). As for the language they speak, the belonging to the Guatemalan Spanish speech community or – if the common perception of this Spanish variety is even more reified and bound to national borders – their

35 For a striking example of the importance (or lack thereof) of heritage languages for identification and belonging among the community of Georgian Greeks see Höfler forthcoming.

36 See Pinkerton (1986) for alterations between *tu/vos* and Lipski (1994) for lexical and morphological characteristics of Guatemalan Spanish.

belonging to the nation of Guatemala, may be inferred by the listener. However, this relation is not made relevant in the data. When talking about belonging, all of the respondents shared ideas around the relevance of their local embeddedness, and did not attach their belonging to a nationally framed imagined community (Anderson, 1983).

The present data, thus, shows that language does not necessarily need to have a symbolic meaning for belonging that speakers make relevant in interaction. However, it emphasizes its function as a means to express other belonging categories and practices. Language, in this case, is a "vehicle" to transmit projections of the speaker's own positioning within spaces, groups and times to others. As I have already indicated, this link can be explicit in speakers' utterances, or it has to be found on a rather implicit level of linguistic realizations. How exactly this is done and how it can be analyzed will be shown in chapter 4.

The acts of identity theory can help us to conceptualize the symbolic and expressive means of language in its relationship to belonging. However, in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) study, speakers' acts of identity seem to be rather unidirectional. Surely, the hearer plays a role in external identification processes by recognizing how the speaker expresses herself, subsequently allocating certain categories to her. However, speech acts as acts of identity seem to rely more on the linguistic competences of speakers and their more or less rational choices of wanting to belong. On the contrary, belonging expressed by the speaker in an explicit or implicit way needs to be recognized and acknowledged by the alter in conversation, as outlined above. It can be a matter of negotiation and alteration, whereas an "act" implies something firm and inalterable.

Speaking the same language (variety) is a shared practice within the group (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992a,b). This ensures not only commonality in terms of a categorical feature (we all speak language L), but also ensures possibilities of mutuality (we are able to interact with each other with the means of language L). Analyzing belonging as a concept which emphasizes commonality draws our attention to these shared practices, to how people do things and how they make use of spatial, temporal and social categories to speak about their belonging. One way members of the community routinely verbalize their belonging is, as my data shows, through narrating their story in a particular way and drawing on the shared resources of particular experiences. To conceive belonging as something people do in a habitual and routinized way in interaction, based on implicit knowledge and experience, we need to focus on language as a local and social practice in which belonging is negotiated and achieved.

3.2. The Practice Approach in Contemporary Linguistics and Social Sciences

In recent years, practices have gained more and more acclaim in thinking about the organization and fabrication (Knorr-Cetina, 1984) of the social world.[37] They have become a buzzword in social and cultural sciences, and run the risk of meeting the same fate of the identity concept in its heyday: namely, a decreasingly useful or meaningful definition, or conversely too many competing definitions. However, they enable a focus on repeated and collective conduct that is based on practical knowledge (Reckwitz, 2003, 289). It is a focus on how people do things in their everyday lives and within local contexts.

Around the turn of the millennium, the praxeological approach gained new ground in trying to bridge the theoretical abyss in sociology and other disciplines between agency and structure – between subjectivism and objectivism. Schatzki (2001, 10f.) defines practice as: "the primary generic social thing", as "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding". Practices can be learned through "knowledge and experience" (Barnes, 2001, 29), involving becoming a competent member of a community of practice and hence, "done on the basis of what members learn from others" (Barnes, 2001, 27). Learning can also be based on mimicry, where new practitioners imitate more experienced ones in "situated learning" (Lave & Wenger, 1991). However, for some practices, the agents must hold specific positions (of power) to legitimize the practices enacted (as for example in religious or medical practices)[38]. Practices rely on routinized repeatability ("Iterabilität", Schäfer 2016a), however, they are also open to innovation and adaptations to specific contexts (Reckwitz, 2003, 294f.). Agents draw on existing knowledge from specific practices to transfer and adapt it to new contexts or contact with new objects etc. In addition, most practice approaches focus on materiality; on the one hand the bodies which are needed to perform them, on the other hand

---

37 An overview of different approaches to practice theory is to be found in Schatzki's (2001) "Introduction" to "The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory". The theoretical ambivalences in sociological approaches to practices are described in Reckwitz (2003). A recent sociological research program concerning practices is compiled in Schäfer (2016b).

38 Atkinson (1995) analyzes asymmetries in interaction for doctors on ward rounds. The right to talk is bound to clinical experience and status in the hospital hierarchy.

the objects people use to accomplish certain practices or which constitute certain practices at all (like books, scissors or mobile phones).[39]

Materiality in language use results from the use of the body, the speech apparatus and other "bodily articulations" (Hanks, 1996, 229), such as gestures, postures or positions, accompanying and shaping meaning-making. To sum up, most practice approaches, as incoherent as they may appear, roughly agree on practices being:

- embodied and/or bound to objects,
- routinized and recurrent, however still open for innovation,
- based on implicit knowledge and experience (know-how),
- crucial for constituting agents' meaning making, and
- context dependent.

What is, if anything, implicitly represented in this list is the interactive character of practices. As a phenomenon that is routinized and based on socially shared implicit knowledge (Reckwitz, 2003, 289), practices emerge on the premise of mutual interaction. Even though they can be performed individually, practices are not a mere description of an aggregative phenomenon for what agents do individually in a habituated way[40]; they are, necessarily, a collective and social phenomenon. Barnes (2001) underlines the collective quality of practices with this example of riding in formation:

> "Human beings can ride in formation, not because they are independent individuals who possess the same habits, but because they are interdependent social agents, linked by a profound mutual susceptibility, who constantly modify their habituated individual responses as they interact with others, in order to sustain a shared practice" (Barnes, 2001, 32).

Mutuality and ongoing interaction between agents are necessary for the emergence, routinization and renovation of certain practices shared by a community, for example in cultivating land, praying the Ave Maria in church or narrating the community's story.

Language, as one of the key features for human interaction and in its relation to belonging, occupies a double function in the practice approach as well. Language use can be recognized as a practice in itself, and it is crucial in building, or at least accompanying other social practices (c.f. Deppermann et al. 2016).

---

39 Amongst others in Hörning (2001), Knorr-Cetina (2001) and Latour (2008).

40 This approach is represented for example by Turner (1994).

A rather Bourdieuian account of language practices as "communicative practices" is provided by Hanks (1996). In sociology, Bourdieu (1977) proposes a solution of the structure-agency problem by theorizing practices as a relational category, and by looking at agency as incorporated and repeated structure, which is open to renovation. Hanks sees practice as a synthesis between a language's formal structure, the communicative activity itself and the agent's dispositions (ideologies) to both the language and the activity. He argues that within language structure there is a distinction between "schematic" and "emergent" aspects. Schemata are "relatively stable, prefabricated aspects of practice that actors have access to as they enter into engagement" (Hanks, 1996, 233). He here refers to something like a language's grammatical features or lexicon. Emergent aspects of structure are the adaptation of schemata in specific contexts of use, within specific realms of "action". The schemata rely on "routinization, habituation and commonsense typification" (Hanks, 1996, 233). By introducing a continuum between schematic and emergent language aspects, he promotes the possibility of "regularity and novelty, reproduction and production" (Hanks 1996: 233). In this approach, language is seen as a system with an underlying structure, which then can be modified, adapted or renewed in communicative use. The activity draws on language systems, and is what speakers do with language *in situ.* Hanks refers to structure because the activity still follows specific contextual conditions. However, it is only "half-structured" because these conditions can be transgressed by forms of activity, and renewed in their contextual effect. The third component of a practice according to Hanks is the speakers' "judgment", the "orientations, habitual patterns and schematic understanding of the agents themselves" (Hanks, 1996, 231). To understand what is meant by somebody saying something not only relies merely on the knowledge of a language's structure, but also on knowledge about the social context of the interaction. Speakers and hearers apply:

> "tacit knowledge of the interlocutor and setting with linguistic knowledge of the forms spoken, with metalinguistic knowledge of the routine frameworks in which such utterances should be heard" (Hanks, 1996, 235).

In other words, the participants need to know "what is going on here" (Hanks, 1996, 234) if they want to understand each other. These reflections on communicative practices combine a systemic perspective with the relationality of action to specific contexts and an agent-centered perspective. Hanks (1996, 231) bridges the gap between an either "formal or purely relational (language) description" by focusing on communicative action, the language structures playing a role in these actions and the agents' habitual patterns evaluating these actions. He emphasizes that the "feasibility" of a communicative practice, i.e. its acceptability by

the audience within a specific context or social field is also connected to bodily articulations, such as "ways of looking, listening, touching, physical postures, movements, and other practices of the body" (Hanks, 1996, 229). Methodologically, he therefore calls for a multimodal approach in analyzing communicative practices.

Breaking a linguistic practice approach up even more, Pennycook (2010, 1) sees language as practice in a "stricter" praxeological sense. Language is the sedimented, repeated and relocalized "product" of practices: "languages are a product of the deeply social and cultural activities in which people engage". It is sedimented because its structure is derived from its repeated use over time. Any repetition is a relocalization of language in space and time and carries the "illusion of systematicity" (Pennycook, 2010, 47). Pennycook breaks with common assumptions about languages as specific systems speakers draw on in specific contexts instead proposing that the apparent systematicity is the result of iterated and locally contextualized practices. The analytical attention in this approach focuses on the environment in which the practices take place, the spatial, temporal and social contexts of their production. While this ontological thought is appealing in its radical focus on the context of interaction, Pennycook leaves open how language practices might be described, what exactly a practice is and how we could grasp them methodologically. His methodological recommendations focus on the use of ethnography when it comes to the observation of language use in local contexts, which he exemplifies with his linguistic landscape study of the Melbourne graffiti scene (Pennycook, 2010, Chapter 4). It is the task of the researcher to describe locality in its spatial, temporal and social dimensions to understand the practices, also linguistic ones, which are product of the locality as they are the motor for its innovation.

A first systematic interrogation of the topic of language and communicative practices can be found in Deppermann et al. (2016). They argue for a holistic view on language as practice. First of all, language practices are bound to materiality and bodies involved in their realization. It is, for example, important how speakers are positioned in relation to each other in space (Jungbluth, 2005, 2011) to make certain practices, like the use of deictics, feasible. Second, they focus on the modality of language practices. Language cannot be detached from the circumstances of its production; thus face-to-face interaction or using a messenger with pictures and emoticons evoke different communicative practices. Third, they point to the specific participation frameworks of practices (Deppermann et al., 2016, 6). It is crucial to analyze who speaks to whom, and whether the agent of the practice needs to have a certain legitimization to execute a practice. In terms of social belonging, practices can have a symbolic function

if they index belonging to a group of practitioners: “Praktiken sind im hohem Maße domänenspezifisch für bestimmte Handlungsfelder und gesellschaftliche Gruppen bzw. oft noch spezifischer für lokale Gemeinschaften, die gemeinsame Routinen ausgebildet haben”[41] (Deppermann et al., 2016, 6, see also section 3.4). Fourth, practices are related to specific action contexts and make them ‘tangible’. It requires the agents’ implicit knowledge to execute practices in their appropriate context and interpret them accordingly. Practices are routinized and can be innovated depending on the changing context. However, their sedimentation makes it possible to relate certain practices to specific contexts or sustain certain identities (Deppermann et al., 2016, 9). Finally, the authors refer to the historical confinements due to, for example, medialization or the social structures they form, and they are embedded in. Language and communicative practices with the outlined qualities can be found at different levels of linguistic analysis (Deppermann et al., 2016, 12f.):

1. practices as super-structured and related to fields of action,
2. practices as a macro-structured theoretical concept of generic terms[42], and
3. practices as a micro-structured concept of conversation analysis.

Deppermann et al. (2016, 12) describe the first concept as practices related to specific fields of action and agents’ different habitualized approaches and accesses to these fields. Examples are political rhetorical practices, literary practices or practices of academic writing. The second dimension understands practices as genre, a hypernym for everything people do, for example when writing a letter or telling a story. They rely on certain participant roles in the interaction and are more or less rigidly prestructured in their execution of telling and writing. Action *forms* practice in this conception. The last practice concept focuses on multimodal application of resources in conversation, which *result* in action (Deppermann et al., 2016, 13). An example given by the authors is the deployment of prosody or grammar to reach narrative climax. By explicating exactly what kind of practice level is referred to, or how they are intertwined with each other in the analysis, the researcher may prevent analytical vagueness.

Linguistic analysis focusing on conversation as social interaction (Sacks, 1995; Schegloff, 1997b; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a,b)

41 ‘To a high degree, practices are domain specific for certain fields of action and social groups, or often even more specific for local communities, which developed common routines’ (translation RV).

42 “Generic terms” refer to discourse or speech genres (Bakhtin 1986, Hanks 1996), to specific text types and text traditions (c.f. Schlieben-Lange 1983, Jungbluth 1996, 1–6).

is able to track the constitution of the social in real time ("Konstitution des Sozialen in Echtzeit", Deppermann et al. 2016: 16) and is, hence, a crucial addition to ethnographic observation techniques proposed by most sociologists as a tool for practice analysis.

3.3. *Doing* Belonging

In this section I will show how the analysis of the concept of belonging as established in Chapter 2.7 benefits from a practice approach. Belonging is a relation of an individual or a group to a certain space, time and social group. It can be framed in terms of belonging *to* someone/some place, and belonging *with* someone/some place. People can perform different practices to make their belonging relevant in an explicit or implicit way. For example, agricultural practices, such as cultivating land in a certain way, can indicate belonging to and with a place. Another practice could be wearing specific garments such as the Mayan *huipil*, each having its very own design, and indicating belonging to and with a specific community (Schevill, 1993). Language has a double function here as we have seen in section 3.1. First, using language in a certain way and creating specific contexts can be a symbolic index of its speakers' belonging (spatial, temporal and social). Second, speakers can give relevance to belonging by simply talking about it – by introducing local categories of belonging, by negotiating its meaning with their interlocutor(s).

The practice approach I propose for addressing *doing belonging* is fourfold. First of all, it looks at the everyday activities of people, and what they make relevant or foreground in context-dependent interactions (Bourdieu, 2005; Sacks, 1995; Schegloff, 1997b). During my research, I did not ask specifically about belonging when I interviewed members of the community, but it was a predominant issue that emerged when they talked about the past, the present and the future of the community. Belonging was also made relevant in other settings of interaction, such as in questions of social identification of the group towards outsiders (see chapter 6), and while negotiating regimes of belonging and boundary drawing within the group (see excursus 8.2). Hence, the object of analysis stems from a thorough analysis of the data and is problematized and negotiated by the speakers in varying contexts (Sacks 1995, Hausendorf 2000: 99).

Second, practices in their definition as macro-structured generic terms or "discourse genres" (Hanks, 1996, 242ff.) capture the patterns observable in the narrations of the community members. Hanks suggests that a praxeological approach to genre combines formalist approaches (in terms of organization of a specific type of text), ideological approaches (in terms of "metalinguistic ideologies" of

the speakers towards the text) and action approaches (taking texts as processual, open-ended and recipient-designed) (Hanks, 1996, 242). A more rigid praxeological approach – which would take the formal aspects of genre as sedimented repetition in practice – sees the concept as "a mode of action, a key part of our habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) that comprises the routine and repeated ways of acting and expressing particular orders of knowledge and experience" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a, 383). The implicit "know-how" of practices (Reckwitz, 2003, 292) has to be complemented by a notion of "know-what", a fact that my data reflects as in the context of narratives. Telling a story about the community and belonging within the community relies on collectively shared frames (Goffman, 1974), experiences, categories and positions. Narrating is as based on knowledge as are other practices, such as how to repair a truck or how to cultivate coffee. How to tell the story of your own belonging and what kind of categories or topics to include requires interpretative competence and persistent adaptation to different types of audiences, all the while not compromising the community's "ways of speaking" (Hymes, 1989). Narrating is a common and shared practice within the Alianza community. Surely, interviews are not the most common setting for people to tell their story (of belonging); however, some of the informants are experienced practitioners, narrating on many occasions for tourists, representatives of NGOs or visiting volunteers. The variety of narrations from different contexts, with different (or sometimes the same) narrator(s) and different audiences show, on a comparative level, how the participants order their knowledge, their (shared) experiences and their categories of belonging. They also show that there are recurring patterns in this organization across different speakers of the community and across different contexts of narrating: "Practice captures habituality and regularity in discourse in the sense of recurrent evolving responses to given situations, while allowing for emergence and situational contingency" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a, 382). In conclusion, I view narrating the community story as a communicative practice of belonging. It is a collective phenomenon based on observable patterns in the ways of telling, in forming a community specific genre. Practice is treated as a phenomenon on a meso-level, across individual instantiations of speakers and contexts. Analyzing narrative as practice takes events, action constellations, themes, participant structures and positioning into account, as is further explained in section 4.3. Its analysis combines ethnographic accounts with a conversation analytical approach. Thus, belonging is not only grounded in the things people say, where they make it explicit as category or position. Belonging with a community of practice (see 3.4) is also indexed by *doing* narration in a specific way.

Third, practices emphasize the relations between collectively shared habitualizations and individual realizations of language use. For the acts of identity, Le Page (1986, 23f.) still concludes that:

> "The individual is the sole locus of the system; any greater abstraction in the direction of a norm for a community is simply that – our abstraction from the observable behaviour (spoken or written) of individuals, which has therefore to subsume or ignore individual differences, often in an arbitrary or accidental way".

The advantage of a practice approach is that it does not have to 'subsume' individual behavior for the sake of communality. Instead, it allows the recognition of individual performance, of renewal and contextual adaptation of language practices. However, I still consider practices to be a "collective accomplishment" (Barnes, 2001, 32) in the sense that the habituality of the practice and the individual's possibility of performing it is based on interaction and shared experiences – on the constant orientation of agents "to each other" (Barnes, 2001, 32). It is in interaction that speakers show their conceptualizations of belonging (Sacks, 1995), possibly co-construct them (Vallentin, 2018, and chapter 6) and make them accountable to the alter (Garfinkel, 1967).

Finally, looking at practices allows the possibility to analytically focus on the local level of interaction and draw connections to macro-levels of the spatial, temporal and social embeddedness of their implementation (Pennycook 2010, 124; De Fina 2008). The local and situated categories and positions in use index more global representations of, for example, general relations between 'peasants' (*campesinos*) and 'landowners' (*patronos*).

3.4. Communities of Practice

The concept of communities of practice conceives people as organizing not around social, ethnic, linguistic or other categories, but around collective *doing*.[43] In their monograph on situated learning and apprenticeship, Lave & Wenger (1991, 42) introduce the term as an "intuitive notion", helpful in describing how people establish new practices by learning from experienced practitioners through "peripheral participation". The term was quickly picked up by the field of sociolinguistics since it offered a practice-oriented alternative for the concept of speech communities (Gumperz, 1971, Chapter 7). Whereas speech communities were defined by shared norms, common interactional patterns and social

---

43 An overview of different definitional approaches to communities of practice is found in Cox (2005).

networks of speakers, a look at a group defined as a community of practice focuses on how these norms and networks ("ways of doing things") come into being:

> "A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992a, 464).

This view abandons the assumptions of pre-existing categories like gender or social status, but "roots each in the everyday social practices of particular local communities and sees them as jointly constructed in those practices" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992a, 462). Hence, within communities of practice, the local constructions of global categories and what they actually mean in situational contexts can be grasped. By interacting on a regular basis, people develop specific linguistic behaviors or styles and draw boundaries between other communities of practice. This is why this concept is also conceived as a favorable locus of identity construction (Eckert, 2006, 685).

In the case of the community Nueva Alianza, a classical sociological community definition ("Gemeinschaft", Tönnies 1972[1887], Simmel 1908) lines up with definitions of a community sharing certain endeavors and developing practices around it. The classical definition recognizes a community as bound by family ties, continuous face-to-face interaction, shared social values and common purposes (e.g. economic sustenance). The Alianza community consists of an array of interconnected families tied to each other by varying degrees of kinship. The small size of the community – spatially as well as in terms of inhabitant numbers – allows day-to-day interactions between community members. Before allocating pieces of land to individual families, the whole community worked collectively, providing equal shares of income from agriculture and the other projects to each family. The Alianza, hence, not only organizes around practice, but can be conceived as a community in the very "old-fashioned sense" in that it unites "the three elements of deictics – time, person and place" (Williams, 2004, 487). It is bound by a specific geographical space and a composition of related people who have inhabited this space for generations. Even though Williams alludes to the constructedness of concepts like "community" common among sociologists and linguists, the members of the Alianza make sense of themselves as part of the community in a similarly triangulated way, as will become clear in the analysis. They see their ancestry linked to an actual time in which they occupied the space, and social cohesion through the shared experienced of suffering and struggle as crucial to their belonging.

The narration of the community story, then, is a practice which evolves from these shared experiences and the categorizations of belonging in terms of space and time within the community. As a practice following specific patterns and themes of narration, it can only emerge within this community, and thus not anywhere else in the same way. Based on Haugen (1972), Pennycook (2010, 107) proposes a concept of ecologies of local language practices to better understand how these practices are interrelated with their surroundings.[44] This means that a narrative practice such as the one in the Alianza can only emerge within local histories, economies and discourses, and is involved in the constant recreation of the latter. This is why it is crucial for the researcher to focus on these surrounding "issues" and include them in the analysis of local language practices involved in the construction of belonging.

The terms "community" and "community of practice" imply a certain cohesion – a sameness in values and perceptions on how to do things. Generally, the term is positively connoted as "a 'warm' place, a cosy and comfortable place" (Bauman, 2001, 1). However, we must not forget that constant substantiation or redefinition of community boundaries need to be established by members of community-like forms of social organization. Furthermore, one must

44 A rather "radical" conceptualization on ecologies of language(s), for example seeing language truly in terms of species, like Mufwene (2004), obscures the cultural and social dimensions of its use and language as human activity: "the enumeration, objectification and biologisation of languages renders them natural objects rather than cultural artefacts; linguistic diversity may be crucial to humans, but language diversity may not be its most important measure; and languages do not adapt to the world: they are part of human endeavours to create new worlds" (Pennycook, 2004, 232). Other approaches to linguistic ecosystems and preceding practice approaches to language seem more appealing. In his outline of a "Fundamental Ecosystem of Language", Couto (2007, 87ff.) proposes an understanding of the relations between a language and its environment through manifold social, mental and natural links within and between a population (P), interacting by using a certain language (L) and living on a certain territory (T). Interaction as an "Ecology of Communicative Interaction" is the most important subsystem of the ecosystem of language (Couto, 2007, 109ff.), and can lead to the emergence of "collective strategies of communication", sometimes eventually reified in grammars of pidgins and creoles (ibid.: 111). Similarly, language as a local practice (Pennycook, 2010) emphasizes language as (inter)dependent with (inter)actions of its speakers who move and interact in specific local contexts. However, a fundamental ecosystem of language operates with (in this case, theoretically necessary) abstractions of concepts like "population", "territory" and "language". A practice approach to language and the communities using it underscores its groundedness in interaction and its actual observability in local contexts.

acknowledge that boundaries can and do exist within the community, for example when it comes to defining the properties relevant for belonging or non-belonging (see excursus 8.2). As a community of practice, the different engagement into practices of belonging also needs to be mentioned: “Indeed it is the practices of the community and members’ differentiated participation in them that structures the community socially” (McConnell-Ginet, 2011, 100). Not all community members are equally skilled practitioners of narrating. There are those who narrate regularly and professionally in events for tourists. There are the ones narrating first-hand experiences from the times of struggle, and there are the ones re-narrating what they have learned from their elders (see chapter 7). Hence, the community of practice is subdivided, for example, along the temporal axis of age. Looking at the Nueva Alianza as a community of practice emphasizes its members’ “joint sense making” (Eckert, 2006, 684) of categories of belonging, and of positions towards others and other groups. By using a praxeological approach to social organization, we can look at the local situated interactions in which people *do* belonging by displaying it with different overt and implicit linguistic means. At the same time, this exact *doing* strengthens their link to the community because they are participants in a practice that is unique to the community.

3.5. Interim Conclusion

Following a praxeological approach, belonging as social, temporal and spatial identification is accomplished in interaction by means of linguistic practices. Using language speakers can display belonging to social groups, and can also be recognized by others as forming parts of groups. This can be accomplished explicitly through the use of certain language varieties as a symbolic means, and is commonly associated with certain groups of speakers (speaking Belizean Creole is associated with belonging to a specific social class in a specific geographical area). Language practices can also implicitly express categories and positions of belonging. This view conceptualizes spoken language not only as a tool for establishing belonging, but also as practices of achieving belonging. Viewing language as a practice emphasizes the recurrent, habitual and innovative character of doing belonging, and sheds light on the speakers’ individual means of establishing belonging (social, temporal and spatial categorizations/positioning), as well as on the collectively shared “ways” that belonging is achieved. Shared practices of constructing belonging, then, can define the community as a community of practice. In the specific case of the Nueva Alianza, narrating belonging is a salient practice where belonging is repeatedly expressed interactively and adapted to different audiences.

4. Tracing Belonging in Spoken Data

In this chapter, I will elaborate on how we can analytically trace belonging in the form of narratives and other interactions. Instead of providing finite tables showing the specific linguistic forms which *could* be used by speakers to make belonging relevant (cf. de Cillia et al., 1999, 35), I will instead point to the different discursive levels on which belonging can be made a "communicative problem" (Hausendorf, 2000, 99f.); this occurs primarily through the use of categories, positioning and narrative practice. At the micro-level of interaction, categories and positions can be displayed or uncovered by looking at contextual cues the speaker provides through linguistic indexes (Silverstein, 1976). On a meso-level, the speakers display positions in interaction as members of a community of practice or by occupying specific interactive roles. These categories and positions can, then, relate to macro-level structures within the community, or to "big discourse" surrounding the notion of belonging in Guatemala and beyond.[45]

In section 4.1 of this chapter, *Membership Categorization Analysis* and *Conversation Analysis* will be introduced as main tools to uncover the use of categories, their relations and organization in interaction. Positioning as a second major link to belonging is discussed and investigated in spoken language data in section 4.2. In section 4.3, I use an analytical approach to narrating as a community based practice, and underscore how it is a powerful locus for linguistic constructions of belonging 4.3.1. Finally, the specifics of positioning within the two temporal frames of narrative interaction are outlined in 4.3.2 before concluding in 4.4 how I will analyze my data.

45 These interactional levels point to the the concept of *context* as I use it in this book. Context is conceptualized here as a "dynamic construct" with the "dual status of process and product" (Fetzer, 2012, 107) that is jointly organized by all participants of an interaction. It draws on and simultaneously constructs different levels in these interactions. On the micro-level, context refers to previously (or anticipated) uttered *co-text* (c.f. Janney 2002). On the meso-level, context refers to the situatedness in the "here and now" of interaction, its "physical location" and "temporal situatedness" (Fetzer, 2012, 108), and the participants involved in a specific communicative practice (telling a joke, doing an interview, narrating a story). On the macro-level, context refers to the categories and positions available to the speakers that are grounded in their social and historical embededdness. These three levels are related – even though not always explicitly – whenever speakers achieve a "common context" (Fetzer, 2012, 110).

4.1. Membership Categorization and Conversation Analysis

One of the three dimensions of belonging is the individual's membership in social groups, which I have already outlined in detail in the previous two chapters. Speakers use social categories and display their belonging or non-belonging – their depiction of how these groups behave or what they stand for, and their evaluations of these shared features. One of the major approaches developed to analyze how speakers convey their sense of how the world is organized socially is the Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). Developed by Sacks (1972b,a, 1995) and based on the premises from ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984), MCA aims at exposing "a set of resources and practices" or in other words, an *"apparatus"* (Schegloff, 2007b, 467, emphasis in the original) speakers use to orient themselves in the social world and position themselves within it. After establishing *what* categories people use and what ascriptions or activities they allocate to certain categories, MCA tries to reconstruct *how* these categories are used, how they are related to other social categories, and how they gain meaning in the specific context of an interaction or text:

> "MCA unpacks peoples' 'reality-analysis' (Hester and Francis, 1997); that is, how categories are stipulated, how membership in a category is accountable, and, particularly, how speakers proffer their category work *as* common, cultural knowledge" (Stokoe, 2012, 283, emphasis in the original).

Hence, a first step in the actual linguistic construction of belonging *to* social groups is the display of membership in certain groups by speakers during an interaction. Also, the delineation from other groups is an indicator of the social boundaries speakers draw around their own groups (Wimmer, 2008, 975). Especially when it comes to the second dimension of social belonging *with* a group, attitudes towards "us and others" and their respective norms and behaviors as expressed by the speaker are relevant to the analysis.

Delving into Sacks' taxonomy in more detail, different terms point to the "workings" (Sacks 1995, 613, Schegloff 2007b, 467) behind the single category itself. Categories can be grouped in certain collections, including categories of the same kind. For example, mother, father and child may be allocated into the collection *family.* The category, its relation to (a) certain collection(s) and its rules of application form a membership categorization device (MCD) (Sacks 1995, 40f., Schegloff 2007b, 467, Stokoe 2012, 281). How these devices are activated, made relevant and contextualized within an interaction – and hence, how social action is *done* – is the main question of MCA inquiry (Schegloff, 2007b, 477). Categories are often presented with category-bound activities or category

predicates qualifying the assumed behavior or characteristics of representatives of a certain group. It is important to mention that MCDs and category use are context-bound, and can therefore change from interaction to interaction or even sequentially. Depending on the circumstances, relations between the speakers, topics etc., categories can be rendered relevant or irrelevant, and the allocated activities belonging to certain categories may change. However, some MCA research also looks systematically for decontextualized and recurring patterns of MCD use (e.g. Stokoe 2012). This work mostly draws on different corpora including different settings for interaction, and views MCA as falling under the umbrella of Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks et al., 1974; Sacks, 1995). Conversation Analysis scrutinizes the sequential organization and participants' resources in interaction. It is an ongoing debate whether CA in looking for overarching and "*systemic* dimensions of interaction" (Stokoe, 2012, 278, emphasis in the original) should "tame" and systematize MCA. This somehow limits MCA's definition as an "analytic mentality" (Sacks 1995, Schenkein 1978) to help us see ordinary and messy interaction as exceptional and "worthy" for the analytical eye. Putting MCA into rigid systems, then, runs the risk of sacrificing not only its flexibility, but also its capability of letting participants themselves guide the analyst when looking at the data. As Hester & Eglin (1997, 20, emphasis in the original) put it, it is the local construction of certain categories from the point of view of the interlocutors that the researcher should focus on:

> "Our central point is that it is *in* the use of categories that culture is constituted *this time through*. It is in their *use* that the *collect-able* character of membership categories is constituted and membership categorization devices *assembled in situ*: membership categorization devices are *assembled objects.*"

This means that membership categories cannot be detached from specific contexts of production. In this sense, it is also pivotal for the analysis of membership categories, to determine how they are introduced, developed and possibly altered *sequentially* and adapted to the recipient (Silverman 1998, 152, Schmitt & Knöbl 2013). The categories and how they are used may give us insights into "local practical reasoning" and "moral order" (Baker, 1997, 139) of speakers, in turn pointing to frameworks of normativity in which the categories are arranged and to a "shared 'stock of commonsense knowledge'" (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002, 62).

In his analysis of calls at a suicide prevention hotline (Sacks, 1967), Sacks inferred the category "being gay" from descriptions of category-bound activities by one of the callers in the prevention center. This triggered a discussion about the possibility, as an analyst, to say "more" than the actual speaker is saying: "The fact that we cannot be definitive about relevant categories and inferences is what

gives language practices their *defeasibility*" (Stokoe, 2012, 282, emphasis in the original). Even what the speakers actually say may be misinterpreted depending on the underlying "apparatus" the analyst assumes. This gives rise to the question what we can say at all. With the means of CA and MCA, complemented and supported by ethnographic knowledge (Deppermann, 2000), a sequential reconstruction of the participants' meaning making in interaction can validate the "inferences" on relevant categories. Furthermore, by analyzing categories and how they are used in *different* interactional contexts and across *different* speakers of the community, their relevancy in a specific community of practice can be substantiated.[46]

Belonging, according to this methodological approach, can be "reconstructed" in its meaning for the interlocutors (Hausendorf, 2000, 90f.). Belonging (and the categories and positions related to it) will be treated as a communicative "problem", not necessarily for the speakers, but for the analyst who reconstructs its processing in discourse. Within this reconstruction, it is not only the categories that mark belonging, but also other indexes. These indexes help us to support the argument for a possible inference of a non-explicit category in speakers' utterances, which I do not reject as rigidly as Stokoe (2012) does. Categories should be analyzed as "indexical expressions and their sense is therefore locally and temporally contingent" (Hester & Eglin, 1997, 18). Between the two ends of a continuum of case-specific and rather universalistic MCA approaches, the approach taken in this book positions itself in the middle. The focus is on context-specific articulations of belonging in community interaction occuring in narrative accounts from interviews and historic sessions for tourists. Furthermore, I also will examine patterns on the level of community practices. This context-specific approach is broadened in terms of comparing the construction of belonging in different forms of data.

Membership categorization analysis works on all three of the dimensions defined as relevant for belonging in the community of interest: spatial, social and temporal. Spatial categorizations are contextually dependent and are bound to other categorization practices. They are "locally organized" (Schegloff, 1972, 93), for example by the "non-co-presence" and "co-presence" of speakers (Schegloff,

46 The demand of "definiteness" in knowing what a speaker means is a claim that actually cannot be fulfilled, neither by analysts nor by other participants in the same interaction or from the same community (Quine 2000). This problem is also considered by Coseriu (1955–56, 45, emphasis in the original): "en todo momento, lo que efectivamente *se dice* es menos de lo que *se expresa* y *se entiende*" ('in every instant what is said is less than what is expresses and what is understood', RV).

1972, 85), and by social categorizations of the interlocutors. Choices when formulating location are also bound to the allocated memberships of speakers. If the counterpart in interaction can be assumed to be from the same community, the speaker will use other devices to speak about place than she would when speaking to an outsider (Schegloff, 1972, 93). By analyzing how people speak about place, we can make sense of a "social actors' interpretive and interactional reasoning in relation to the negotiation, navigation and comprehension of space and place" (Housley & Smith, 2011, 698). By relating the spatial terms used in interaction and attaching a normative or hierarchical order to them, speakers present a "common sense geography" (Schegloff 1972, 85; McHoul & Watson 1984, 283) or "common sense topography" (Smith, 2013). This conveys how speakers organize the world around them in spatial terms, and how they attach a "moral" and a "social order" to this kind of organization (McCabe & Stokoe 2004; Stokoe & Wallwork 2003). In conceptualizing space Schegloff (1972, 99f.) identifies five ways for formulating location: geographical labels (G), terms related to members (R_m), terms expressing spatial relations (R_l), terms referring to actions[47], and place names (R_n). Especially the R_m terms are crucial for categorizing belonging according to spatial dimensions:

> "These special R_m terms, 'the X' type R_m terms, and especially the term 'home', have the special character not only of 'belonging to' the member in relation to whom they are formulated, but, as we noted earlier, such a place is for a member 'where he belongs'" (Schegloff, 1972, 97).

The deictic expression *aquí,* 'here', which we will look at thoroughly in the analytical chapters, can be recognized as an R_m term, related not only to one member, but to the whole community of the Nueva Alianza. It is 'loaded' with social significance and is crucial for expressing belonging within formulations of place. Schegloff emphasizes that place formulation is also influenced by the content of interaction, as speakers assemble topics with specific place formulations. For example, when people from the Nueva Alianza speak about the *finca* as a place, the topic mostly focuses on stories centered on the experience of working under the *patrono.* An analysis of categorizations in spatial dimensions, thus, involves a consideration of "this conversation, at this place, with these members, at this point in its course" (Schegloff, 1972, 115): in other words, a situated sequential analysis of the interaction, membership categorizations, place formulations and topics, i.e. "location analysis", "membership analysis" and "topic analysis".

47 Schegloff (1972) does not provide a token for action-oriented space formulations.

For categorizations within social dimensions, speakers can display membership to certain groups and account for allocated behavior and practices within these groups, as well as evaluate them. Also, the delineation from other groups is an indicator of the social boundaries speakers draw around their 'own' group (Wimmer, 2008, 975). The categories are displayed within members' interactions and henceforth negotiated or adapted within discourse. They are, in that sense, always co-constructed, as membership categorization is a recipient-designed and sequentially contingent phenomenon. Social categories can be "creative understandings […] that are already charged with social meanings" (De Fina, 2003, 185), or they can be invoked as new categories adapted to meet communicative ends (Kesselheim, 2009, 317).

With regards to MCA, the temporal dimension is the one that has been discussed the least so far. Schegloff assumes the same combination of a sequential analysis of the temporal category, membership analysis of the speakers, and topic orientation to be suitable for analyzing the use of temporal formulations (Schegloff, 1972, 116). Speakers make choices in temporal formulations (as in personal and spatial categorizations) from the available options[48] depending on "specific communicative ends, in a specific context" (Enfield, 2013, 437) and adapted to a "course of action" (Enfield, 2013, 436). In their narratives (see 4.3), community members align temporal categories with certain social categories (e.g. *antes* 'before' with *patrono).* We will see in that section how categorical pairs from different dimensions of belonging align.

To conclude, the advantage of MCA is its epistemic openness to further "understanding members' practices and local orientations to 'who-we-are-and-what-we-are-doing'" (Fitzgerald, 2012, 310), also in the specific case of belonging in social, spatial and temporal dimensions. Even though Sacks' description of categories and devices seems to appear fixed and somehow cognitively 'stocked' in the speakers, he also emphasizes how they are sequentially invoked, filled and negotiated in the course of interaction. Categories "do not remain static but are continually developed, clarified, made accountable and even retrospectively modified" (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015, 14). MCA can tell us something about categorical knowledge the speakers convey and apply in interaction. As my analysis focuses on how speakers *do* belonging in interaction, a more meticulous analysis of the linguistic means (Hausendorf, 2000; Kesselheim, 2009)

48 Available options for person, spatial and time reference are summarized in Enfield (2013).

with which they do category work can complement and expand the sociological findings.[49]

4.2. Positioning

Speakers not only display and negotiate categories and related characteristics and behaviors; they also *position* themselves and others within a certain social location (Yuval-Davis, 2010), or as a certain type of person when using them in interaction. In section 2.6.2.1, belonging was discussed in terms of social positionality and as a prerequisite for macro categories of groups and other social entities. As for tracing belonging in spoken data, the positioning of the speakers can uncover certain relations to, order of, and stance towards categories and category-bound activities. Roughly speaking, a position can be defined as "speaker's orientation to ongoing talk" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 595) and position*ing* as the linguistic practice of doing so.

Positioning theory evolved from Mannheim (2015[1929]), one of the founding fathers of the *sociology of knowledge,* emphasizing that all knowledge depends on specific positions in society. Mannheim's thoughts are elaborated later on by Berger & Luckmann (1966). Foucault (1980) introduces the concept of "subject positions", in which subjects are "*produced* within *discourse*" (Hall, 2001, 79, emphasis in the original) and placed within a network of power and knowledge. The Foucauldian concept was applied to empirical data by Hollway (1984), using gender discourses to show how they "make available positions for subjects to take up" (Hollway, 1984, 236). Hollway suggests that access to certain discourses endowed with rules, obligations and powers (like the "sexually driven man" or the "monogamously committed woman") provides subjects with positions from which they can relate to others. A less static and more interaction-oriented theory of positioning was introduced within the realm of psychology by Davies & Harré (1990). Positions are also seen as "taken up" or "adopted" (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, 28); however, this approach focuses on speech acts and indexicality as a means of taking a position, and emphasizes its link to context (Davies & Harré, 1990, 43). The concept of position is intended to replace (Davies & Harré 1990, 43; Harré & van Langenhove 1999, 14) or supplement

49 As Hausendorf (2000, 13) points out, Sacks' famous analysis of "the baby cried, the mommy picked it up" did not consider an analysis of "the" as an article before "mommy" (and "baby") and "mommy" as a term of affection different to for example "mum" (Quasthoff, 1978). An analysis of the linguistic nuances underpins the insight that the "mommy" is most certainly the mother of the "baby" in the predication.

(Moghaddam et al., 2008, 9) the concept of *role*. Whereas roles are criticized for focusing on "static, formal and ritualistic aspects" (Davies & Harré, 1990, 43) of the self in interaction, positioning refers to the practices by which a speaker may locate herself. A position taken up in discourse by a speaker involves certain rights and obligations:

> "Positions are clusters of beliefs about how rights and duties are distributed in the course of an episode of personal interaction and the taken-for-granted practices in which most of these beliefs are concretely realized. Positions are more often than not simply immanent in everyday practices of some group of people" (Harré et al., 2009, 9).

Hence, what a speaker may or may not do or say depends on the position she is adopting or attributing to someone else within interaction, and the affirmation of that position by the alter in conversation. Davies & Harré (1990, 46) even suggest that a speaker, when having taken up a position, acts and speaks only from that specific "vantage point", connected to "images, metaphors, story lines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned". This view appears rather deterministic given that a position is introduced as a filter for a speaker's use of categories, speech acts, language practices and behavior. Norms, rights, duties and practices related to a position (e.g. the position of a *patrono* vs. a *campesino*) are presented as cognitively stored in the subjects as "conceptual repertoire(s)" (Davies & Harré, 1990, 46), and made accountable once the position is "engaged" in interaction.[50] The interactive aspect comes into play as a "second order positioning" (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, 20), in which the other interlocutor affirms, challenges or rejects the position introduced by the speaker for herself or for an "other". The thereby achieved positions can be multiple or intersectional (as a peasant *and* a woman), which makes the normative system underlying the position and the practices associated with it even more complex. Considering the merits of positioning as an interactive phenomenon grounded in discourse, the approach of Harré and his colleagues does not refer to later empirical accounts of the "linguistic, communicative and interactional practices of positioning" (Deppermann 2013b, 4; see also Hausendorf 2000, 18, footnote). Within their analyses of – in most cases – invented and scripted interaction, positions

---

50 In later publications (Harré et al. 2009, 10; Harré 2012, 195f.), they call the step of assigning practices and categories to a position *prepositioning*. It seems to be not very different from Sacks' category-bound activities or the communicative task of *attribution* (Hausendorf, 2000).

are explained as activating certain storylines[51] according to which the interlocutors 'think' and understand the speech acts of the other. However, they do not focus on the actual sequential and processual unfolding of positions in interaction, and the linguistic means by which they are achieved and negotiated. A practice approach to positioning assumes that every utterance of a speaker, even in long monological narratives, is naturally dialogical (inter alia Coseriu 1976; Bakhtin 1987[1965], 1986[1961], 1981 and his "dialogic approach to discourse"; Wortham 2001, 17; Jungbluth 2016). If at least two interlocutors encounter each other (and the speaker could also speak to herself in this respect), "participants and analysts must understand where the speaker is placing herself interactionally" (Wortham, 2001, 19). This placement of the speaker is relational: she can only position herself in relation to the counterpart and other groups in the conversation (Bucholtz & Hall 2005, 598; Hastings & Manning 2004, 304). The positioning of the speaker is then not only achieved vis-à-vis other interlocutors or groups that are made relevant within the story; rather, the speaker also positions herself (and the characters of her narratives) within time and space (Wortham, 2001, 21f.).

Positioning is related to categorization practices and the formulation of categorical attributes (as for example in Celia Kitzinger 2003 or Deppermann 2013a, 67). Positions are, however, not identical with categories. Interlocutors speak *from* certain positions which can be "macro-level demographic categories" (e.g. gender or status), "local, ethnographically specific cultural positions" (e.g. 'being from here'), and "temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles" (e.g. as a narrator or an interviewee) (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 592). All of these different levels of interdependent positions can overlap, and are activated by speakers' use of certain cues in interaction. In narrative analysis, the positioning levels are even more complex, as speakers position characters in narrated time and themselves and others in narrating time. How positioning plays out and can be analyzed within the specific genre of narrative will be further unfolded in section 4.3.2.

---

51 We can find both orthographic forms as "story lines" or "story-lines" in the publications of Harré and his associates. Even though the semantics of story-lines already point to the crucial importance of positioning in narrative (see 4.3.2), the concept remains somewhat opaque and ambiguous. In the texts, story-lines appear as discourse (in the sense of Foucault) – e.g. "paternalism" or "feminist protest" (Davies & Harré, 1990, 57), as some kind of communicative genre – e.g. "storyline is 'instruction'" (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, 18), as the social context of an interaction – e.g. a "tutorial" (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, 17) or in the biographical concept of "life as interlinking story-lines" (Harré et al., 2009, 8).

By positioning themselves and others, speakers assign aspects of their own belonging and the belonging of others. As in the depiction of tracing categories of belonging in spoken data (4.1), linguistic means[52] of positioning will be analyzed in their situated and processual unfolding (Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2002, 200) with a conversation analytical approach (Hausendorf & Bora 2006; Day & Kjaerbeck 2013; Deppermann 2013b). In doing so, we recognize the interlocutors' "alignment" or "disalignment" (Day & Kjaerbeck, 2013, 36) with positions available in the particular interaction. Especially for the level of locally and ethnographically relevant positions in an interaction ethnographic knowledge will be additionally considered, as has been called for in Deppermann (2000).

4.3. Narrative as Practice

Narrative has been an influential concept in social and anthropological inquiries, and in theoretical thinking on culturally or contextually bound knowledge production for the past few decades. Under the auspices of the narrative turn (Andrews et al. 2008; Fahrenwald 2011, 82–97), they are now considered a privileged data form to capture the subjective meaning-making of speakers, accounts of experience and establishing of identities and belonging as a "mode of knowing" that give a temporal and chronological coherence and order to lives and history (Mitchell, 1981; Bruner, 1991; Niles, 1999; Punday, 2002; Czarniawska, 2004; Scheffel, 2012).[53]

Narratives take on a relevant position within the corpus of this book, and are a specific form of discourse in which belonging is construed on different, and sometimes intersecting, levels. The analyzed narratives told by the speakers are performances either within the interactional realm of an interview or an account of the community story for visiting tourists. How speakers refer to the past, what categories they apply and evaluate, and how they position themselves and others on the different levels of narration will be examined in detail in chapter 7. I will also assess whether there are certain shared practices common to individual performances which might indicate belonging to and with a community of narrative practice. Before describing the analytical merits of conceptualizing *narrative as practice,* both in terms of individual narrative performance and as a communally

52 For an overview of grammatical and sequentially embedded linguistic means of positioning in German and German varieties, see Günthner & Bücker (2009).

53 For an overview of narrative accounts in literary studies, see amongst others Herman (1999), for narrative theory in literary studies Phelan et al. (2012), for narrative worlds in literary and videographic accounts Michaelis (2013).

shared way of speaking, we will have a brief look at current structural and interactional conceptualizations of narrative so far.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the interest in narratives was first defined according to text organization or genre; that is, how narratives are organized sequentially and what 'ingredients' (in terms of sequential features) might constitute a 'good' story. Second, sociolinguistic approaches have focused on narrative by using criteria of a certain mode or method of speaking, taking narrating as a reflexive practice in which the narrator conveys experiences of the world, and in which she positions herself and others (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012, Chapter 1; Bamberg 2012, 79f.). In his approach to the urban Black English Vernacular spoken in the US, Labov (1972)[54] defines "narrative as one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (Labov, 1972, 359f.). Narrative clauses are the minimal units of these stories. They connect chunks of experiences in a sequential manner and "represent" the speakers experiences as "relived" in narrative. Labov collected "narratives of personal experience", having respondents tell stories about life-threatening events where they or another person were in "danger of death" (Labov, 1972, 354). In these stories, he identifies five major structural units: *abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution*, and *coda*. In the abstract, the speaker gives a short overview of what is going to happen, usually using a single clause. The orientation provides the hearer(s) with sufficient information about the characters, as well as the spatial and temporal context of the story as it unfolds. The complicating action is represented by the events told until the story is resolved. Within the coda, the narrator connects the narrative discourse with the "here and now" of interaction and ends her narration. Labov sees these units as universal elements of narrative structure and as necessary to label a narrative as "complete" (Labov, 1972, 369) or "fully-formed" (Labov, 1972, 363). However, not every narrative includes all of the outlined parts.[55]

In a secondary structure, speakers evaluate the story. Evaluations can transcend the mentioned structural units (e.g. speakers can use evaluative means in narrating the complicating action), or they can be formulated as an independent unit. They show what makes the story worth telling, the "point" of the story (Labov, 1972, 368). Speakers use different means of presenting an evaluation

54 The text is mostly based on the findings in Labov & Waletzky (1967) that laid the groundwork for the structural analysis of narratives.

55 For example, in his analysis of predominantly racist "complaint stories", van Dijk (1987, 70) finds that the resolution is missing to present the point of the story as an unresolved issue.

within the narrative. "External evaluation" describes speakers "stepping outside" of the story to tell the hearer explicitly about its point. Secondly, speakers can "embed" evaluations by giving voices to the characters or assign specific "evaluative actions" to them.[56] Evaluations are produced by different linguistic means such as intensifiers, comparators, correlatives and explicatives within the narrative, weaving simple syntactical structures into more complex ones (Labov, 1972, 378–393).

In Labov (1972), we also find the first attempts at analysis for what is known today as a narrator's positioning and voicing of self and others within the concept of evaluation. However, in this approach, narratives are functionally defined as stories of personal experience performed according to a predefined structure and elicited within interviews. Labov also proposes that ways of speaking or different practices of narrative evaluation are socially stratified. The definition of narrative in Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) has influenced a large number of narrative studies, especially on auto-biographical stories and narratives as representations of events and speakers' identities.[57] The data presented in these papers, however, appear to represent monolingual accounts using only a trigger question from the interviewer to show interactional features. The narratives are detached from co-text and context, and analyzed mainly in universalistic structural terms.

Within anthropological structural approaches to narrative, known as *ethnopoetics* (Hymes, 1981, 1989, 2004; Tedlock, 1972; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Gee, 1986), the analytic focus lies within "different linguistic resources that languages and peoples employ in storytelling and on the links between narratives and socioculturally mediated ways of apprehending reality" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, 36f.). Ethnopoetics envision – like sociolinguistics – dependencies between forms of telling (poetics of narration) and culturally or ethnically specific meaning, focusing specifically on oral traditions and marginalized forms of narrative. Units of description are *lines*, *verses*, *stanzas* and *scences*.[58] Looking at the poetic

56 Labov connects external evaluation mostly to shared narrative practices of "middle-class narrators" (Labov, 1972, 371), whereas he finds embedded evaluations and altering of narrative syntax with skilled speakers of the black vernacular.

57 The ongoing impact of Labov and Waletzky's model and new developments and discussions on it can be found in the numerous contributions to Bamberg (1997).

58 The conceptual definitions of these units within the ethnopoetic analysis can differ depending on the authors. A line in Gee (1986, 395) is an "idea unit", whereas Scollon & Scollon (1981) define lines as a mere "utterance". Verses are complete sentences (Scollon & Scollon, 1981) or "sentence-like contours that have proven to be the central

and culturally specific organization of narrative texts shifts the focus of analysis from mostly content-related structures, as in Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972), to content as an "effect of the formal organization of narrative: What there is to be told emerges out of how it is being told" (Blommaert, 2007, 216). Narrating is conceptualized as a *shared practice* in which structural features represent cultural features of the community where these narratives are being shared and told.[59] However, the analytical toolkit (in terms of verses, stanzas and scenes) has remained rather vague and varying in scope and definition. Where a verse, stanza and scene start and end is often a matter of the researcher's interpretation, who, in turn, needs very specific linguistic and ethnographic knowledge about the community and narrative forms in question. Narratives analyzed as poetic performances are presented as monological 'artifacts', as pieces of oral culture. Even though the ethnographically-oriented analyses consider the context of narrative performance as well as the audience and occasions of narrating, interaction between interlocutors rarely plays a role in the research on these 'artifacts'.

Within the conversation analytical approach to narrative (Sacks et al. 1974; Sacks 1995; Schegloff 1997b; Antaki & Widdicombe 1998, see also section 4.1 of this book), interaction and the structural organization of narrative as an action occurring between two or more interlocutors has been given greater emphasis. Most of conversation analytical approaches to narrative focus on structural aspects of narrative openings and closings, and less on the actual narrative content in the "middle" (e.g. Jefferson 1978).[60] It also covers how narratives are recipient-designed, and its organization oriented toward how much the hearer knows or requests about the story (Goodwin, 1986). Narrative is analyzed as co-constructed, emerging during interaction, embedded into local discourse, and observing the positions of the tellers (Quasthoff & Becker, 2004, 3f.). A strict conversation analytical approach, however, focuses on the "here and now" of telling – on the sequential and local production of narrative. Reference to discourses and contexts

building blocks of narrative form" (Hymes, 1996, 144). Stanzas are defined as lines with a parallel structure (Gee, 1986, 396) or "internal cohesion" (Hymes, 1981, 150) and display a similarity in the speakers orientation within the narrative. Scenes, finally, are one or more stanzas related within a specific content-context of the narrative (coherent spatial, temporal or personal relations within one scene) (Hymes, 1981, 171).

59 The influence of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Whorf, 2008) is evident here.

60 This is not to say that Sacks would not be interested in "topic talk" as part of the "overall structure of a conversation" (Sacks, 1995, 309).

beyond the situated narrative are usually not considered in a strong conversation analytical approach.

De Fina & Georgakopoulou (2008a,b, 2012) attempt to tie aspects of all three approaches together by analyzing *narrative as practice* using a "social interactional approach". Focusing on narrative as practice considers the local contexts of narrative production as specific variables in the analysis of narrative: "time, place, relations between interlocutors, events in which the storytelling is inserted, salient topics discussed before and after the narrative" and "narrative interactional dynamics (such as telling roles and telling rights, audience reactions, etc.)" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a, 381). The narratives "unfold" in these contexts, and are therefore not simple "artefacts"[61] within a social vacuum. The role of the other interlocutors is crucial. They might alter the narrative with responses and reactions, and even play a role in monologically designed narratives, as they are still aimed at a specific audience with a specific assumed knowledge – or lack thereof – of the story (the interviewer, the tourists, the readers of a book etc.) (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a, 381). The participants, even though assuming the role of mere (passive) hearers in the interaction, are hence understood as co-constructors of the narrative. The analytical approach to narratives as practice aims to "go beyond the local level of interaction and find articulations between the micro- and the macro-levels of social action and relationships" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a, 382), and thus goes beyond inquiries of conversation-analytical approaches. The argument is that observable phenomena on the micro-level of narrative can only be made sense of if the analyst taps into larger discourses and categories on the macro-level. The notion of practice refers to the "habituality and regularity in discourse in the sense of recurrent evolving responses to given situations, while allowing for emergence and situational contingency" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a, 383). For the communicative genre of narrative (Deppermann et al., 2016, 12f.), this means that there might be frequently practiced patterns or structures of telling past events or of positioning oneself as a speaker. However, as narrating is a practice people engage in regularly and habitually, it can also be adapted to audiences, contexts, and of course be rendered through local interaction: in other words, they are objects of "recontextualization" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2008a, 384, or "relocalizations" in terms of Pennycook 2010).

Specific forms of narrative practices (in forms of habitualized and constantly innovated routines) are related to specific communities of practice (see section 3.4). Narratives form part of the community's repertoire of language

61 De Fina & Georgakopoulou (2008a) use the British English spelling.

practices and are "[…] inflected, nuanced, reworked, strategically adapted to perform acts of group identity, to reaffirm roles and group-related goals, expertise, shared interests, etc." (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a, 384). Speakers tell stories about themselves and their trajectories during times of community transformation. Looking at recurrent patterns of narrative structure, categorizations and positionings in these individual performances, we can find collectively shared "ways of telling" peculiar to this community, and expressed through "the articulation of linguistic and rhetorical resources […] story schemata, rhetorical and performance devices, styles, that identify them as members of a specific community" (De Fina, 2003, 19).

Methodologically, an approach to narrative as practice implies a "nose to data"-view and interactional features explicitly marked in data transcription. It also emphasizes the need for ethnographic knowledge about the community of practice, the discursive context and the speakers' relations when it comes to data analysis. Narrative is viewed as a practice interlinked or enmeshed with others, such as interview practices or practices of community touring; hence, the narrative is also historically situated between past and emergent forms of narrating within the community of practice. Therefore, a corpus such as the present one (c.f. section 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 for a detailed introduction) – with comparable narratives told by different speakers of the same community in comparable contexts (or same speakers in different contexts) – can tell us more about the constructions of belonging in this specific type of discourse.

Before we look at some specifics of membership categorization and positioning in narrative discourse, we will investigate the function of narrative as a privileged locus for belonging constructions.

4.3.1. Narrative and Belonging

Telling stories is a basic and everyday communicative practice in which speakers express how they make sense of the world and themselves (Bruner, 2002). The self in a narrative approach is seen as something which is construed through narrating past events and memories adapted for the purposes of the "here and now" – the local performance of narration. The self is a product of its "narrativization" (Hall, 1996, 4) and can be articulated as coherent, as a result of interwoven events or as characterized by biographic ruptures, depending on the interpretative frames ("Deutungsmuste[r] und Interpretationen", Schütze 1983, 284) the speaker gives to her own biography or singular life events. A narrative formation of the self is based on the narrative organization of what we have experienced and what we remember:

> "The inseparability of narrative and self is grounded in the phenomenological assumption that entities are given meaning through being experienced […] and the notion that narrative is an essential resource in the struggle to bring experiences to conscious awareness. At any point in time, our sense of entities, including ourselves, is an outcome of our subjective involvement in the world. Narrative mediates this involvement. Personal narratives shape how we attend to and feel about events. They are partial representations and evocations of the world as we know it" (Ochs & Capps, 1996, 21).

The act of narrating is an act of constituting and making sense of the self by assembling events from a specific point of view in chronological order and connecting them in a sensible way. Narrative "construes significant wholes out of scattered events" (Ricoeur, 1981, 176). These narrative life accounts often take the form of autobiographies in which certain memories and events are chosen by the speaker as "fragmented experience" (Ochs & Capps, 1996, 22), with the goal of creating a picture of how she wants to be seen by others as well as by herself. In rather essentialist conceptualizations of identity, the "self" is seen as an entity portrayed through "represented subjectivity" in autobiographical narrative (White & Epston, 1990; Cohler, 1988). The temporality of events and their organization into a seemingly logical and chronological order gives the speaker the possibility to account for the person she wants to be seen as – the interpretation and organization she gives to her trajectory of life. Thus, especially in psychological research, but also in sociological inquiries, narrative was conceived as an accessible representation of the speaker's subjectivity. It provides a "unitary frame" of "time, space and personhood" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, 378) for speakers to display a way to make sense of themselves (or not, for example in case of psychological illness or in case of a biography deviating from social norms).

Yuval-Davis (2010, 266) introduces articulations of social locations in terms of "narratives, stories that people tell themselves and others about who they are, and who they are not, as well as who and how they would like to/should be". The process of narrating then is a process of identification which is bound to different practices of belonging – to social groups as well as to specific spaces (ibid. 203). Identification, in Yuval-Davis' terms, is thus an agent-centered expression of belonging that can be grasped by looking at peoples' narratives. In these narratives, they make sense of their social locations and of the ideologies underlying specific social and spatial locations within society. The narratives are performed and related to current discourses on belonging. They also have a dialogical character and stand in relation to an "other" (Yuval-Davis, 2010, 269ff.).

Current sociolinguistic approaches to narrative as a place for self-construction focus on the discursive means speakers use to position themselves in the locally and interactively organized formation of narrative. The self does not always have to

be narrated as a product of a series of past events, but can also be found in narrative accounts concerning the present or future projections (Ochs, 1997, 190). In analyzing speakers' identity work, the preference for "life stories or autobiographies, or at least stories of life determining (or threatening) episodes" (Bamberg, 2006, 2) – the "big stories" (Bamberg, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2006) – has been complemented by a focus on "small-stories" (Georgakopoulou, 2007, 2006; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008a; Bamberg, 2006, 2007; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). Small stories are different from what Bamberg and his colleagues call the "narrative canon" which usually comprises narratives being "researcher prompted, personal experience, past events" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, 381). To broaden the definition of narrative and to account for narratives as practice, small stories include "underrepresented narrative activities, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events and shared (known) events, but it also captures allusions to (previous) tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, 381). An approach to narrative as practice – as being emergent, co-constructed and tied to macro-levels of social action – applies to the analysis of both "big stories" and "small stories". The narratives in the corpus of this book correspond rather to the definition of "big stories" as the speakers tell the "life determining" episode of their community's transformation and their own experiences during that time. Narrating their story gives the speakers the opportunity to reconstruct the past, to position themselves and others within it, to make sense of who they were and who they have become, and also to reconcile past actions and deal with experiences of injustice (Czyżewsky et al., 1995, 78). By looking at narrative practice, we can analyze belonging as social identification and relation to temporal and spatial categories, as well as a communally shared practice (see 2.7) by means of categorization (4.1), positioning (4.2) and shared patterns in narrating. We can see how speakers express belonging and make it relevant in the stories they tell to others and members of their own community of practice.

The aspects of membership categorization and positioning outlined in section 4.1 and 4.2 apply for narrative as a form of spoken discourse, too. However, some specificity surrounding the positioning within narrative analysis must be considered due to the particularities of narratives in this corpus (personal accounts of past events). We need to trace different lines of action which are unfolded by the speaker: the narrated time and the narrative time. This is why I will consider positioning in narrative separately in the following section.

4.3.2. Positioning in Narrative

Speakers engaged in narration operate within different time depths, namely, narrated time and narrative time. While the first refers to the time within the story or the account the speaker tells, the latter refers to the actual time in the "here and now" of local interaction. Whereas the time in the "here and now" is sequential, narrated time does not necessarily have to follow that order, but can be a "narrative/experiential time model rather than a clock/chronological one" (Mishler, 2006, 37). Speakers can jump between different time depths in the story, and do not necessarily tell it in chronological order. They can also switch between the story level and the level of metacommunication, for example to explicitly evaluate or comment on the narration. Hence, in narrative analysis we have to consider a double perspective of time and a dual speaker in terms of a narrating self and a narrated self (Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2002, 202). The narrator performs acts of self- and other-positioning of the narrated self and of the other characters introduced in the story. She is able to evaluate these positionings within the story itself, or step outside of it to view it from another perspective. Narrating aspects of the self as personal experiences or life-changing events might change the speaker with regards to who she wants to be or how she wants to be perceived (Wortham, 2000, 157).

Interactional self- and other-positioning of the narrator and the hearer as well as multiple forms of positioning on the content level of narratives are envisioned in the model of Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann (2002). It shows that the multidimensionality of positionings in narrative requires a thorough analysis on all levels of narration. Another model operating at the same levels as do Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann (2002), but adding connections to broader social categories or positions indexed in the narrative, is the complex positioning model of Bamberg & Georgakopoulou (2008). They form an analysis of positioning on the level of the story itself (positioning level 1), the local level of interactive narrative production (positioning level 2), and connections of the local interaction to broader discourses (positioning level 3). Bamberg and Georgakopoulou emphasize that this kind of analysis puts forward a conceptualization of different kinds of speaker positions – negotiated, acted out and performed on different levels of interaction. Furthermore, they show how small stories' multi-leveled positioning in narrative go beyond structural or interactive access to narrative "as content", pursued by many scholars interested in big stories. They argue that a multi-layered and multi-leveled analysis reveals manifold practices acted out locally, all playing into different (interactive, narrated, performed) identities jointly building a bigger picture "*a process* of constant change at the same time

as resulting in a sense of sameness" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, 393, emphasis in the original).

In his approach to autobiographical narratives and the constructions of selves and belonging, Wortham (2000, 2001) takes an interactional approach from a slightly different angle. Even though interaction between narrators and hearers is part of the analytical endeavor, Wortham bases his thoughts on interaction on Bakhtin's (1986[1961]; 1981) philosophical theory of dialog.[62] Criticizing narrative being viewed as a mere representation of the narrators' identity, Wortham emphasises that discourse (and hence, narrative) is naturally dialogic in the sense that it is embedded in uncountable utterances before and after what the researcher can observe and record *in situ:* "Interpretation of an utterance also requires construal of a second, interactional level, because the words used in any utterance have been spoken by others" (Wortham, 2001, 21). By re-uttering those words associated with certain connotations or meanings exceeding the semantic level, the speaker positions herself in the "represented content" (Wortham, 2001, 22). Speakers are "using words that index some social position(s) because these words are characteristically used by members of certain groups" (Wortham, 2001, 38). Constructed dialogue (Tannen, 1986, 1989) is perhaps the most direct way of voicing other positions, but is also found in other instances of interaction. By taking on different voices, speakers index different positions they either align with or dissociate from. *Voicing* is a special form of contextualization cue or index, as it metaphorically transmits a "whole person" (Bakhtin 1984[1963] in Wortham 2001, 39) and their assumed stances, characteristics and social embeddedness with respect to the participants of the interaction. Voices can be manifested and solidified by other contextual cues which indicate a certain "reading" of the voice and it's positioning to other voices present and presented in discourse. Sometimes, the line between voice and position is blurred in Wortham's approach. Conceptualized as a contextualization cue, the voice of the speaker indexes a certain position, but it seems that positioning and voicing are sometimes interchangeable. Wortham seems to lose the selectivity in his analytical conceptualizations here, especially when the reader understands that "being voiced" (Wortham, 2001, 40) is actually meant as "being positioned" in the analysis.[63]

---

62 The idea of the relational dialogue between an "I" and a "you" as existential for the becoming of the "I" goes back to Buber's (2008[1923]) *dialogic principle,* which he developed in the 1920s as part of his religious philosophy.

63 Ribeiro (2006, 74) provides a different and more distinctive definition of the often interchanged terms "footing", "position" and "voice". Another perspective on "footing" can be found in Nogué Serrano (2013).

Finally, positioning described by Bamberg & Georgakopoulou (2008) as positioning on level 3 taps into larger social processes of the community of practice itself, or refers to macro-discourses or dominant discourses. By narrating, speakers can not only position themselves and others as specific types of people, but can also find social positions within macro-discourses for their community of practice. Looking at individual narrative performances and symbolic practices of a group of Italian migrants in a New York card games club, De Fina (2008, 439) finds that

> "storytelling functions through specific interactional and structural mechanisms at an individual level to modify the position of members with respect to each other, at a collective level to implement a particular image of the club, and at a macro level as a symbolic practice through which members of the club negotiate and construct new perceptions about the social position and identity of the ethnic group to which they claim allegiance".

By positioning the group within larger discourses, for example the discourse revolving around land appropriation and categories as *campesino, colono* and *patrono,* which are historically shaped and related to specific positions and behavioral attributions in Guatemalan society, a narrator can recontextualize, claim, or dismiss said positions and categories for herself or for the group she belongs to. The narratives could also point to metanarratives or *grand narratives* (Lyotard, 1979) like "good vs. evil" or "David vs. Goliath", in which the framing of the local narration is organized. Pointing to larger social action and macro-discourses in which the group is positioned, "narrative activity can be seen as having a central role among the symbolic practices […] in which social groups engage to carry out struggles for legitimation and recognition in order to accumulate symbolic capital and greater social power" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008b, 280).

Focusing on narrative as practice requires the analytical recognition of complex layers of positioning on micro-, meso- and macro-levels of interaction, while also considering dimensions of narrated time and narrating time. It provides a holistic window into the speaker's reconstructions of experiences and points to her ongoing interactive positionings within specific contexts of narrating and adapted to specific audiences.

4.4. Interim Conclusion – What to *Do* with the Data?

Speakers *do* belonging by categorizing and positioning themselves and others in interaction. These categorizations and positionings emerge sequentially, are context-bound and recipient-designed. A methodological approach combining features of MCA, CA and positioning analysis is the three-step system of

Hausendorf (2000), which is largely based on Sacks' foundational work on MCA, but adds an evaluative layer to the analysis and focuses specifically on linguistic means in category work. First, Hausendorf looks at the categorizations speakers display; he then looks at attributions (predicates, category-bound activities), and finally evaluations of the categories and connected qualifying descriptions. Categorization, attribution and evaluation are primary, secondary and tertiary communicative tasks. Hausendorf (2000, 107ff.) also meticulously analyzes the linguistic means and forms with which these tasks are achieved. This kind of MCA includes various layers of conversational work which is considered as surpassing the 'mere' category and tells us more about the interactional embeddedness and constructedness of the category at hand. Hausendorf's model already encompasses an analytical moment for positioning analysis, as attributions to and evaluations of categories can point to the position the speaker assigns to herself and others. Additional linguistic means can index positionings as well. For example, the use of verbs (in their variations of transitive/intransitive, passive/active, tense etc.) as "metapragmatic descriptors" (Wortham, 2001, 71), quoted speech, "crossing" (Rampton, 2000) and deictics (Duszak, 2002; Jungbluth, 2005) can point to varying positions in interaction.

So, in the first phase of analysis we will look at the categories and positions at play in interaction, and at the linguistic means of their introduction, negotiation and possible co-construction. As is now clear beyond any doubt, we will focus the analysis not only on the content level of 'what is said', but especially on the interactional level of 'how, by whom and in which context' it is expressed. In the second phase of analysis we can compare the findings from data sources embedded in comparable context and from different speakers of the community, as well as from the same speakers in different contexts. The emergence of shared patterns in, for example, structural organization, characters' and speakers' positionings, applied and filled categories in interaction, and specifically narrative interactions, point to shared practices within the community that speakers may use to display their belonging beyond linguistic instantiations. Looking for iterative moments in the corpus involves "going beyond the here-and-now storytelling event to the trajectory and circulation of a story in different environments as well as to the recurrence of a specific kind of story in similar social settings" (Georgakopoulou, 2013, 92). Therefore, an ethnographic approach to data collection (see chapter 5) and data analysis with local and social involvement of the researcher is pivotal.

5. Data Collection and Processing

In this chapter I will introduce the methods of collection, processing and analysis of the data. All three steps of data handling are a process of data selection by the researcher. The type and quality of data collection depends on the kind of access the researcher has to the community. It further depends on what data she deems relevant for her research question – in this case, establishing and negotiating belonging. In this chapter, I will elaborate on where, when and how I carried out the data collection and how the spoken data was transcribed. In the first sections of this chapter (5.1, 5.1.1 and 5.1.2), the research field is described in terms of population, its geographical location and the social relations of its inhabitants. In section 5.1.3, the organizations and projects of the community are briefly introduced. The process of relating to the community's inhabitants and approaching the data collection in the field are presented as an ethnographic account in section 5.2. My own relations to the community members as a participant observer and their consequences for my fieldwork are illuminated in section 5.3. The corpus is introduced in detail in section 5.4, focusing on narrative accounts within the interviews (5.4.1), narrative accounts for visitors (5.4.2), other interactions with outsiders (5.4.3) and community interactions (5.4.4). The chapter concludes with an outline of my choice of data transcription and selection (5.5).

5.1. The Field

In order to understand the narratives of the community and how its members communicate their sense of belonging, some 'hard facts' about the community are necessary here. There are no community chronicles such as reliable church registers or other 'official' sources; therefore, the data provided here stems mostly from information granted by the community's inhabitants themselves, especially the Alianza's official representative (Javier) and my own observations during my four-months stay in the village. This is supplemented by a website[64] the community ran in the past, with some general information and several reports from national and international NGOs and governmental institutions where the Nueva Alianza is discussed. One of the published reports is Grosen's (2012) assessment of the economic development of the community enterprise with regard to the

64 http://www.comunidadnuevaalianza.org, last accessed 18.09.2017.

Danish Government's developmental program (PREMACA[65]). Within this program, the community produced a promotional video in 2011 that is accessible on youtube[66]. In this video the inhabitants tell their story and provide information about their current organization.

5.1.1. Population

The community consists of roughly 77 nuclear family units belonging to a network of around 40 families with wider family relational ties. All in all, the number of inhabitants comprises around 350 people. Even though the majority of adolescents leave for the bigger cities of Retaluheu, Quetzaltenango and Guatemala City at some point in their education to pursue vocational training or university degrees, the overall number appears to have remained relatively stable. This may be due to the fact that educated young community members tend to come back to the Alianza and apply their skills at home. This desire to return home after completing a professional education or university degree is expressed by all of my younger informants in the interviews. Apart from their accounts during the course of the interviews in 2009, this was also observable on the ground. Between my two research stays in 2009 and 2011, I saw a few of the adolescents leaving to pursue training or studies, while others came back having completed their academic or vocational training. As the community enterprise is able to provide jobs, young and well-educated community members come back to build families of their own. Hence, the Alianza, at least until 2011, had no issues with declining numbers of inhabitants due to emigration.

In terms of religion, the community comprises a mixture of a Catholic majority and a Protestant minority. While the Catholic community members used the church for many religious occasions and a monthly church service, the Protestant inhabitants had no specific building for religious purposes, but rather carried out services in the homes of members of the Protestant community.

5.1.2. Location and Structure

The community is geographically located on the foothills of two volcanoes. To reach the village from the nearest town Retalhuleu, people have to take a dirt track north, often covered in mud or blocked by brushwood. The Alianza people

65 *Programa Regional de Medio Ambiente en Centroamérica* 'Regional Program of Environment in Central America'.

66 Documentary "Comunidad Nueva Alianza" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z_6pZq8rmqA, last accessed 27.08.2017.

take this ride around once a week to shop for groceries and run other errands in town. The students entering secondary education (around the age of 16 years) tend to go to town almost every day, as the community only provides education until the end of the *basico* cycle, when the students have completed their eighth year of school. The bus leaves once a day, very early in the morning if it is not broken (which happens more often than one would imagine). Other than that, jeeps drive past the community and may be ridden for a small amount of Quetzales. The journey is rather tiring, and most of the community members (old and young) told me that they prefer to stay in the Alianza and avoid trips to town. The neighboring communities further up and down the hill are within an hour's walking distance.

There is a main street running through the community (for orientation see figure 1). On its western side, the projects are organized around a nucleus up of the former house of the *patrono.* During my two stays, this house was operating as an eco-hotel with rented rooms equipped with bunk-beds, a kitchen and a bathroom. Other community projects are also located around the center. Back in 2009 this included a coffee mill, an office and macadamia nut processing facility, a spring water bottling facility, a health center, a bio-diesel and bio-gas refinery, as well as a bamboo workshop. In 2011, the latter two had closed down, leaving the other projects and the eco-hotel as active businesses. On the east side of the street, the Catholic church faced the center.[67] The school is located next to the church. Whereas the children took classes in a small building next to the macadamia facility in 2009, a proper school with separated classrooms had been built with the help of national funds in 2011. Following the street to the north, the community members' houses are located on the left and right sides, forming a denser dwelling circle behind the church and school, and another up at the intersection where a short street crosses the one in the north. The area is surrounded by thick rain forest and the cultivated fields of the macadamia and coffee plantations. The whole plantation has around 100 hectares of productive soil in the areas up and down the mountain.

In terms of transport connectivity, but also geographically, the community is rather isolated. The road heading north leads to another village a couple of kilometers away and ends there. To the east, the community is flanked by two volcanoes (Santa María and the smaller, still active, Santiaguito); forests and fields extend to the west and leave a view almost to the Pacific shore in clear weather.

67 In August 2016, the church was torn down. It is planned to replace it with a new one.

Figure 1: Simple Map of the Nueva Alianza

5.1.3. Organization and Projects

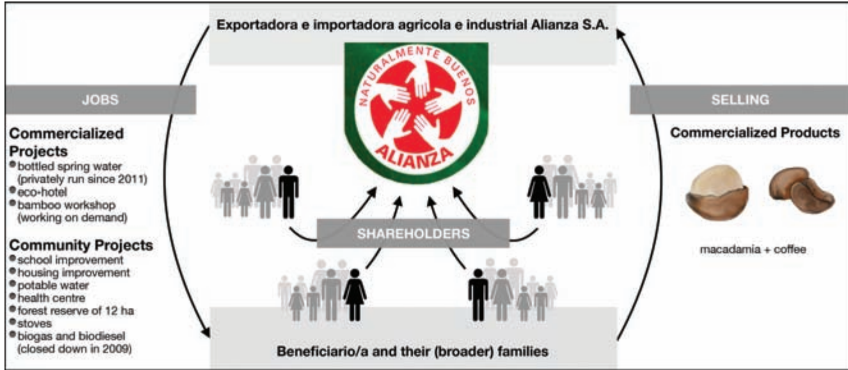
After the appropriation of the *finca* (see 1.2), the production and sale of agricultural products were conducted mostly informally (Grosen, 2012, 43). To make both processes more profitable and legal, the community sought assistance from the *Asociación Guatemalteca de Exportadores* (*AGEXPORT*), an organization which helped them organize 'officially' as the enterprise *Exportadora e*

importadora agricola e industrial Alianza S.A. in 2008. Until 2011, 40 *beneficiarios* 'beneficiaries' – the heads of the families who were usually the father or the widowed mother – were shareholders in the company. In 2011, three shareholders and their families left the project. This made it necessary to redefine what it means to belong to the community project, and hence the community itself, and can be seen as one of these precarious moments where a continuous negotiation of belonging takes center stage (see 8.2). During my second stay in the community, these matters where negotiated publicly in community meetings and led to a feeling of unease for many inhabitants. The stories of the community Nueva Alianza and of the company *Exportadora e importadora agricola e industrial Alianza S.A.* are intertwined and affect the organization of the community. The enterprise focuses on the exportation of macadamia and coffee. It also implements the other commercial community projects aimed at paying back the debt to *Banrural*: the eco-hotel, the bottled spring water plant and the bamboo workshop making artisanal products and furniture. In 2011, the bottled spring water facility went bankrupt and has been leased by the Alianza enterprise to three private contractors from the community (Grosen, 2012, 43). The bamboo workshop only produced on demand when there was a specific order for furniture or small artisanal products from within the community or from the surrounding villages and cities. The company, however, also conducts social projects within the community: among others a health center, a school kitchen and better housing and living conditions for community members. All of these enterprises create job opportunities for people living in the Alianza, for example as cooks and maids in the eco-hotel, as masons and electricians in the building sector, as teachers in the school, nurses in the health center and accountants managing the financial aspects of the projects (see figure 2).

The fertile land surrounding the area was worked communally until 2011. Every family got the same share of the revenue from produce sold to the enterprise to be processed, packaged and exported. In 2011, during my second research stay, portions of land were assigned to the shareholders in a lottery. Now, every family owns a piece of land to grow macadamia and/or coffee plants and sells the raw fruit to the Alianza enterprise individually. This step was taken based on the interest of the majority of shareholders, who claimed that they wanted to retain a piece of land that could be inherited by their own children, or to sustain them in case the company went bankrupt again (something many of them experienced back in the 1990s). As we can see in figure 2, the community members

and the company are basically inseparable.[68] Either the inhabitants themselves are shareholders, or their fathers, mothers, uncles or some other close relative. Most people hold a position provided by the projects and/or they farm the land to harvest the product which is sold to the Alianza enterprise. The enterprise can be seen as a collective endeavor of the community.

Figure 2: Relations of the Community and the Company



In terms of organization, the enterprise is led by a CEO who is also the official representative of the workers union of the community (and, hence, something akin to a mayor). Javier holds both positions[69] and is the one organizing and chairing meetings (community and enterprise-related), inviting and coordinating assistance from incoming NGOs and other organizations and has an overview of accounts and administration. The different projects, then, are managed by an elected official and controlled and supervised by groups formed

68 During my first research stay in 2009, it took me a lot of time to figure out that there was a difference – at least a legal one – between the community and its entrepreneurial actions. The same people showed up for meetings regarding community issues (like discussions about how to best fertilize land or how to organize the school kitchen), and likewise for decisions within the realm of the enterprise (e.g. reports from Javier concerning company revenues or whether to buy a new vehicle for the enterprise). When my informants spoke about things "the community" does, often they were indeed things concerning "the community company".

69 This concentration of power is an issue that some of the community members mentioned off-record as an occasionally problematic situation. In 2011, during the second research stay, the role of the community leader was assigned to another male community member who formed an active part in the occupation and the struggle for the *finca*.

by shareholders. Beyond this organization, the community itself hosts further democratically regulated groups as well. In 2011, the Alianza had a womens' committee (*comité de mujeres*), a group focusing on educational and school matters (*comité de educación*) and a general executive board (*junta directiva*) of representatives to discuss community issues.

To sum up, the community Nueva Alianza is a rather inaccessible and secluded space, organized as a collection of interrelated families. Almost the whole community is directly or indirectly involved in the business of the community-run company *Exportadora e importadora agricola e industrial Alianza S.A.* They are united by a shared story of suffering (see section 1.2) and the continued mission to pay back a loan to a bank by engaging in several projects that are democratically organized.

5.2. Accessing the Field

After having provided some general information about the community and its organization, I will now outline the story of how I accessed this community, was introduced to the community as a fieldwork area, and the opportunities, struggles and advantages of collecting data in a place like the Alianza. In anthropological endeavors, ethnographic fieldwork is both a central and a notoriously difficult topic (see for example Watson 1999; Robben & Sulka 2006; Okely 2012). The researcher collects data within a community and involves herself in the life-worlds of her participants:

> "Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally" (Brewer, 2000, 10).

This has some implications for the way the data collection process is described, as the researcher herself is one of its main 'tools' for achieving a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of the field and the relationships of the people living in it. The accounts presented in the following section have a rather subjective quality because they refer to my lived experiences in the field. First, however, they are *reflective* accounts of an 'outsider' in the community complementing the spoken data used in the analysis by elucidating their genesis and the situatedness of the researcher gathering them. Second, the observations and descriptions of relations in the field complement the spoken accounts of the consultants. Insights in the field and into the contexts of language production can support the

analysis in terms of relevancy, interpretation and situatedness of language practices (Deppermann, 2000).

Since learning about the struggles of the Mexican Zapatistas and the peak of their activities in 1994 during my Master's in Global Studies, I was interested in Latin American issues of land re-appropriation. I was especially intrigued by the intertwining of local, national and global networks of the struggling groups – mostly farmers in rural contexts and people from ethnic or indigenous minorities. Still engaged with my Master's thesis in the field of sociology, I wanted to approach this question ideally within a more closed community context. While outlining my rough ideas about a possible study of collective identity based on connections with other organizations in a rural Latin American context, a friend and fellow student of mine, Lucy Russell, suggested the community Nueva Alianza in Guatemala. She had visited it and told me about its unique history of land struggle, about their ethics of community, their connectedness in the realm of NGOs and other organizations, and about their accessibility. Their story and setting, as well as their apparent openness to visitors, seemed to be the perfect fit for my research. After contacting the community, I booked my flight and arrived in mid-June 2009.

I came to the Nueva Alianza with a loose idea based on what I already knew about the projects from the website and the information I had received from Lucy. Although geographically isolated, the different organizational committees of the Alianza made great efforts to join forces with local, national and global NGOs, university students, foreign volunteers and different types of unions and engineering programs. Their aim was to improve the status quo in organic and fair trade production and gain expertise and money for the other projects. Hence, my first research question was whether the community inhabitants could relate to being part of an *imagined community* (Anderson, 1983) of globally organized farmers, despite the geographic isolation of the Nueva Alianza project. I interviewed community members from a balanced gender and age spectrum about the relationships with cooperating organizations, and observed the interactions of community members with outside experts during my two-months stay.

Setting boundaries to a field in many fieldwork endeavors is not a trivial task, as it combines "relations, sites, events, actors, agents and experiences from which, and onto which, anthropologists try to impose some kind of conceptual order" (Shore, 1999, 45). Doing research in a community of the size and organization of a small village makes this a little easier, as the actual space in which things happen is somewhat predefined by geographical, social and political boundaries within which the agents themselves live and which they reproduce on a daily basis.

As outlined above, the community is very secluded and hard to reach. Nonetheless, by 2009 they were running a rather successful eco-tourism project. Thus, I was neither the first nor the last outsider entering the community, and my arrival did not cause much fuss. I found simple accommodation and a kitchen in the remodeled house of the former *patrono.* After my arrival, it took a couple of days until the community leader Javier appeared and introduced himself. He was in charge of distributing the chores for volunteers. I planned to be a volunteer helping with the projects while also conducting research. We concluded that I could be helpful to several projects, so during the first week I tried my hand at making handicrafts from bamboo, processing macadamia and helping in the potable water project. It turned out that I was best at scrubbing and refilling big water bottles in the water plant. Those bottles were sold to adjacent communities in the mountains and the city of Retalhuleu. Free bottles were provided for each community household on a weekly basis. During the meeting with Javier, I also asked him for an interview which we conducted a day later. As I did not have any first-hand information about the community's history and organization at this point of the fieldwork, it was important for me to get some first insights. The interview with the community leader proved to be very helpful for understanding the story, and it also prepared me for the interviews with other community members.

Having been settled in and having a 'job' within the community, I gradually got to know more people from the Alianza. First of all, I was in daily contact with my workmates; second, I took more and more strolls through the neighborhood. The eco-hotel is located in the community center along with other common working areas: the office, the bamboo workshop, the coffee manufacture and the macadamia manufacture. During work and breaks I talked to people and started to get to know them, develop relationships and gain an insight into their lifeworld. Leaving the community's center, I accompanied those I got to know at work to their homes and met their families. I assisted in church services and the community meetings. It did not take long until I was invited to dinner, later on to a wedding, several other religious ceremonies at church or at peoples' homes, to birthdays, and other community events such as agricultural trainings. It is necessary to say that the invitations to private events were for the most part due to the women's initiatives. The community men did interact with me on a friendly basis during work and in the meetings where only few women assisted. However, the community women were the ones keeping me busy and involved during my free time, trying to let me take part in community events as best they could.

The community leader of the Nueva Alianza can be defined as the principal *gatekeeper* to the field (e.g. Brewer 2000, 23; O'Reilly 2009). He allowed me to

come to the community with the prospect of doing research, and he introduced my intentions to the people in one of the community meetings. I told the representatives of the families that I was interested in the history of the Nueva Alianza and 'how things work' today. During our meeting, the community accepted my position as a researcher and consented to my observations. The actual engagement with the Alianza inhabitants came through careful fostering of personal relationships between myself and community members. As my stay was planned for roughly two months, I was not in a rush to ask for interviews too quickly, but had time to observe what was actually going on at the site of research – how people interact, what they talk about, and what the issues of daily life are. This is the first advantage of having ample time for fieldwork.[70] Second, I was able to make myself known amongst the community, show my engagement in community issues through working in one of the projects, and hence hoped to be rewarded with a different status than that of a tourist staying only for a couple of days. I started asking people for interviews after three weeks. My weeks of fieldwork were spent doing work in the water plant, and later at the macadamia processing plant in the mornings, with community events and interviews being conducted in the evenings.

Overall, accessing the field of the community Nueva Alianza was a process without any evident opposition from the inhabitants. My presence did not seem to bother the community members, although of course those people who were not interested in me and my endeavors simply would not initiate interactions. The ongoing influx of tourists from all over the world could be one explanation for the openness of the Alianza people. The community income depends to a large degree on the eco-tourism project and a constant flux of visitors exploring the community, guided and unguided. Like other tourists, I paid for my accommodation in the eco-hotel, although at a reduced rate in exchange for my volunteer work. However, my position in the community went beyond that of an average tourist. Through my job, I participated in daily work practices. During the time spent in the community, I shared bonding experiences with them: birthdays (and, literally, *birth* days of newborn babies), commemorations of dead family members, and weddings. A memorable shared experience was an earthquake that hit the community during my first stay. Even though the community did not suffer much damage, the event was a topic of conversation in the weeks

70 I am well aware of the fact that from an ethnological perspective, four months of field work is *not* a long time. However, it was still enough time to pursue the data collection without pressure, and to get a feel for what was actually 'going on' in the lifeworlds of the participants.

to come, and I was able to participate in these as somebody who experienced the same earthquake in the same locality.

Regarding my research, the community leader openly supported me and my work in front of the assembly of *beneficiarios*. So, his word might additionally have made people feel inclined towards making me feel welcome and support my research.

I was not the only long-term visitor staying in the Alianza in summer 2009. The community was able to obtain a volunteer from the US-American Peace Corps program. Paul helped with community accounts and supported the eco-hotel staff in dealing with tourist relations – mostly by doing translation work. However, he was not around a lot during my stay because he had to attend several Peace Corps meetings and trainings at other sites. Even when he was in the community, he left me alone for the most part and did not really take much notice of me or my research.

While working on my Master's thesis back home, and with a thorough revision of the interview and ethnographic data collected in 2009, it was intriguing that certain categories emerged from the data that were used repeatedly by the interviewees: *lucha* ('struggle'), *tierra* ('land') and *aquí* ('here'). Every interview started with the same question about the transformation of the Alianza from the times when they still worked under the owner, to the open occupation and eventually issues of community administration. This episode from the community history can be recognized as a "phase(s) of extraordinary cohesion and moment(s) of intensely felt collective solidarity" (Brubaker, 2002, 168), and as an opportunity for the speakers to display their feelings of belonging in manifold linguistic ways. This will be spelled out in detail in section 7. Data focusing on the narrative of transformation and other language practices dug deeper into questions of belonging constructions within this community, which seemed to be at odds with the 'usual' belonging configurations in Guatemala defined primarily by language and ethnicity.

My second stay in the community lasted from August to September 2011. Being in the community did not require a settling-in period this time round as most of the people recognized and welcomed me again. So, I assisted in meetings and community events right from the start. Many things had changed. Some projects were no longer active, and the water bottling plant had been privatized. The community was in the process of dividing the land into pieces for every family. Other parts of land were for sale for those who could afford it. Three beneficiaries left the collective to sell their products individually, and some were no longer content with the leadership. All in all, the community did not appear

as united as they seemed to be in 2009. I started working in the macadamia processing plant, as this was the only communal project left at that time. I also started to give English lessons to the children at school twice a week. As during my previous visit, I was invited to church events, birthdays and commemorations, and gladly attended. Again, in my private time I spent a lot more time with the women of the Alianza than with the men. The men were mainly only present at the tourist sessions, and of course community meetings.

As before, the community had a Peace Corps volunteer during my second stay. This time, interaction with the volunteer Jen was more friendly and frequent, although she also had to attend meetings outside the community. One of these Peace Corps meetings, however, was held in the Alianza and I got to know more volunteers working on other rural projects in Guatemala. That was quite interesting, as it put my local community experiences into perspective. Members of other rural communities pre-dominantly used ethnic terms for their social identification. One weekend during my stay and after leaving the Alianza, I visited two other volunteers and the projects they were working on. The trip to the other communities supported my presumptions that the categories and relations of belonging in the Nueva Alianza are specific in the rural contexts of Guatemala because they are not bound to ethnicity, but rather to place, as will be discussed in chapter 6.

To conclude, access to the field during the second stay at the Alianza went smoothly and more quickly regarding interaction with the inhabitants, as the phase of getting to know each other was skipped. During the participant observation, I noticed a certain dissonance between the sense of unity presented to the outside world and what was actually going on in the community. As for data recording, the second stay also was much easier because I did not have to concern myself too much with making interview appointments and finding interview partners. During the second visit, the data collection was focused mainly on the narratives the community members presented to tourist groups, and on other non-scripted interactions within the community (see 5.4). The difficulty was finding out about the meetings and encounters within the Alianza. I tried to keep track of them by frequently asking the group members I worked with or the people working in the eco-hotel. However, if the members of the committees etc. did not want me to be present at a meeting, they simply did not tell me about it, which happened a few times. The meetings I was not told about involved mostly smaller groups discussing matters of different company-related projects.

5.3. The Researcher as an Outsider Participant

Ethnographic research involves the contradictory logic of forming relations with our consultants and getting absorbed in their lifeworlds while also recognizing that this connection might only be a temporary one, and that there is an uncertainty of the roles the researcher takes in this process: "As ethnographers, we aren't watching lab rats run through mazes or observing processes in laboratories. We are real people, involving ourselves in the lives of other real people, with real consequences for all of us" (Kahn, 2011, 185). The term participant observation[71] as a tool of ethnographic research already semantically entails these contradictions of trying to be part of something while still keeping a distance between the "observer" and the "observed subjects". To shed light on these implications, in the following I will reflect on my role within the community during research, and identify the possible dilemmas of forming relationships between "observer" and "observed".

As Atkinson & Hammersley (1994, 249) point out, "we cannot study the social world without being part of it". We cannot try to understand how our informants make sense of themselves as a group bound to place without knowing the tiniest bit about their lifeworld(s), their social backgrounds, and the ways they interact with each other. This is why data gathered from participant observation processes is a necessary complement to the narratives and other forms of interactions within the community.

In most literature on ethnographic methods, native language proficiency of the researcher is emphasized as crucial for establishing relationships with the community and understanding their lifeworld(s) (e.g. Duranti, 1997, 46). In the Nueva Alianza, people speak a Guatemalan variety of Spanish marked by some local idioms, and particularly by a variation in addressing between *vos, tú* and *Usted* ('you' in different stages of pragmatic use and formality).[72] As I had already lived in different Spanish speaking places (Oviedo, Spain and Buenos Aires, Argentina), I could communicate and understand the community members without any major problems. Sometimes they made fun of my 'Spanish accent' (interestingly, people in Spain are delighted about my 'Latin American accent'), but apart from that language was never made relevant in the interactions with me. I felt a certain insecurity in the forms of addressing people, and observed how they addressed me: people of my age and older used *seño* (an abbreviation

71 Note that participant observation here is defined as one part of the research process and not as the hypernym for all kinds of research methods (for example different kinds of interviews) in the field (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, 1f.).

72 For in-depth reading on this phenomenon see Pinkerton (1986).

for *señorita,* 'Miss'), or simply my first name in combination with *Usted,* the formal form of 'you'. Younger members chose to address me by my first name, but also used *seño* in some occasions and mixed *Usted* and *tú* (the rather informal 'you') as pronouns. None of them used *vos* to address me. Usually, community members addressed each other with *vos* for close relatives and friends, and *Usted* for more distant relatives and strangers.[73] However, speakers sometimes broke this consistency in my observations: within the community group of adolescents, a friend was addressed using his first name and *vos*, and on other occasions, was addressed by his first name and *Usted*. Intuitively, I used the first name and *Usted* to address people roughly my age, and *tú* with community members younger than me. For people older than me, I adopted the practice of the younger ones, calling them by their first name in combination with the title *Don* and *Doña.* As my solution was never frowned upon or made an issue (at least not in my presence), I stuck to it during both stays in the Alianza. Even though I spoke Spanish on a competent level, linguistically (among other categories), I was still marked as an outsider, not only because of my accent, the forms of addressing and the lack of Guatemalan lexicon, but also because of lacking other local linguistic practices (Pennycook, 2010). For example, recurring gestures (Ladewig, 2014) accompanying speech which are culturally and locally coded, or other semiotic practices as a combination of whistling (*chiflar*) and clicking sounds to get someone's attention or affirm something as heard. Specifically, while working in the coffee and macadamia fields, this practice is used to communicate across a broad space, but is also used to call children in crowded spaces.

There are several ways to categorize the role of the researcher in the researched community. In the distribution of ideal roles in participant observation from Gold (1958, 220) and Junker (1960), mine could best be described with the role of the "observer-as-participant".[74] In an "observer-as-participant" context, the group is aware of the researchers intentions and the group knows that it is being observed. The researcher tries to get involved in the activities of the group to move closer to an insider perspective. Of course, I could only participate in some forms of social community life. Amongst them was my daily work in the water bottling plant, and later in macadamia processing and the weekly Sunday

73 Pinkerton (1986) observes a gendered gap in the use of *vos* and *tu,* with men using the former to address other familiar men, and women rather inclined to use *tú* for displaying familiarity with other men and women. However, these preferences based on sex of the speaker were not observable in the Alianza community.

74 The other roles a researcher can adopt in the field are "complete participant", "participant-as-observer" or "complete observer" (Gold, 1958; Junker, 1960).

rides to the town of Retalhuleu for grocery shopping. Visiting various families casually or for special occasions was another opportunity for interacting with the Alianza members. Throughout the community trainings and the regular meetings, however, I tried to be an observer, making myself as "invisible" as possible. A researcher can, however, never hope to be a "blind spot in the scene" (Duranti, 1997, 101), and in some recording situations, my presence influenced speakers' behaviour more overtly than covertly, for instance in negotiating categories of belonging with another outsider (see chapter 6). Sometimes I was not told about meetings in smaller groups or church services of the evangelical community within the Alianza (the latter possibly, because I participated first in the catholic service when I got to the field). This shows that no matter how open the group was towards my visit, they still had control over my access to their lifeworlds.

DeWalt & DeWalt (2002, 21) give another overview of the researchers' activities in the field, drawing on a continuum of participation from Adler & Adler (1987) combined with membership roles of the researcher by Spradley (1980). In these terms, the type of my commitment with the community ranges from "passive participation" (purely observing from within the site) to "moderate participation" (observation and partial participation). Although in terms of Adler & Adler (1987), that would imply "peripheral membership", and my identification "by members as insider" (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, 22) I cannot claim that kind of label. While participating in and observing parts of community life, I gained insights into what living there might feel like. During work and the time spent with them, I got to know some of their routines, problems, joys, and ways of communicating. However, I was very aware of the fact that I would never become a part (and certainly not an "insider") of this community of practice. Sometimes, these insights lead to feelings of loneliness, and when things did not go as planned, for example when I discovered that the community members had not told me about a meeting or participants did not show up for an interview appointment, it led to a bit of despair. Jotting down fieldnotes (see section 5.4.5) helped during these instances as a tool of reflection, and supported my insights and those of many other anthropologists that these feelings are normal during ethnographic fieldwork.

Even though I would not be an insider of the group, I was still emotionally involved in their endeavors. I admired their project based on struggle, working and living "united", and my assumptions were confirmed in the interviews during the first research stay, as they presented themselves as having a high sense of *groupness* (see analysis in chapter 7). However, already during the first stay, I got a more detailed picture of the community's fragmentation through informal talks with group members. This sense of fragmentation was heightened during the

second research stay, when some families dropped out of the collective to work on their own and some projects were closed or privatized. The "union"-project partly failed in the two years between my two visits, and it led to disappointment, not only from within sections of the community, but also from my side. Emotions in fieldwork were also involved in other contexts.[75] When speakers told me about the times of transformation, it often involved very emotional responses. Some consultants started to cry when remembering the times of struggle and transformation, and sometimes the interview had to be paused. Remembering the times of abandonment by the *patrono,* and starvation, indigence and migration for some of the respondents was a painful process, and hence a very emotional topic to delve into during the interviews.[76]

There is always something peculiar about interpersonal relationships between a researcher and her people of interest. The observer knows that she has to take into account any kind of interaction, even personal encounters "off the record", because "everything [is] fieldwork" (Rabinow, 1977, 11) and might be useful to get a better understanding about the community. The observed might act in a more self-reflective or conscious manner around the researcher, altering practices or ways of speaking. This situation cannot entirely be solved, but can at least be alleviated by staying active in the community for the longest possible amount of time. As I have already pointed out, four months in the community is a very short time for fieldwork grounded in participant observation. As for the rather short research timeframe, which was due to financial and time restrictions, I tried to find other ways to make myself less "strange", as I have already discussed in section 5.2. On the one hand, this showed that I cared about the community in terms of contributing to the workforce, and – at least in the English classes in school – some expertise. On the other hand, it detached me from the role of a pure observer to something more like a fellow human being interested in exchange and learning. Another strategy of relating is to emphasize specific

---

75 Within the interdisciplinary project led by Katja Liebal (Evolutionary Psychology), Oliver Lubrich (Literature Studies) and Thomas Stodulka (Social and Cultural Anthropology), the "Researcher's Affects" in fieldwork and their repercussions on data collection and analysis are explored. This project abandons common perceptions about affects and emotions as compromising "objective" research, but tries to integrate them into research practices (for Social and Cultural Anthropology see Stodulka et al. 2019). Whereas this project focuses on the researcher as the emotional subject, Stodulka (2017) develops an approach centering on the emotions of the consultants.

76 Unsurprisingly, the "official" narratives for tourist groups are far less emotional than some of the narrative accounts within the interviews.

aspects of belonging of the researcher with specific sub-groups in the field. Rubin (2012, 307), in discussing her fieldwork in South Africa and India, points out that it makes sense to "share with my respondents aspects of myself that I thought would resonate with their own positions in order to construct 'alliances'". I was able to relate especially well to the women. With the adolescent population, I formed bonds based on experiences of growing up not too long ago.

Nevertheless, when going into the field, one has to be aware of the fact that no matter how hard you try to immerse and relate, you will never rid yourself of being perceived as an outsider and observer. Furthermore, even though it is not necessarily on the surface of everyday interaction, the people of the community may not forget that they are the "subjects" being observed. While this is very obvious in situations such as interviews, it is rather subtle while recording interactions in community events or historical narratives for tourists (who are, then, the "observing" audience). Nevertheless, this apparent allocation of roles is always present:

> "However much one moves in the direction of participation, it is always the case that one is still both an outsider and an observer. That one is an outsider is incessantly apparent. […] No matter how far 'participation' may push the anthropologist in the direction of Not-Otherness, the context is still ultimately dictated by 'observation and externality'" (Rabinow, 1977, 79).

It adds to the oddness that two different life worlds encounter each other.[77] I was well aware of my status as a European middle class student who enjoyed a university education and, in the first place, could afford a plane ticket. In the community, I was asked several times how much I paid for my flight, and people were quite pleased when I told them I not only studied but also worked to be able to afford the trip. That is also why I considered working in the community Alianza so important: to show that I am able to do physical work alongside most of the community people. But even as I tried to not disclose too much information on living standards in Germany, during the second visit to the Nueva Alianza I was informed thrice about financial problems of families, with fairly clear appeals to me to help out. I always answered by explaining that I am a student without the financial means. This helped both parties not to feel that their face was threatened, and in turn preserved the friendly relationships we had established.

It remains to be said that only the engagement with the community over a longer timeframe, the established relations between the researcher and the

77 This would for example also apply to researchers from a Guatemalan urban background.

community members, and the subsequent access to various meetings and events within the community, served to *enable* the kind of corpus compilation which will be introduced in the following section. Ethnographically framed research allowed for the recording of language practices in which belonging is implicitly or explicitly made relevant by the speakers in varying community contexts. This extends to similar practices within different contexts (e.g. narrations in interviews and narrations as part of a guided tour for visitors), with the same speakers performing similar language practices in different contexts and belonging (co-)constructions with different interlocutors (the researcher, other outsiders, fellow community members).

5.4. The Corpus

The corpus I assembled during the two research stays in the community comprises a total of roughly 66.35 hours of recorded spoken interaction. These are divided into about 25 hours of recordings from group meetings and trainings within the community, 21.2 hours of spoken interaction between community members (in some occasions including myself), a total of about 13.9 hours of interview recordings, and finally 6.25 hours of narratives for, and interactions with tourists. After several careful reviews of this overwhelmingly large corpus I admittedly selected certain extracts and contexts for the analysis in this book, focusing on passages where language practices of belonging play a major role. In this section, I will outline situational contextual features concerning the different data types and reflect on some specifics of the data collection.

In section 5.4.1, narrative accounts performed by community members in interview contexts are introduced. In section 5.4.2 the selected narratives produced within community tours for visitors are put under scrutiny. Another data type are interactions of the community members with outsiders which are highlighted in section 5.4.3. The data of intra-communal interaction, mostly in the form of meetings of the members, is described in section 5.4.4. Finally, in section 5.4.5, I will briefly outline my practice of taking fieldnotes to complement the spoken data corpus with ethnographic accounts.

5.4.1. Narrative Accounts from Semi-structured Interviews

As described in section 5.2, semi-structured interviews were my method of choice to elicit information regarding feelings of belonging to a potential imagined global community (Vallentin, 2010) during the first research stay in 2009. Semi-structured interviews have been used extensively in sociology, anthropology,

linguistics and other disciplines to figure out consultants' subjective views on specific matters of interest (Briggs, 1986; Wengraf, 2001; Flick, 2007). It covers those topics the researcher considers important while leaving space for the participant to delve into issues she thinks are relevant. The interviews started with a question about experiences during the times of transformation and the impacts this transformation had on their personal lives, eliciting narratives from most participants. They proceeded with questions regarding the current organization of the community and its projects, as well as asking for information regarding collaboration with national and international NGOs.[78]

Especially when already being in the field for a couple of weeks and having engaged in plenty of 'normal' interactions with the community people, it felt strange during some interview sessions for both the researcher and the participant to sit down at a specific time and place with a recording device between them, and initiate a rather "official conversation" led by a set of questions. Interviews are a form of scripted communication which can potentially be inappropriate in settings of fieldwork in that they could evoke a certain expectation from the consultants of how they "should" behave or how an interview normally proceeds (Briggs, 1986). The interview was not an unknown *Diskurstradition* (Koch, 1988, 1997; Kabatek, 2011) to some community members. The participants, who were very active in organizational matters of the community, were experienced interviewees and practiced in answering community-related questions. The collaborating NGOs, and for example the labeling organization (FLO), already conducted research with these members (most of them men) to decide about the Alianza's eligibility for certain projects or financial support. However, especially with some of the younger interviewees and the majority of the women who were not active participants in community projects, there was a certain insecurity when it came to the 'official appointment' of the interview and to interviewing practices. The official discursive tradition of an interview implies that two or more interlocutors engage in a conversation in a question-and-answer format (or, as was hoped, even narration). This can lead to some unease, as the interviewer is worried about asking good questions and the participants might be worried about giving the 'right' answers, even among the more 'experienced' respondents. Although I made sure to explain that there were no 'right' answers to my questions, and that I was interested in their experiences and views, some of the interviewees were worried with 'getting it right'. In a few cases – for instance with 17-year-old Patricia – therefore the interview turned into a sequence of

78 The questionnaire of the semi-structured interviews is available in the appendix.

questions answered with one short sentence or a shrug, and after further inquiries on my part with a simple “no” or “yes”.

This points to the usual character of interview interaction, which gives a lot of power to the interviewer in terms of determining the topics and stopping the participants when they ‘wander too far off’. Briggs (1986) emphasizes that conducting interviews in any research site, especially one with an unfamiliar historical and social background, means imposing a form of “communicative hegemony” (Briggs, 1986, 90) onto the participants. This can only be tackled with a certain sensitivity to the points raised by the interviewees, and by the inclusion of other topics that are not fixed in a certain set of questions. Because of this, community narratives and other encounters serve as additional data not set up by the researcher, but employing the community’s “native metacommunicative norms” (Briggs, 1986, 90).

There is another problem arising from the interview as a method of research: Language, and specifically language practices, can cause slight irritations in interview situations. I spoke Spanish at an adequate level and was able to communicate everything I wanted to; however, I was not competent in communicative practices or “conversational norms” (Briggs, 1986, 89) adequate to the community. To give an example: During fieldwork I noticed that short silences in communication are not considered a sincere problem when people talk to each other. People simply paused for up to 60 seconds within a turn (maybe to further think about it, maybe just to let the other person think about the just said) without any sign of discomfort from the fellow interlocutor, who also remained silent. After the pause, the speaker just resumed where she had left off. I come from a cultural environment where silence in talk can be considered awkward after a certain (rather short) amount of time, especially when not talking to a family member or close friend, where silence might be tolerated. Hence, when people fell silent during the interviews, I may not have endured it long enough to see whether they would just have elaborated on the question a little later. Thus, I may have behaved inadequately concerning this “conversational norm” in the community several times. I just moved on to another question or tried to elicit a more elaborated answer by digging into the topic (Flick, 2007, 223). This could lead to sometimes hesitant reactions of the participants, sometimes leading to no response at all.

Narrating is a highly reflexive practice, even more so when it is embedded in social situations with ‘outsiders’. Although the interviews during the first research stay were not primarily designed to follow a “narrative interview design” (Wengraf, 2001, chapter 6), the first question elicited a narrative about the community’s past under the old owner, the struggles when he left, and the eventual

success in buying the *finca* as a collective project. Many of the participants related to this part in an emotional way, as it is a story about migration, starvation and struggle. Especially the older interviewees experienced this themselves, being the protagonists of the struggle. The younger ones could not all relate to the question, but some of them repeated the 'common community narrative' as they had learned it from their elders.

The sampling of the interviews, and hence, the narrative accounts within this corpus as presented in table 1, is based on a purposeful selection, balancing gender and age of the respondents as well as possible.

Table 1: Sample of Narrative Accounts from Interviews

Age Cohort	**Male**	**Female**
15–21	4	2
22–35	6	6
36–50	5	5
51–70	2	3
Total	17	16
Narrative Accounts in Total		33

5.4.2. Narratives for Visitors

The narrative accounts as part of the semi-structured interviews have proven to be a form of data with analytical value for the achievement of belonging in the Alianza. This is why I chose to expand my narrative collection for the second inquiry within the community. Narratives performed in encounters with tourists form a crucial part of the corpus.[79] Telling the community story in these situations requires a different narrative competence than narrating the community story in an interview. The narrative is told repeatedly by those involved in community tourism in order to share it with tourists or other visitors who come

79 On the web page of the Alianza community, the sessions for visiting tourists, called *conferencias* 'talks' are described in the following way: "CONFERENCIA: Un miembro de la comunidad da una charla sobre la historia de lo que obligó a la comunidad a la lucha para obtener las tierras de cómo trabajaron arduamente durante cinco generaciones y una descripción de cómo está organizada la comunidad actualmente" ('Talk: A member of the community gives a talk about the history, which forced the community to struggle for obtaining the land(,) about how they worked arduously for five generations and a description about how the community is organized today', translation RV), http://www.comunidadnuevaalianza.org/turismo.html, last accessed 10/2019.

to the community. Hence, they might use certain repeating patterns to structure their narrative. By contrast, narratives in the interviews are rather spontaneous accounts triggered by a question (see 7). In both cases, however, the stories are told to outsiders, and speakers address specific positions and categories which would not necessarily need to be expressed for the in-group.

The meetings with visiting groups would usually take place on the big porch of the eco-hotel, where one of the community representatives narrates the story of transformation and the current organization of the Alianza. Later on, there is question time for the tourists, followed by a walk through the community during which the different projects are introduced, and the macadamia and coffee processing explained on-site. In some cases, if the visitors do not speak Spanish, the community speakers' accounts are directly translated – by the Peace Corps Volunteers, members of the visiting groups with Spanish competence, or also by me during my two stays. I was able to record narrative accounts from the interviews with each of the speakers who are also presenting the story to the visiting groups, so that a comparison between the two contexts is feasible (see section 7.3).

5.4.3. Interactions with Outsiders

During the second research stay, data collection also focused on contexts in which community members speak with other outsiders apart from tourists. The community is enmeshed in a network of national and international organizations, and is visited frequently by experts and trainers from different professions. In 2011, various meetings and trainings took place in the Alianza: a first-aid course for the community members involved in health care, education on health and mosquitoes (with a round trip to the single houses identifying possible spots for mosquitoes to breed), a biblical reading among surrounding communities headed by the mayoress of the district, education on how to deal with snake bites, a meeting with a documentary film crew, and a stove project under the patronage of the Peace Corps in which volunteers and families collaboratively build stoves with clay and tiles. Most prominent for the construction of belonging is a course for the community women organized by a governmental agency for the empowerment of rural women, implemented by a 25-year-old trainer from the capital. In the analysis, I will focus on this training as a key instance of interaction with an outsider in which belonging is explicitly negotiated (see chapter 6). During the meetings and trainings, I was allowed to accompany the groups and sometimes even participate. How the researcher's participation shapes the negotiation of belonging categories is also part of the analysis in section 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5.

5.4.4. Community Interactions

The third type of additional data to the narrative accounts are community interactions. They contain recordings from meetings and discussions within the community that revolve around community issues. During these sessions, I kept myself in the background and did not actively interfere in interaction. The meetings have a rather organized character; usually, one member of the community who was assigned the role of chairperson on the matters to be discussed, managed the discussions among the group. Apart from sometimes rising chatter among different parties of the meeting, the discussions were conducted in an orderly fashion, mostly with one speaker at a time. The data selected for my analysis is one of the general assemblies. This is a specific assembly of all beneficiaries in which matters of belonging are discussed explicitly. After the withdrawal of three families from the community project, their motives and how to handle the situation within the community legally and socially were discussed. The exploration on regimes of belonging in excursus 8.2 will be based primarily on the contents of this interaction.

5.4.5. Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes are a form of data that I produced complementary to the corpus of spoken data. The tasks of the researcher in participant observation are not only to engage with a community, but also to make the experiences accessible to introspection and analysis later on. Thus, fieldnotes are an important reflexive tool in ethnographic research for retaining experiences (Emerson et al. 2001; Blommaert & Jie 2010, chapter 4; Kahn 2011). They were part of my data collection in the field since my very first day on site. The notes mostly took the form of a diary, describing what I did that day, who I encountered and talked to, and what appeared to be interesting, challenging or emotional. The notes also include comments on interviews or community meetings I considered as possibly valuable for later analysis. Finally, sketches of sites or speakers' spatial positions during recordings and unrecorded events complete the contents of my fieldnotes. As it would have seemed inappropriate if I would have made notes during interactions with people, I usually wrote down the current events in the evening after a day's work in my own room. The fieldnotes are certainly a very subjective and unstructured account of what I considered noteworthy during fieldwork: "As representations, fieldnote texts are inevitably *selective*" (Emerson et al., 2001, 353, emphasis in the original). First, they are selective because the notes only include events the researcher participates in. Second, the events which are included are seen in the light of the researchers interpretations. Taking the later

points as an advantage rather than an obstacle, fieldnotes are an indispensable *reflexive* tool:

> "They still tell us a story about an epistemic process: the way in which we tried to make new information understandable for ourselves, using our own interpretive frames, concepts and categories, and gradually shifting into new frames, making connections between earlier and current events, finding our way in the local order of things" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, 37).

The notes help reflexively channel emotions and first-hand impressions of things happening in the field – of reconstructing the researcher's own process of knowledge acquisition. They are also crucial for plainly remembering certain situations and observations (especially for a multi-year process of "writing it down" in a book like this one). The fieldnotes from the two stays in 2009 and 2011 are not an official part of the spoken language corpus which I will analyze regarding emerging categories, positions and practices of belonging and the linguistic means establishing them. They are rather considered as an additional source of consultation – an account of 'having been there' when it comes to sustaining and enriching the analysis of belonging construction in the community (Deppermann, 2000; Moerman, 1988).

5.5. Data Transcription and Selection

The step between the presentation of a corpus and its analysis is often a matter of a few pages in a book. In the real research process, it is a time-consuming and demanding task. So, in the following I will reflect on the process that turned the conversations in the research site into the transcribed narratives and interactions.

As ground work for my endeavor on language use and belonging in the community, I already had a fully transcribed corpus of the interviews from 2009 on hand. Within the scope of my Master's thesis, the transcriptions had been made in Word, and due to the exclusively topical interests at that time, without markings for features of orality like pauses, intonations, etc. After coming home from my second research stay, I started to transcribe the narratives in the interviews, the interactions in the women's training, and the history sessions for tourists[80] in the *Partitur Editor* of EXMARaLDA (Schmidt & Wörner, 2009). The editor allows the alignment of audio sequences with the written transcription and easy integration of many speakers in one sequence. The open source EXMARaLDA

80 Thanks to Katja Carrillo Ugalde, Alberto de Pascual and Ruth Scherer for their help in processing parts of the transcriptions.

package also offers other programs for managing the corpus and metadata, or for running corpus-based inquiries on specific words or co-occurrences. For example, for the corpus-based analysis of the use of the local adverb *aquí* 'here' in the interviews (see section 8.1), I used the concordance analysis tool EXAKT to find all utterances of the word in their co-text.

The detail of transcription depends primarily on the research interest and purpose (Dittmar, 2004, 51), and also on temporal and/or economic resources. As my approach to belonging construction is an interactional and situated one, a transcription convention based on the "Basistranskript" ('basic transcript') from the "Gesprächsanalytische Transkriptionskonvention 2" (GAT2) transcription convention (Selting et al., 2009) is suitable. It accounts for, among others, pauses, prolongations or truncations, paralinguistic phenomena and basic prosodic annotation for salient phenomena in the recorded interactions.[81] Speakers are presented with their changed names. The Spanish transcriptions are all translated into English with pauses taken from the original. Other linguistic phenomena are not marked in the English version, which primarily serves to ensure better comprehensibility of the content for all readers.

For the transcribed narratives, I produced work-in-progress electronic filing cards including metadata on the participant, the thematic and chronological structure of each story, salient interactive features, a mind-map of mentioned characters and groups, and finally, other noticeable features. The cards were a manageable tool to keep an overview over all narratives and a good basis for the more fine-grained analysis of the narrative corpus.

Transcriptions are always "selektive Konstruktionen" ('selective constructions', Kowal & O'Connell 2008, 440). They are selective in three different ways: First, the transcription can never fully represent the primary data and transforms it from a single auditory event into a timeless visual product (cf. ibid). Second, the transcription is bound to the cognitive capabilities of the person listening to the recording and putting it into written form. Hence, what is heard and committed to paper is a rather subjective display of the researcher. I tried to ease the second effect by frequently putting parts of the transcriptions up for discussion to colleagues and peers in conferences, colloquia and data sessions. Furthermore, I consulted native Spanish speakers on the accuracy of my transcriptions. The third dimension of selectivity is the final representation of the transcribed data in the analysis. As the topic of belonging emerged from the data itself (in the very explicit negotiation of belonging outlined in chapter 6 followed by extensive

81 The transcription convention applied to my data in this book can be found on page xiii.

readings of the community narratives), it deserves a pivotal place in this book. However, of course not all of the participants can be represented with their voice and story in full length. Still, I try to integrate as many as possible to underline my analytical results and the variety of ways in which the community members tell their collective story. Some of the narratives will be presented in their full length even though the transcription and its translation span over multiple pages. It might seem inconvenient for readability at first blush, but the ample representation of the data is important in terms of transparency of the analytical process, and for the comprehension of the sequential unfolding of positions and categories. The assemblage of narratives across participants of different gender and age bolsters a broad picture of the narrative practice in the community.

As for the other interactions that form part of the analysis in this book, I chose those extracts which are most relevant to the question of belonging. For example, in the interaction of community women with an outsider, the sequences focusing on (ethnic) belonging are crucial, and therefore reproduced in detail and at length in their chronological unfolding. Parts of the same interaction, where the topic of conversation focuses for instance on financial means or landownership, are not considered. All in all, it is an objective of this book to present the emic perspectives of the participants in their full complexity and range, and hence, to make the data accessible and readable.

6. Belonging as a Local and Interactional Problem

In this first analytical chapter, I want to show how belonging is a communicative problem (Hausendorf, 2000, 99f.), and is thus processed and negotiated in interaction. A second major point in the following analysis is that belonging has to be considered as part of local frames of reference (Anchimbe & Janney, 2011, 1451), taking seriously the sequential unfolding of participants' emic perspectives. Strikingly, this has to be considered a matter of categorial organization. Belonging is made a topic and object of discussion *explicitly* in the following extracts. An official representative of a governmental institution – the 'trainer'[82] – comes to the community to conduct a training on economic and social female empowerment with the community women. The workshop is a specific interactional setting with different roles distributed to the trainer as an authority and expert, and the participants expected to deliver answers and executing tasks. Within this setting, the women face two different tasks: On the one hand, they have to answer the questions to the satisfaction of the trainer. On the other hand, they have to deal with the categories that are proposed by the trainer as an authority in this workshop.

Asking the women to categorize themselves into a system of ethnic categories is something the trainer does in all of her workshops with rural women in agricultural contexts. In the wider social context of Guatemala, this kind of categorization is part of everyday identity practices. In the bigger cities, but also in the smaller towns of Guatemala, the display of belonging to different ethnic groups ranges from the use of specific clothing and garments, to indigenous or mixed religious practices (c.f. Solares 1993, chapter 2, II; Samson 2007) and the use of indigenous languages or varieties. Especially after the civil war and genocide in Guatemala until the Peace Accord in 1996, the 'resurrection' of ethnic groups forms part of a governmental program of recognition. The awareness about – and foregrounding of – ethnicity as a main category in belonging constructions is quite striking in the Guatemalan context (as I have argued in section 1.2).

82 The women in the workshop call her *seño* as an abbreviation for *señorita*. The younger teachers in the community (like Bianca and Linda) are addressed with the same abbreviation. I myself, as an unmarried younger woman, was also addressed with this term. I chose the term *trainer*, however, to underline the position of the woman in the workshop as an instructor with a certain official status and power (see section 6.7.).

Hence, questions of ethnic belonging are usually not problematized and form part of the trainer's workshop routine.

In analyzing this example, I will reconstruct how the trainer's questions become an apparent 'problem', how different membership category devices (Sacks, 1995) clash, and how locally relevant categories of belonging can significantly differ from 'official systems'. Membership categorization devices comprise different categories that belong to a "collection" as "a set of categories that 'go together'" (Schegloff, 2007b, 467) and their "rules of application" (Schegloff, 2007b, 471ff.). In the following analysis, I will label the categorization devices *category systems*. This is due to the inner order and relationship of different categories and subcategories the speakers negotiate. Furthermore, it alludes to the less negotiable character of the system's composition, in this case backed up by the trainer's institutional power.

Striking as it is *per se*, this interaction also reminds us that we cannot assume prefigured categories or positions in our social, cultural or linguistic explorations, but that we always have to pay attention to the local practices and relevancies of our participants in making sense of themselves.

In this chapter, I will present and analyze longer descriptions of the interaction between the community women and the trainer in chronological order. The general scene will be introduced in section 6.1. In the first part of the interaction (6.2), the women are confronted with a categorical term they are not familiar with (*étnico* 'ethnic') and they are asked to categorize themselves following the trainer's category system. After that, the questions proceed regarding the languages they speak apart from Spanish (6.3). In section 6.4 and 6.5, I will analyze how the women deal with these tasks amongst themselves. The clash of the two systems is addressed in section 6.6, in which the women explicitly counter the categories proposed by the trainer and introduce their own, namely a strong spatial attachment to the 'here' and a strong social attachment to the 'we'. I will conclude this chapter with a consideration about the categorical power of the 'outsiders' in section 6.7, and with an interim conclusion for this analysis in 6.8.

6.1. The Setting

In the summer of 2011, the community received yet another visitor from the town of Quetzaltenango, roughly two and a half hours by car from the Nueva Alianza. This time, a woman in her mid-twenties came to conduct a workshop with the women of the community. As the trainer explained to me, the workshop is part of a governmental program, aimed at empowering women from rural and agricultural contexts to participate in organizational matters of the community.

This meeting of the community women with the young trainer is a prime example of negotiating belonging through category use. The community women are asked to assign themselves to an ethnically based system of categories outlined by the trainer. As she explains at the beginning of the workshop, the women are expected to discuss and work on questions concerning participation and women's organizations. The workshop took place in a storage room of the eco-hotel, and was quite crowded with eleven women and their children. After introducing herself and the workshop's contents, the trainer divides the women up into two workgroups. The recorded group consists of six women. The trainer dictates a total of seven questions they have to answer collaboratively. One woman per group, in the case of the recorded group Flor, has to write them down.

The first extract we will look at is part of the task dictation and addresses the question of ethnic belonging. As explained above, I will call the workshop leader the "trainer". The other speakers in the recording are labeled with their anonymized names because they will reappear in other extracts. To make the different scenes more comprehensible, I will provide a graphic depiction of the speakers' orientation along the thematic developments in the different extracts.

6.2. Problematizing the Term *Étnico*

We will start with an extract at the very beginning of the training when the two groups receive the questions and tasks for the workshop. For a meaningful analysis of the communicative "problem", a full transcript of the different scenes is required. Furthermore, I will provide an overview of the speaker and topic orientation for each extract, except for extract 4, because the topic and the involvement of speakers do not change in the course of interaction.

Extract 1: Community women's workshop – *Qué grupo étnico?* (01:10:09–01:12:03)[83]

```
 1      Flor:  número cinco
 2   Trainer:  cinco (-) grupo étnico (--)
 3      Flor:  grupo?
 4   Trainer:  grupo (-) [étnico (---)]
 5       Ana:  [é:tnico]
 6       Eva:  É:Tnico?
 7   Trainer:  [es ÉTnico] (--)
 8       Ana:  [É:Tnico] (-) é:tnico
 9   Trainer:  spelling> e (-) t (--) n i (--) c o, (-)> é:tnico (---)
10             grupo (--) étnico↑
```

83 The time designation refers to hours : minutes : seconds.

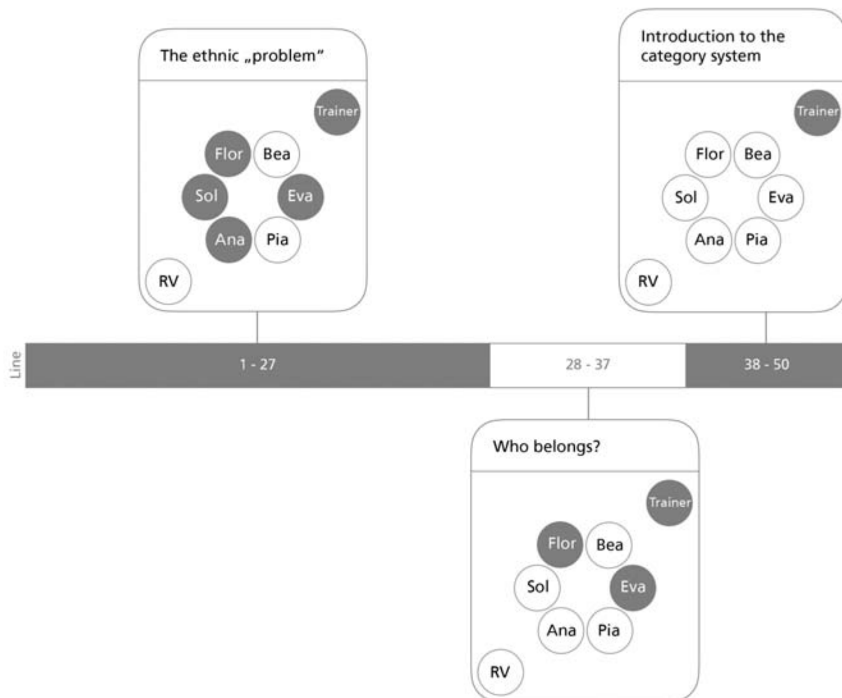
11 Flor: [ÉGnico?]
12 Ana: [<<p>étnico>]
13 Trainer: ÉT (--) [nico]
14 Sol: [é:t/]
15 Ana: ét(--)n[ico]
16 Flor: [(inc. 1)] [<<rhythmic laughter>>]
17 Eva: [<<rhythmic laughter>>]
18 Ana: <<p>con la e=t> (1)
19 Trainer: <<browsing through her documents> (---) mh (--) ÉTniCO,
20 (-) mh: étnico, (.)> al que perteNEcen; (---)
21 Flor: al que pertenecen?
22 Trainer: aha todas, ustedes;
23 Flor: <<bending over the paper writing (3)>> bue:no (--) [ét/
24 (1)]
25 Sol: [ét] (--) ni/ (-) ét/
26 Flor: ét(-)znico
27 Trainer: aha (-) sí
28 Flor: al que pertenecen
29 Eva: todas mujeres
30 Trainer: [el grupo étnico] (1)
31 Flor: <<addressing women around her>[todas mujeres,]>
32 Trainer: por ejemplo [es (---)]
33 Flor: [que pertenecen] (--)
34 Trainer: [sí (--) que pertenECen ustEDES]
35 Flor: [qué? (-) todas las mujERES?] a::h (-) nosotras
36 Trainer: [aha ustEdes]
37 Flor: [(-) así ponemos.] que [pertene:cen:- (1)]
38 Trainer: [digamos van a/] (-) los grupos [étnicos por] ejemplo
39 son
40 Eva: [nosotras]
41 Trainer: e:h (-) grupo étnico maya o:: también el grupo étnico
42 mestizo de=eso ustedes sabran en que grupo étnico están
43 si pertenecen al grupo de los pueblos por ejemplo de los
44 veinticuatro pueblos así (-) indígenas (--) entonces su
45 grupo étnico es maya (--) sí? (---) de:spués e:hm
46 (inc. 1) quién dice maya (-) o mestizo (--) de si
47 ustedes son (--) tienen que preguntarle a cada una (---)
48 cual es su grupo étnico por ejemplo me van a poner (--)
49 mayas (--) allí (--) trEs (--) mestizas (--) somos
50 diez (---) de este grupo (--) igual me dicen

Extract 1: English translation, Community women's workshop – 'What ethnic group?' (01:10:09–01:12:03)

1 Flor:
2 Trainer:
3 Flor: group?
4 Trainer: [ethnic] (-) group (---)
5 Ana: [ethnic]
6 Eva: ethnic?
7 Trainer: [it is ethnic] (--)
8 Ana: [ethnic] (-) ethnic
9 Trainer: <<spelling> e (-)t (--)n i (--)c o, (-)> ethnic (---)
10 ethnic (--)group
11 Flor: [egnico?]
12 Ana: [<<p> ethnic>

13	Trainer:	eth(--)[nic]
14	Sol:	[eth/]
15	Ana:	eth(--)n[ic]
16	Flor:	[(inc. 1)] [<<rhythmic laughter>>]
17	Eva:	[<<rhythmic laughter>>]
18	Ana:	<<p>with the e=t> (1)
19	Trainer:	<<browsing through her documents> (---) mh- (--) ethnic
20		(-) mh:ethnic (.) you belong to (---)
21	Flor:	to which you belong?
22	Trainer:	yes all$_{fem}$ of you
23	Flor:	<< bending over the paper writing (3)>> good (--) [eth/
24		(1)]
25	Sol:	[eth](--)ni/ (-) eth/
26	Flor:	eth(-)znico
27	Trainer:	aha (-) yes
28	Flor:	to which you$_{PL}$/they belong to
29	Eva:	all the women
30	Trainer:	[the ethnic group] (1)
31	Flor:	<<addressing women around her>[all the women]
32	Trainer:	[is for] example (---)
33	Flor:	[you$_{PL}$/they belong to]
34	Trainer:	[yes (--) you belong to]
35	Flor:	[what? (-) all the women?] ah (-) we$_{fem}$
36	Trainer:	[aha you]
37	Flor:	[this is how we write it] that [you belong to (1)]
38	Trainer:	[let us say you will] (-) the [ethnic] groups are for
39		example
40	Eva:	[we$_{fem}$]
41	Trainer:	eh (-) the ethnic group of Maya or also the ethnic group
42		of mestizo from there you will know in which ethnic
43		group you are if you belong to the group of the people
44		for example of the twenty-four people like (-)
45		indigenous (--) then your ethnic group is maya (--) yes?
46		(---) then ehm (inc. 1) who says maya (-) or mestizo
47		(--) if you are (--) you have
48		to ask every single one (---) what her ethnic group is
49		for example you will write me down (--) mayas (--) there
50		(--) three (--) mestizas (--) we are ten (---) from this
51		group (--) you also tell me

Figure 3: Speaker and Topic Orientation in Extract 1



Whilst formulating the fifth question in a row of questions by the trainer, which were about the women's productive activities in the community and their rate of participation in organizational matters, problems of comprehension appear. The women react to the trainer's question about their belonging to a *grupo étnico* 'ethnic group' (line 2) with several inquiries and repetitions concerning the word *étnico,* chorally repeating it in very different forms, which I will now explore in greater detail.

Flor, who is assigned with the task of writing down the questions (and later the answers to them), immediately asks for clarification regarding the attribute to the first word by indicating that she understood this, but not the following one through repeating *grupo* 'group' (line 3) with a rising intonation. The trainer responds to this call for clarification and repeats the syntagma 'ethnic (-) group (—)'. At the same time, another woman, Ana, repeats the key word *é:tnico*

(line 5) with a prolonged first vowel to raise the audibility of the word and facilitate writing it down for Flor. Eva, another member of the women's group, then repeats the word with a rising pitch (line 6), also prolonging the first vowel *é*. The trainer then pursues a second clarification attempt with *es ÉTnico* 'it is ethnic' (line 7), putting emphasis on the first syllable of the word. Again, Ana simultaneously repeats the word twice with a pronunciation prolonging the first vowel and emphasizing on the first syllable: *É:Tnico (-) é:tnico* (line 8). The trainer continues by spelling the word of doubt letter by letter (line 9) and concluding with another repetition of the entire word (line 9), again prolonging the first vowel. She resumes with the initial attempt to phrase the sentence but is interrupted by the writer Flor, still struggling with putting the word down and asking *ÉGnico?* (line 11), while Ana mumbles the word quietly (line 12). The trainer responds to Flor's problem of comprehension by dividing the word into the first and stressed syllable *ÉT,* and after a short pause enunciating the last two syllables *nico* of the word together (line 13). Sol also starts repeating the word, but is cut off by Ana, who follows the trainer's realization and pronounces the word in the same disjunct manner *ét(–)nico* (line 15). Flor and Eva start to laugh rhythmically after this episode (lines 16–17). On the one hand, the situation of numerous repetitions of the word *étnico* and different forms might appear quite amusing. On the other hand, they are the two speakers who apparently struggle with grasping the word (and, in the case of Flor, writing it down). Hence, their laughter might also be a means of distancing themselves from the possibly face-threatening fact that they do not know the word, its correct spelling, let alone the meaning of it. Laughter is a common tool for speakers' distancing themselves from what is said, and at the same time a means for creating commonality amongst the speakers who laugh together (Roth, 2005, 238). Ana concludes the episode of understanding the word correctly by alluding to her knowledge on how to spell it (or, a repetition of the trainer's spelling) by uttering, it is *étnico* with 'with the e=t' (line 18).

The trainer finally resumes finishing the sentence after the repetition sequence. It takes her a short moment of hesitation and a look into her notes, repeating *ÉTniCO* with a middle rising pitch once again, until she ends the sentence with *mh: étnico, (.) al que perteNEcen;* 'mh ethnic (.) you belong to' (lines 19–20). Flor repeats the last sentence, writing it down simultaneously, raising her pitch at the end with the expectation of a follow-up. As there is no further utterance following the sentence, the trainer resolves the implicit question of Flor, putting an emphasis on the shared task of the women *aha todas, ustedes;* 'yes all$_{\text{fem}}$ of you' (line 22). In the following long pause of 3 seconds Flor, Eva and Sol bend over the paper Flor is writing on. After Flors's assertion *bue:no* 'good' they

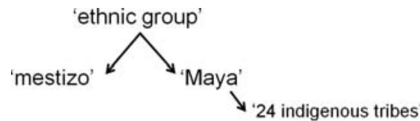
again have a look at the word *étnico.* Sol and Flor both try to pronounce the word anew, with discontinuation either after *étni/* (line 25) or *ét/* (lines 23 and 25), resulting in Flor's final version *ét (-) znico* (line 26), which adds a sibilant after the first syllable. The trainer, however, affirms this and Flor reads the second part of the sentence she just wrote down aloud, with a vocal leap on the last syllable: al que perte↑necen 'to which you$_{PL}$/they belong to' (line 28). Instead of meeting Flor's implicit request for proceeding with the dictation, the trainer, taking the sentence as finished, continues with an explanation of the term 'ethnic'.

The grammatical construction *al que pertenecen* can have two referential meanings in Latin American Spanish: 1 (the group) 'you$_{PL}$ belong to', 2 (the group) '*they* belong to'. In the second case, the syntactic structure is missing a subject that can be inserted, completing the third person plural indicated in the verb ending. Apparently, Flor is expecting the second version as she repeats the subordinate phrase twice with rising emphasis, indicating a missing piece of information (a subject) which has yet to be provided by the trainer. The first answer to that claim 'yes all$_{fem}$ of you' (line 22) is by-passed or simply not understood by Flor, who focuses on her writing at that moment. The second time, Flor's request for continuation (line 28) is ignored by the trainer, but is answered by Eva. She tells Flor that the reference is *todas mujeres* 'all women' (line 29), as she apparently heard the short insertion of the lecturer in line 22. Flor first tries to back up this wording within her group (line 31), but does not get any response from the other women. Hence, she interrupts the trainers's explanation about the meaning of *étnico* again by asking for clarification on this interpretation of the sentence's completion *que pertenecen qué? (-) todas las mujERES?* 'you$_{PL}$/they belong to what? (-) all the women?' (lines 33 and 35). The trainer answers the claim simultaneously with Flor's inquiry *sí (–) que pertenECen ustEDES* 'yes (–) you$_{PL}$ belong to' (line 34). Flor indicates her comprehension with the interjection *a::h* and the personal pronoun *nosotras* 'we$_{FEM}$' (line 35). This is again confirmed by the trainer with *aha ustEdes* 'yes, you$_{PL}$' (line 36). The episode of clarification concerning the ambiguity in the construction *al que pertenecen* is finished with a final confirmation among the women. While the trainer proceeds with her explanation of the term *étnico* (lines 38–39 and 41ff.), Flor rereads what she has written down *(-) así ponemos. que pertene:cen:- (1)* (line 37). As Flor hesitates to finish the sentence for about a second, it is completed by Eva with *nosotras* 'we$_{FEM}$' (line 40).

The last part of this extract (lines 41–50) is a longer monologue of the trainer who – after the interruptions – finally introduces her understanding of the term *étnico*. Whether the introduction of the category system is a routinized feature in her workshops, or whether the explanation is due to the apparent problems of

comprehensibility of her audience, and thus an attempt of aligning the different perspectives ("Perspektivenangleichung", Deppermann 2010, 9), remains open. She introduces a system that is binary on its highest level (see figure 4) in which the women are asked to position themselves. As the two decisive categories for the system of ethnic group, she names the 'ethnic group of Maya' (line 41) and the 'ethnic group of mestizo[84]' (lines 41–42). A new category is introduced with relation to the "Maya" category. She draws an inseparable link between belonging to the "indigenous" people and being "Mayan": *si pertenecen al grupo de los pueblos por ejemplo de los veinticuatro pueblos así (-) indígenas (–) entonces su grupo étnico es maya (–) sí?* 'if you belong to the group of the people for example of the twenty-four people like (-) indigenous (–) then your ethnic group is maya (–) yes?'. The category "Maya" is used as a hypernym here, as it contains many different sub-groups which are not elaborated by the trainer. She presents the task to the women as a choice between *maya (-) o mestizo* 'Maya (-) or mestizo' (line 46), and explains how the women should proceed answering the question and how they should write down their answer in numbers (lines 47–50; 47–51 in the English translation [ET]). After this instruction, the trainer turns to the next question for the women, which I will analyze in the following section (6.3).

Figure 4: Category System of the Trainer for the "Ethnic Group"



The extensive conversation analytical description of this first extract serves the purpose of showing the amount of communicative effort invested by the trainer and the women in dictating, writing down, and clarifying what is meant by a seemingly simple question. The sincere lack of understanding of the central concept in the trainer's question shows an interactionally acute conversation-analytical "communicative problem" (Hausendorf, 2000, 100). It is a literal communicative problem because the repetition sequence of *étnico* (lines 2–26) indicates a problem

84 "Mestizo" is generally defined as a mixture between "indigenous" and "Spanish colonial" heritage (Dow, 1981, 12f.). For a thorough analysis of the term's historical and social embeddedness, see Zermeño-Padilla (2008). As an established concept "mestizo" will not be translated, but rather used in the original.

of *referential meanings* (“referentielle Bedeutungen”, Deppermann 2010, 9). Flor, Eva and Sol show no sign of recognizing the word after hearing it precisely spelled out and repeated by the trainer and their fellow group member Ana. They experiment with different versions of pronunciation (*ÉGnico/ét(-)znico*) or show signs of uncertainty when aborting the word after the first or the first two syllables (lines 23 and 25). Whereas Ana seems to be familiar with the word and underlines her familiarity in the repetition sequence, Flor, Eva and Sol seem to be unaware of the concept. As we will see, this interpretation is confirmed in the following sequences of the workshop recordings. It becomes evident that the women in the workgroup struggle with the concept of *ethnicity* – as explained by the lecturer – as a categorization device for belonging. It is not only the ethnic concept that causes a communicative problem here. For the community women, the task of affiliating themselves with a certain ethnic category itself does not appear to be something they are familiar with. Demanding a clarification of the grammatical subject in the syntagma *al que pertenecen* ‘to which youPL/they belong to’ highlights the negotiation of “who” should be categorized. It is not assumed from the question of the trainer – ethnic group ‘youPL belong to’ – that it is, of course, the women who are asked to categorize themselves here, but that there is the possibility that the trainer asks about another group’s belonging. Only after a series of inquiries and confirmations is the clarification ratified by speaker Flor.

In this extract, the women are not yet asked to work on the task of categorization, but only to write the assignment down. Nonetheless, we already notice problems based on “not being on the same page” with the trainer in terms of being used to affiliating themselves with a certain ethnic group. Hence, without even negotiating belonging explicitly, this sequence alludes to a *problem of belonging* (“Zugehörigkeitsproblem”, Hausendorf 2000, 100) in the sense that belonging needs to be worked on and somehow solved within the “conversational organization” (Hausendorf 2000, 100 citing Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Within this extract this work on belonging as a conversational problem is explicit. The women are asked, and within the interaction it becomes apparent, that the meaning of the term ‘ethnic’ is not accessible to most of the women in the group. Ethnic categories as explained by the trainer do not seem to be *relevant* categories of belonging in the local community context.

In this context of a predominant problematization of the term, it is striking that Ana as the oldest woman in the group, positions herself as knowledgeable on the word in question by constantly answering calls for clarification of her peers, either simultaneously with the trainer or following the trainer’s turns and ways of pronunciation. She thereby sets herself apart from the other members

of her group, at least concerning knowledge on the *word* itself. In the following extracts, we will see how she participates when it comes to the meaning of 'ethnic' and the group's actual ethnic categorization.

In the next sequence the trainer proceeds with the dictation of her questions. For the community women, however, the discussion about the 'ethnic' term is not yet over. Furthermore, ethnic belonging is now related with questions of language use by the trainer, opening up a more complex problem of belonging for the participating women.

6.3. Adding Language as a Relevant Category

In this section, we will see how the interaction proceeds after the end of the last extract. The trainer is still dictating her questions and tasks to the women. In this passage, the question is not centered on ethnicity, but on possible other languages the women might speak.

Extract 2: Community women's workshop – *Qué otro idioma hablan?* (01:12:14–01:13:55)

1 Trainer: [qué otro idioma hablan]
2 Flor: [<<laughing about a former incident>>]
3 Trainer: (--) aparte del español dice (--) qué otro idioma (-)
4 Pia: inglés <<short laughter>>
5 Trainer: hablan;
6 Ana: [<<smiling> inglés (--) nosotros inglés>]
7 Pia: [<<laughter>>]
8 Sol: (--) que habla[mos in´g,lés]
9 Ana: <<turning to RV, pointing to Flor's paper>> [qué] somos
10 nosotros [aquí]
11 Flor: <<writing>> [qué] otro idioma,
12 Ana: mh? (--)
13 RV: <<to Ana>> hah?
14 Ana: [qué somos nosotros']
15 Trainer: [qué otro idioma] ha:blan
16 Flor: [qué:' (-) tenemos que: (-) poner que otro hablan?]
17 RV: [sí (--) aquí se tiene que:: (--) hacerlo ustedes]
18 Flor: [o: (--) poner allí que:]
19 RV: [tienen que poner aquí que otro]
20 Ana: [mh]
21 Flor: [qué otro (--) idioma hablan]
22 RV: [idioma hablan (inc. 0.4]
23 Ana: [mh (--) mh]
24 Trainer: qué otro idioma hablan [ust↑EDes]
25 Ana: [mh]
26 Sol: habla[mos es/]
27 Ana: [esp]añol (--)
28 Eva: (--) sí español
29 Sol: español
30 Ana: español (---) y inglés (--) <<giggling>> sí sabemos

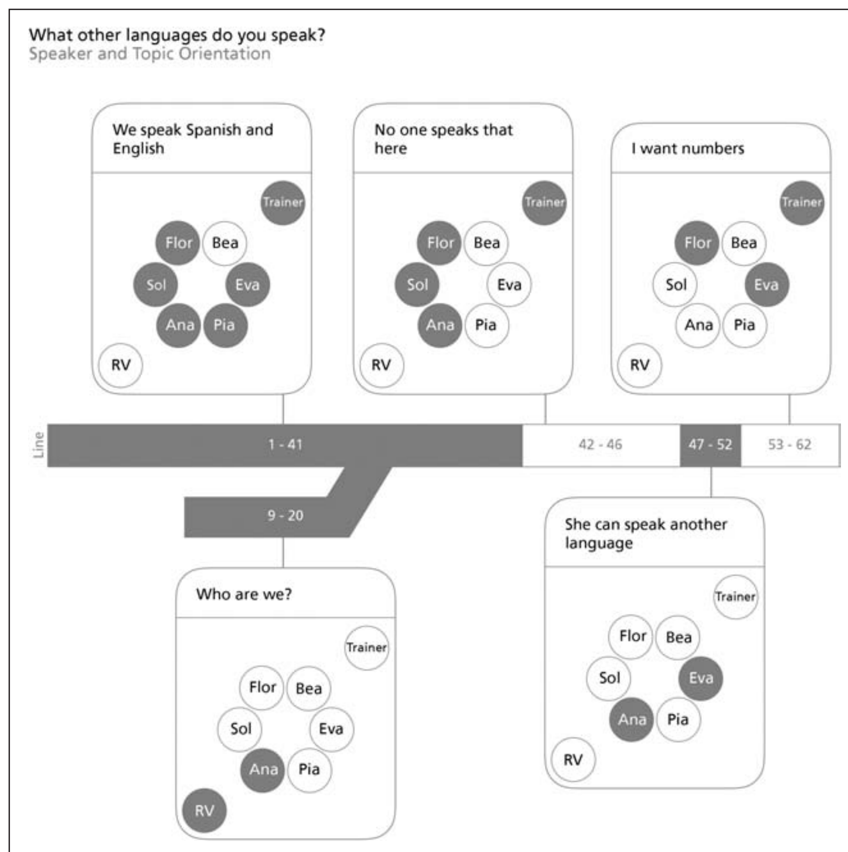
31		<<laughing louder>> (1.2) Rita me va a enseñar inglés
32		(.) sí?
33	Pia:	<<giggling>>
34	Trainer:	<<interacting with the second workgroup>> (5.8)
35	Flor:	[qué otro idioma hablan ustedes]
36	Trainer:	diez (--) tienen que ponerlo allí (--) las dIEz nosotros
37		hablamos español pero de repente allí las nueve hablan
38		español y una compañera habla el k'iche' o el mam allí
39		(-)
40	Ana:	[ay pues]
41	Trainer:	[de una vez] tienen que ponerlo allí
42	Ana:	<<addressed to own working group>> pero aquí nada,
43	Sol:	aquí nadie la habla
44	Ana:	<<tilting her head towards up the road>> allí hablan
45		[k'iche']
46	Flor:	[ponemos/] no pero dice que después lo vamos a poner
47	Eva:	<<addressing a person in the other group across the
48		room>> doña Alicia (.) que usted ve/usted si puede
49		hablar en otra idioma, (--)
50	Ana:	<<addressed to the person in the other group>> doña
51		Alicia (---) <<addressed to the trainer>> ella sí puede
52		hablar en otro/<<acc>sabe hablar en otro>
53	Trainer:	sí por eso les digo que (--) por ejemplo aquí son mucho
54		mujeres (--) sí? ustedes allí en la lista tienen que
55		poner (--) las ocho hablamos solo español (--) pero por
56		ejemplo (-) por ejemplo que siete
57	Flor:	ah (.) aquí abajo
58	Trainer:	<<f> pon↑gamos atención> (-) por ejemplo que siete (--)
59		hablen español (-) y una (-) habla otro idioma (--) hay
60		que colocarlo siete hablan español y una compañera
61		habla el mam por ejemplo (1) quiero NUmer[os]
62	Eva:	[aquí] nadie (inc. 0.7)

Extract 2: English translation, Community women's workshop – 'What other language do you$_{PL}$ speak?' (01:12:14–01:13:55)

1	Trainer:	[which other language do you$_{PL}$ speak]
2	Flor:	[<<laughing about a former incident>>]
3	Trainer:	(--) other than Spanish it says (--) which other
4		language (-)
5	Pia:	English <<short laughter>>
6	Trainer:	do you$_{PL}$ speak
7	Ana:	[<<smiling> English (--) we$_{MASC}$ English>]
8	Pia	[<< laughter>>]
9	Sol:	that we spe[ak english]
10	Ana:	<<turning to RV, pointing to Flor's paper>> what are
11		we$_{MASC}$ [here]
12	Flor:	<<writing>> [which] other language
13	Ana:	mh? (--)
14	RV:	<<to Ana>> hah?
15	Ana:	[what are we$_{MASC}$?]
16	Trainer:	[which other language do you$_{PL}$ speak]
17	Flor:	[what (-) we have to write down which other they speak]
18	RV:	[yes (--) here one has to (--) you$_{PL}$ (have to) do it]
19	Flor:	[or (--) write there that]
20	RV:	[you$_{PL}$ have to write down here what]

21	Ana:	[mh]
22	Flor:	[which other language (--) they speak]
23	RV:	[other language you$_{PL}$ speak (inc. 0.4)]
24	Ana:	[mh (--) mh]
25	Trainer:	what other language do [you$_{PL}$] speak
26	Ana:	[mh]
27	Sol:	we spe[ak Sp/]
28	Ana:	[Spa]nish (--)
29	Eva:	(--) yes Spanish
30	Sol:	Spanish
31	Ana:	Spanish (---) and English (--) <<giggling>> yes we know
32		<<laughing louder>> (1.2) Rita is going to teach me
33		English (.) yes
34	Pia:	<<giggling>>
35	Trainer:	<<interacting with the second workgroup>> (5.8)
36	Flor:	[(--) which other language do you$_{PL}$ speak]
37	Trainer:	ten (--) you have to write it down here (--) the ten (of
38		us) we$_{MAS}$ speak Spanish but maybe the nine over there
39		speak Spanish and one comrade speaks K'iche' or Mam
40		there (-)
41	Ana:	[ay well]
42	Trainer:	[once for all] you have to put it there
43	Ana:	<<addressed to own working group>> but here nothing
44	Sol:	here no one speaks it
45	Ana:	<<tilting her head towards up the road>> there they
46		speak [K'iche']
47	Flor:	[we write down] no but she says that afterwards we are
48		going to write it
49	Eva:	<<addressing a person in the other group across the
50		room>> doña Alicia (.) you can speak in another language
51		(--)
52	Ana:	<<addressed to the person in the other group>> doña
53		Alicia (---) <<addressed to the trainer>> she can speak
54		in another/(she) knows <<acc>speaking another>
55	Trainer:	yes this is why I tell you (--) for example here are
56		many women (--) yes you have to put it there in the list
57		(--) eight (of us) we speak only Spanish (--) but for
58		example (-) for example seven
59	Flor:	ah (.) down here
60	Trainer:	<<f>let us pay attention> (-) for example seven (--)
61		speak Spanish (-) and one (-) speaks another language
62		(--) it has to be listed seven speak Spanish and one
63		comrade speaks Mam for example (1) I want numb[ers]
64	Eva:	[here] no one (inc. 0.7)

Figure 5: Speaker and Topic Orientation in Extract 2



In this extract, two interactions occur in parallel and with a different thematic orientation (see 3). First, the interaction between the trainer and the women, and second an interaction between Ana and me. Furthermore, the women start to deal with the trainer's questions in a humorous way by involving me as a researcher.[85] This part is also again characterized by problems of comprehension.

85 How my presence in the scene affects the negotiations of ethnic belonging of the women was discussed in a talk given at the 21st Sociolinguistic Symposium 2016 in Murcia, Spain: "'Not merely there' – Empirical evidence for the interrelation between an interaction and its observing researcher". Some of the aspects connected to power relations are picked up in section 6.7.

After the trainer dictates the next question 'what other language do youPL speak (–) other than Spanish it says (–) what other language (-)' (lines 1 and 3), there is a blunt reaction from a speaker who had not participated in the interaction thus far. Pia utters *inglés* 'English' (line 4; 5 ET) followed by a brief laughter. Ana picks this up, also answering the trainer's question with *<<smiling>inglés (–) nosotros inglés>* '<<smiling>English (–) weMASC English> (line 6; 7 ET). Sol joins in *que hablamos in ´g,lés* 'that we speak English' with rising intonation on the last syllable. The laughing of Pia, the smiling voice of Ana and the rising pitch of Sol indicate that the women evaluate their own answers as exaggerated and ironic. I am sitting next to the recorded group and the women know about my ability to speak English. During this second research stay, for example, I supported the community by teaching English classes in school. Possibly, the proposition that they speak English is triggered by my presence.[86] By alluding humorously to an existing competence of speaking English, they involve me in the interaction. This turn to me as the observer and deliberately uninvolved researcher could explain why, in the following, Ana takes the issue of ethnic belonging up with me. While the trainer and Flor still negotiate the wording of the question, Ana starts a parallel dialogue with me. Pointing to the paper Flor is writing on, she directly asks *qué somos nosotros aquí* 'what are weMASC here'. With this question she alludes to the previously outlined ethnic category system of the trainer. Instead of asking *quién somos* 'who are we' she uses 'what' to refer to the choice of ethnic categories ('mestizo' and 'Maya'). The 'what' also indicates that Ana is looking for a 'correct' label, and not necessarily for an identification category to determine 'who' they are. Note that Ana is not using the feminine pronoun *nosotras* 'weFEM', but the masculine version that also subsumes the women (as she does in her assertion that 'weMASC (speak) English' in line 6; 7 ET).[87] *Nosotros* points to an understanding of the group in question being larger than just the women participating in the workshop. Ana, hence, probably refers to the whole community when asking for an ethnic category label. As I do not answer immediately she stresses her inquiry with the question particle *mh?*

86 Language competence has always been a relevant topic to the women and men in the community. During both of my stays, I was asked on several occasions how many languages I speak, and how their education system fails in teaching their children languages other than Spanish. This is why the community encourages foreign visitors and volunteers to give English classes in school. Furthermore, there is an ongoing presence of the English language in the community as the majority of visitors comes from the United States.

87 In Spanish, the personal pronoun in the first person plural is used in its masculine form to refer to gender mixed groups or as soon as one man is part of the group referred to.

(–) (line 12; 13 ET). Only then do I signal that I note Ana's effort, but that I did not understand it with *hah?* (line 13; 14 ET). Ana repeats 'what are we' still directly addressing me and pointing vigorously to the paper where Flor has written down the question regarding the women's ethnic belonging.[88] I avoid answering that question by allocating the task back to the women: *sí (–) aquí se tiene que:: (–) hacerlo ustedes* 'yes (–) here one has to (–) you (have to) do it' (line 17; 18 ET). The prolonged vowels and pauses mark my reluctance, and the fact that the rejection of Ana's request is potentially uncomfortable and face-threatening[89]. I then repeat the current task introduced by the trainer and direct Ana's attention away from the 'ethnic', and back to the 'language' question: 'you have to write down here what other language you speak (inc. 0.4)' (lines 19 and 22; 20 and 23 ET). In doing so, I align myself with the inquiries of the trainer. Ana displays her comprehension with several hearer utterances (lines 20 and 23; 21 and 24 ET), and the parallel interaction between her and me ends at this point. It is remarkable that Ana turns to me as somebody who is likely to know the answer to the question of ethnicity. This is a first manifestation of an attributed other-categorization as a knowledgeable authority. We will see other instantiations of this attribution in the following sequences of the workshop (see 6.4). In this case, I partly reject the "expert" category as I am not willing to play it out.

Parallel to the interaction of Ana and me, Flor and the trainer are figuring out how to correctly write the question, similar to their negotiations on who is meant with *pertenecen* 'you$_{PL}$/they belong to' in the sequence before. She writes down the trainer's question, repeating *qué otro idioma,* 'which other language' (line 11; 12 ET) and raising her voice for an implicit request to complete the sentence. The trainer responds to that request and repeats the sentence (line 15; 16 ET). For Flor the same communicative problem as in the previous section seems to arise. *Hablan* can refer to 'you$_{PL}$ speak' or 'they speak' and the reference does not seem to be clear to her. Looking at Flor's utterances (without the interruptions from the parallel dialogue), she asks *qué:' (-) tenemos que: (-) poner que otro hablan? o: (–) poner allí que: qué otro (–) idioma hablan* 'what (-) we have to (-) write down

88 I recall feeling uncomfortable being drawn into the interaction because initially I wanted to maintain my position as an "uninvolved" observer during this workshop.

89 "Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image that others may share" (Goffman, 1967, 5). Following Goffman, interaction is based on the mutual acknowledgment of interlocutors' faces. Constant "face-work" is required in order to maintain this mutuality, mitigate or manage face-threatening acts to others, but also to oneself. Different strategies of face-work can be found in Brown & Levinson (1987).

which other youPL/they speak? or (–) write there that which other (–) language they speak' (lines 16, 18 and 21; 17, 19 and 22 ET). The use of the first person plural verbal form in *tenemos que* 'we have to' points to a reference to 'they speak' in *hablan* which is not based on self-reference. In the second utterance of *hablan* (line 21; 22 ET) by Flor, the reference remains ambiguous. Similar to the previous extract 1, the trainer has to emphasize the personal pronoun referring to the verb to clarify the reference *qué otro idioma hablan ust↑EDes* 'which other language do youPL speak'. The reference is thereby clearly determined.

An immediate response from the women, now directly addressed, follows in lines 26–30, 27–31 in the English translation. Starting with Sol, followed by Ana and Eva, and concluded again by Sol, the women confirm speaking Spanish. At this point, Ana takes up the humorous account of speaking English from the beginning of the scene: *español (—) y inglés (–) <<giggling>> sí sabemos <<laughing louder>> (1.2)* 'Spanish (—) and English <<giggling>> yes we know <<laughing louder>> (1.2)' (lines 30–31; 31–32 ET). This might be an attempt to satisfy the trainer's question about a language 'other than Spanish' (as uttered in line 3), even though marked as a joke through the accompanying laughter. They make fun of the fact that they ostensibly also speak English. Furthermore, this could be another attempt to include me sitting next to the group. This becomes even more evident as the conversation proceeds. As there is no one taking the turn after Ana's utterance, she continues after a longer pause and directly addressing me by requesting a response: *Rita me va a enseñar inglés (.) sí?* 'Rita is going to teach me English (.) yes?' (lines 31–32; 32–33 ET). Pia accompanies the question with a giggle to which none of the interlocutors respond.

The group falls silent for a period of approximately six seconds while the trainer explains the question to the other group in the back of the room. She then turns to everyone and starts to explain the procedure of task management. Flor, poring over her sheet of paper, repeats the question to her group 'which other language do youPL speak' (line 35; 36 ET).

Again, similar to the 'ethnic' question, the trainer outlines different categories which the women can choose from in order to accomplish the task: *diez (–) tienen que ponerlo allí (–) las dIEz nosotros hablamos español pero de repente allí las nueve hablan español y una compañera habla el k'iche' o el mam allí (-) de una vez tienen que ponerlo allí* 'ten (–) you have to write it down here (–) the ten (of us) weMASC speak Spanish but maybe the nine over there speak Spanish and one comrade speaks K'iche' or Mam there (-) once for all you have to put it there' (lines 36–38; 37–40 ET). Ana signalizes her understanding in line 40, 41 in the English translation, and continues to start a discussion directed at her own group. Concerning the languages outlined by the trainer, she responds *pero aquí*

nada, 'but here nothing', rising her voice in the last syllable (line 42; 43 ET). This statement is confirmed by Sol saying *aquí nadie la habla* 'here nobody speaks it' referring by *la* to the languages K'iche' or Mam.

A significant move is then made by Ana with the utterance *allí hablan k'iche'* 'there they speak K'iche' which is accompanied by a noticeable tilted head movement in the northern direction up the community road which passes by the location of the workshop. The local adverbs *aquí* (used by Sol) and *allí* (used by Ana) are contrasted here and form category predicates for speaking or not speaking a specific language. *Aquí* – inside of the community – they speak Spanish whereas *allí* – on the outside – a language like K'iche' might be spoken.[90] Flor, concerned with her task of writing down the answers, ensures that the answer to the question will only be put on paper later on (line 46; 47–48 ET). Reacting to the fact that no one in her working group speaks a language 'other than Spanish', but acknowledging that this is what the task of the trainer requires, Eva addresses one woman in the second workgroup, shouting across the room *doña Alicia (.) que usted ve/usted si puede hablar en otra idioma, (–)* 'doña Alicia (.) you can speak in another language (–)' (lines 48–49; 50–51 ET). There is no response from the person, however, so Ana calls her again (lines 50–51; 52–53 ET). The addressed woman does not react, hence Ana turns to the trainer and explains the attempts of calling her *ella sí puede hablar en otro/<<acc>sabe hablar en otro>* 'she can speak in another/(she) knows <<acc>speaking another>' (lines 51–52; 53–54 ET) complying with the task of naming speakers of other languages *within* the group of women. The attempt of finding other speakers is not successful in the interaction, though.[91] The trainer takes this as a prompt for another detailed explanation on how to write the different languages down (lines 53–56; 55–58 ET). She does not want specific names but 'numbers' on how many speakers of a language exist in the community. The scene is concluded by

90 This interpretation is supported by a conversation with local teacher Bianca. While talking about the scholarly education in indigenous languages for the children, she told me that in villages North of the Alianza people would still speak other indigenous languages.

91 Within the community, it was reported to me that Doña Alicia, who came to the community only a couple of years ago, indeed is the only person left to speak an indigenous language (it could never be specified which one, though). When I asked her about it in an informal conversation, she reported that she would only have a very basic vocabulary and that she did not pass the language on to the younger generations in her family. She was also ambiguous about the actual label for the language other than 'indigenous'. In the evaluation of the answers of the second group, in which Doña Alicia participated, the women did, surprisingly, also not account for a language other than Spanish.

another attempt of Eva to indicate that 'here no one (inc. 0.7)' (line 62; 64 ET) speaks one of the other languages. She once more emphasizes the local adverb[92] *aquí* 'here' as determining the language competences of the speakers located in it.

We have seen in this extract how language is introduced by the lecturer in the row of questions she wants to see answered in 'numbers'. K'iche' and Mam are indigenous languages. A competence in these languages usually coincides with self-identification as and belonging to the ethnic group of Maya (subdivided into twenty-four different tribes, as we have seen in extract 1 of section 6.2). The community women also consider a specific form of language use as a category-bound activity; however, not in ethnic, but in spatial terms. Being *aquí* 'here' implies speaking Spanish and no other language. Only *allí* 'there', an undefined group of 'them', speak another language, namely K'iche'. The local adverb *aquí* is ambiguous: it could refer to the the location of the workgroup (around the table), the room where all the participating women are located, or, as most often in the corpus (see 8.1), the community. An indication for the latter could be the addition to *aquí nadie* 'here no one' used by both Sol (line 43; 44 ET) and Eva (line 62; 64 ET). 'No one' is an indefinite pronoun not referring to a specific gender (in comparison to for example *ninguna* 'no one$_{\text{FEM}}$') and, thus, could encompass a larger group than the women gathered around the table or the room.

Another analytical aspect in this extract is the marking of affiliation with me, the observing researcher, on several occasions. The allusion to the English language and the humorously framed ability to speak it, indicate a commonality with the researcher and create alignment. As I have argued, this also prepares my consultation on the matter of ethnic belonging by Ana in the parallel interaction. Being a community outsider myself, I might get the same status as the other outsider, the trainer, and hence attributed knowledge about the category systems introduced by the trainer.

Finally, the question of belonging becomes more complex by introducing a language variable. Whereas the trainer related language to ethnicity, the women relate language use to spatial dimensions, and therefore have no use for its relation to ethnic categories. The interwoven relations between belonging and language will become even more apparent in the next section, in which the women work on the questions posed by the trainer on their own, involving me as a consultant.

---

92 Regarding their close connection to demonstrative pronouns, especially in the case of the Ibero-Romance languages, Jungbluth (2005, 24) defines local adverbs as demonstrative adverbs. In the current cases *aquí* has the function of locally qualifying verbs and does not appear in relation to demonstrative pronouns, even in the interview corpus (cf. excursus in section 8.1). This is why I will further label *aquí* in its use as a local adverb.

6.4. Processing the *Étnico* Question

In extract 3, the questions and tasks introduced by the trainer are finalized and the women are supposed to work on them for a specific amount of time while the trainer is not in the room. In the extract, the women just concluded the processing of the first four questions and now turn to the question of the first extract 'which ethnic group youPL belong to'. I will analyze how the women in the recorded group deal with the problematized categories, and how they try to comply with the category systems of the trainer while maintaining their own, spatially grounded category system of belonging.

Extract 3: Community women's workshop – *indígenas del palmar* (01:28:17–01:30:53)

```
 1    Flor:  ahora el otro (1.6) grupo: (-) a/o (---) grupo ét/ (--)
 2     Bea:  a/ét/
 3     Ana:  étnico (--)
 4     Eva:  es étnico
 5     Sol:  étnico
 6     Ana:  [étnico]
 7    Flor:  étnico (-) al que perte'necen (--) perte'necen (-)
 8           nosotras (--) al grupo étnico (---) <<turning to her
 9           group with a frowning face>>
10     Eva:  mh (1.6) <<pp>mh (-) mh (-) qué (-) qué es> (1.1)
11     Bea:  cómo la seño (inc.0.2) (---)
12     Ana:  <<pointing to RV>> [ahí está 'la otra seño]
13    Flor:  [qué qué gru/ (-) qué] grupo ÉTnico dice (--) <<turning
14           to RV pointing to the sheet of paper>> mire
15      RV:  ESO lo tienen que saber us´tedes porque:: (-) se
16           reconocen como gente
17           [maya]
18     Bea:  [mh]
19     Eva:  ah:ya
20     Ana:  [mh]
21    Flor:  [cómo?]
22      RV:  sí? (---) o sea son descendentes de la gente maya´ o::
23           (inc.0.8)
24    Flor:  ah::
25     Eva:  pero no/aquí no hay:
26     Bea:  somos
27     Eva:  (---)[maya]
28     Ana:  [mh]
29    Flor:  nosotros somos qué?
30     Bea:  indígenas
31     Eva:  indígenas pues (1)
32     Bea:  <<to her grandchild>> [VEn]
33     Sol:  [la palabra] indígena
34      RV:  mhm (1.1) y saben de qué grupo de indígenas o sea de que
35           pueblo de indígenas'
36     Eva:  Sí
37     Sol:  aquí nosotros somos nacidos de aquí quetzal[tenango]
38     Bea:  [ah]
```

39 RV: sí?
40 Ana: [mhm]
41 Bea: [ehe]
42 Eva: <<all> [palmar] quetzaltenango> (---) palmar (-)
43 quetzaltenango
44 Flor: n´´o:, o al [grupo]
45 Ana: [mh]
46 Flor: (-) cómo?
47 RV: indígena
48 Eva: Indígenas
49 Sol: e:h indígenas (1.9) vamos así indígena pues (--)
50 <<giggling>> (3)
51 Bea: igual escribió que (inc.0.3) [nosotras]
52 Pia: [<<laughter>>]
53 Sol: <<looking at the sheet of paper in front of Flor>>
54 indígenas (-)
55 Flor: <<writing while speaking>> indí::genas
56 Ana: mh (1.9)
57 Flor: que nosotras (.) grupo seis (-)
58 Sol: [ahí falta todavía]
59 Flor: [°que otro idioma] (--)
60 Sol: falta
61 Flor: por qué?
62 Sol: porque: <<turning to RV>> (-) cómo dijó´ (-)
63 Flor: qué’
64 RV: bueno (--)
65 Flor: [de/de]
66 RV: hay como (-) e:h (--) este la seño [dijo]
67 Flor: [indígenas]
68 RV: que hay veintiun (sic!) pueblo (sic!) de indígenas de
69 [mayas]
70 Sol: [aha]
71 RV: y se reconocen como (---)
72 Sol: [de dónde son]
73 RV: [<<hesitating> kachike:l o>] no sé que/hay más o sea
74 yo no: (--)
75 Flor: y qué´ (-) ponemos de (-) del <<laughing>palmar
76 [quetzaltenango>]
77 RV: [<<short aspirated laugh>>]
78 Ana: [<<giggle>>]
79 Pia: [<<loud laughter>>]
80 Sol: [quetz/ (--) quetzo/quetzal]tenango nos somos [nacidos]
81 RV: [<<laughing>indígenas del palmar>]
82 Flor: [pues sí] así (.) verdad?
83 RV: YO no sé (-) qué es/qué son/[cómo]
84 Flor: [indígenas]
85 RV: son [ustedes]
86 Sol: no se sabe
87 RV: [<<smiling>eso: deben saber ustedes>]
88 Flor: [número cinco (inc. 0.3)]
89 Sol: nosotros no pertenecemos a otro en [donde]
90 RV: mh
91 Pia: se denominan (inc. 0.5)
92 Ana: [bueno] si vamos a
93 Bea: se podrá?
94 Eva: sí (.) pero saber si va poner así también’
95 Bea: [se podrá? (--)]
96 Pia: [saber si podremos] estaría [bueno preguntar a la seño]

97 Bea: [es que nosotros] pertenecemos al [palmar xela]
98 Ana: [si porque] (inc.0.5) pues
99 Flor: indígenas (.) sí?
100 Sol: pero es (--)
101 RV: [pero es como municipio]
102 Ana: [luego vamos a preguntar]
103 Flor: qué otro [idioma hablan ustedes]
104 Eva: [municipio (--) que aclara?]
105 Ana: [porque aquí mencionó munici]pio <<looking at Flor's
106 sheet of paper>> (--) no mencionó de que municipio (1)
107 Flor: seis (---) el seis (--)
108 RV: dejamos indígenas y [preguntamos al/a la seño]
109 Flor: [a que idiomas hablamos?]
110 Ana: español
111 Eva: español hmh (2.4)
112 Sol: que todas somos in[dígenas (inc.0.6)]
113 Eva: <<lifting the document in front of Flor from the table>>
114 cómo ya se escribió que somo:s un: qué? (1.2)
115 Sol: somos un: (1.3)
116 Eva: <<reading on Flor's paper>> indígenas
117 Ana: [mh]
118 Eva: [mh (--) aha] eso (sic!) son algunas preguntas que me
119 hicieron cuando venían las (-) eh las [compañeras]
120 RV: [mhm]
121 Eva: de santa anita lo que recuerdo (inc.1.2)

Extract 3: English Translation, Community women's workshop – 'indigenous$_{PL}$ from palmar' (01:28:17–01:30:53)

1 Flor: now the other one (1.6) group (-) a/o (---) eth/ group
2 (--)
3 Bea: a/eth/
4 Ana: ethnic (--)
5 Eva: it is ethnic
6 Sol: ethnic
7 Ana: [ethnic]
8 Flor: ethnic (-) you$_{PL}$ belong to (--) you$_{PL}$ belong (-) we$_{fem}$ (--)
9 to the ethnic group (---) <<turning to her group with a
10 frowning face>>
11 Eva: mh (1.6) <<pp>mh (-) mh (-) what (-) what is it> (1.1)
12 Bea: how the Miss (inc.0.2) (---)
13 Ana: <<pointing to RV>> [there is the other Miss]
14 Flor: [what what gro/ (-) what] ethnic group it/she says (--)
15 (--) <<turning to RV pointing to the sheet of paper>>
16 look
17 RV: you$_{PL}$ have to know this because (-) do you$_{PL}$ recognize
18 yourself as [Mayan] people
19 Bea: [mh]
20 Eva: ah ok
21 Ana: [mh]
22 Flor: [what?]
23 RV: yes? (---) that means you are ancestors of the Mayan
24 people or (inc.0.8)
25 Flor: ah::
26 Eva: but no/here there are no
27 Bea: we are

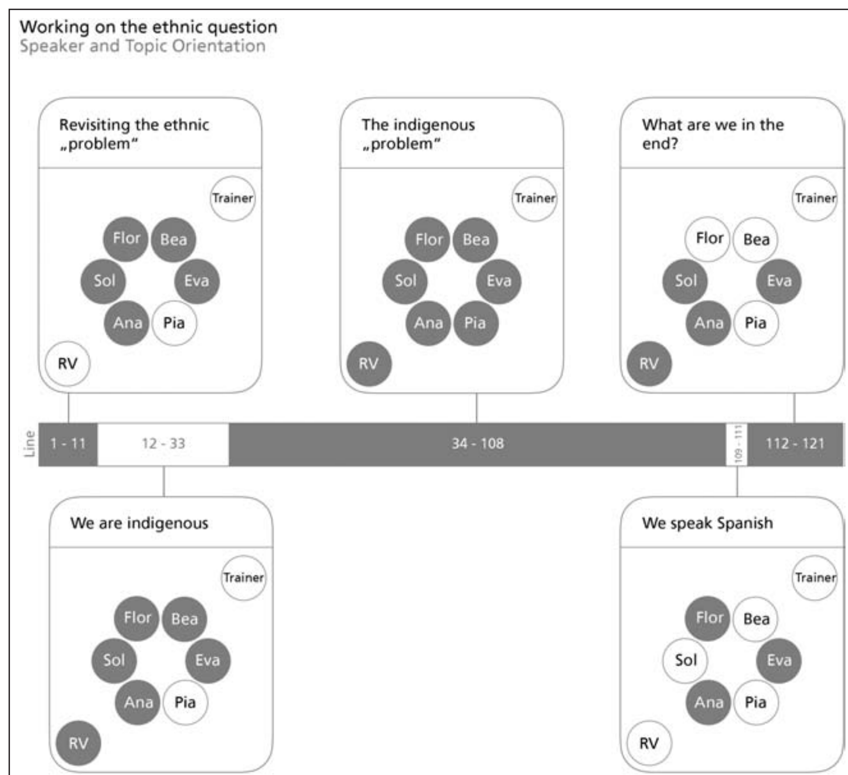
28	Eva:	(---)[Maya]
29	Ana:	[mh]
30	Flor:	we are what?
31	Bea:	indigenous
32	Eva:	well indigenous (1)
33	Bea:	<<to her grandchild>> [come here]
34	Sol:	[the word] indigenous
35	RV:	mhm (1.1) and do you know of what indigenous group that
36		means what indigenous tribe
37	Eva:	yes
38	Sol:	here we are are born from here (in) Quetzaltenango
39	Bea:	[ah]
40	RV:	yes?
41	Ana:	[mhm]
42	Bea:	[ehe]
43	Eva:	<<all> [Palmar] Quetzaltenango> (---) Palmar (-)
44		Quetzaltenango
45	Flor:	no to the [group]
46	Ana:	[mh]
47	Flor:	(-) what?
48	RV:	indigenous
49	Eva:	indigenous$_{PL}$
50	Sol:	eh indigenous (1.9) let's go (with) indigenous then (--)
51		<<giggling>> (3)
52	Bea:	maybe she wrote that (inc.0.3) [we$_{fem}$]
53	Pia:	[<<laughter>>]
54	Sol:	<<looking at the sheet of paper in front of Flor>>
55		indigenous (-)
56	Flor:	<<writing while speaking>> indigenous
57	Ana:	mh (1.9)
58	Flor:	that we$_{FEM}$ (.) group six (-)
59	Sol:	[there is still (something) missing]
60	Flor:	[°what other language] (--)
61	Sol:	it misses
62	Flor:	why?
63	Sol:	because <<turning to RV>> (-) how did you say (-)
64	Flor:	what
65	RV:	well (--)
66	Flor:	[of/of]
67	RV:	there are like (-) eh (--) well the Miss [said]
68	Flor:	[indigenous$_{PL}$]
69	RV:	that there are twenty-one tribes of indigenous$_{PL}$ of
70		[Mayas]
71	Sol:	[aha]
72	RV:	and they recognize themselves as (---)
73	Sol:	[where they are from]
74	RV:	[<<hesitating> Kachikel or>] I don't know that/there are
75		more that means
76		I don't (--)
77	Flor:	and what (-) we write down from (-) from
78		<<laughing>Palmar [Quetzaltenango>]
79	RV:	[<<short aspirated laugh>>]
80	Ana:	[<<giggle>>]
81	Pia:	[<<loud laughter>>]
82	Sol:	[(in) Quetz/ (--) Quetzo/Quetzal]tenango we are [born]
83	RV:	[<<laughing>indigenous$_{PL}$ from Palmar>]
84	Flor:	[well yes] like this (.) right?
85	RV:	I don't know (-) what is/who are/[how]

86 Flor: [indigenous$_{PL}$]
87 RV: [you] are
88 Sol: one doesn't know
89 RV: [<<smiling>you should know this>]
90 Flor:
91 Sol: we do not belong to another [where]
92 RV: mh
93 Pia: they name themselves (inc. 0.5)
94 Ana: [well] yes we will
95 Bea: will it be possible?
96 Eva: yes (.) but who knows if it is also going to be written
97 down like this
98 Bea: [will it be possible? (--)]
99 Pia: [who knows if we can] it would be good [to ask the Miss]
100 Bea: [it is that we] belong to the [Palmar Xela]
101 Ana: [yes because] (inc.0.5) well
102 Flor: indigenous$_{PL}$ (.) yes?
103 Sol: but it is (--)
104 RV: [but it is like the municipality]
105 Ana: [we will ask later]
106 Flor: what other [language do you speak]
107 Eva: [municipality (--) that makes it clear?]
108 Ana: [because here she mentioned munici]pality <<looking at
109 Flor's sheet of paper>> (--) she didn't mention of which
110 municipality (1)
111 Flor: six (---) the six (--)
112 RV: let's keep indigenous and [we will ask the Miss]
113 Flor: [what other language we speak?]
114 Ana: Spanish
115 Eva: Spanish hmh (2.4)
116 Sol: that we are all indi[genous (inc.0.6)]
117 Eva: <<lifting the document in front of Flor from the table>>
118 what was written now that we are a what? (1.2)
119 Sol: we are a(1.3)
120 Eva: <<reading on Flor's paper>> indigenous$_{PL}$
121 Ana: [mh]
122 Eva: [mh (--) aha] this (sic!) are some questions that were
123 made to me when the (-) eh the [comrades$_{FEM}$]
124 RV: [mhm]
125 Eva: from Santa Anita came as I remember (inc.1.2)

Flor starts the task of ethnic categorization by re-reading the question to the group. She struggles with the term *étnico* as she already did in the dictation episode with the trainer (extract 1, lines 11 and 26), where she was not sure about how to pronounce or write the word (see 6.2). Here, she corrects herself several times, marked by discontinuations at the beginning of the word: *ahora el otro (1.6) grupo: (-) a/o (—) grupo ét/ (–)* 'now the other one (1.6) group (-) a/o (—) eth/ group (–)' (line 1). Her attempts trigger her fellow group members to step in. While Bea is interrupted after her attempt with *a/ét/* (line 2; 3 ET), Ana utters *étnico* (line 3; 4 ET) without further doubts of pronunciation, followed by Eva with *es étnico* 'it is ethnic' (line 4; 5 ET) and Sol (line 5; 6 ET). Flor then proceeds to utter the whole word, parallel to Ana (line 6; 7 ET), and to read the written

question aloud: *étnico (-) al que perte'n ´ecen (–) perte'n ´ecen (-) nosotras (–) al grupo étnico (—)* 'ethnic (-) youPL belong to (–) youPL belong (-) wefem (–) to the ethnic group (—)' (lines 7–8; 8–9 ET). Flor's utterance has a slightly increasing pitch in the penultimate syllable of the word *pertenecen.* She repeats *pertenecen* twice and identifies the reference subject 'weFEM'. The event is marked by a series of pauses, leaving lapses for others to take a turn. When she repeats the object of the sentence (*al grupo étnico* 'to the ethnic group'), the question is directed to her group as she moves her head up from the sheet of paper, looks at her peers with a frowning face and ends her turn. Eva responds with a modeless utterance, followed by a long pause and a hesitant question about 'what is it': *mh (1.6) <<pp>mh (-) mh (-) qué (-) qué es> (1.1)* (line 10; 11 ET). A longer pause concludes Eva's turn. In this case, the pauses mark the overall difficulty of the women with the term – their being at a loss about how to approach the question. Eva's question 'what is it' is characterized by ambiguity: either she alludes to missing knowledge concerning the meaning of the concept 'ethnic group' in general, or she points to missing knowledge about which category to choose from the system. The different categories of ethnicity (Maya and its subgroups Mam, K'iche' etc.) which have been introduced by the trainer in the question sequence are not addressed in this extract so far. Hence, this supports the first interpretation of Eva's problem. This analysis is further sustained by Bea's next turn, in which she calls on the trainer as a person capable of clarification concerning the issue (*seño,* line 11; 12 ET). As the trainer is not in the room at that moment, Ana points to me with the words *ahí está la otra seño* 'there is the other Miss' (line 12; 13 ET). As already visible in the former extract, I am identified as being knowledgeable on the issue of ethnic belonging. Ana places me in line with the trainer *seño* by labeling me as *la otra* 'the other' *seño.* Drawing this comparison, I am attributed as being knowledgeable of the non-local category systems. Although I am a different kind of outsider as the trainer (as I have elaborated in section 5.3), neither of us belong to the in-group of the community, and neither of us operate (only) with locally relevant categories. By repeatedly forwarding this specific question to me, we can assume that the women expect that I must be familiar with the concept of ethnic group and the related category system, and somehow could help them out in solving the problematic task.

Figure 6: Speaker and Topic Orientation in Extract 3



Flor takes up the attempt to invite me into the interaction by turning directly to where I am seated and pointing to the paper rephrasing the task: *qué qué gru/ (-) / qué grupo ÉTnico dice (–) <<turning to RV pointing to the sheet of paper>> mire* 'what what gro/ (-) what ethnic group it/she[93] says (–) <<turning to RV pointing to the sheet of paper>> look' (lines 13–14; 14–16 ET). Much like the first time when Ana tries to consult me (c.f. extract 2, line 9; 10 ET), I try to reject the categorization task the women seek to delegate to me: *ESO lo tienen que saber us ´tedes porque:: (-) se reconocen como gente maya* 'youPL have to know this because (-) do youPL recognize yourself as Mayan people'. The Mayan category has been

93 With the unspecific 3rd person singular form of *decir* 'say', *dice*, Flor could either refer to what is written on her sheet of paper ('it says') or to the dictation of the trainer ('she says').

introduced by the trainer. I now pick it up and use it as an example for turning to the proposed category system coming from "outside". My question is acknowledged with hearer responses from Bea (line 18; 19 ET), Eva (line 19; 20 ET) and Ana (line 20; 21 ET), followed by a query from Flor *cómo?* 'what?' (line 21; 22 ET). I scrutinize the acknowledgment from the women by asking *sí? (—)* 'yes? (—)' (line 22; 23 ET). As there is no response during the pause after this utterance, I repeat and at the same time question the statement: *o sea son descendentes de la gente Maya o:: (inc.0,8)* 'that means you are ancestors of the Mayan people or (inc.0.8)' (lines 22–23; 23–24 ET). The prolonged pronunciation of 'or' calls for a takeover of the turn by another speaker, which is successfully done by Flor, who signals her understanding with the interjection in line 24, 25 ET. The reference to the Mayan category now triggers a sequence focused on the trainer's categories. In overlapping turns, the women start to discuss the existence of ethnic groups and their own category membership within that system. Eva reacts by contradicting my assertion with *pero no/aquí no hay: (—) maya* 'but no/here there are no (—) Maya' (lines 25 and 27; 26 and 28 ET). Eva again uses the local adverb *aquí* 'here' to rule out one of the categories of the trainer's binary system. At the same time Eva rejects the category 'Maya' at least within the spatial boundaries of 'here', Bea also deals with the question to which ethnic group they belong. She ponders the question by starting with *somos* 'we are' (line 26; 27 ET), interrupted by Flor's inquiry *nosotros somos qué?* 'weMASC are what?' (line 29; 30 ET). Bea finally proposes a category, answering my and Flor's question at the same time by stating *indígenas* 'indigenousPL' (line 30; 31 ET). This category, which the trainer classifies as a subcategory to the Mayan ethnic group ('twenty-four indigenous tribes'), is ratified instantly by Eva and Sol (lines 31 and 33; 32 and 34 ET). However, the category is then put up for reconsideration by me asking about the specifics of this indigenousness, in tune with the trainer's category system: *mhm (1.1) y saben de qué grupo de indígenas o sea de que pueblo de indígenas'* 'mhm (1.1) and do you know of what indigenous group that means what indigenous tribe' (lines 34–35; 35–36 ET). Eva affirms my question (line 36; 37 ET). Sol then makes a crucial move and relates my inquiries about specifications of the 'group' or the 'tribe' to a notion of place and origin: *aquí nosotros‿ somos nacidos de aquí quetzaltenango* 'here we are are born from here (in) Quetzaltenango' (line 37; 38 ET). Quetzaltenango is a first disambiguation of *aquí* and designates the administrative department the community belongs to. Whereas the "indigenous" category in the trainer's system is qualified with other ethnic labels (Mam, K'ich'e etc.), the apparent need to specify the term in compliance with this system is done by the community women in relation to place and where one is born.

Sol's relation of indigenousness to place and provenance is questioned by me (line 39; 40 ET) but affirmed by Ana and Bea (lines 40 and 41; 41 and 42 ET). Eva also supports this approach of Bea by repeating quickly and then in a steady pace *<<all>palmar quetzaltenango> (—) palmar (-) quetzaltenango* (lines 42–43; 43–44 ET). She thereby further assigns the municipality 'Palmar' to the department 'Quetzaltenango'. The elaboration of the term *indígena* by Sol and Eva causes some confusion for Flor, who is still in charge of writing. The falling and then rising pitch in the word *no* marks some insecurity followed by the question what group they belong to: *n ´o:, al grupo (-) cómo?* 'no to the group (-) what?' (lines 44 and 46; 45 and 47 ET). In line with the women's proposition, I answer *indígena* (line 47; 48 ET) followed by Eva affirming the term (line 48; 49 ET). Sol, who introduced this category in the first place, also confirms it. After a longer pause, she again confirms that this is what they should write down: *e:h indígenas (1.9) vamos así indígena pues (–) << giggling>> (3)* 'eh indigenousPL (1.9) let's go (with) indigenousSG then (–) <<giggling>> (3)' (lines 49–50; 50–51 ET). Sol accompanies her assertion with a short giggle. The giggle might express a still-pending insecurity about the chosen category "indigenous". It might also again be an index of general amusement about the task itself or the women's category choice. After a longer pause of about three seconds, Bea says something partly inaudible (line 51; 52 ET), but possibly related to that category of belonging, and apparently funny since Pia responds with laughter (line 52; 53 ET). Meanwhile, Sol and Flor are engaged in the writing process. Looking at the sheet of paper, Sol reasserts *indígenas* (line 54; 55 ET). Flor prolongs the vowel *i* in the second syllable of the word, speaking while writing the word down (line 55; 56 ET). This is confirmed with a hearer response from Ana and followed by a pause.

Since there is now an established answer to the 'ethnic' question, the episode is terminated for Flor. She moves on to the sixth question about 'language' (lines 57 and 59; 58 and 60 ET), which followed the 'ethnic' question in the dictation process. However, Sol signals that the question about the ethnic category of belonging is not yet finished, inserting *ahí falta todavía* 'there is still (something) missing' (line 60; 61 ET). Flor notices Sol's insertion only after a few moments, interrupting her reading of the sixth question and asking *por qué?* 'why?' (line 61; 62 ET). Sol starts the attempt of explaining (*porque:* 'because'), but then turns to me and addresses me with a request to take the turn: *cómo dijó? (-)* 'how did you say (-)' (line 62; 63 ET). After another query from Flor (line 63; 64 ET), I rephrase the category system of the trainer with the specification connected to the category 'indigenous': *bueno (–) hay como (-) e:h (–) este la seño dijo que hay veintiun (sic!) pueblo (sic!) de indígenas de mayas* 'well (–) there are like (-) eh (–) well the Miss said that there are twenty-one tribes of indigenousPL of Mayas'. My elaboration is accompanied

by insertions from Flor (lines 64, 66 and 68; 65, 67 and 69 ET). This sequence is also acknowledged by Sol (line 70; 71 ET). Whereas I am moving the explanation forward with *y se reconocen como (—) << hesitating>kachike:l o> no sé que/hay más o sea yo no:* 'and they recognize themselves as (—) <<hesitating>> Kachikel or> I don't know that/there are more that means I don't (–)' (lines 71 and 73–74; 72 and 74–75 ET) Sol summarizes my attempts with *de dónde son (–)* 'where they are from (–)' (line 72; 73 ET). There are several markers of hesitation in my utterance. After starting with particles of structuring and delaying a turn (*bueno, hay como, este*), I refer to the trainer's system, and that my explanations are retrieved from her. With her conclusion, Sol takes up the feature of origin and place, which she already brought up in line 37, 38 ET, when I asked about the specific indigenous 'tribe' they attribute themselves to. Based on Sol's insertion Flor in her role of responsible for writing down takes up the issue of origin, asking *y qué (-) ponemos de (-) del <<laughing>palmar quetzaltenango>* 'and what (-) we write down from (-) from <<laughing>Palmar Quetzaltenango>'. While articulating the last two words she starts to laugh, and is shortly joined by me, breathing out laughing, Ana rhythmically giggling and Pia bursting out in a short and loud laughter. The laughing indicates that there seems to be something odd about the combination of the indigenous category with the qualifier 'from Palmar Quetzaltenango'. Even though Flor's suggestion causes general amusement, Sol tries to pursue this thought by reconfirming her utterance from line 37, 38 ET: *quetz/ (–) quetzo/quetzaltenango nos somos nacidos* '(in) Quetz/ (–) Quetzo/Quetzaltenango we are born' (line 80; 82 ET). It takes her two attempts to pronounce the department, but she still emphasizes "birthplace", as the relevant sub-category which can qualify the category "indigenous". Still laughing, I put the two labels together *indígenas del palmar* 'indigenous$_{PL}$ from Palmar' (line 81; 83 ET). Flor asserts this categorization followed by the question *así (.) verdad?* 'like this (.) right?' (line 82; 84 ET) and another mentioning of the term 'indigenous' (line 84; 86 ET). The sequence shows that for the women it makes sense that belonging is categorized along the lines of "place", "origin" and "birthplace" as proposed and repeated by Sol. However, the frequent laughter indicates that they perceive that there is something unusual or amiss in using the ethnic category "indigenous" qualified with a spatial adverb. They thus attempt to converge the trainer's ethnic category system and their own, local conceptualization of belonging as mainly based on relations to a specific place – to the 'here'. They repeatedly turn to me, thereby expressing the assumption that I might have outsider knowledge congruent to the trainer's category system. However, within the interaction, I repeatedly try to renounce this allocated expert role and to withdraw from the interaction: *YO no sé (-) qué es/qué son/cómo son ustedes*

<<smiling>eso: deben saber ustedes> 'I don't know (-) what is/who are/how you are <<smiling>you should know this>' (lines 83, 85 and 87; 85, 87 and 89 ET).

The general uncertainty about the validity of combining both categories characterizes the end of this extract. Sol indicates in response to my not knowing 'what', 'who' or 'how they are, that, on a generalized level, they also do not know: *no se sabe* 'it is not known' (line 86; 88 ET). Again, she emphasizes belonging in spatial dimensions *nosotros no pertenecemos a otro en donde* 'we do not belong to another where' (line 89, 91 ET). Doubts arise whether the categorical solution they agreed upon is feasible. Bea asks *se podrá?* 'will it be possible' twice (lines 93 and 95; 95 and 98 ET). Eva reacts to Sol's remark with the question *sí (.) pero saber si va poner así también´* 'yes (.) but who knows if it is also going to be written down like this' (line 94; 96–97 ET). Pia opts for a confirmation of their categorical solution by the trainer herself: *saber si podremos estaría bueno preguntar a la seño* 'who knows if we can it would be good to ask the Miss' (line 96; 99 ET) thereby underlining her authority on the issue. Meanwhile, Bea supports the validity of the women's categorization of belonging in a spatial dimension one last time *es que nosotros pertenecemos al palmar xela* 'it is that we belong to the Palmar Xela' (line 97; 100 ET). She uses the common abbreviation for the town, derived from the K'iche' name of Quetzaltenango *Xelajú*. Even though I denied expertise on the matter, I interfere again and point out that 'Palmar Xela' is a problematic qualifier to the ethnic category as it is a municipality (line 101; 104 ET). Eva questions whether the municipality could not work as a qualifier for the category: *municipio (–) que aclara?* 'municipality (–) that makes it clear?' (line 104; 107 ET). Ana takes up the issue by rephrasing that later on they are going to ask (line 102; 105 ET), and adds *porque aquí mencionó municipio <<looking at Flor's sheet of paper>> (–) no mencionó de que municipio (1)* 'because here she mentioned municipality <<looking at Flor's sheet of paper>> (–) she didn't mention of which municipality (1)' (lines 105–106; 108–109 ET). Ana checks whether Flor would have written down the spatial qualifier of the municipality (Palmar Quetzaltenango) to the category "indigenous". After a look at the document, she notices that Flor has not done it, and still left the term "indigenous" on its own on the paper. I close the sequence by aligning myself with the women: In the first person plural I suggest *dejamos indígenas y preguntamos al/a la seño* 'let's keep indigenous and we will ask the Miss' (line 108; 112 ET). In the previous sequences, I contrasted my own person with the group of women (use of *yo* 'I' vs. *ustedes* 'youPL'). By changing the verbal form I make the women's problem of attributing themselves *our* collective problem. Furthermore, I position myself as someone who would also have to consult the trainer on that matter, and who is therefore *not* an expert on the ethnic category system.

While the discussion about municipality as an ethnic qualifier is going on, Flor tries to close the issue and moves on to the next question concerning the language. She repeats the category and asks for confirmation *indígenas (.) sí?* ‘indigenousPL (.) yes?’ (line 99; 102 ET) and goes on to ask the question about the other languages the women might speak (line 103; 106 ET). She insists on a response to question six until she receives a response from Ana and Eva, both successively uttering *español* ‘Spanish’ (lines 110 and 111; 114 and 115 ET). While Ana, Flor and Eva deal with the sixth question, Sol still contemplates the answer to the fifth one (line 112; 116 ET). Having answered the language question, Eva inquires about the final category decision on the paper: *<<lifting the document in front of Flor from the table>> cómo ya se escribió que somo:s un: qué? (1.2)* ‘<<lifting the document in front of Flor from the table>> what was written now that we are a what? (1.2) (lines 113–114; 117–118 ET). She scans the paper while Sol starts to answer her question (line 115; 119 ET). Eva reads *indígenas* (line 116; 120 ET) aloud. This is affirmed by Ana (line 117; 121 ET), and thus serves as a closing of the interaction dealing with the answer to question number five. Eva finally remarks that this is not the first time that she was asked to do this kind of categorization: *eso (sic!) son algunas preguntas que me hicieron cuando venían las (-) eh las compañeras de Santa Anita lo que recuerdo (inc.1.2)* ‘this (sic!) are some questions that were made to me when the (-) eh the comradesFEM from Santa Anita came as I remember (inc.1.2)’ (lines 118–119 and 121; 122–123 and 125 ET).

The whole extract elucidates that questions of belonging are apparently not usually a concern within the community, at least not in categories of “ethnicity”. Instead, the prompt to categorize oneself according to a system of ethnic terms seems to be something which is demanded or asked for by outsiders, like the trainer of the workshop or women visiting from another community. The women try to deal with the task by adapting their own system of local relevancies (‘being born here’ or simply ‘being from here’) to the category system exclusively consisting of ethnic terms which the trainer had provided them with in her short explanation in Extract 1. The meaning of the concept “ethnic”, as we have seen in the first extract, is problematic for the women. However, the term indigenous is something they can relate to, as this is the one they pick up from the trainer’s explanations and to which they assign themselves as a group. The complication that “indigenous” is a term subsuming different ethnic subgroups or tribes, which I introduce following the trainers outline, is approached by a qualifier emphasizing spatial belonging to the place – either ‘here’, or in more administrative terms the department or municipality ‘Palmar Quetzaltenango’. The women, however, indicate a contradiction in the alignment of the trainer’s

category system with their local one, resulting in a category: 'indigenous of Palmar Quetzaltenango'. Repeated laughter and sequences displaying general insecurity about the solution indicate that the workgroup is not completely satisfied with the answer they prepared for the trainer's evaluation. Finally, only the overall category 'indigenous' is written down as an answer for the trainer's question on their ethnic belonging.

In the following comparatively short extract, the women move on to the language question, which is re-directed to a problematization of the ethnic category "indigenous".

6.5. Processing the Language Question

Having finished the discussion on belonging in terms of ethnic categories (or at least postponing the result for the trainer's approval), the women around the table commence engaging in private conversations while Flor browses her document. The trainer is still absent, and the women are still supposed to answer the questions for the workshop. I re-open the interaction focused on the topic of answering the trainer's question – in this case, the question on possible other languages the women speak. As was shown in extract 2, the speakers already have a clearly defined answer to that question – that 'here' 'no one' speaks another language than 'Spanish' (except for Doña Alicia). In this extract, however, the women relate ethnic and language categories in a different way due to their decision on "indigenous" as a belonging category in the previous processing of the ethnic question.

Extract 4: Community women's workshop – *No hablamos* (01:36:46–01:37:15)

1	RV:	y el idioma´ (-) tienen la [pregunta con el idioma?]
2	Pia:	[pero (--) realmente en el grup/]
3	Flor:	ah (--)
4	RV:	con el idioma (—) había una pregunta con idioma
5	Pia:	sí?
6	Flor:	si
7	Sol:	es eso: de la indígena (---)
8	Flor:	<<looking at her paper>> nosotros hablamos el idio[ma
9		español]
10	Ana:	[somos hablantes de español]
11	Eva:	aha (-) es igual k/que se [escribió]
12	RV:	[aha] (---)
13	Flor:	<<pp>pero el otro (-) de este de cinco (--) indígenas sí
14		que
15		así vamos a ponerlo>
16	Eva:	no deberíamos escribir que (--) somos maya y no sabemos
17	Sol:	<<p>no sabemos hablar [y no hablamos]>
18	Ana:	[no hablamos] (--) solo en español

Extract 4: English Translation, Community women's workshop – 'we don't speak' (01:36:46–01:37:15)

1	RV:	and the language (-) do you have [the question with
2		language?]
3	Pia:	[but (--) really in the group/]
4	Flor:	ah (--)
5	RV:	with the language (--) there was a question with
6		language
7	Pia:	yes?
8	Flor:	yes
9	Sol:	it is that (one) with the indigenous (---)
10	Flor:	<<looking at her paper>> we speak the [Spanish
11		language]
12	Ana:	[we are speakers of Spanish]
13	Eva:	yes (-) it is the same that was [written]
14	RV:	[yes] (---)
15	Flor:	
16		indigenous yes like this we are gonna write it down>
17	Eva:	we should not write that (--) we are Maya and we do
18		know
19	Sol:	<<p>we don't know how to speak and [we don't speak]>
20	Ana:	[we don't speak] (--) only in Spanish

I direct the women's attention to question number six, which was already partially answered at the end of extract three, but not by all of the participating women. Flor, Ana and Eva approached this topic shortly while I was still engaged with the problem of specifying the category of being "indígena". So I ask *y el idioma' (-) tienen la pregunta con el idioma?* 'and the language (-) do you have the question with the language?' (line 1; 1–2 ET). After Flor signals attention (line 3; 4 ET) I repeat *con el idioma (–) habia una pregunta con idioma* 'with the language (–) there was a question with language' (line 4; 5–6 ET). After a short question and answer sequence regarding the existence of that question between Pia and Flor (lines 5 and 6; 7 and 8 ET), Sol relates the 'language' question to the 'ethnic' question that the women had just discussed: *es eso: de la indígena (—)* 'it is that (one) with the indigenous (—)' (line 7; 9 ET).

Flor starts to reassess how they had answered the question by looking at her paper, and states with a steady voice *nosotros hablamos el idioma español* 'we speak the Spanish language' (line 8–9; 10–11 ET). Ana joins in affirming *somos hablantes de español* 'we are speakers of Spanish' (line 10; 12 ET). Eva strengthens this position by stating that this is what has been written down (line 11; 13 ET). I acknowledge the answers (line 12; 14 ET), and the language question could be finalized at this point. Interestingly, however, the sequence continues. While looking at the sheet of paper and the answers given by the women, Flor revisits the task of ethnic categorization, which ultimately remained unresolved in the former extract: *<<pp>pero el otro (-) de este de cinco (–) indígenas sí que*

así vamos a ponerlo> '<<pp>but the other one (-) this from five (–) indigenous$_{PL}$ yes like this we are gonna write it down> (lines 13–15; 15–16 ET). She speaks in a very low voice and hesitates, which is marked by the pauses between her utterances. The category the women agreed upon (*indígenas*) is still a matter of debate. Subsequently, Eva makes use of another category, hitherto introduced by the trainer and later also by me, to elucidate and exemplify the category *indígena: no deberíamos escribir que (–) somos maya y no sabemos* 'we should not write that (–) we are Maya and we do not know' (line 16; 17-18 ET). 'Maya' is treated as equivalent with 'indigenous' by Eva, as it was emphasized several times that "indigenous" has been written down by Flor as a final answer.[94] The verb *no sabemos* here is not related to not knowing whether they belong to the "Mayan" (= "indigenous") category, but that they do not speak ('know') a specific language related to that category. This relation between a certain ethnicity and a certain language is picked up by Sol and Ana. Sol utters, also quietly *<<p>no sabemos hablar y no hablamos*> '<<p>we don't know how to speak and we don't speak>' (line 17; 19 ET). Ana concludes *no hablamos (–) solo en español* 'we don't speak (–) only in Spanish' (line 18; 20 ET). Self-categorizing as "indigenous" but speaking 'only Spanish' apparently is considered problematic and contradictory. Language competence in a specific indigenous language is directly connected with legitimate (or "correct") belonging to the ethnic group of "indigenous" people, or specifically Mayans. The Spanish language can, as the women already argued in extract 2, be related to the spatial category *aquí* 'here'.

To summarize, in processing the trainer's questions, the women encounter two major problems: First, they try to mediate between the choice of categories outlined by the trainer and their own local conceptions of belonging in spatial and social terms. These two systems resulting in "indigenous" + *local* qualifier, however, contradict the trainer's system of "indigenous" + *ethnic* qualifier. Furthermore, it appears that their choice for "indigenous" itself is a makeshift category. It is the only concept in the trainer's category system the women seem to be familiar with. A second problem the women lay bare in this extract is that in their conceptualization, indigenousness actually only goes together with the category-bound activity of speaking a language other than Spanish (which is not considered to be an indigenous language). However, the women still try to comply with the trainer's system, as she is perceived to be an authority in this specific

94 There is a certain inconsistency in the use of categories here. In extract 3 lines 25 and 27, 26 and 28 ET, Eva uttered that 'here there are no Maya' and confirms the alternative category 'indigenous$_{PL}$' in line 31, 32 ET. Here, however, "Maya" is treated as the same category as "indigenous".

interactional setting. The actual contradictions and clash of the two systems will become explicit in the next and final extract.

6.6. Clashing Category Systems

Shortly after the women completed the tasks on their questionnaire, the trainer comes back into the room and collects the sheets of paper from the two work-groups. While the women talk about other community incidents, private topics or interact with their children and grandchildren, she skims the documents. The trainer does not address the first four questions and tasks written down by the women, but immediately reacts to the fifth, the *étnico* question, as we will see in the following.

Extract 5: Community women's workshop – *Todas son indígenas* (01:48:02–01:50:06)

1	Trainer:	<<ff>todas> (--) todas son indígenas,
2	Flor:	Sí
3	Ana:	[sí]
4	Eva:	[sí]
5	Sol:	[sí] somos in/ (.) so/ [(inc. 1)]
6	Trainer:	[pero: de qué pueblo digamos]
7	Flor:	<<aspirated short laughter>> <<smiling>del palmar
8		quetzal/> <<laughter>>
9	Ana:	sí pu:es
10	Trainer:	no pero digamos ma:m (-) quichés [(1)]
11	Eva:	[no:]
12	Trainer:	poqomchis (--)
13	Ana:	[espa/ (--) solo por [español]
14	Eva:	[nosotros somos nacidos de aquí]
15	Ana:	somos de aquí (--)
16	Trainer:	sí pero no saben ustedes digamos de qué grupo (--) de
17		qué pueblo’
18	Flor:	[no]
19	Eva:	[no]
20	Sol:	[no]
21	Trainer:	[no saben]
22	Flor:	[no sabemos]
23	Eva:	[no]
24	Trainer:	y por que se denominan <<laughing>in↑DÍGenas>
25	Eva:	[porque:]
26	Ana:	[(inc. 1.7)]
27	Sol:	[<<pp>los guatemaltecos/los pueblos que (inc.0.2) hablar
28		su idioma> (--)]
29	Trainer:	(1.5) porque digamos indígenas están como les digo los
30		ma:m k’ichés (-) poqomchis (--) kaqchike:les (-) o sea
31		son los veinticuatro pueblos(--) ahora mestizo (--)
32		o=sea un mes[tizos]
33	Eva:	[mestizos tambien?]
34	Sol:	[mestizo (inc. 0.5)]
35	Trainer:	pues yo no sé porque:

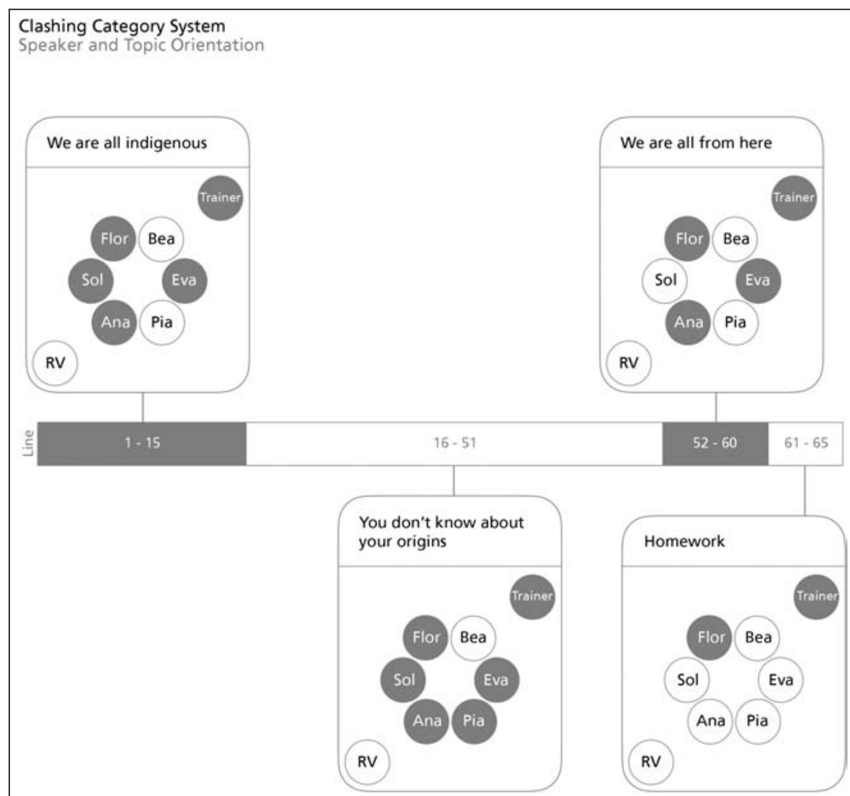
36 Flor: <<quiet laughter>>
37 Pia: <<giggles>>
38 Trainer: <<smiling>ustedes son los que conocen su historia y su
39 origen> [(--)
40 no les puedo poner]
41 Flor: [°h: por e:so] (--) por eso nosotros por=allí pusimos
42 indígenas (2) porque nosotros no sabemos
43 Trainer: <<talking to the other workgroup>> (6.5) <<directed to
44 all the women>> es que digamos que: en los grupos
45 étnicos el ladino no existe
46 (--)
47 Flor: entonces
48 Trainer: solo el mestizo (--) o sea el mestizo es una mezcla
49 digamos (--) entre:: (---) varios grupos (--) étnicos
50 (-) o sea no no se sabe bien su origen (---) aha (--)
51 o=sea es una mezcla entre: (-) indígen[as y:]
52 Eva: [es como nosotros] no sabemos de nuestros antepasados
53 (--) [de dónde eran]
54 Trainer: [por eso es lo que es/] [por eso no saben (--) como
55 <<laughing>]
56 Ana: [no pues no sabemos pues]
57 Trainer: denominarse>
58 Flor: que hemos hemos nacido [aquí y no sabemos]
59 Ana: [sí pues (---)que somos] [de aquí TOdos]
60 Eva: [no sa]bemos que somos nacidos TOdos de: (--) [aqu´í]
61 Trainer: [entonces] la tarea ahorita es (-) para la próxima
62 <<laughing>reunión cuando venga ya tienen que saber> (.)
63 algo de su historia por lo menos cuál es su origen (-)
64 Flor: [mh:]
65 Trainer: [aha] porque igual no saben ni dónde ubicarse ustedes

Extract 5: English Translation, Community women's workshop – 'all are indigenous' (01:48:02–01:50:06)

1 Trainer <<ff>all$_{FEM}$> (--) all$_{FEM}$ are indigenous
2 Flor: yes
3 Ana: [yes]
4 Eva: [yes]
5 Sol: [yes] we are (.) we [(inc. 1)]
6 Trainer: [but of which tribe let's say]
7 Flor: <<aspirated short laughter>> <<smiling>of Palmar
8 Quetzal/> <<laughter>>
9 Ana: yes well
10 Trainer: no but let's say Mam (-) K'iche's [(1)]
11 Eva: [no:]
12 Trainer: Poqomchi (--)
13 Ana: [Span/ (--) only in [Spanish]
14 Eva: [we are born here]
15 Ana: we are from here (--)
16 Trainer: yes but don't you know let's say from which group (--)
17 from which tribe
18 Flor: [no]
19 Eva: [no]
20 Sol: [no]
21 Trainer: [you don't know]
22 Flor: [we don't know]
23 Eva: [no]

24 Trainer: and why do you call yourself <<laughing>indigenous>
25 Eva: [because]
26 Ana: [(inc. 1.7)]
27 Sol: [<<pp>the guatemalans/the tribes who (inc.0.2) speak
28 their language> (--)]
29 Trainer: (1.5) because let’s say indigenous are like I tell you
30 the Mam K’iche’s (-) Poqomchis (--) Kaqchikels (-) that
31 means the twenty-four tribes(--) now a mestizo (--) that
32 means a mes[tizos]
33 Eva: [mestizos too?]
34 Sol: [mestizo (inc. 0.5)]
35 Trainer: well I don’t know because
36 Flor: <<quiet laughter>>
37 Pia: <<giggles>>
38 Trainer: <<smiling>you are the ones who know your history and
39 your origin> [(--) I cannot put (it) down for you]
40 Flor: [°h that’s why] (--) that’s why we put there indigenous
41 (2) because we$_{\text{MASC}}$ don’t know
42 Trainer: <<talking to the other workgroup>> (6.5) <<directed to
43 all the women>> it’s that let’s say that in the ethnic
44 groups the Ladino does not exist (--)
45 Flor: so
46 Trainer: only the mestizo (--) that means the mestizo is a
47 mixture let’s say (--) between (---) different ethnic
48 (--) groups (-) that means one doesn’t know well about
49 its origin (---) aha (--) that means it is a mixture
50 between (-) indigen[ous and]
51 Eva: [it is like we$_{\text{MASC}}$] don’t know of our ancestors (--)
52 [where they came from]
53 Trainer: [that’s why it’s like that] [that’s why you don’t know
54 (--) <<laughing>]
55 Ana: [no well we don’t know then]
56 Trainer: how to call yourself>
57 Flor: we were born [here and we don’t know]
58 Ana: [well yes (---) we are] [all$_{\text{MASC}}$ from here]
59 Eva: [we don’t] know we are all$_{\text{MASC}}$ born (--) [here]
60 Trainer: [so] the task is now (-) for the next <<laughing>reunion
61 when I’m coming you will have to know> (.) something
62 about your history at least what your origin is (-)
63 Flor: [mh:]
64 Trainer: [yes] because you don’t even know where to place
65 yourselves

Figure 7: Speaker and Topic Orientation in Extract 5



The trainer requests the women's attention by speaking up loudly and confronts them with the result from Flor's paper: *<<ff>todas> (–) todas son indígenas,* '<<ff>allFEM> (–) allFEM are indigenous' (line 1). The women affirm this statement with a chorus of consecutive and simultaneous *sí* 'yes' (lines 2–5). Sol begins to add an explanation (line 5) but is interrupted by the trainer, who asks for a qualification of the category "indigenous": *pero: de qué pueblo digamos* 'but from which tribe let's say'. Similar to her reaction to my inquiry about a tribal specification in extract 3 (lines 34–35; 35–36 ET), Flor starts to qualify 'indigenous' in terms of spatial belonging. However, her turn starts with a short aspirated laugh; she utters her turn with a smiling voice, interrupting herself by bursting into rhythmic laughter: *<<aspirated short laughter>> <<smiling>del palmar quetzal/> <<rhythmic laughter>>* (lines 7–8). By laughing Flor distances herself from the

proposition even before she starts articulating it not even finishing the thought in ongoing laughter. As I have discussed in section 6.5, the women are aware of a possible mismatch between their conceptualization and the trainer's system.

Still, her proposition is supported by Ana, mitigating the laughter of Flor by affirming *sí pu:es* 'yes well' (line 9). The trainer, nonetheless, negates Flor's attempt and reframes her question using subcategories of her ethnic category system: *no pero digamos ma:m (-) k'ichés (1) poqomchis (–)* 'no but let's say Mam (-) K'iche's (1) Poqomchi (–)' (lines 10 and 12). Eva negates the trainer's categories after *k'ichés* when she pauses for a moment in her enumeration (line 11). Ana relates the subcategories presented by the trainer back to the language question, negating belonging to one of the categories mentioned and explains that they only speak Spanish: *espa/ (–) solo por español* 'Spa/ (–) only in Spanish' (line 13). Here, the connection between ethnic categories as equivalent to speaking a corresponding indigenous language as a category-bound activity is emphasized again. Eva proposes another explanation as to why the proposed categories do not match belonging in the community by emphasizing local belonging: *nosotros somos nacidos de aquí* 'we are born from here' (line 14). Ana supports her assertion, confirming *somos de aquí* 'we are from here' (line 15). As the women have emphasized numerous times in the previous extracts, to be 'from here' or to be 'born here' is the central category-bound predicate of belonging within the community. On the one hand, being 'from here' determines who belongs to the we-group of the community; on the other hand, it appears to render belonging to an ethnic category impossible. This categorization is not ratified by the trainer, who sticks to the "official" ethnic system. She insists on assigning the "indigenous" category into an ethnic subgroup, a 'tribe': *sí pero no saben ustedes digamos de qué grupo (–) de qué pueblo*' 'yes but don't you know let's say from which group (-) from which tribe' (lines 16–17). The women respond to this question in a similar way as they had to the trainer's 'all are indigenous' statement in lines 2–5. They simultaneously answer 'no' chorally (lines 18–20), which the trainer concludes with *no saben* 'youPL don't know' (line 21). Flor also affirms *no sabemos* 'we do not know' (line 22). The trainers's reaction to that conclusion is quite striking; she threatens the faces of the interlocutors by directly questioning their completion of the assigned task, moreover with a laughing and leaping intonation during the last word: *y por que se denominan / << laughing>in↑DÍGenas>* 'and why do you call yourself <<laughing>indigenous>' (line 24). Eva tries to react to the mocking question and starts off with the conjunction *porque:* 'because' (line 25), but interrupts her utterance thereafter. Ana and Sol also try to reply to the trainer's question and overlap each other's utterances. Some children run into

the room at that point and Ana's as well as parts of Sol's very quiet utterances are not audible (lines 25 and 27).

After a pause of approximately 1.5 seconds the trainer proceeds again, explaining the different subcategories without reacting directly to Ana's and Sol's explanation efforts. There is no way of telling whether she did not respond, because she did not hear them due to the children's noise or because she does not consider them relevant. Again, the trainer introduces the ethnic categories 'Mam', 'K'iche'', 'Poqomchi', 'Kaqchikeles' as part of the *veinticuatro pueblos* 'twenty-four tribes' (lines 30–31). As a second possibility for ethnic categorization, she brings up the 'mestizo' (line 31) and is interrupted by Eva questioning *mestizos también?* 'mestizos too?' followed by Sol also picking up the new term (line 34). Even though this category has been introduced by the trainer in the outline of the binary ethnic category system in the sequence of question dictation (see section 6.2), it has not been discussed in the following sequences when the women negotiated categories of belonging and language on their own. The trainer appears to interpret Eva's and Sol's reaction to the category as if they were asking whether 'Mestizo' might be a "valid" category of belonging, since their attempt to assign themselves to the category "indigenous" is not accepted in the eyes of the trainer. Hence, she answers by rejecting the ascription of expert knowledge on the women's ethnic affiliation: *pues yo no sé porque: <<smiling>ustedes son los que conocen su historia y su origen> (–) no les puedo poner* 'well I don't know because <<smiling> you are the ones who know your history and your origin> (–) I cannot put (it) down for you' (lines 35 and 38–40; 35 and 38–39 ET). Flor and Pia accompany the trainer's turn with quiet laughter (Flor) and a giggle (Pia), to which the trainer responds with a smiling voice in the middle of her utterance. The laughter of the women once again indicates insecurity, and possibly an alienation (Roth, 2005, 238) from the "inability" to categorize themselves into the system of ethnic classifications. Flor negates the trainer's argument, linking another attempt of explicating the choice of the category *índigena* without an ethnic qualifier: *°h: por e:so (–) por eso nosotros por=allí pusimos indígenas (2) porque nosotros no sabemos* '°h that's why (–) that's why we put there indigenous (2) because weMASC don't know' (lines 41–42; 40–41 ET). Flor refers to the 'history' and 'origin' the trainer had explained when she says 'weMASC don't know'. To the women knowing where 'we' come from is a predicate for knowing the qualifier to the ethnic category "indigenous". What they know is that they are from 'here' or 'Palmar Quetzaltenango'. However, as this is not acknowledged as a "valid" qualifier, Flor tries to explain the choice to the trainer in this way. Note how she uses the masculine 'we' *nosotros,* which is not exclusive for the group of women, but also

includes any gender in the community. *Nosotros no sabemos* (about 'history' and 'origin') is hence an attribute ascribed to the whole community.[95] By picking up the trainer's statement about the community members' "ignorance" about their ethnic origins, Flor clarifies the local categorical reasoning. Her turn remains unanswered. Instead, the women of the workgroup start to interact with each other or their children and grandchildren. The point appears to be concluded for them. Meanwhile, the trainer turns to the other group in the room that is still discussing. Although the exact wording is not audible on the recording due to other noises in the room, we can assume that they were still engaging with the answer to question number five; based on the following explanations, the trainer speaks to all of the women in the room: *es que digamos que: en los grupos étnicos el ladino no existe (–)* 'it's that let's say that in the ethnic groups the Ladino[96] does not exist (–)' (lines 44–45; 43–44 ET). Apparently, she picks up a category introduced in her discussion with the second workgroup here, as 'Ladino' was not introduced in the recorded group beforehand. After Flor's call for explanation *entonces* 'so' (line 47; 45 ET), the trainer proceeds to explain that, in her category system, the closest to the category 'Ladino' is the 'Mestizo'. Her definition of *mestizo* entails being an ethnic hybrid and having an unidentified source of origin: *o sea el mestizo es una mezcla digamos (–) entre:: (—) varios grupos (–) étnicos (-) o sea no no se sabe bien su origen (—) aha (–) o=sea es una mezcla entre: (-) indígenas y:* 'that means the mestizo is a mixture let's say (–) between (—) different ethnic (–) groups (-) that means one doesn't know well about its origin (—) aha (–) that means it is a mixture between (-) indigenous and' (lines 48–51; 46–50 ET). In her argument, the 'mixture' of 'ethnic groups' causes the blurring of origins, and hence impedes a label connected to a *specific* ethnic group. Eva interrupts the trainer. She picks up on the definition of 'Mestizo' and focuses on the "unknown" provenance (*no se sabe bien su origen* 'one doesn't know well about its origin'). Supporting the explicative efforts of Flor (in lines 41–42; 40–41 ET), she emphasizes: *es como nosotros no sabemos de nuestros antepasados (–) de dónde eran* 'it is like weMASC don't know of our ancestors (–) where they came from' (line 52–53; 51–52 ET). When Eva speaks about the 'ancestors', she refers

95 The people in the community actually do know about their locally relevant history and origin. They do not, however, frame it in a narrative of *ethnic* belonging, but rather in a narrative of transformation and collective struggle to be able to remain 'here'. In chapter 7, many of these narratives are analyzed.

96 The trainer's conceptualization contradicts academic literature on the term, which considers the "Ladino" to be a hegemonic, but still *ethnic* category in contrast to indigenous categories (c.f. Stavenhagen 1965, Matthew 2006 and del Valle Escalante 2008).

to generations prior to their parents'. In the narratives for example, it is often the grandparents' generation who are portrayed as 'coming down' from the plateau, or, as community leader Javier puts it in his narrative for visitors, the community people have lived in the Alianza for 'five generations' (see for example in 7.3.1.1). In Eva's sentence, we can observe the importance of spatiality again: the people of the community (she also uses an inclusive masculine 'we') do not know 'where' their ancestors 'came from'. To know about the ethnic belonging of their ancestors depends on knowledge about their former location.

In the broader Guatemalan context, this explanation makes sense as ethnic belonging, or specific variations of ethnicity could change from village to village in the Western Highlands and elsewhere in Guatemala. What Eva also tells us implicitly is that, since the ancestors arrived *aquí* 'here' in the *finca* ethnic belonging has lost relevance. *Aquí* cannot be related to ethnic belonging; belonging can only be understood in terms of being 'from here' or 'being born here'. This implicit line of argumentation is made explicit in the following by the other group members. First, however, the trainer signals that she understands their communicative problem: *por eso es lo que es/por eso no saben (–) como << laughing>denominarse>* 'that's why it's like that/that's why you don't know (–) <<laughing>how to call yourself>' (lines 54–55; 53–54 ET). The trainer utters the last word *denominarse* 'call yourself' with a laughing voice, expressing her astonishment over the fact that the women really do not know how to assign themselves to an ethnic category. In line with Flor and Eva, the women open a poly-voiced chorus, supporting each other and repeating the argument. Parallel to the trainer's turn, Ana repeats Eva's contribution *no pues no sabemos pues* 'no well we don't know then' (line 56; 55 ET). Flor states *que hemos hemos nacido aquí y no sabemos* 'we were were born here and we don't know' (line 58; 57 ET). Simultaneously, Ana confirms this with *sí pues (—) que somos de aquí TOdos* 'well yes (—) we are allMASC from here' (line 59; 58 ET) while Eva joins in with *no sabemos que somos nacidos TOdos de: (–) aquí* 'we don't know we are allMASC born (–) here' (line 60; 59 ET). *Todos* 'allMASC' is emphasized in both Ana's and Eva's utterances, and again by using the masculine form referring to all people in the community, and not just the women in the workshop. The emphasis on their shared knowledge, and thereby their collectivity strengthens the speakers position and argumentation. They counter the trainer's apparent amusement about their ignorance by reasoning why they cannot assign themselves, and at the same time emphasize the locally relevant attribute for belonging in the community: 'being from here'. They underscore belonging in spatial terms – in terms of place of birth and of locality. It is their second attempt to defend their perspective on belonging against the trainer.

However, as in the earlier extracts and sequences, the trainer does not ratify place as a legitimate category of belonging. It deviates from the ethnic categories of belonging she considers valid. Instead, the extract ends with another task assigned to the community women: *entonces la tarea ahorita es (-) para la próxima <<laughing>reunión cuando venga ya tienen que saber> (.) algo de su historia por lo menos cuál es su origen (-) aha porque igual no saben ni dónde ubicarse ustedes* 'so the task is now (-) for the next <<laughing>reunion when I'm coming you will have to know> (.) something about your history at least what your origin is (-) yes because you don't even know where to place yourselves' (lines 61–63 and 65; 60–62 and 64–65 ET). As in her previous turns, the trainer articulates part of her utterance with a laughing voice, thus indexing the exceptional status of the women's "inability" to recall their origins and 'placing' themselves in her category system. Neglecting the line of the women's argumentation and the local system of belonging categories, she demands that the women 'have to know' something about their 'history' or 'origin' the next time she comes to visit the community. So instead of acknowledging the local differences, the trainer insists on the application of her system, if not now then in the future. Except for hearer feedback of Flor (line 64; 63 ET), the women do not respond to that demand. After the trainer's conclusion, indistinct chatter starts. The other tasks and questions on the questionnaire are assessed later in the following course of the workshop.

The clash of category systems – an ethnically oriented and a spatially and heritage-oriented one – becomes evident in this extract. This "clash" is not as severe as it appears from the perspective of the trainer.[97] "Ethnicity" is a concept which – in its very (and manifold) definitions – is related to "ancestry" and "origin". It is a

> "sense and the expression of 'collective, intergenerational cultural continuity,' i.e. the sensing and expressing of links to 'one's own kind (one's own people),' to collectivities that not only purportedly have historical depth but, more crucially, share putative ancestral origins" (Fishman, 1985, 4).

Furthermore, space plays a role in ethnic configurations, at least in the Guatemalan context. As I have explained, ethnic belonging and the practices related to it can vary from one community to the other in the highlands.

The problem, thus, apparently does not lie in the spatial configurations of belonging, but in the women's ignorance of the ethnic category system. There

---

97 At a later moment in the workshop that is not presented in this book, she evaluates the women's 'ignorance' as quote 'grave', 'embarrassing' and 'intolerable' given the political times in Guatemala, in which she says it is important to know 'where you come from'.

is no solution or negotiation towards a convergence of both systems or an acknowledgment of the local relevancy of spatial belonging by the trainer, a community outsider. Her ethnically oriented system is institutionally backed up, so the negotiations on 'validity' in the end fall back on interactional authority in this encounter. This is the primary focus of the next section.

6.7. Interactional Positions

The interactions in this workshop are characterized by different interactional positions of the participating parties. As I have outlined in section 4.2, the speakers can index positions on different levels in the interaction. In this section I will address interactional positions as "temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 592). In the workshop, these interactional positions are indexed by a certain asymmetry in the negotiation and the acceptance of belonging concepts.

The trainer's position as an official representative of a state institution also influences her interactional position in the workshop. She occupies an expert and leading participant role in the interaction's sequential organization. This is intriguing because it mitigates other attributes that usually have weight in the *in-situ* negotiation of the interactional positions of the speakers (age or status in the in-group of the community). The trainer is a young woman of 26 years – younger than most of the participating women. From other observations of interactions in the community (as in the participants' houses or during community meetings), I concluded that age plays a role in turn allocation and amount of contributions in an interaction. In this workshop, the younger woman is the one leading the event and the one allocating turns to the other participants. She is sent by an official governmental institution, which organizes workshops for rural women with the aim of empowering them in their social and economic communal activities. At the beginning of the workshop, the trainer introduces herself by referring to the governmental institution and the women's program she is working for, and provides a schedule for the workshop.

The interaction might be described and analyzed best in terms of a teacher-student relationship[98], which is based on knowledge gaps between both parties and on the assumption that the teacher's knowledge is the "right" knowledge. The women's constant attempts to answer her questions and fulfill tasks in accordance with the trainer's approval, and their reference to her as having the last

98 This interpretation is supported by the humorous interaction in extract 6 and 7.

word on their attempt of categorization, point to their acknowledgment of the trainer's leading or teaching position.

During the course of the interaction, the trainer finds that her category system does not resonate with the community's women. It becomes apparent that the trainer as a government representative positions herself as presumably "valid" and dominant regarding belonging categories. The categories of belonging, and explanations proposed by the women, are either passed over, rejected or even ridiculed by the trainer. The asymmetries in the positions of the interlocutors, thus, also create an asymmetry in "participation rights" (Drew & Heritage, 1992, 49) for the negotiation of category membership. This is not only insensitive to local relevancies, but also political as I will show in the following.

Labeling communities in ethnic and other terms, for example by certain authorities, can have different implications for the local people:

> "ethnic (and other) categories may be used to allocate rights, regulate actions, distribute benefits and burdens, construct category-specific institutions, identify particular persons as bearers of categorical attributes, 'cultivate' populations or, at the extreme, 'eradicate' unwanted 'elements'" (Brubaker, 2002, 184).

By asking the women to place themselves within the system of ethnic categories, the trainer applies presupposed global labels on them, which are portrayed as the only ones "available" in that specific socio-geographic context. As a rural woman in the highlands, you can only hold membership to one category: *mestizo* or *Maya.* In the latter case you have to specify your "Mayaness" by referring to one of twenty-four ethnically different *indigenous* subgroups.

Haber (2010) discusses a similar example from Argentina, in which local frames of reference are adopted into an official category system. This has political and economical repercussions on the local community. Members of a native tribe in Argentina assign themselves to the category *criollo.* For the local community, being *criollo* is related to being born and raised in a certain territory.[99] In the official Argentinean context, however, the category is usually used to refer to a "mixed Spanish colonial and indigenous origin" (Schneider, 2006, 11).[100] Haber (2010) points out that anthropologists took the community's local categorical reference of the community seriously, but did not consider its actual

---

99 This is similar to the Alianza community's spatial belonging, to which they do not apply a category other then 'here'.

100 Schneider (2006) observes that there are different attributions to the category *criollo* in the Argentinean context – namely "egalitarian" with a negative meaning of "rural and backward", or "exclusive" as denoting *Porteño* upper class families.

local meaning. As *criollos,* the Argentinean native tribe were not considered to be "purely" indigenous anymore, resulting in severe financial cuts in support from the state and in problems regarding their land rights.

In the case of the Alianza women, the repercussions of the "failed" assignment into the trainer's ethnic system are not as critical as in the above example. However, they are not taken seriously and they are considered by the trainer to be ignorant about their own "origin" and "history".

The women subvert this kind of conclusion at specific points in the interaction. They speak in collective terms (affiliating the whole community to their own position), and we find sequences where they chorally respond to the trainer's inquiries. Furthermore, there are various incidences in the recording in which the women comment on the course of the workshop and the position of the trainer. For example, after the processing of the language question (see extract 4), the trainer is still absent and the women grow impatient waiting for her return. In this setting Flor, Ana and Pia have the following exchange:

Extract 6: *Una deberita* (01:37:16–01:37:23)

```
1    Flor:  y es que no ha terminado (-) es que nos va a venir a
2           poner hacer qué'
3     Ana:  <<laughing>una deberita:>
4    Flor:  <<laughing>>
5     Pia:  <<smiling> pero las ganas>
```

Extract 6: English Translation, 'A little homework' (01:37:16–01:37:23)

```
1    Flor:  and it is that it is not over (-) it is that she is
2           going to make us do what
3     Ana:  <<laughing>a little homework>
4    Flor:  <<laughing>>
5     Pia:  <<smiling> but feeling like it>
```

Ana makes fun of the trainer's authority as she characterizes her as a teacher giving homework because the students (i.e. the women) did not fulfill the task correctly. The diminutive of *deber* into *deberita,* as well as the laughing voice of Ana, make the turn an ironic and playful event. Flor joins in laughing, and thus aligns with Ana on her witty comment about the situation. Pia joins in, saying with a smiling voice that actually they are not 'feeling like it' (line 5).

Another one of these incidences happens a couple of minutes after the trainer's final distribution of the task to learn about "origin" and "history" at the end of extract 5. While the other women chat about other things again, Flor, Ana and Eva comment on the previous sequences:

Extract 7: *Nos va a mandar a la escuela* (01:50:56–01:51:00)

1 Flor: <<laughing>nos va a mandar a la escuela>
2 Ana: ay: (-) dios:
3 Eva: <<laughing>>

Extract 7: English translation, 'She is going to send us to school (01:50:56–01:51:00)

1 Flor: <<laughing>she is going to send us to school>
2 Ana: ay (-) goodness
3 Eva: <<laughing>>

Here, Flor uses the same reference to school as Ana with her 'little homework'. She refers to the task just proposed by the trainer and their being positioned by her but also by themselves as 'not knowing', and thus "needing" some education. Ana comments on this proposition with the ironic exclamation 'ay (-) goodness' causing Eva to laugh along.

The trainer's authority in the workshop is commented upon playfully, at least when the group of women is alone in the room. Also, the playful and funny comments on the women's English competence in extract 2 indicate a humorous framing of the interaction by the women. This points to a certain emancipation of the women concerning the position of the trainer within these small incidences.

In the context of differing interactional positions, my own assumed "knowledge" on the ethnic category system also has to be illuminated. Whereas from a researcher's perspective, I was hoping to remain the impossible "blind spot in the scene" (Duranti, 1997, 101) (i.e. somebody merely or ideally not "existent" to the people she observes), the women repeatedly draw me directly into the interaction and position me as a possible expert on their "tasks". In extract 2, I am asked directly to help answer the "ethnic question". In extract 3, I actively take part in the negotiation of ethnic and local categories. In extract 4, I am the one to begin another sequence on the language question. The position the women assign to me is due to my status as an outsider, as the *otra seño* 'the other Miss', sharing not only age and outsider status, but also assumed comparable knowledge on the ethnic category system the women cannot locate themselves in. During the interactions, I align with the trainer's system, repeating to the women what she was saying, while also indicating that I am neither really sure about the ethnic categories, nor about how they should place themselves within them. The local relevance of having been born or belonging 'here' is only elaborated upon after both the trainer and I insist on a qualifying category for "indigenous". For me as a researcher, the question about ethnic belonging and language use were of utmost interest, which is why I move between trying not to be accountable or influential, and at the same time repeating the trainer's system or starting another sequence

centering on language and ethnicity (extract 4). In these attempts, I am nevertheless reluctant to be put in the same position as the trainer. This reluctance concerns both terms of knowledge and power over categories, but also that I am as much an outsider to the community as she is. This is visible from my alignment with the women using the verbal 'we'-form in extract 3.

From an analytical perspective it is important to consider these interactive relations in the sequential unfolding of the negotiation of categories of belonging. It shows how the clashing of category systems is intertwined with the different self and other positionings in the interaction. In the unfolding of the interaction, we can see how these positions are established and ratified. We can also observe how the women work together in their positioning as the "students" – the ones that have to answer questions and fulfill tasks. Their creativity in converging on their own local understanding of belonging within the "ethnic" system of the trainer, and in defending their own concept, is a co-constructed and collective effort. Finally, we can also elucidate how a trainer from outside of the community has the institutionally supported authority to explain to the local women how they are "failing" with their own belonging constructions, and to persist with an ethnic category system which works in other rural locations in the area, but is irrelevant to this specific local context.

6.8. Interim Conclusion: Belonging as a Local and Interactional Problem

In the previous sections I have analyzed the sequential development of an interaction between some of the community women and a young workshop trainer who was sent by a governmental institution for a three-hour meeting aimed at "female empowerment". Several extracts depicted the chronological succession of thematically critical points in talking about and negotiating belonging: the question regarding ethnicity, regarding language, the processing of both the ethnic and the language question among the women themselves with my participation, and, finally the confrontation between the trainer's institutionally supported, and the women's local and collectively held categorical systems of belonging.

Belonging in these extracts is not only a "communicative problem" (Hausendorf, 2000, 99f.) that is negotiated in interaction, in this case explicitly. It is literally a *problem* for the participating women because the category system offered to them by the outsider does not correspond to their local conceptualizations of "where and how we belong". Dealing with both of these problems reveals, on the one hand, an emic categorical belonging perspective which in contact with the "other" is more discernible. On the other hand, looking closely at the

developments line by line allows a reconstruction of *how* these categories are dealt with, *how* the women attempt to integrate both systems, and *how* this is rejected by the trainer.

The system brought in by the trainer is based on a dichotomization of ethnic groups into either *mestizo* or *Maya*. The latter is differentiated into ethnic subcategories: twenty-four indigenous tribes that are widely recognized for Guatemala. The trainer's system is only explicitly articulated after the women clearly voiced their confusion regarding the term 'ethnic'. The problem might be analyzed as one based on asymmetrical knowledge (cf. Rosenberg 2014, Bromme et al. 2004), specifically in the form of knowledge gaps between experts (the trainer) and laymen (the women) (cf. Ciapuscio 2005, Gülich 1999). This is supported by the trainer establishing and using her institutional position to the extent that she even disregards the women's attempt at integrating both category systems (see 6.7). However, analyzing the excerpts in these terms implies the analyst's acknowledgment of the existence of experts and laymen on the issue of the women's (or, for that matter, the community's) belonging, and that consequently, the women would not be "experts" on their own belonging. Their own assertion *no sabemos* 'we do not know' does not reflect that they do not know anything about their belonging. It serves as an argumentative tool for why they cannot place themselves in a system based on "ethnic origin", and why they thus place themselves in a system of "spatial origin". Taking all this into account, a conceptualization of the interaction in expert-laymen terms would perpetuate the asymmetrical power relations at the analytical level. This is why I propose to analyze the extracts as practical manifestations of clashing category systems: The institutionalized "official" system in ethnic terms, and the local system grounded in spatial origin and location related to *aquí* 'here'.

Even though their local concept of belonging is not acknowledged in the conversation with the trainer, the women find several ways to express its *common* local validity. As there are different possibilities to delineate groups with grammatical forms in the Spanish language, the women can mark either *nosotras* 'weFEM'/*todas* 'allFEM' referring to themselves as a group of women, or *nosotros* 'weMASC'/*todos* 'allMASC', which is the inclusive masculine form in which the women and the men of the community are both included. The claims made about being 'from here' or 'born here' are widened in this way to apply to the whole community. Another form of emphasizing collectivity in the interaction is the women's positioning of themselves as a group speaking in "one voice" to the trainer in sequences of poly-voiced choral speech (as in extract 1: line 2–15, extract 3: lines 1–7, extract 5: lines 2–5, 18–23 and 58–60, 57–59 ET). In these

sequences, the speakers simultaneously or consecutively repeat what the other women say. These are not co-constructions in the sense of a completion of grammatical structures (as in Gülich and Mondada 2008; Günthner 2013; Jungbluth 2016), but co-constructions as sequential "compression" of collective positions in interaction. This strengthens the women's interactional standing and emphasizes their commitment to their shared position.

The cohesion of the women in negotiating and arguing their position with the trainer should not impede an acknowledgment of their individual participant roles in the workshop interactions. For example, in Extract 1, Ana aligns herself with the trainer, emphasizing her knowledge about the *étnico* term her fellow group members struggle with. When the clash of category systems becomes apparent, she aligns with the other women. She is also the one who invites me twice into the interaction over the course of the workshop. Flor writes down the questions and answers, a task that determines most of her turns in the dictation and the processing phases. Pia is rarely involved in negotiating categories of belonging, but is rather an observer of the scene, participating with short insertions or commenting on ongoing talk with laughter and giggles. Eva and Sol are participants who move the discussion along in all extracts, whereas Bea only engages in the processing of the *étnico* question.

The main point of the analysis in this chapter is that, in the Nueva Alianza local concepts do not correspond with concepts that would most certainly be applicable in any other community in the area. Two conclusions need to be drawn from this: The trainer – with her institutionally and experientially approved ethnic category system – is a good example of what researchers (in any discipline involved with human beings) are prone to do. In many research settings, we arrive with preconceived categories about the "groups" we are interested in – about how they supposedly frame their belonging (or *should* frame it), and about how they label themselves and others. This example shows that it is of utmost importance to carefully listen to the participants and to appreciate and take seriously their emic and locally contextualized meaning-making.[101] Furthermore, we need to understand local categories and positionings as they are "materially" displayed, negotiated, acknowledged or dismissed in spoken data:

> "there is no given identity (and belonging, RV) that we as analysts can refer to unless we can demonstrate *that and how* just this social category that we have picked out has

101 Anthropology and ethnography, of course, have to be credited for putting local perspectives and meanings at the center of the very foundation of their discipline (e.g. in Malinowski 1922; Mauss 1990[1925] or Geertz 1973).

> become interactively relevant *in* the data themselves" (Hausendorf, 2004, 243, emphasis in the original).

Local categories and positions of belonging become most visible when they are contrasted with other conceptualizations, as in this example. Local perspectives on belonging often stay in the realms of common sense within the community. They might not be made relevant in daily interactions between community members. Thus, either the researcher finds a method to elicit relevant belonging conceptualizations (as for instance in biographical narratives or stories about the becoming of a group, see chapter 7) or, as in these extracts, local concepts are made relevant in *contrast* to, and through the lens of other concepts. Differences become more evident at the boundary of category systems (Barth, 1969), but also the actual contents of the "cultural stuff" – in this case the local belonging category (place) and its attributes – become more apparent in contrast to other systems.

7. Narrating as a Local Practice of Belonging

This part of the book will examine the stories told by the community members about the development of the community as it was during the time of the interviews in 2009. An analysis of the narratives about the transformation of the community is fruitful for local constructions of belonging in two ways. First, we can look at the emergence of spatial, temporal and social categories within the course of the stories, how the narrators draw connections between these categories and establish certain positions towards and with them. Second, we can look at the narrative practices themselves – more specifically, how speakers structure their story and the linguistic means of introducing and negotiating aforementioned categories and positions.

The aim of this section is to show, on the one hand, the diversity of the thirty stories that were elicited in the interviews, or which participants told of their own accord. On the other hand, I want to highlight what they have in common and how telling the community story should be analyzed as a "performance of commonality" (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 201). Shared features of the story can be found on two levels in this corpus. Some of the narratives share certain features in the way of telling within structure, use of categories or positionings. These narratives are grouped into certain types of narrations in section 7.2. We will look at one or more examples of the narratives from each type in detail, focusing on their most prominent and type-defining features within the interactive context in which the narration takes place. Second, shared features can be found in the overall corpus including all narratives. Especially the use of temporal and social categories, as well as evaluative positionings, are phenomena which are performed similarly across all of the narratives and all narrative types.

After a short introduction to the narrative corpus in section 7.1, I will identify four types of narrations in section 7.2: first-hand narratives, repeated stories by practiced narrators, spontaneous narratives and re-narrated stories. Three of them[102] will be closely analyzed in sections 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 regarding their specifics in narrative structure, use of categories and positionings. After looking at the differences among the narrative types, I will outline in section 7.6 what most, if

102 The first-hand narratives will only be included in the analysis as a contrast and comparison to the other narrative types. They show no specifics that are not present in the other types of the narratives, and thus will not be analyzed separately in great detail.

not all, of the speakers do similarly: in other words, what types of categories and positions are shared throughout the community of tellers. The chapter concludes in section 7.7 with a discussion on how the narrations can be related to belonging in its temporal, spatial and social dimensions, and in being rooted in shared practices such as the narration of the community story.

7.1. The Narrative Corpus

This section deals with an introductory overview of the prevalent content and formal structures common across all narratives. The corpus consists of 32 interviews, in which we can find 30 narrative accounts concerning the community's transformation at the end of the 1990s and beginning of the 2000s.[103] The length of the narratives within the interviews vary between short accounts of about 60 seconds to longer accounts of about 15 minutes, depending on the knowledge and experience of the narrators and the elaboration and emphasis given to specific points of the transformative process. Furthermore, the length also depends on the situatedness of the interaction and the behaviour of the interviewer. In all cases, the community story plays a role at the very beginning of the interview. After asking some questions on name, age and occupation with the aim of gathering some metadata on the participant[104], my question regarding the times of transformation is the opening of the interview.

In general, there are three ways in which the story about the community transformation (and times before that, in some cases) unfold. In eighteen of the thirty cases, the story is told after an explicit question about the times of transformation, usually phrased as: *cómo usted se acuerda a los tiempos de la transformación* 'how do you remember the times of transformation'? In some cases, to enrich the reference to the times I was interested in or if I did not get a response right away, I added descriptions to the question like 'times under the patron' or 'how did it happen that the Alianza is what it is now'. In eleven cases, the participants gave

---

103 In two cases, no account on the community story could be elicited in the interview. One participant (24-year-old Linda) was not part of the community in the days of transformation, and only lived there for a couple of months working as a teacher. The other (Alex, 50 years old) simply states that he cannot say anything about the times of transformation, as he had already left the *finca* before the problems with the *patrón* started.

104 The semi-structured organization of the interview can be found in the appendix. The accounts regarding other questions in the interview after the story about transformation are not considered in this analysis.

narrative accounts starting without an explicit question regarding the story. The collection of metadata included a question regarding the participant's time in the community: *desde cúando usted vive aquí en la Alianza?* 'since when do you live here in the Alianza?' Initially not planned as a question triggering a narrative, some participants launched into a story about leaving and coming back to the community. In most cases, these narrative accounts were accompanied by justifications of why they had to leave the community – of having been forced to do so or of being a victim of the circumstances. Some narrators covered the whole story of transformation within these accounts, while others developed the narrative after further follow-up questions. In one case, 17-year-old Patricia started her brief story only after my repeated inquiry and reformulation of the question.

The narratives which emerge without my direct elicitation of or inquiry toward a narrative are especially interesting, because speakers do not organize their story on the basis of my question, but rather unfold it following their own relevances. The stories about the speakers themselves which are related to the community story develop as a response to the question 'since when do you live here?'. Because of the forced migration of the community members, this question is not so easy to answer without providing additional information. The speakers justify leaving *aquí* 'here' and mostly frame the time away as 'minor incidents' – as something that happened along the way before they came back to their home and birthplace. Belonging to the spatial category *aquí* (and my acknowledgment of it) seems to be a relevant linguistic means for indexing local belonging at these points.

7.2. Types of Narrations and Types of Narrators

When closely examining how the story is structured, how categories are introduced and elaborated, and what positions the narrator takes in the 30 different accounts of the community story, four major types of narrations emerged as shown in table 2: repeated stories by 'practiced' narrators, spontaneous stories that emerge without explicit story elicitation in the interviews, re-narrated stories from speakers who do not have personal experiences of the events, and stories of other tellers with firsthand experiences besides the repeated and spontaneous type. Most of the narratives share specific core elements, which I will outline below in section 7.6. Nonetheless, each type features specific characteristics of narrative organization and narrative voice that are foregrounded in the following analysis. The narrative types should not be imagined as discrete entities. They are not clearly delineated, but rather blend into each other and share certain "ways of speaking" (Hymes, 1989). Conceptualizing and analyzing narrative as practice in this context allows

us to look for similarities across the community of practice, while also acknowledging the individual performance of each narrator embedded in its specific interactional contexts.

Table 2: Types of Narratives and Speakers

Type of Narrative	Speakers
Stories by Practiced Narrators	Juan (m, 43); Javier (m, 42); Carlos (m, 42)
Spontaneous Narratives	Nery (f, 50); Ana (f, 53); Gabriela (f, 63); Maria (f, 58); Diego (m, 70); Eva (f, 41); Bea (f, 47); Humberto (m, 68)
Re-Narrated Stories	Pia (f, 30); Bianca (f, 25); Pablo (m, 27); Patricia (f, 17); Claudio (m, 15); Flor (f, 44); Lidy (f, 38); Jeremy (m, 26); Eldin (m, 15); Miguel (m, 17); Glenda (f, 15); Helen (f, 30); Andres (m, 22)
First-hand accounts	Elmer (m, 31); Julio (m, 38); Fernando (m, 27); Luis (m, 21); Hilmar (m, 33); Camila (f, 33); Wendy (f, 23)

Before delving into the analysis, I will outline features of the different narrative types in the corpus. The first group of "practiced" narrators is composed of three male participants who are actively involved in the community's political and economic organization, and who are experienced in telling the story in varying contexts and for varying audiences. The story is told to visiting tourists and volunteers, as well as to NGOs and (inter)national institutions who provide some kind of support for the community. The story is also reproduced as an introduction to the community's current economic and political organization during training courses for members of other rural communities using the space of the Nueva Alianza. Two of these latter narrations will be shown alongside the interview narratives for the "practiced" narrators in the next section 7.3. The three "practiced" narrators from the corpus (Juan, Javier and Carlos) are active in the political and entrepreneurial activities of the community. Note that this sample of narrators consists only of male participants. Even though there are also very few women involved in the political and entrepreneurial organization of the community[105], only male members tell the story to outsiders. The younger people trained as tourist guides and future narrators (as Miguel, 17 and Claudio, 15) are also without exception male, whereas the young women are trained in cooking

105 The eco-hotel project is one of these exceptions, run by 33-year-old female Camila.

and housekeeping.[106] The stories of the practiced narrators display a fine-grained and varied degree of knowledge about the developments which led to the transformation and the transformational process itself. Their narratives feature long accounts of the developments within the community, detailed explanations regarding the stakeholders involved, institutions and organizations, links to wider social contexts of peasant struggle in Guatemala, and chronologically ordered storylines of the events.

The second type of narration comprises spontaneous accounts, in some cases without a question eliciting an answer about the transformation period during the interview. Nery, Ana, Gabriela, Maria, Eva, Bea, Diego and Humberto are between 47 to 70 years old at the time of the interview. Their stories show a richness in different narrative means for audience involvement, like enacted dialogues or chorality (De Fina, 2003, 130). They also index strong relations of attachment to space in terms of the deictic local adverb *aquí* 'here'. The stories of this type do not follow a rigid chronological structure of events during and after the transformative process, but involve personal and family struggles which are interrelated with the transformation process of the whole collective. The speakers interrelate personal and sometimes highly emotional events with developments in the community as a whole, and thereby create complex positionings between the 'I' and the 'we'.

The third type of narrative is a comparatively large collection of twelve stories told by speakers who re-narrate the story as a secondary account – in other words, as a re-production of the story they have been told by other community members. These narrators have not personally experienced the times of transformation from *finca* to community, or were too young to remember relevant accounts of it. Interestingly, some of these narratives are still presented in a we-voice, while other narrators mark their re-narration by using 'they' as the main characters. A closer look at the stories of this type reveal aspects of narrative ownership and circulation. The stories here are not based on personal experiences of the tellers, but are told based on shared local knowledge within the community.

106 This points to the social organization of the community along lines of gender, and suggests a prevalent patriarchal system. The public space in the community belongs predominantly to its male members, whereas the private space is usually managed by the women in the family. The politically and economically active male members of the community are the ones communicating with outsiders and experts from external institutions (see also Vallentin 2010).

Finally, seven speakers narrate the story based on their personal experiences as first-hand accounts. They are not specifically analyzed as a type of narration here because they are heterogenous accounts with features from the other types combined. Beyond their being based on personal experiences (as are the repeated stories of the practiced narrators and the spontaneous stories), they do not show recognizable matching features. They will be consulted, however, in the analysis of the shared categories and positionings which almost all of the narratives in the corpus share.

In the following, I will analyze each type of narrative, looking closely at one or more examples while comparing it to others from the same batch, presenting shared features related to the type of narration. In summing up my analysis, I will finally discuss the core elements in the stories that can be related to the narrative corpus as a whole.

7.3. Stories by Practiced Narrators

The first type of narrative accounts are reiterated stories by practiced narrators. Within the corpus of 30 interview narratives, three are labeled 'practiced' narrators for analytical purposes: Juan, Javier and Carlos. All actively participated in the events that led to the transformation of the Alianza, all hold political offices in the community, and all tell the story to visiting outsiders. In this section we will have a look at four narratives performed by two speakers in two different contexts.[107] The speakers are the community's representative Javier and Carlos. One story from each speaker is elicited within an interview, the other one is told to other visitors – in Javier's case two tourists from Japan who work for a Guatemalan-based NGO, in Carlos' case a group of US-American students doing summer studies in Guatemala. By first comparing the ways the speakers organize the narratives depending on the contexts, and then the ways categories and positions are employed in these different contexts, we can uncover how the stories are recipient-designed and how categories and positions are repeated or adapted to the local circumstances. In section 7.3.1 and its subsections, I will focus on the speakers' positioning as narrative 'experts' by navigating the interaction and story structure as well as the establishment of detailed knowledge regarding the events in the community. In section 7.3.2 and its subsections, the positioning of own and other voices in the narrations is investigated.

107 The full transcriptions of the four narratives can be requested from the author.

7.3.1. Positioning as Narrative Experts

This narrative type can be distinguished from other narrative types in the corpus based on peculiarities in the way the narrators navigate their stories. In virtue of the repeated narrations, we can compare the way of story structuring in different interactional contexts. In section 7.3.1.1, I will show how the practiced narrators expertly adapt to different interactional requirements and manage to orient the audience through their complex and long tellings of the community story. A second marker of narrative expertise is related to the story content and will be analyzed in section 7.3.1.2. I will show how the practiced narrators establish their specific and detailed knowledge in chronology, portrayal of events and involved characters in their narratives.

7.3.1.1. Navigating Interactional Context and Story Structure

In the interviews, all of the participants are confronted with two communicative tasks when being asked about the transformation of the community. On the one hand, they deal with a specific question in the communicative context of an interview which holds its own participant roles and distributions of power (Briggs, 1986), and in which they might be prone to answer the question. On the other hand, they are confronted with the communicative task of telling the story the way they want to tell it, or – in regards to the practiced narrators telling the story repeatedly – the way they are *used* to telling it. The finding that interaction, and specifically stories, are recipient designed and co-constructed is nothing new to narrative analysis (Goodwin, 1984, 1986; Norrick, 1997; Ochs & Capps, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2005). However, a look at how speakers navigate between recipient design and story structure for the same speakers and the same story[108] for different audiences is rare.[109]

---

108 How a story basically *cannot* be told twice is illustrated by Polanyi (1981). Each event of telling is unique in its interactional context, the participants and their respective knowledge about and experiences with the events that are told. Polanyi explicates scripts of the "same old story" – the things we would expect to happen in certain settings, in her example, a "restaurant" or "service encounter" script (Polanyi, 1981, 331). Here, telling the "same" story refers to its core elements (as described in 7.6) which are in their repetition prone to shifts (Schäfer, 2016a, 142), relocations (Pennycook, 2010) and the production of difference in repetition (Lefebvre, 2004, 6).

109 One of the few exceptions is Günthner's (2004) intriguing analysis of a past experience where the data encompasses two contextually different tellings of an event by the same speaker. An analysis of the same story represented in two different written

The structure of the narrative is designed to guide the interlocutors through the complex entanglements of the transformation while not compromising the arc of suspense which upholds the attention of the audience. Keeping this in mind, the narrators still design the story for different contexts and for different recipients, who have different needs and different familiarity with the story.

Let us first focus on Javier. He is one of the most 'visible' personalities in the community. As the representative of the community company and the representative of the community as an organized workers union, Javier was involved in any economic or political project and decision-making process at the time of my research. He welcomed every visitor personally and made sure to be available for the history sessions presented to the visitors. He was also the leading character and contact person for cooperating NGOs and other organizations where 'telling the story' formed part of the assessment and cooperation processes. Javier is the first participant who I interviewed during my first research stay in the community. The narrative he told me during the interview emerged after the request 'can you tell me about the formation of the alianza'; this request followed the usual collection of metadata (name, age, occupation, time living in the Alianza) from the participant. Javier tells the community story in a roughly ten-minute long account.

Story beginnings are a good point to look at the audience orientation of the speaker, and how the telling of the story is integrated into interactional contexts (Sacks, 1972b; Schegloff, 1997a; Georgakopoulou, 2005). So, let us first look at the beginnings and the general structure of the narratives within this type of stories. In the interview with Javier, the story starts in the following way:

Extract 8: *Después de un proceso,* Narrative entrance JavierI (00:01:26–00:01:50)[110]

```
1        RV:  ehh (-) me puede contar de la formación de la alianza
2             (1.2) ya lo hizo muchas vezes (-) <<laughing>yo sé
3             pero>:
4    Javier:  bueno eh e::h (1.4) como:: (.) como:: (-) se forman=e:h
5             (-) comunidad nue=alianza (1) que después de un pro::
6             (-) procEso de:: (1.2) de un problema laborAl (---) con
7             el ex patrono; (1.5)
```

and one oral account is undertaken in an ethnography on institutional remembering by Linde (2009, Chapter 6).

110 The time designation refers to minutes : seconds : milliseconds, as the recordings are shorter than the recording of the workshop, which is analyzed in chapter 6.

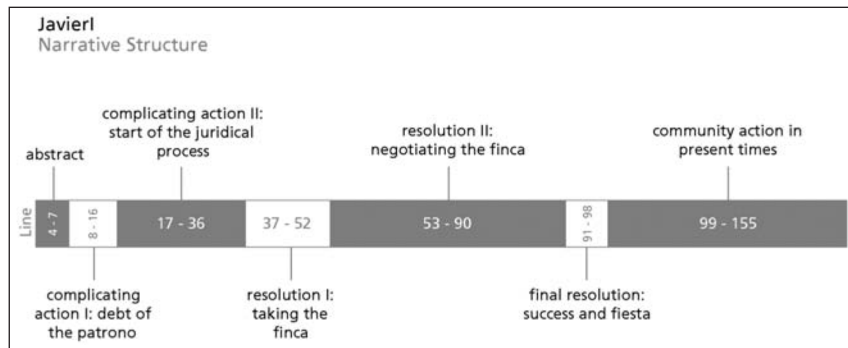
Extract 8: English translation, 'After a process', Narrative entrance JavierI (0:01:26–0:01:50)

```
1         RV:  ehh (-) can you tell me about the formation of the
2              alianza (1.2) you did it many times now (-) <<laughing>i
3              know but>
4     Javier:  well eh eh (1.4) how (.) how (-) they form eh (the) (-)
5              community
6              nue alianza (1) that after a pro (-) a process of (1.2)
7              of a labor problem (---) with the ex patrono; (1.5)
```

The story is elicited with the question: *ehh (-) me puede contar de la formación de la alianza (1.2) ya lo hizo muchas vezes (-) << laughing>yo sé pero:* 'ehh (-) can you tell me about the formation of the alianza (1.2) you did it many times now (-) <<laughing>i know but>' (lines 1–3). The delivery of the question is rather hesitant, and alludes to the fact that Javier told the story repeatedly already. In the following, we can observe how Javier succeeds in starting the story while accommodating to my wording in the question: *bueno eh e::h (1.4) como:: (.) como:: (-) se forman=e:h (-) comunidad nue=alianza (1)* 'well eh eh (1.4) how (.) how (-) they form eh (the) (-) community nue alianza (1)' (lines 4–5; 4–6 ET). For a narrator who told the story many times and has gained a certain routine in telling it, this might appear to be a rocky start given the pauses, interjections and repetitions. However, Javier tries to incorporate the wording of my question into the beginning of his story. While *formación* 'formation' in my request (line 1) was intended to refer to the coming-into-being of the community, this choice of word does not necessarily semantically depict this. *Formación* in Spanish is rather used in relation to training and education or in the sense of assembling things. Thus, Javier tries to accommodate my question into the line of his story beginning, and the visible struggle in his formulations can be traced back to the wording I chose as an interviewer: "Interviewers influence the information which is being exchanged during interviews by selecting theme and topic and by ordering and wording questions in a particular way" (Slembrouck, 2015, 246). Javier gets 'back on track' when he reaches the point of describing the formation as *después de un pro:: (-) procEso* 'after a process' (lines 5–6; 6 ET), and then explaining this process further. This is an expression Javier also uses in the narrative for visiting tourists and it is seemingly a point of reference – or *junction* – along which the story can be developed. What we can see in these first seconds of the story beginning is how Javier navigates between accommodating his answer to the specific question, using a modification of *formación* with *forman,* and at the same time finding the starting point of his 'own narrative' by consulting an expression familiar to his narratives *después de un proceso* 'after a process'.

The overall structure of Javier's narrative design is depicted in figure 8.

Figure 8: Narrative Structure JavierI



The speaker structures the story in six main parts, which are developed in a chronological way in the narrated time with a well defined temporal starting (*en el:: (1.8) en=el noventa y ocho noventa y nueve (.) dos mil (1) se empezó el proceso* 'in the (1.8) in ninety-eight ninety-nine (.) two-thousand (1) the process started' – lines 14–15) and end point (*ahorita el (—) e:l uno dos y tres de julio* 'now the (—) the first second and third of july' – line 141). Javier begins his answer to my inquiry with a sequence which can be understood both as an abstract (Labov, 1972) as well as an introduction to the actual content of the story: *bueno eh e::h (1.4) como:: (.) como:: (-) se forman=e:h (-) comunidad nue=alianza (1) que después de un pro:: (-) procEso de:: (1.2) de un problema laborAl (—) con el ex patrono;*[111] 'well eh eh (1.4) how (.) how (-) they form eh (the) (-) community nue alianza (1) that after a pro (-) a process of (1.2) of a labor problem (—) with the ex *patrono;*'. Even though the speaker continues with a further explanation of the problem to continue the story, the longer pause of 1.5 seconds and the medium-falling intonation in *patrono;* (line 7) suggest a fermata in the sequence. Javier summarizes the main aspects of the community's formation in that it was a 'process' based on a 'labor problem' with the 'ex patrono'. Each item is emphasized on its own, as they are separated through accentuating pauses of the speaker.

111 Both terms *patrón* and *patrono* are used by the participants, sometimes even in the same narrative as in section 7.6, Extract 35. The semantic differences between the two are minor. Nevertheless, *patrono* primarily refers to a person in the function of an 'employer', whereas *patrón* is rather used in terms of 'owner', but also 'protector' (Diccionario de la lengua española, RAE, http://dle.rae.es).

This is indicative of a story abstract (Labov, 1972) orienting the interlocutor on the main aspects while using it as a starting point for the ensuing story. Javier then unfolds the narrative account over the next eleven minutes.

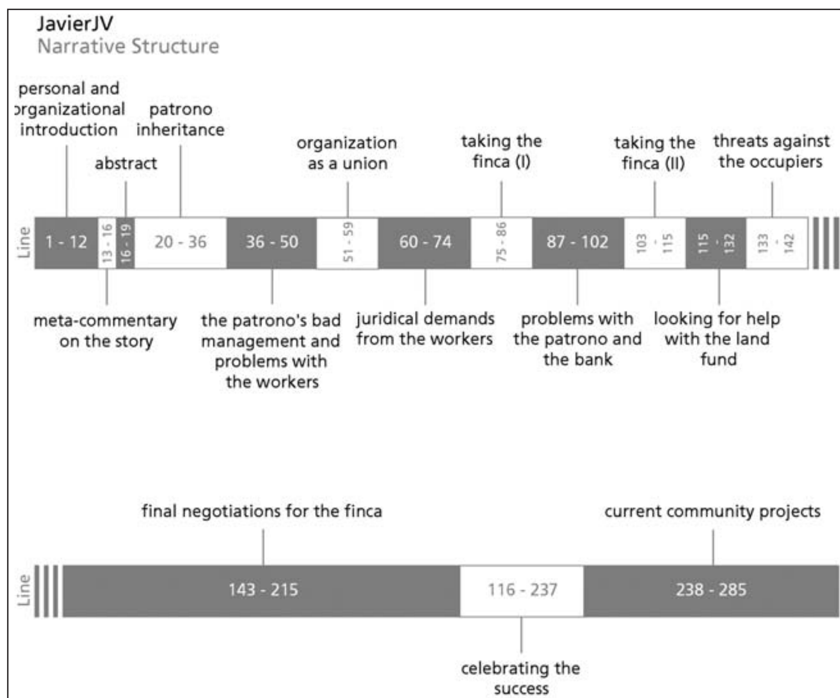
Articulating a longer, well structured story, and thus making sure that the interlocutor 'understands' requires some linguistic effort. Javier construes his narrative along a linear axis of time in which one event follows another chronologically.[112] This is marked by the use of *entonces/ntonces/tonces* 'then/so' which orders "sequential relations" and marks "progression in discourse" (Travis, 2005, 172). The cases for *entonces* (27 cases for Javier's whole story) only diminish in the section on the community developments in present times (lines 93–144). The general pace of the story is slow and steady and marked by pauses, making sure I am following and allowing interactional transition points for feedback. This is limited to occasional back-channel-behaviour in the form of affirmative utterances by me, signaling the speaker to continue narrating and indicating my co-participation in the story (Goodwin, 1986, 302).

The way of telling in chronological narrated time and at a slow pace to make sure the interlocutors are able to follow the long and complex account can also be observed in Javier's other recorded narrative. In 2011, during my second research stay, two Japanese visitors (JV) who were deployed as aid workers in northern Guatemala came to the community to get to know about its organization. They were especially interested in the community story with the goal of drawing some conclusions for the communities they worked in. Javier sat down with them on the porch of the eco-hotel for a total of about three hours. Before the 'official' start of the story, they informed Javier about their rudimentary level of Spanish and their excitement about getting to know the story of the Alianza. After Javier's narration, the two visitors had the opportunity to ask questions, which they made extensive use of. For an overview of the general organization of the narrative Javier tells to the Japanese visitors, the narrative structure of JavierJV is presented in figure 9. In comparison to the interview, the opening of the story in this interactive context is completely up to the narrator himself. Heavy rain and thunder accompanied the whole session, which, in addition to his listeners' level of competence in Spanish, contributes to the loud, slow and steady way the story is told by Javier.

---

112 Only in line 21 is a parallel development depicted with *y en ese mismo proceso* 'and in this same process'.

Figure 9: Narrative Structure JavierJV



Extract 9: *Cómo fue la historia,* Narrative entrance for Japanese Visitors JavierJV (00:00:40–00:04:38)

```
 1  Javier:  bueno: mi nombre es (-) Javier (2) soy (-) el (-) actual
 2           presidente (---) de la organización (1.7) (--) dentro de
 3           la comunidad tenemos (1.4) dos organizaciOnes (1.6) una
 4           (---) que es la organización sindical (1.7) y otra que
 5           es (-) la organización (1.3) de la sociedad anónima
 6           (---) (2) [anónima (1.3)]
 7      JV:  [(inc.1.1)]
 8  Javier:  (-) una (--) que es la organización (2.5) en la que
 9           nacen nuestros problemas (---) el sindiCAto (2.3) y otra
10           que es (---) la que nace (1.6) la opción (---) de poder
11           (--) comercializarse
12      JV:  (---) hm:: (---)
13  Javier:  entonces (1.4) (--) voy a iniciar (1.4) a explicar (1.2)
14           cómo fue la historia (--) una parte de la historia (1.7)
15           para contar toda es muy largo (--) (-) una parte (--)
16           buEno (1.2)(---) nosotros por cinco generaciones (2)
17
18           problemas (---) de (--) /del laboral (2.5) ahora es (-)
19           nueva alianza (2.6)
```

Extract 9: English translation, 'How the history was', Narrative entrance for Japanese Visitors JavierJV (00:00:40–00:04:38)

```
 1  Javier:  well my name is (-) Javier (2) I am (-) the (-) current
 2           president (---) of the organization (1.7) (--) within
 3           the community we have (1.4) two organizations (1.6) one
 4           (---) which is the union organization (1.7) and the
 5           other is (-) the organization (1.3) of the public
 6           limited company (---) (2) [limited (1.3)]
 7      JV:  [(inc.1.1)]
 8  Javier:  (-) one (--) which is the organization (2.5) in which
 9           our problems start (---) the union (2.3) and the other
10           is (---) the one which allows (1.6) the option (---) to
11           be able to (--) commercialize
12      JV:  (---) hm:: (---)
13  Javier:  so (1.4) (--) I will start (1.4) to explain (1.2) how
14           the history was (--) one part of the history (1.7) to
15           tell everything is very long (--) (-) one part (--) well
16
17
18           problems (---) of (--) of work (2.5) now it is (-) nueva
19           alianza (2.6)
```

He opens his turn with some information about himself (lines 1–2) and orients the two visitors towards the general structural organization of the community in a 'union' (line 4) and 'company' (line 6). Javier designs the beginning of his account according to the expressed interests of his interlocutors. During the personal introduction of the visitors, their own work in a community-based enterprise is mentioned as motivation for their interest in the Alianza community. Thus, Javier explains the distribution of the community into the two entities to cater the story to the interlocutors' specific field of interest. Afterwards, the two organizational units are characterized further as one causing problems[113] (lines 8–9) and one which helps them to sell their product (lines 9–11). In giving more specific information regarding the organization, Javier combines an introduction of an upcoming story and the creation of suspense in lines 8–9: *(-) una (–) que es la organización (2.5) en la que nacen nuestros problemas (—) el sindiCAto (2.3)* '(-) one (–) which is the organization (2.5) in which our problems start (—) the union (2.3)'. By alluding to 'our problems', Javier already indicates a complicating action the interlocutors can expect to be described later in more detail. In lines 13–15, the narrative is introduced with a preface in the form of a metacommentary, in which Javier expresses that he is going to start telling the history in the following, if only a part of it. Both the allusion to, and the preface

113 He alludes to the problems that will be discussed in section 8.2.

of the story are employed to grab and hold the attention of the audience.[114] Javier first provides the audience with the information they might be most interested in (the entrepreneurial organization of the community) based on the information the narrator received just before the session. He foreshadows a problematic twist and then announces that the story – or at least a part of it – is about to start. This is how he prepares the audience for an extensive narrative.

As in the beginning of the narrative in the interview (Extract 8), Javier also weaves an abstract of the whole story into the starting point of the story in this interactional context. He utters in the lines 16–19; 15–19 ET: *buEno (1.2)(—) nosotros por cinco generaciones (2) nacimos aquí (–) en la (-) finca alianza (2) por los problemas* (—) *de (–) /del laboral (2.5) ahora es (-) nueva alianza (2.6)* 'well (1.2) (—) we for five generations (2) were born here (–) in the (-) finca alianza (2) because of the problems (—) of (–) of work (2.5) now it is (-) nueva alianza (2.6)'. Javier summarizes the story by indicating a transformation of categories – from *finca alianza* to *nueva alianza,* the cause of which was 'work problems'. Even though the *patrono* – who is elaborated upon further into the story – is not mentioned in this sequence yet, the category *finca* is related to an owner and the *problemas del laboral.* This is an allusion to the relations between him and his workers. In this subordinate clause, Javier summarizes the main aspects of transformation and provides a narrative abstract for the interlocutors. The story now unfolds for the next twenty minutes until one of the visitors starts to pose a question and disrupts Javier's narrative flow.

As in the interview narrative, here we can also observe how Javier navigates the story by taking into account the presupposed knowledge and needs of the audience. He provides them with a story abstract and preface and structures information in the opening of his account following their personal interest before returning to the procedure in which he is 'used' to telling the story. Within the interaction with the two Japanese visitors, the pace of Javier's utterances is even slower and his contribution interspersed with often very long pauses. This can be related to the weather conditions reducing audibility, and the visitors' notification of their basic level of Spanish before story time. Of the two visitors, only one is an active interlocutor in the interaction. She provides Javier with frequent and engaged back-channel-behavior, ranging from partly prolonged affirmations (*hm::, sí* 'yes', *claro* 'sure'), to interjections (lines 122, 202, 206, 234), to repetition of words (lines 75, 254). She signals ongoing attention and comprehension to the narrator, who is encouraged to proceed with the story.

114 Other functions of "story prefaces" can be found in Sacks (1996, 231).

Providing orientations for the interlocutors is a common feature of the narratives of practiced narrators, as we can see when we compare Carlos' stories in two different contexts to the ones of Javier. Carlos is 42 years old, forms part of the community's leadership and is involved in the executive committee as a 'secretary of conflicts'. Within the community company, he takes care of the macadamia quality management and the accounts of the macadamia production. The interview in 2009 from which the first narrative is elicited takes place near the macadamia facility, Carlos' workplace.

Carlos' entry into the 'actual story' is quite intriguing. In the first part of the extract, I am still covering the metadata part of the interview, asking for names and functions in the community and how long Carlos and his family have lived in the Alianza. In his case (as in 10 others from the whole corpus) this question elicits a longer account:

Extract 10: *Ya habíamos vivido años atrás,* Narrative entrance CarlosI (0:01:19–0:02:03)

```
 1  Carlos:  [<<p>si>]
 2      RV:  [y desde] cuándo usted ya vive en la alianza con su
 3           familia?
 4  Carlos:  e::h (---) desde=el:: mh: (-) año dos mil: tres (1)
 5      RV:  mhm
 6  Carlos:  e::h (-) estamos viviendo aquí en la : (--) en la:
 7           comunidad` (-) practicamente (--) ya habíamos vivido:
 8           (--) AÑos [atrás (--)]
 9      RV:  [mhm]
10  Carlos:  pero tuvimos e::h que migrar (--) de: este lugar y (-)
11           para ir a buscar (.) trabajos en [otros (-)]
12      RV:  [mhm]
13  Carlos:  lados para (--) después (.) e:h: (--) volver a regresar
14           pero: (--) hubo un proceso y: (—) una lucha que (1.2)
15
16           (1.1) VENcer para poder permanecer todavía aquí en la
17           (-) [comunidad]
18      RV:  [mh]
```

Extract 10: English translation, 'We already lived (here) years back', Narrative entrance CarlosI (0:01:19–0:02:03)

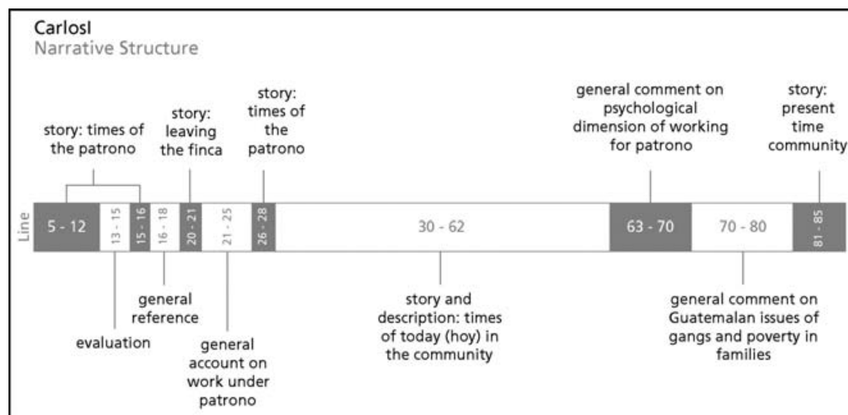
```
 1  Carlos:  <<p>yes>
 2      RV:  [and since] when do you and your family live in the
 3           alianza?
 4  Carlos:  eh (---) since the mh (-) year two thousand three (1)
 5      RV:  mhm
 6  Carlos:  eh (-) we are living here in the (--) in the community
 7           (-) practically (--) we have lived (--) years [back
 8           (--)]
 9      RV:  [mhm]
10  Carlos:  but we had to eh migrate (--) from this place and (-) to
```

```
11          go look for (.) work in [other (-)]
12      RV: [mhm]
13  Carlos: places to (--) afterwards (-) eh (--) come back to
14          return but (--) there was a process and a (--) struggle
15
16          overcome to be able to stay here in the (-) [community]
17      RV: [mh]
```

After some hesitation, Carlos states that he and his family lived in the Alianza since 2003, which I affirm (line 5). He concludes the phrase by updating the place we are talking about: *estamos viviendo aquí en la: (–) en la: comunidad* 'we live here in the in the community'. This would have been a sufficient answer to my question; however, Carlos immediately attaches further explanations to his statement. In the lines 6–8, 10–11 and 13–17, he elaborates the preceding connection of his family to the place. He mentions migration as well as their return, and alludes to a 'process', a 'struggle' and a 'sacrifice' (lines 14–15) they had to overcome to remain in the community. In Labov's (1972) terms, this part could be described as an abstract as the story in a nutshell to prepare the interlocutor for the things she might expect in the following, more detailed narration. In this case, though, Carlos does not specifically refer to the main pillars of the story in terms of time, place and characters. Rather, he *alludes* to the telling (Georgakopoulou, 2006, 130), introducing the core element of "successfully defeating suffering and difficulties". This is especially intriguing as the interview question did not necessarily invite the interviewee to launch into narrative action at this point. The question 'since when do you live here' was aimed at collecting data concerning the place of birth of the participants. Within the interview, I (possibly not too sensitively) placed the question within a row of questions about name and occupation. If the question was not answered or forgotten due to elaborations on the positions in the community etc., I posed it again individually. Many of the participants answered that they were born in the Alianza and left the question at that. However, for others it induced the need for explanation and elaboration because of the complicated migrational movements toward and away from the community, and the story related to these movements.[115]

115 Another example where an interviewee takes the place-of-birth question and develops it into an account of migration is found in the interview with Pia (0:00:27–0:00:43), who is part of the speaker group re-narrating the story: *mh aquí nacimos (-) aha (-) solo: hubo como (-) tres cuatro años que nos fuimos a vivir en xela (–) cuando ibamos a desocupar la finca (-) pero luego la volvieron a: tomar otra vez las mismas familias y tuvimos que venirnos otra vez para cá* 'we were born here (-) aha (-) there were only like (-) three four years in which we went to live in xela (-) when we were

Figure 10: Narrative Structure CarlosI



With his allusion to the community story, Carlos opens a window for the following track of the interview, while proceeding with a question concerning the times of transformation. I pick up his allusions by stating that this is 'concerned with my next question', and ask him explicitly about the 'times of transformation' (25), reframing it also as the 'times under the patron' (26), and again as 'the times when everything changed'. What follows is a nearly seven-minute-long account of how Carlos remembers the transformation from *finca* to community. One of the intriguing aspects of Carlos's narrative during the interview lies in its structural conceptualization along the lines as depicted in figure 10.

The response chosen by Carlos can be traced back to the way I posed my question, as in the case of Javier. As is observable in Carlos' narrative, it is not only the content which is influenced through the questioning methods, but also the structural organization of the response, which shapes how the narrative content is presented to the interlocutor(s). The structural organization of Carlos' response to my question is directed to the mode of asking and the specific wording used during rephrasing the question three times. The question provides some key categories in terms of *transformación* 'transformation', *tiempos debajo del patrón* 'times under the patrón' and *tiempo cuando todo se cambió* 'time when everything changed'. In his narrative, Carlos focuses on aspects of *cambio* 'change' related to working conditions, and later on, related to psychological

vacating the finca (-) but later they came back to take again the same families and we had to come here again'.

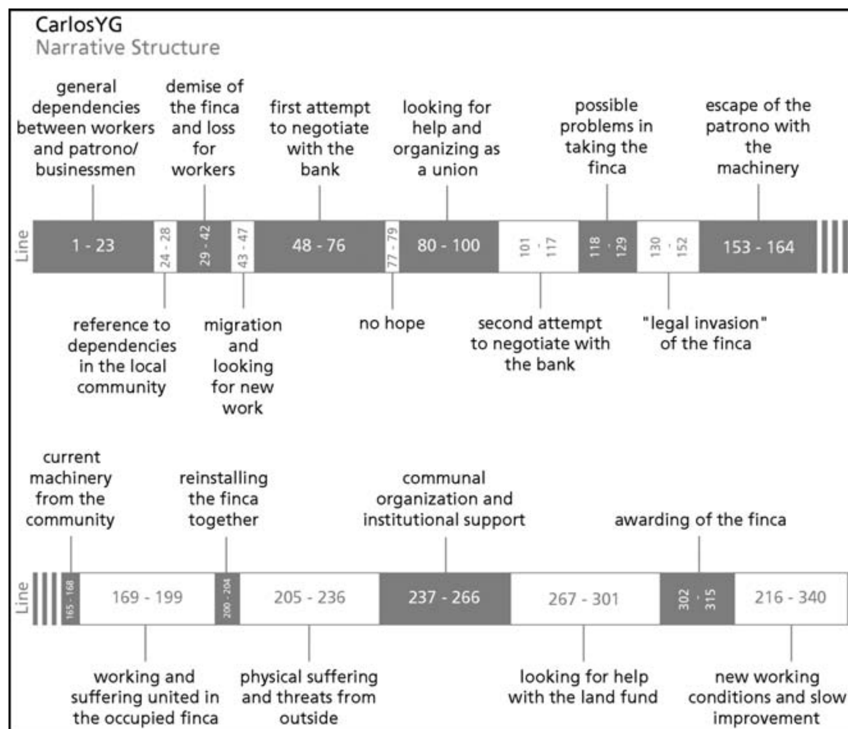
conditions of the workers. Hence, in this case, he does not unfold the community story along a chronologically ordered line of narrated events as he does during the narrative for tourists – and as Javier does after accommodating to my question or the expressed interests of the Japanese visitors. Instead, Carlos structures it according to my direct inquiry asking him to speak of 'transformation' and 'change'. Picking up on my question, he starts his response with a general statement that change indeed is what occurred: *si (.) e::hm (1.2) BUEno (1.5) e:h (.) ha habido: mu:cho cambio (-) y: es casi una culTURa que se ha cambiado (—)* 'yes (.) e::hm (1.2) well (1.5) e:h (.) there was a lot of change (-) and it is almost a culture that has changed (—)' (CarlosI, lines 24–25).

This sequence is connected to the overall organization of the story in two ways: It is a summary of the story outcome aligned with the wording of my question. At the same time, Carlos provides a suspenseful *allusion* to what comes next in the narrative, as he does not go into the specifics of change, but rather gets to the point by stating that it is a 'culture that has changed'. With transitional utterance (acting both as a closing of the previous passage and an opening for the following passage), he prepares the floor for the next sections of the narrative which are explicitly organized along the lines of *cambio*.

Turning to another situational context, in his narrative for the tourist groups and the other narratives of the practiced narrators, the story is structured in a temporally organized and chronological way. Carlos tells the story in September 2011 to a group of adolescents from the United States who came to Guatemala for a "language and culture" summer course. The tour through the community formed part of their educational program which according to one of the guardians and my observations was focused on peasant struggle and land rights. The narrative session from Carlos concluded an educational day in the community, where the adolescent group received workshops about land struggle in Central America and the general history of the region. The story of the Nueva Alianza, hence, is tied to the group's educational topic of the day. Before the narrative session, one of the group's guardians brings Carlos up to date concerning the students' learning outcomes of the day. They met on the porch of the eco-hotel with the students all facing Carlos, who was sitting in front of them. One of the guardians serves as a translator in the session because many of the students had only basic language competence in Spanish at that time of the summer course.[116] Carlos structures his story into the parts as depicted in figure 11.

116 The interplay between the narrator's contribution and its translation will not play an analytical role in this book. A paper on adopting and transforming the quality of

Figure 11: Narrative Structure CarlosYG



Contrary to his narrative in the interview, Carlos organizes the community story in a chronological way here. Within the story of the community, he weaves in aspects of a general discourse on social structure in Guatemala being divided into *empresarios* 'businessmen', *trabajadores* 'workers' and *campesinos* 'peasants'. In the course of this interaction, this has two effects. First, the speaker displays his knowledge of the larger social discourse – this function will be explored in detail in 7.3.1.2. Second, by pointing to general historical developments in Guatemala and the relationship between owners and workers/peasants, Carlos designs the story specifically to the interests of the recipients. The transformation within the community is not portrayed as a single and independent incident (though, it is still depicted as a unique development in lines 165–166), but rather as part of

voice, prosody and other performative features of the "original" narrator within the translating process is planned as a forthcoming publication.

wider discussions about peasant rights and land acquisition. Thus, the narrator designs the story according to the assumed knowledge and interests of the group of adolescents as it was outlined by their guardian before the history session.

The interactional context also requires Carlos to divide the story into translatable chunks which are still ordered and comprehensive from both a chronological and content perspective. The presence of translators is a common element to the community tours and story sessions, as not all of the visitors have Spanish language competence. This function is often occupied by one of the Peace Corps volunteers or alternatively by me during my stays. Sometimes, as in the present case, members of the visiting group take up the task themselves. Telling the story in smaller chunks while still maintaining its logical orderliness is a challenging communicative task for the narrators. In Carlos's narrative for the student group, it is solved in a quite routinized way. He marks possible transition relevance places (Sacks et al., 1974) with long pauses, falling prosody and/or eye-contact with the translating team leader. Only in one case in lines 44–45 does there seem to be a disruption of Carlos' narrative due to the engagement of the translator.

Carlos also succeeds in keeping an arc of suspense in the long story he is telling. The failures of the community in demanding their money back and the repercussions of the *patrón's* and bank's actions for the workers (no income and forced migration) are each narrated up to a point in which the narrated 'we' was at its lowest point, *creyendo que (–) que ya lo habíamos perdido todo* 'believing that (-) that we already lost everything' (line 44) and again after a second unsuccessful attempt *pensando que habíamos (—) perdido todo (1.8)* 'thinking that we (—) lost everything (1.8)' (line 75). This narrative move of Carlos recalls storylines in which the hero(es) first hit rock bottom and lose everything before they brace themselves to defeat the antagonist. The speaker spends a lot of narrated time on action-oriented or thrilling sequences (taking the *finca,* planning to take a hostage, guarding the fence, being ready to fight armed men with pitchforks…). Both the low points of the protagonist of the story and their taking action over the course of the narrative appeals to a younger audience, and also emphasizes the heroic twist of the story, which we will also see in the use of different voices (see section 7.3.2.2).

So far, I have focused on the practiced narrators' ability to adapt routinized stories to different interactive contexts and to produce a recipient-designed structure.[117] With Javier we see this orientation towards the different recipients

117 This also accounts for the narrative of Juan in the interview who, similar to Carlos, alludes to the story after the question 'Since when do you live in the Alianza', and

in the beginning of the story, where he reacts to specific questions or expressed interests of his interlocutors before he is engaged in a routinized telling of the story as a whole. Carlos designs the overall structure (c.f. Schegloff & Sacks 1973) of his stories to the questions or assumed needs of his interlocutors, along the topics of 'change' in the interview or aligned to a more 'general social discourse', with an emphasis placed on action in the history session for the student group. Both speakers orient toward their interlocutors with abstracts and/or allusions to the story, and keep them involved by means of narrative twists and maintaining suspense right up until the final resolution. In general, the narrative abilities of both speakers point to a certain experience and skill, supporting my analysis of them as 'practiced' narrators.

In the following section, I will show how this experience plays out not only in terms of structural narrative means and story design, but also in terms of the establishment of knowledge and "ownership" of the story content.

7.3.1.2. Displaying Expert Knowledge: Chronology and Detail

Narrative expertise within this type of narration is not only visible on a structural level, but also performed by the speakers on a content level. Speakers articulate expert knowledge about all stakeholders involved in the story of transformation and the temporal unfolding of the events. All of the practiced narrators use specific temporal references for the main events within the community transformation and connect them in a series of consecutive events. There are two ways with which the practiced narrators design the chronology: by the use of temporal connectors like *entonces* or by definitions of points in time allocated to main events. Javier makes repeated use of *entonces* 'then' or *después* 'afterwards'/*un tiempo después* 'some time later' in the interview narrative and his story for the Japanese visitors to initiate subsequent topical units. Javier also refers to specific events in the narration as actual points on a timeline. In both his interview narrative and his narrative for the visitors, the following events are allocated with a specific date and presented in the same trajectory of time[118]:

- taking the finca: JavierI lines 41–42 / JavierJV: lines 68, 92, 110–111;
- seeking help (at the land fund): JavierI 49–50, 117–120 / JavierJV lines 112–115, 132;

later on gives a full account pointing to general social relations between *patronos* and peasants.

118 The same events are dated in the interview with the third practiced narrator, Juan.

- getting the *finca* awarded and related celebrations: JavierI lines 81, 89 / JavierJV lines 183, 207, 213, 224;
- (assembly about) future plans: JavierI line 95 / JavierJV line 227;
- opening of projects: JavierI lines 106–107 / JavierJV lines 256–263.

Only the narratives of the practiced narrators Javier and Juan show this attention to detail regarding dates and exact temporal references. Even though their interlocutors are not experts on the actual temporal developments, it seems especially important to Javier to 'get the dates right', as we can see in his attempts to correct himself in line 98–99 during his narrative for the Japanese visitors: *entonces (—) (–) el dieciOcho (–) no (-) el catorce de mAyo (1.2) (—) del dos mil dos* 'then (—) (–) the eighteenth (–) no (-) the fourteenth of may (1.2) (—) of two thousand (and) two'.[119] The short confusion of the days (eighteenth versus fourteenth) might stem from the other date Javier mentions repeatedly and with emphasis in both narratives, namely the eighteenth of December, when the *finca* was finally awarded to the workers.

Carlos leaves dates more unspecified in his narrative for the youth group. He defines a starting point and chronologically orders the events, which are the same main events and are presented in the same sequential order as in Javier's narratives, mostly with the sequential connector *entonces* 'then'. The only event that is allocated an exact date in this case is the awarding of the *finca* to the Alianza people (CarlosYG lines 302 and 312–314). In the interview narrative, Carlos interestingly does not follow a linear temporal development of the events, instead opening up two temporal categories of the past *cuando estaba el patrón* 'when the patrón was there' and *ahora* 'now'. Thus, only the first category serves as grounds for successive events related by *entonces.* As I have outlined above, this structural design, which also influences the temporal display of the events, is due to the narrator's focus on 'change' as the leitmotiv for his narrative construction in this specific interaction.

Both speakers create a narrative account with a sequence of the same events leading to a temporal trajectory from the times of the *patrón* to the current state of the community. In most of the other narratives, as we will see in the following chapters, temporality is not perceived as a trajectory of developments leading from working under the *patrón* to the self-administered community and its projects. It is rather conceived in terms of *antes* 'before', connected to the times of the *patrón* and in terms of *ahora* 'now', connected to the times since the awarding of

119 In lines 246–260 of JavierJV, we can see another instance of self-correction regarding a specific date in the community's development.

the *finca.* Actions and events are allocated to either of these two temporal categories, in most cases without developing temporal linearity.

Another salient difference when compared to the stories of other narrators in the community is the richness of details with which categories are elaborated, explained and arranged by the practiced narrators.

In both narrative contexts, Javier describes the different and complex steps of obtaining the land by introducing various complicating actions and various steps of solutions. Much detail is given to introducing the problem and describing the different stakeholders involved in the transformation from *finca* to community. For instance, Javier provides significant detail toward the description of the exact debt of the *patrono* towards the workers. While in other narratives it is simply a 'debt', or the fact that the *patrón* 'did not pay anymore', Javier lists the various sources of this debt: *planillas* 'payrolls' *prestaciones del ley* 'employment benefits' and the *aguinaldo* 'christmas benefits'. This itemization in the form of a list (Atkinson, 1984; Jefferson, 1990) can also be found in the narrative for the Japanese visitors (lines 67–69). First, the detail dedicated to this problem heightens the legitimization of the community members' claims towards the *patrón* by stating that the debts not only concerned general payments, but also other benefits the workers are entitled to. Second, Javier positions himself as an expert on the content of the complex story because he provides detailed information.

Another example for the attention to detail can be found in his explanations regarding the *fondo de tierras* 'land fund' who played a decisive role in the positive developments of the community:

Extract 11, JavierI (lines 54–57)[120]

> *y entonces nos dan la informatión (.) que el fondo de tierras es una entidad que: (-) que nasce (.) eh después de los acuerdos de paz (–) y: en donde es una: (—) institutión que:: (-) apoya: al financiamiento (-) para poder comprarle la finca: (-) a patrones y (.) y darselas (–) a: (.) al campesino (—)*
>
> 'and then they give us the information (.) that the fund for land is an organization that (-) that is born (.) eh after the peace agreements (–) and in that way it is an (—) institution that (-) helps with the funding (-) to be able to buy the finca (-) from patrones and (.) and give them to (–) to (.) to the peasant (—)'

120 I will present longer citations from already presented narratives in this form.

In his other narrative, the speaker uses similar wording in the description of the land fund (JavierJV lines 109–116). After stating the name of the institution, Javier provides additional and detailed information about the foundation and general function of the land fund, displaying his overall knowledge about the organization even beyond the Alianza case. The relations to broader frames – speaking generally about *patrones* and *campesino* – is a characteristic we have already seen in Carlos' narratives. By juxtaposing the *patrones* in plural with "the" *campesino* in singular, Javier highlights power relations between the two categories.

The last point which shall be addressed here is the detail with which the practiced narrators talk about the cost of the *finca.* Especially Javier goes to great length to explain monetary sums (and their reduction over time) to his interlocutors. In JavierI lines 72–76 and line 86, as well as in JavierJV lines 175–181, the price of the property is mentioned, and is a topic Javier delves into with a lot of conversational effort. This is exemplified by the following lengthy extract in which Javier goes into specific detail concerning the amounts of money involved in the acquisition of the *finca:*

Extract 12: *Nos entrega formalmente la finca,* JavierJV (0:16:07–0:17:42)

```
 1  Javier:  al inicio (--) nos estaban (--) e::h (1.2) dando (---) o
 2
 3           setecientos mil [quetzales (--)]
 4      JV:  [hm:]
 5  Javier:  (3) de: (--) un mes de negociación (---) logramos bajar
 6           (--) de: (---) dos millones setecientos mil [quetzales
 7           (--)]
 8      JV:  [hm:]
 9  Javier:  (--) a=un millón (-) quinientos (1.3) a un millón (-)
10           cuatrociento (-) setenta y cinco mil quetzales (--) o
11           sea [la mitad (2.5)]
12      JV:  [hm::]
13  Javier:  (---) y=entonces (--) el dieciocho (-) de diciembre
14           (2.5) del dos mil cuatro (1.2) el fondo de [tiErras
15           (1.1)]
16      JV:  [hm]
17  Javier:
18      JV:  [hm:] hm:
19  Javier:  con un plAzo de pago (---) de doce [años (---)]
20      JV:  [hm:]
21  Javier:
22           (---) dentro de esos doce años (--) dan (-) cuatro años
23           de gracia donde no nos [cobran (2.4)]
24      JV:  [hm::]
25  Javier:  entonces (--) del dos mil (--) cuatro (---) dos mil
26           cinco dos mil seis dos mil siete dos mil ocho [(1.5) ya]
27      JV:  [hm::]
28  Javier:  nosotros iniciamos a pagar la deuda (--)
29      JV:  hm::
30  Javier:  y tenemos una cuota de pago anual
```

```
31      JV:  hm::
32  Javier:  de ciento veinte mil quetzales (--)
33      JV:  hm::
34  Javier:  todo lo que estoy hablando es en [quetzal (---)]
35      JV:  [hm::]
```

Extract 12: English translation, 'They formally hand over the finca', JavierJV (0:16:07–0:17:42)

```
1   Javier:  in the beginning (--) they (--) eh (1.2) gave us (---)
2
3            millions (---) seven hundred thousand [quetzales (--)]
4       JV:  [hm:]
5   Javier:  (3) with (--) one month of negotiation (---) we achieved
6            to lower (it) (-) to (---) two millions seven hundred
7            thousand [quetzales (--)]
8       JV:  [hm:]
9   Javier:
10
11           (--) that means the [half (2.5)]
12      JV:  [hm::]
13  Javier:  (---) and then (--) the eighteenth (-) of december (2.5)
14           of two thousand (and) four (1.2) the land [fund (1.1)]
15      JV:  [hm]
16  Javier:
17      JV:  [hm:] hm:
18  Javier:  with a deadline for the payment (---) of twelve [years
19           (---)]
20      JV:  [hm:]
21  Javier:  (-) that means (-) they give twelve years for us to pay
22
23           (-) a four year grace period in which they don't [charge
24           us (2.4)]
25      JV:  [hm::]
26  Javier:  so (--) from two thousand (--) four (---) two thousand
27
28           seven two thousand (and) eight [(1.5) already]
29      JV:  [hm::]
30  Javier:  we started to pay the debt (--)
31      JV:  hm::
32  Javier:  and we have an annual payment fee
33      JV:  hm::
34  Javier:  of one hundred (and) twenty thousand quetzales (--)
35      JV:  hm::
36  Javier:  all that I am saying [is in quetzal (---)]
```

In this extract, we observe the emphasis Javier puts on the exact reproduction of sums, dates and time-frames regarding the *finca* payment, especially the reduction of the original price to the one the community members finally negotiated and paid as a loan to the Rural Bank. Javier's explanation is accompanied mostly with overlapping back-channel-behavior from one of the Japanese visitors, JV. Javier himself was the leader of the negotiation of the *finca* as one of the main representatives of the *Sindicato de Trabajadores independientes de la finca Alianza.*

It is due to his specific personal experiences that he can give the exact numbers to the listeners and narrate them on behalf of the 'we'. No other narrator, even the other two practiced ones from the corpus who also know the numbers, uttered sequences about the exact amounts of money which were negotiated and paid. Javier includes these details in both the interview and the history session narrative, thereby referencing his own expert knowledge. His position as the community representative and lead negotiator make him both able to – and obliged to – know these things.

As the last extracts show, the speakers skillfully navigate between the context of the interaction with specific needs of the audience and the management of their story as a routinized array of events. Within the narratives of the practiced narrators, who draw on knowledge of the story with reference to their specific experiences as leaders of the community (especially in Javier's narrative), we can also find a strong chronological compliance in the telling of events. The temporal sequence is not altered and is presented similarly in each of the stories, which is indicative of a routinized repetition of the storyline in the same order. Specific passages on legal steps, institutions involved or financial questions are presented in rich detail. This is not only a means of providing detailed and interesting information to the audience, but also of positioning the speakers as knowledgeable and credible sources for the community story who have specific access to that kind of information.[121] Displaying this expert knowledge positions the speakers as narrative experts and community leaders, making them stand out in their narrative performance from the other speakers who do not have this access.

A phenomenon I will now turn to – and which is crucial within the narrations of this type – is the voices of the characters in the narratives, which index the narrators' evaluations of the events and emphasize the speakers' position as leaders speaking on behalf of the whole group.

7.3.2. Positioning Own and Other Voices

The employment of different voices in narratives makes them more relatable, vivid and performative (Tannen, 1986, 1989; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015). To animate certain characters and seemingly 'reproduce' their words is a means

121 During the research stay, I was witness to other history sessions for tourists narrated by 17-year-old Miguel, who was trained to become a tour guide. He told the main aspects of the story in a chronologically ordered way, but left out specifics of the institutions involved and financial numbers. The nature of his story was much more concise and short.

for evaluation by putting specific words into the characters' mouths, and thus portraying specific relations between them. In section 7.3.2.1, I will first shed light on the we-voice the practiced narrators use, and how it is a means for speaking on behalf of the community. In section 7.3.2.2 of this subchapter, I will explore in detail how the different voices are introduced by the practiced narrators and how "constructed dialogue" (Tannen, 1989) plays into positionings and evaluations of the narrated 'we' and the narrators themselves.

7.3.2.1. Speaking on Behalf of the Community

All of the practiced narrators use a we-voice in their accounts in both types of interaction (the interview and the history sessions for other visitors and groups). By looking at the two narratives of the two speakers, it is salient that they both are used to telling the story as a "*nosotros* narrative" (De Fina, 2003, 58). Especially when this voice needs to be embedded into specificities of the interactional situation, it is notable that narrators switch to the 'we'. In the interview with Javier (Extract 8), the form of question did not allude to personal experiences of the narrator. Instead of asking 'how do you remember', as I do in all of the other interviews, the question was 'can you tell me about the formation of the Alianza'. This points to a more general frame and asks for a depersonalized account of the events.[122] We have already discussed the navigation of this opening into the usual story of Javier in section 7.3.1.1. Apart from the topical adaptation, it is also interesting to look at this sequence in terms of the voice Javier uses. In the abstract-like beginning of the narrative, the speaker introduces the *ex patrono* (line 7) and *los trabajadores* 'the workers' (lines 8–9) as the main characters of the story. At that point he does not allocate himself or the members of his community to the group of *trabajadores.* The transition away from a depersonalized and generalized account to a *nosotros* narrative occurs in lines 10–12: *la:: gente se:: (1.3) empiEza a organizar o <<acc>empezamos a organizarnos>* 'the people they (1.3) start to organize or << acc>we start to organize ourselves>. *La gente* 'the people' refers to the group of community members. In an accelerated style Javier adds the same content, but presented this time in a we-voice. He switches from a generalized report to a collective position the speaker himself is part of. The events are reported as a collective experience from this point onwards until the end of the story. This seems to be Javier's routine voice in narrating – the one he is familiar with in the

122 The interview with Javier was the first one shortly after my first arrival, so I was interested in getting a general picture of the developments at that point in time in my research.

routinized repetition of the story as presented to various outsiders. In the case of the narrative he tells to the Japanese visitors, Javier starts the story in a we-voice from the beginning, and only switches to the I during a short sequence of his own introduction (JavierJV, Extract 9, line 13), a metacommentary *voy a iniciar (1.4) a explicar (1.2)* 'I will start (1.4) to explain (1.2)' (line 11) and an evaluation of the *finca* occupation *solo estoy (-) en una (–) cuestión de crítica* 'I am only in a question of critic' (JavierJV, line 137).[123] For the topical segments in which the community members do not play an active role, for example the *patrón's* debt to the bank, Javier takes the position of a "witness" (De Fina, 2003, 56) who can re-count the events as if he had personally participated in them. The majority of the sequences within both of Javier's stories, however, are told in a we-voice.

In both narratives of Carlos, the we-voice is adopted from the very beginning. Even in the narrative part, which emerges after the question regarding his own name, age, occupation and time of living in the community, Carlos responds mainly in a collective voice which encompasses the whole community as a group, and presents the narrated experiences as collective experiences. In comparison to Javier's narratives, however, there are more exceptions to the we-voice. In the interview, Carlos steps out of this narrative perspective when he emphasizes his personal evaluation of the events:

Extract 12, CarlosI (line 13)

para mi pues e:hm (2.2) para mi: no no era justo
'for me well ehm (2.2) for me it was not not fair'

Extract 13, CarlosI (lines 71–72)

yo pienso que:: eso ha dado lugar también al:: (2.3) a: grupos e::h
(–) delictivos
'I think that this also gave space to (2.3) to delinquent groups'

---

123 One other account of Javier telling the story is in the video documentary mentioned in 5.1 He adopts a very different telling style in this video, opening with his routinized sentences *nosotros nacimos aquí (–) por (-) cinco generaciones* 'we were born here (–) for (-) five generations' which we can find with different word order in JavierJV lines 13–14. However, in the following, he starts to talk about his personal experiences as a child under the *patrón* and his missed education before embedding the story back into a collective experience of *nosotros*. I was present during the film shooting. Before the narrating scene, the director explicitly asked Javier to make it personal and tell a story from his childhood under the *patrón* so that the viewers could better relate to him. This emphasizes again how skilled Javier is in terms of recipient design.

This kind of metacommentary marked by *yo* 'I' can also be found in CarlosYG, line 254: *yo pienso y creo que (–) fue por ese apoyo* 'I think and I believe that (–) it was because of this support'. The speaker disconnects himself from the collective 'we' at these points to present an evaluation from the perspective of the narrator in the 'here and now'. Another incident of personalization of the narrative account can be found in CarlosI, line 81: *yo me dí cuenta que* 'I noticed that' as a metacommentary for the source of the following insights on his narration. As we have already discussed, Carlos also offers specific insights at a general level, framing the story of the Alianza as 'one of many' stories of peasant struggle against large landowners and authorities in Guatemala. In these passages the speaker adopts an impersonal narrative voice, rather reporting than representing we-experiences. A switch from the impersonal voice back to a we-voice is visible in the self-repair in *la educatión a los (-) e:h a nuestros hijos* 'education to the (-) eh to our children' (CarlosI, line 27). A bit later in the same narrative, from lines 64–69 and in line 75, we observe a transition from *nosotros* to *uno* to "index a movement from particular to general" (De Fina, 2003, 80):

Extract 14, CarlosI (lines 64–69)

> *cuando uno le trabaja (-) a un (.) patrono (.) e::h é:l lo presiona a uno lo explota (1.6) y si u/ (-) si uno falla o comete un (.) un mínimo error (—) e::h (-) lo despiden a uno (.) del traba^jo (—) e:h entonces como uno esta' (-) e:h viviendo en (.) propiedad de ellos (—) <<rhythmic>uno no tiene ningún derecho a permanecer en la finca uno tiene que salir> (—) y:: tiene uno esa preocupación*
>
> 'when one works (-) for a (.) patrono (.) eh he puts pressure on one he exploits one (1.6) and if (-) one fails or commits a (.) a minimal mistake (—) eh (-) they fire one (.) from work (—) so because one is (-) living on (.) their property (—) << rhythmic> one has no right to stay in the finca one has to leave> (—) and one has this concern (–)'

Extract 15, CarlosI (lines 75–76)

> *uno luego empieza (–) a pensar otras cosas*
> 'one later starts (–) to think other things'

Carlos generalizes the experiences of 'one' working under a *patrono* to make a point about the general relations between both narrated characters. The generalizations in the narrative also emphasize the empowering acts of the specific community-we in the stories. If the exploitative relations between plantation owner and workers

concern all of them on a general level, the community – referenced as *nosotros* – was able to free itself from the psychological pressure and oppressive labor conditions.

The 'we' is used throughout most parts of the practiced narrators' stories as a reference to the 'workers' – or later, when speaking about the present, the people of the community. There is no complex or ambiguous reference which often comes along with speakers using 'we' as a collective reference point (Pavlidou, 2014, 5). By using a we-voice, the narrators present themselves as part of the collective. The narrated 'I' is not considered in these stories except for the few cases presented above; it is subsumed under the umbrella of collective agency. For the practiced narrators who tell the story repeatedly to outsiders, the choice of pronoun has another function; namely, to connect to their role in the 'here and now' of the interaction. As community leaders and representatives they also speak on behalf of the community. They position themselves as 'official' and 'general' voices of the whole group. For most of the visitors, the stories of the practiced narrators are the only ones they hear during their stay in the community, so telling the story as a representative also comes along with the responsibility and power of (re)presenting the community to outsiders. They are privileged to narratively represent the community's history to visitors, and are consequently a privileged voice in the discursive making of the community history (Bruner 1991) and advocating for its cause (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015, 46f.).

7.3.2.2. Different Voices

All practiced narrators enact different voices in their narrative. In each of their narratives there are four main characters which are presented as being 'in dialogue' either with themselves or with the community members, referred to as 'we' in the stories. The four animated characters in this type of narrative are the 'bank', the *patrón,* the imagined intruders during the occupation of the *finca* and the 'we'. The 'we' speaks rarely in the narratives of Javier and Carlos. Nevertheless, by giving voice to the other narrated characters, the speakers position not only the characters themselves, but also the 'we', which seems to be less involved in the dialogue at first glance. Tannen (1989, 110) emphasizes that even though speakers present the words of others as "reported", the quotations of other real or fictitious characters in stories and other forms of conversation have to be considered "constructed dialogue". The narrator gives voice to others to enhance the involvement of the listener, resulting in an often more dramatic and emotional setting with portrayals of characters with 'real' voices. The narrator also foregrounds specific parts of the story and evaluations of it by performing the voices of others:

> "language exchanges become theatrical performances of moments that are presented by narrators as important within particular episodes. The story worlds in which those interactions occur are the fabric for the construction of the narratives and the way interactions are constructed is the key to particular representations of experience" (De Fina, 2003, 97).

It is notable that both Javier and Carlos portray similar scenes in their narratives about the community stories with the means of constructed dialogue. The first scene describes the unresolved property titles of the *finca* between a bank and the *patrón,* resulting in the community-we having 'no one to turn to'. In the interview narrative, Javier first portrays a dialogue between the bank and the *patrón*:

Extract 16, JavierI (lines 25–29)

> *lo que hace el banco es (-) e::h (-) ejecutArle la hipotEca o=sea:: (–) decirle bueno no puedes pagar entonces: (-) te quitamos la finca y:: (.) y la finca es nuestra ahora*
>
> 'what the bank does is (-) eh (-) to implement him the mortgage that means (–) tell him well you cannot pay so (-) we take the finca from you and (.) and the finca is ours now'

In this part, the bank tells the *patrón* that it would confiscate the *finca* as a security for his mortgage. It is a prelude for the following constructed dialogue between both the bank and the *patríon* with the community members:

Extract 17, JavierI (lines 31–34)

> *no sabíamos a quién ibamos a cobrar (.) la deuda (—) e::l patrono decía << all>bueno ahora la finca ya no es mia es del banco> (–) cóbrenle al banco (–) y el banco decía e:h: bueno yo no fui (.) quien les (.) dio trabajo cóbrenle al ex patrono*
>
> 'we did not know whom we could charge for (.) the debt (—) the patrono said <<all>well now the finca is not mine anymore it is the bank's> (–) charge the bank (–) and the bank says eh well it was not me (.) who (.) gave you work charge the ex patrono'

Before the constructed dialogue of the bank with the community members and the *patrón* with the community members, Javier outlines the main problem resulting from the wording of their voices. Both parties deny responsibility for the claims of the Alianza workers. The *patrón* points to the new ownership of the *finca* and delegates the worker's financial claims accordingly. The bank points to the *patrón* as the originator of the workers' problems. The 'we' of the workers does not engage in this dialogue, but is portrayed as a mere listener – a receiver of the words.

In the other narrative, which is not elicited as an answer to a question in the interview, but is initiated by Javier himself as part of the history session for visitors, the dialogue between the bank and the *patrón* is enacted in a similar way:

Extract 18, JavierJV (lines 83–90)

> *el banco (1.1) en donde el patrono había hecho el préstamo (–) (1.1) ejecuta (—) una hiPOteca (–) (—) debe avisar patrono (—) buEno (—) sus trabajadores (–) están peleando (–) (1.2) el trabajo que hicieron (-) en su FInca (—) (—) ahora nosotros como (.) el banco (–) le dice el banco (—) (–) el pago (inc.0.5) el préstamo (-) que nos hiciste (–) (–) y no cumpliste con pagar (1.3) entonces que vamos a quitar la finca (—)*
>
> 'the bank (1.1) in which the patrono had made the loan (–) (1.1) carries out (—) a mortgage (–) (—) they should notify the patrono (—) well (—) your workers (–) are fighting (1.2) for the work which they did (-) in your finca (—) (—) now we like (-) the bank (–) the bank tells him (—) (–) the payment (inc.0.5) the loan (-) that you made (with us) (–) (–) and you did not comply paying (1.3) so we will take the finca away'

Similar to the interview narrative, Javier uses this dialogue as a prelude for the constructed dialogue between the *patrón* and the workers, and later on the bank and the workers:

Extract 19, JavierJV (lines 93–94)

> *porque él dice (—) me quitaron la finca (-) ya no puedo (–) como pagarlo*
> 'he says (—) they took the finca away from me (-) I cannot pay (–) you anymore'

Extract 20, JavierJV (lines 106–107)

> *e:l banco dice (–) yo no les debo (—) quien los debe (-) es el (–) anterior patrono (1.1)*
> 'the bank says (–) I do not owe you (—) who owes you (-) is the (–) former patrono (1.1)'

Again, both characters are portrayed as denying any responsibility for the workers of the community and their rightful claim for wages and other benefits Javier had enumerated before (see 7.3.1.2).

The other practiced speaker Carlos also uses constructed dialogue to make his story more animated and to increase the involvement of his listeners. In the interview, however, there is no constructed dialogue. This is most probably due to the story-orientation to the question concerning 'change' (see 7.3.1.1), and not the chronologically and topically ordered way of narrating Carlos shows in telling this story to the youth group. In the latter, we can find several accounts of narrated characters talking to each other. In Carlos' narrative, the first characters to receive a direct voice are the 'authorities', who are portrayed as generally taking the side of the plantation owners in matters of dispute between *patrónes* and workers:

Extract 22, CarlosYG (lines 38–41)

> *y dijeron que no había otra opción (—) que ése (–) estaba en quiebra y: (–) y (–) nosotros teníamos que (–) conformarnos y perder todo (-) lo que él nos debió (1.2)*
>
> 'and they said there was not any other option (—) that that one (–) was bankrupt and (–) and (–) we had to (–) be satisfied and lose everything (-) what he owed us (1.2)'

The syntactic and grammatical constructions of Carlos in this sequence mark the quotation as being "indirect discourse", paraphrased and delivered by the voice of the actual narrator (Tannen, 1989, 98). Even though this kind of voicing is less direct than the dialogical representation in Javier's stories, it is no less "constructed". The words of the authorities are transformed by the speaker and embedded into the story to foreground specific qualities of the portrayed character or the narrated situation. Carlos illustrates the abandonment of the workers by the authorities, which he had already introduced before: *nos dEjan a nosotros* 'they left us to ourselves', *nos cerraron las puertas* 'they closed the doors to us' (lines 37 and 38). The authorities leave the workers with their problems as they emphasize the final character of the status quo and the inability to act on behalf of the community members. Just as in the story of Javier, the 'we' does not answer in the sequence and remains silent.

A second character who also speaks in the stories of the other practiced narrators is the 'bank'. Carlos changes the voice from an indirect representation to a direct wording of what the bank says in the narrated world:

Extract 23, CarlosYG (lines 69–74)

> *nos dice cuando (—) e:h (1.5) a mi no me consta que: (—) patrono les deja (—) le tienen que: (–) presentar la informatión (—) y eso más (–) que cuando él venía a prestar dinero (–) decía que=era para*

> *pagarles (–) a ustedes entonces (—) lo siento mucho (-) yo no puedo heredar (1.1) una deuda a extraño (—)*
>
> 'she tells us when (—) eh (1.5) I am not sure that (—) the patrono leaves you (—) you have to (–) present the information to him (—) and more of this (–) that when he came to lend money (–) he said that it was to pay (–) you so (—) I am very sorry (-) I cannot inherit (1.1) a foreign debt'

In this constructed dialogue where the 'bank' speaks to the 'we', the responsibility of the other stakeholder in the matter, the *patrono,* is made relevant once again. What is more, the 'bank seems to not only delegate the responsibility for the workers to the character of the *patrono,* it also sides with the *patrono* in this sequence. The *patrono* is portrayed in a positive light – as someone the bank would not suspect to leave his workers behind: *a mi no me consta que: (—) patrono les deja* 'I am not sure that (—) the patrono leaves you' (line 70). The bank itself represents the words of the *patrono* in a constructed dialogue within the constructed dialogue: *decía que=era para pagarles (–) a ustedes* 'he said that it was to pay (–) you' (lines 72–73). Carlos positions the bank as being aligned with the *patrono* by letting the bank position the *patrono* as an honest and reliable character. This narrative move supports his argument that the authorities in general align with the plantation owners, and thus do not care about the workers' rights. Carlos also makes this point on a general level in the interview narrative (CarlosI, 16–17). The *patrón* himself is not granted a voice in Carlos' stories.

In both of Javier's narratives and Carlos' youth group narrative, the display of the voices of 'authority' has a specific function. It positions the 'we' such that it has a lack of power to act – a position of forced passivity, helplessness and institutional isolation. This positioning is achieved by using the animated voices of the *patrón,* the 'bank' or the 'authorities' rejecting responsibility for the workers' cause. The 'authorities' or the 'bank' are depersonalized institutions. By giving these institutions a voice, the speakers turn them into 'persons', thereby fit to have certain characteristics and be more relatable.

In these scenes of constructed dialogue, the 'we' does not interact with the voiced characters; it stays silent. By not giving the community a voice in these scenes, both narrators portray the helplessness of the community, which is exemplified in it being sent back and forth between the two parties. By positioning the narrated 'we' as a helpless, passive and unfairly treated character, the narrators also form an argumentative basis for the subsequent narrative sequences. Both legitimize the organization in a workers' union, and most importantly, the occupation of the *finca* (including plans to take the *patrono* hostage, CarlosJV line 141). The appeal is for the listeners to be empathetic with the narrated 'we'.

I want to focus on one more scene in which constructed dialogue plays a crucial role in the narratives of both practiced speakers, and in which the community is one of the voices of the represented interaction.

In the interview narrative, Javier portrays the occupation of the *finca* as a legally justifiable, necessary but still dangerous step for the community 'we' in the process of struggling for the payment of the patron's debt. He depicts the occupation as a lever to help bring the opposing parties to the negotiating table, and constructs the following dialogue:

Extract 24, JavierI (lines 45–49)

> *el=catorce de mayo se toma la finca e::h (1.6) se s/ se de estar aquí para ver que (.) que:: (.) quién viene y=quién: (.) dice bueno la finca:: por que están ustedes aquí es nuestra o algo (–) y para poder nosotros (.) pe/ decirle bueno págenos y nosotros nos vamos (–) pero nadie vino*
>
> 'the fourteenth of may the finca is taken eh (1.6) being here to see that (.) that (.) who comes and who (.) says well the finca why are you here it is ours or something (–) and for us to (.) tell him/them well pay us and we go (–) but nobody came'

The counterpart of the 'we in this interaction is left ambiguous. Whether it is the *patrón* himself, one of the *patrón*'s family members or a financial custodian does not matter to the narrator at this point, because each of these characters would be able to speak the words Javier voices for them. The demand of the 'we' can also be directed toward each of the characters claiming ownership of the *finca*. The striking feature of this dialogue is that Javier projects in the storyline what could have been said, or as Tannen (1989, 111) puts it, "what wasn't said". It is an imaginary narrative of a possible outcome of the story, portraying a careful position of the 'we', not as a group of violent intruders, but as struggling people with a *potestad* 'legal authority' (JavierI, line 44) using the occupation as a last resort. With this constructed dialogue, Javier emphasizes that the community members at this point of the story still only fought for their salaries – the money the *patrón* owed them – and not yet for the *finca* itself. He also emphasizes the initial plan to only temporarily occupy the *finca* and the other 'good' aspects of the occupation, as accentuated through the previous positioning moves and legitimate intentions of the community 'we'. The point that this dialogue never happened – as 'nobody came' to speak the words – also brings about the further steps the 'we' is taking in Javier's story, from claiming the debt to finally negotiating for ownership of the land and the *finca*.

A similar situation is displayed with the means of constructed dialogue in the story Carlos tells to the youth group. At this point of the narrative, the families already occupied the *finca* and received recurring death threats from the *patrón* and his associates. The speaker tells his audience that ten families left because of fear, while the others stayed and endured the psychological pressure. The dialogue is presented between the 'we' speaking directly to the *patrón*, and is represented in an indirect account of what the 'we' said as reported by Carlos:

Extract 25, CarlosYG (lines 222–227)

> *pero las TREInta familias que nos quedamos (-) no:s llenamos de mucho coraje (—) también mucho valOR (—) y desafiamos a esta persona le enviamos un mensaje (-) diciendole que nosotros (-) estabamos dispuestos o o a morIR (-) o: a maTAr (-) pero NO nos ibamos a ir de aquí (-) hasta que (.) nos pagara el último centavo porque era UN millión de quetzales (-) que estaba en la bolsa de él*
>
> 'but the thirty families we had left (-) we took much
> courage (—) also much bravery (—) and we challenged the person
> we sent him a message (-) telling him that we (-) were prepared
> or or to die (-) or to kill (-) but we would not be leaving here (-)
> until he (.) will pay us the last cent because it was one million quetzales
> (-) that have been in his pocket'

In this constructed dialogue, the community members' resoluteness and determinacy is communicated to the character of the *patrón*. The 'we' which had previously been positioned as passive, desperate and abandoned by Carlos, now takes control into their own hands. The occupants are still portrayed as being desperate, but in a fatalistic sense of even embracing the possibility of killing others or being killed. The individual *persona* 'person' or *él* 'he' is confronted with the collective voice of the *nosotros* 'we', and this time the silent counterpart who does not answer. At this point of the story, Carlos reaches the narrative climax and maintains suspense by linking this part of the story to other cases of peasant struggle in Guatemala and the violent forces of paramilitaries that we have already seen in section 7.3.1.1. In the following sequence, the 'we' is portrayed with 'machetes', 'sticks' and 'pitchforks' (CarlosYG, line 224) opposing possibly armed intruders. The speaker devotes much detail to the creation of the scenes of occupation for the hearers, generating involvement of his audience through constructed dialogue and narrative detail (Tannen, 1989, Chapter 5).

To conclude, in three of the four stories of the two practiced narrators, the speakers create audience-involving scenes by means of "theatrical manipulation of […] voices" (De Fina, 2003, 96). The practiced narrators design the story as

a twist from an oppressed, exploited and abandoned group of workers, to an empowered and pro-active 'we' willing to endure danger and suffering for their cause. It is striking that both speakers choose constructed dialogue as a narrative means at similar topical locations in the story – the struggle with the bank and *patrón*, and during the occupation of the *finca*. These topical points seem to be apt to position the community 'we', being sent back and forth between the other two characters, as dependent on others' favors. It also portrays them as silent in the interactions and as a 'we' eventually *doing* something, even something as disputable as occupying land and speaking up to the authorities and the *patrón*. Both narrators frame the narrative as an heroic story – as a victory of the 'we' against all odds.

7.3.3. Interim Conclusion: Stories by Practiced Narrators

In the analysis of narrative structure and specific extracts of narrators who tell the story repeatedly and in a routinized way, two aspects stick out in comparison with the other narrations of the corpus. The speakers position themselves as narrating experts and experts of the narrative, alluding to their role as experienced tellers and to their role in the community *antes* 'before' and in the *ahora* 'now'. Both speakers accomplish what Labov (1972) would call a "good story". All of the stories have a 'point', different layers of evaluation, and involve the audience by means of constructed dialogue, arcs of suspense and reference to more general social discourses. The speakers also manage to keep the audience 'on track' in the complex and rather long stories of transformation. They provide a story abstract and order their story chronologically. Both Javier and Carlos use a steady and slow voice quality, which is adjusted to the weather conditions and/or the size of the group they are talking to. They are able to adapt story components to different interactional settings, orienting the story to the needs and interests of the audience and situational circumstances. They accomplish this by successfully navigating between their routinized way of narrating the story and the interactional requirements of each instantiation of it. Carlos, for example, can tell the same story of transformation, either adjusted to a question on 'change' in the community, or in a temporally ordered and coherent storyline. All of these features characterize the speakers as narrative experts – as speakers used to and good at telling this story to others. On the content level, the speakers also show a level of expertise that distinguishes them from other narrators in the corpus. They apply detailed knowledge about dates, events and institutions and thereby position themselves as experts and authorities on the content of the story.

Furthermore, the voicing of the 'we' and other characters in dialogue within the story leads to certain positionings of said characters. In the beginnings of the three narratives (JavierI, JavierJV and CarlosYG), the speakers construct a dialogue between the *patrón* and the 'we', the bank and the 'we', or imagined dialogues between the bank and the *patrón* without the actual presence of the 'we'. In these scenes the 'we' stays silent and passive. Within the progress of the stories, the 'we' begins to act out of its weakened position, sometimes taking extreme measures to reach its goals. By assembling the voices and the way of articulating them, the practiced narrators achieve *petits récits* (Lyotard, 1979) – a local version of the "David vs. Goliath" metanarrative in which a small and powerless worker community shows resistance against a big adversary – and succeeds against all odds.

Both speakers, and also Juan as the third speaker of this narrative type, primarily use a we-voice and portray the narrated experience as a collective one. They combine the narration of aspects which only were *specific* experiences of the community leadership during the times of transformation with other elements that can be found in all of the narratives in the corpus (see 7.6). While the speakers certainly subsume themselves into the collective community-we, they are also speaking from a position of representational authority. As leaders of the community they are authorized to speak to the visitors and present *their* story of the community transformation as *the* story of the community transformation.

Finally, what becomes visible in these narrative extracts is that narrating can be understood as a linguistic practice *par excellence:* as routinely and recurrently performed while still open for innovation and adapted to interactional circumstances. Narrating is a communicative community-based practice that is found in the various types of narrations across different speakers of the community.

7.4. Spontaneous Narratives

In the corpus, eight narrators tell a story without being specifically prompted, or develop their narrations while not focusing on the 'times of transformation', but instead on other memories. These narrators form part of the older segment of narrators, starting with female Eva as the youngest with 41 years, and concluding with the 70-year-old male Diego, who is also the oldest participant in the corpus.

In these cases, I as the interviewer open the "official" interaction by asking for the participant's name, age and occupation. In some cases I also ask about the time spent living in the Alianza community. The peculiarity of these stories that are not told in specific response to a question lies in the relevancies the narrators set in their stories. All of the narrators who begin to tell their story of their own

volition weave their personal story into the collective experiences of the community while emphasizing different aspects of it. In this section 7.4.1, we will analyze one of these stories in depth, and afterwards focus on two aspects which all of them share: first, the highlighted relation to place, mostly verbalized with the local adverb *aquí* 'here'; and second, the more personal attributions made to the categories of "we" versus the *patrón*.

7.4.1. Positioning the Narrated Self

In this extract, we will examine a remarkable example of a narrative which unfolds without a specific question aimed at eliciting the community story. In the account of a woman who, at that time was 58 years old – Maria[124] – we can reconstruct how she tells me as an outsider her own story, and how different social scales are sequentially activated by her, resulting in layered positionings of both her narrated self and her narrating self. During my first stay, I spent a lot of time with Maria and her family. She offered to show me how to bake bread, invited me for lunch and to several church events, such as a communion or a private church service on the occasion of her son's day of death. I asked her for an interview towards the last days of my first stay in the community. We sat down in her house while her husband worked in the garden. The extract starts just after I turned on the recorder, beginning with my usual questions related to name, age and occupation. What we can see in the following is a roughly four-minute-long narrative of Maria starting off as a story of personal experience, expanding to a "we"-story of the community and moving to a story of *campesinos* 'peasants' in general.

Extract 26: *Aquí nací aquí crecí*, Maria (00:00:08–00:04:17)

```
 1      RV:  ya empezemos si quiere (-) con su nombre su edad y su
 2           ocupación acá en la alianza (5) mhm (--)
 3   Maria:  bueno (.) en primer lugar (-) buenas [tardes]
 4      RV:  [ai] pues gracias (-)
 5   Maria:  yo me llamo Maria (-)
 6      RV:  mhm
 7   Maria:  para servirle (--) eh: (.) soy una: (1.6) servidora de
 8           dios yo participo en la igle:sia (.) aquí vivo con mis
 9           hi:jos (-) tengo años de vivir (-) ´años (.) (--) aquí
10           nací aquí crecí (-)
11      RV:  mhm (--)
12   Maria:  aquí fueron mis PAdres (-) ellos aquí murieron (1.6) y::
13           yo me quedaba aquí (.) me casé y (1.2) y tuve mis hijos
14           (1.4) y: aquí estoy me llamo Maria tengo (2.8) cincuenta
15           y: (--) ocho años (--)
```

124 †2017, in loving memory.

```
16      RV:  mh
17  Maria:   de vida (1.4) y:: (3.4) y: to tengo: (-) tuve siete
18           hijos (1.2) pero: (--) lastimosamente se me: (.) fue uno
19           hace tres años (--)
20      RV:  mh
21  Maria:   y me murió Roberto (1.1) en paz descanse su alma ya
22           cumplió tres años de haber fallecido (1.1) y:: y ahora
23           yo aquí estoy mh (1.1) en la cAsa pues yo no: (1.9) no
24           salgo: (1.4) a: hacer otros trabajos sino aquí (--) ama
25           de casa puedo decir (-)
26      RV:  mhm (---)
27  Maria:   e:h mi hija trabaja mi esposo trabaja (1.2) todos mis
28           hijos trabajan entonces (--) yo aquí me quedo en la casa
29           (1.1) y: siempre que tenga tenemos un proyectito de
30           pollos (.) ese [proyecto]
31      RV:  [mhm]
32  Maria:   hacen t/ todas las señoras (--) y el día mañana me
33           toca=a mi cuidar los pollos y: otro día le toca a otra
34           señora
35      RV:  mhm
36  Maria:   y:: (--) de aí el terreno que nos dieron que: (1.1)
37           tenemos que sembrar las (--) plantas de café porque no:
38           (1.1) no nos tocó el terreno con (2) co:n: (-) matas de
39           café (.) no no tiene (-) producto
40      RV:  mhm
41  Maria:   está vacio (--) entonces hay que: (--) aprovechar vea
42           como queríamos tierra (--) un pedazo de tierra tanto
43           pedirle a dios que nos (--) dieran un pedazo de tierra y
44           por eso fue que nos (1.1) estuvimos aquí (--) otras
45           personas se fueron no [aguantAr] (-)
46      RV:  [mh]
47  Maria:   [patrono] nos dejó aguantando hambre y no nos pagaba y
48           °°no nos pagaba y (--)
49      RV:  mh
50  Maria:   va de trabajar y trabajar y: mi esposo aquí: (--) dio
51           todo su (.) tiempo su: (.) vida su [juventud]
52      RV:  [mh]
53  Maria:   de trabajar y y nunca nos pagaron (-) se fue el patrono
54
55           (.) que es un banco (.) eh: (-) de holanda (.) holandés
56           eso [dicen]
57      RV:  [mh]
58  Maria:   y: nosotros (--) que podiamos hacer sin dinero no
59           podemos (-) hacer NAda más que (--) nos dirigimos a:
60           (--) al fondo de tierra y gracias a dios que el (--)
61
62           que pagar (-)[cómo]
63      RV:  [mhm]
64  Maria:   vamos a sacar ese dinero? °hay que (--) trabajar la
65           tierra sembrar la tierra (1.1)
66      RV:  mh
67  Maria:   y:: (-) eso es lo que (-) que vamos a hacer para: (1)
68           ganAr para (.) comer para vivir (1.1) no tenemos otro
69           salario mas que: (-) hay que trabajar (.) como dice dios
70           que (--) trabajarás ganarás el pan de cada día con el
71           sudor de la frente ahora asi estamos haciendo nosotros
72           estamos trabaja:ndo (-)
```

```
73      RV:  mhm (-)
74   Maria:  suda:ndo para ganar para (1.1) para comer (.) y (1.2)
75      RV:  mh
76   Maria:  esto es la (1.1) nuestra vida de nosotros de campesinos
77
78           es mh (1.1) comunidad nueva: alianza (--) municipio del
79           palmar (--)
80      RV:  mh
81   Maria:  departamento del quetzaltenango (1) ahí somos (-) y aquí
82           estamos (1.1)
```

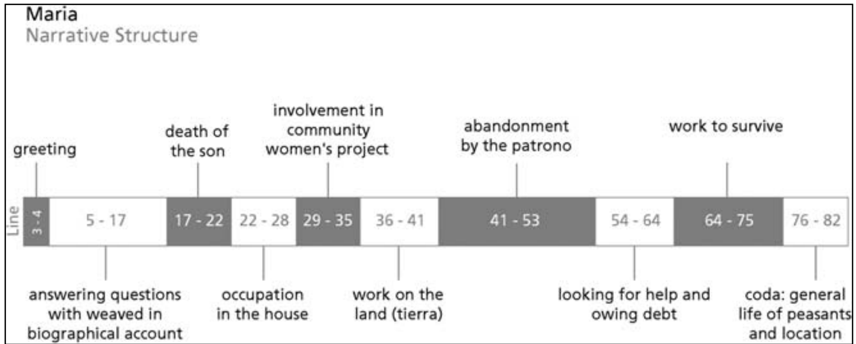
Extract 26: English translation, 'I was born here I was raised here' Maria (00:00:08–0:04:17)

```
1       RV:  we already begin if you want to (-) with your name age
2            and occupation here in the alianza (5) mhm (--)
3    Maria:
4       RV:  there well thank you (-)
5    Maria:  my name is Maria (-)
6       RV:  mhm
7    Maria:  at your service (--) eh (.) I'm a (1.6) servant of God I
8            participate in the church (.) I live here with my
9            children (-) for years I have lived (here) (-) years
10           (--) I was born here I was raised here (-)
11      RV:  mhm
12   Maria:  my parents were here (-) they died here (1.6) and I
13           stayed here (.) I got married and (1.2) I had my
14           children (1.4) and here I am my name is Maria I have
15
16      RV:  mhm
17   Maria:  of life (1.4) and (3.4) and I have (-) I had seven
18           children (1.2) but (--) pitifully o one of them (.) went
19           away three years ago (--)
20      RV:  mh
21   Maria:  and Roberto died on me (1.1) his soul may rest in peace
22           it is already three years since he passed away (1.1) and
23           and now I am here mh (1.1) in the house well I do not
24           (1.9) I don't go out (1.4) to do other work other work
25           but here (--) housewife I can say (-)
26      RV:  mhm (---)
27   Maria:  eh my daughter works my husband works (1.2) all of my
28           children work so (--) I stay here in the house (1.1) and
29           always that we have we have a little chicken project (.)
30           that [project]
31      RV:  [mhm]
32   Maria:  all of the ladies do (--) and the day of tomorrow it is
33           my turn to take care of the chickens and another day it
34           is the turn of another woman
35      RV:  mhm
36   Maria:  and (--) from then the land that they gave us that (1.1)
37           we have to sow the coffee plants because it didn't (1.1)
38           we did not receive the land with (2) with (-) coffee
39           shrubs (.) it does not not have (-) product
40      RV:  mhm
41   Maria:  it is empty (--) so one has to (--) take advantage you
42           see as we wanted land (--) a piece of land so much
```

```
43          asking God that they (--) would give us a piece of land
44          and that is why it was that we were here (--) other
45          people went away because they did not [endure] (-)
46      RV: [mh:]
47  Maria:  (the) [patrono] left us to endure hunger and he did not
48          pay us and he did not pay us and (--)
49      RV: mh
50  Maria:  he goes working and goes working and my husband here
51          (--) gave all of his (.) time his (.) life his [youth]
52      RV: [mh]
53   Maria  to working and and they never paid us (-) the patrono
54
55          of (-) a bank (.) which is a bank (.) eh (-) from
56          holland (.) dutch this is what [they say]
57      RV: [mh]
58  Maria:  and we (--) what could we do without money we can't (-)
59          do anything but (--) we turned to (--) to the land fund
60
61          owe him (-) we have to pay (-)[how]
62      RV: [mhm]
63  Maria:  are we going to get this money? one has to (--) work the
64          land sow the land (1.1)
65      RV: mh
66  Maria:  and (-) that is what (-) what we will do to (1) earn to
67          (.) eat to live (1.1) we don't have another income more
68          than (-) one has to work (.) how does God say that (--)
69          you will work you will earn your daily bread with the
70          sweat on your forehead now like this we are doing it we
71          are working (-)
72      RV: mhm (-)
73  Maria:  sweating to earn to (1.1) to eat (.) and (1.2)
74      RV: mh
75  Maria:  this is the (1.1) our vida of us of the peasants
76          <<pp>                               > (-) now it is
77          already mh (1.1) community nueva alianza (--)
78          municipality of palmar (--)
79      RV: mh
80  Maria:  department of quetzaltenango (1) there we are (-) and
81          here we are (1.1)
```

To allow for a more condensed reading of the longer narrative in figure 12 a chronological and topical structure is displayed.

Figure 12: Narrative Structure Maria



Let us look at some aspects of Maria's account more closely. So far, we have seen versions of the story as depictions of what *ellos* 'they' experienced and did, or as *nosotros* narratives in the we-voice. Maria provides an example of a story in which the *yo* 'I' is the starting point for the developing story. So, first we will have a closer look at how the speaker designs the story she wants to tell, and how she sequentially changes positions of her narrated self and other characters. A second phenomenon we will focus on is the speaker's emphasis on place as an anchoring reference point for the narrative.

The interview with Maria starts off in a rather unusual way as is visible right at the beginning of the interaction. After my routinized question on 'name, age and occupation' (lines 1–2), a longer silence of five seconds follows. With no response from Maria, I append an encouraging *mhm* (line 2). Maria now begins with a low, almost quiet but steady voice, which she will keep throughout her narration, establishing the conversational framework of the setting: *bueno (.) en primer lugar (-) buenas [tardes]* 'well (.) in the first place (-) good evening'. After my arrival at her place and before the interview, we spent some time in her house and garden, chatting about the days since we had last seen each other, her daughter and husband, and preparations for a big church event she was involved with. Naturally, we also greeted each other properly when I came to the house. For her, however, the interactional setting of the interview is something different or detached from the previous encounter. Sitting down at a table and facing each other with a recording device in the middle sets a different "type of communicative event" (Briggs, 1986, 48), which for her needs to start with a second

formal greeting.[125] After a slightly baffled response from me (line 4), Maria sets out to answer the questions by weaving in a short biographical account about her own life:

Extract 27, Maria (lines 5–17)

> *yo me llamo Maria (-) para servirle (–) eh: (.) soy una: (1.6) servidora de dios yo participo en la igle:sia (.) aquí vivo con mis hi:jos (-) tengo años de vivir (-) ´años (–) aquí nací aquí crecí*
> *(-) aquí fueron mis PAdres (-) ellos aquí murieron (1.6) y:: yo me quedaba aquí (.) me casé y (1.2) y tuve mis hijos (1.4) y: aquí estoy me llamo Maria tengo (2.8) cincuenta y: (–) ocho anos (–) de vida (1.4)*
>
> 'my name is Maria (-) at your service (–) eh (.) I'm a (1.6) servant of God I participate in the church (.) I live here with my children (-) for years I have lived (here) (-) years (–) I was born here I was raised here (-) my parents were here (-) they died here (1.6) and I stayed here (.) I got married and (1.2) I had my children (1.4) and here I am my name is Maria I have (2.8) fifty (–) eight years of life (1.4)'.

This part of the narrative is accompanied by my back-channel behavior in lines 6, 11 and 16, encouraging the speaker to go on. In light of the following parts of Maria's story, this part can be considered as personal-story-oriented, but not limited to the initial question in the interview. Maria states her name and emphasizes her participation in church matters, which would allude to her current 'occupation'. Her faithfulness seems to be a personal trait she wants to highlight, and not only here because she refers to it again in the following sequences (lines 43 and 69–71; 68–70 ET). She finalizes the first narrative part by stating her age. Although she answers the question, she sets other relevancies in her story, too. Right after giving her name and pointing to her religious involvement, she goes on by making explicit references to her connections with the place, indexed by phrases including the local adverb *aquí* 'here'. First, she states that she lives 'here' with her children (line 8). At that point in time, only the youngest daughter of Maria still lived in the house where we held the interview; other children of hers lived in other houses in the community. By using the plural *hijos* 'children', Maria points to a 'here' referencing the local *comunidad*. Additionally, the reference point is assumed to be shared knowledge between the interlocutors, as

125 The phenomenon of a second greeting "on record" appears often in the corpus. For example with the 50-year-old Alex, at the beginning of the first-hand story of 21-year-old Luis, and, as we have already seen, in the narrative of practiced narrator Carlos.

the reference of *aquí* is not explicitly established by Maria. This reference point is maintained and not altered or specified for the upcoming references *aquí nací aquí crecí* 'I was born here I was raised here' (lines 9–10). The speaker creates a connection between space and time by emphasizing the timespan she has lived 'here', using the repetition of *años* 'years' at the end of the utterance in line 9. The temporal category used by Maria is left ambiguous, but implies a longer time frame, which is indexed by the repetition of the word and the rising tone movement in the second realization of *años.* The attachment to the place is then stretched temporally even further to her parental generation. They are presented as also belonging to this place: *aquí fueron mis padres* 'my parents were here' – even until their death: *ellos aquí murieron* 'they died here' (line 12). The rest of Maria's short life story is still bound to the 'here', where she 'stayed' and had her children. This first narrative part is wrapped up by Maria with a coda-like expression – a narrative bracket to the previously narrated events: *y: aquí estoy* 'and here I am' (line 14). Whereas the other appearances of 'here' have an underlying referential value, in this predication, the 'here' has the quality of a spatial and temporal endpoint of the personal narrative. It is a manifestation that the narrated events led up to that point in which Maria is right here, right now, and is an assertion leading to the closure of the first narrative part with (re-)stating her name and age (lines 14–15). This can also be understood as a coda (Labov, 1972, 365), leading the interlocutor and the interaction back to the here and now. We can observe a longer pause after the bracket *(1.4) y:: (3.4)* (line 17) before Maria commences the second part of the narrative about the traumatic loss of a child.

Looking back at the opening (Extract 27, lines 5–17) in response to the first question, we can describe this section as a sequence of "condensed" use of the local adverb *aquí.* Similar syntactical structures with a preposed local adverb in *aquí vivo* 'I live here' (line 8), *aquí nací aquí crecí* 'I was born here I was raised here' (lines 9–10), *aquí fueron* 'they were here (my parents)' (line 12), *aquí murieron* 'they died here' (line 12), *aquí estoy* 'here I am' (line 14) foreground the spatiality of the activities of the narrated characters. This pattern is only deviated from once, with one postponed 'here' in *yo me quedaba aquí* 'I stayed here' (line 13; 12–13 ET). The speaker emphasizes the connectedness of her own life story to the place and the story of the generation before her. The abundant occurrence of *aquí,* which is related to most of her biographical milestones, can be explained by the inextricable link of Maria's life story to the space of *aquí* 'here'.

In this part of the story, Maria focuses on her narrated self as the main character. In the following sequence, different characters of the family are introduced (her son Roberto, *mi hija* 'my daughter', *mi esposo* 'my husband' and *todos mis hijos* 'all my children'); however, the story is still told from a first-person perspective.

This continues until line 29, where the first "we" in Maria's story appears: *tenemos un proyectito de pollos (.) ese [proyecto] hacen t/ todas las señoras* 'we have a little chicken project (.) that project all of the ladies[126] do' (lines 29–32). The referent for the "we" is not clear here, as it could refer to the whole community or only the women of the community. However, the speaker aligns herself with the group of women in the community – with 'all of the ladies' who are involved in that project. In the following lines, Maria speaks about working the land 'they' have given to her family in a we-voice: *el terreno que nos dieron* 'the land they gave us' (line 36), *tenemos que* 'we have to' (line 37), *no nos tocó* 'we did not receive' (no direct translation) (line 38), *queríamos tierra* 'we wanted land' (line 42). In lines 44–45 she distinguishes the "we" from *otras personas* 'other people' of the community. The fact that the families in the community received parcels of land, and that Maria's family was one of the two to stay in the *finca* during the crisis, supports the "we" as a reference to the family.

The topical point of receiving the land is connected to entering the community story about the *patrono* and the struggle of the community members, which Maria narrates in the following passage:

Extract 28, Maria (lines 44–56)

> *estuvimos aquí (–) otras personas se fueron no [aguantAr] (-)[patrono] nos dejó aguantando hambre y no nos pagaba y °°no nos pagaba y (–) va de trabajar y trabajar y: mi esposo aquí: (–) dio todo su (.) tiempo su: (.) vida su [juventud] de trabajar y y nunca nos pagaron (-) se fue el patrono (-) y ya ni de ele era la finca ya era de (-) un banco (.) que es un banco (.) eh: (-) de holanda (.) holandés eso [dicen]*
>
> 'we were here (–) other people went away because they did not endure (-) (the) patrono left us to endure hunger and he did not pay us and he did not pay us and (–) he goes working and goes working and my husband here (–) gave all of his (.) time his (.) life his youth to working and and they never paid us (-) the patrono left (-) and the finca was not even his it already was of (-) a bank (.) which is a bank (.) eh (-) from holland (.) dutch this is what they say'[127]

---

126 'Ladies' might not be the most obvious translation for *señoras*. By choosing 'ladies' I want to highlight the difference to *mujeres* 'women', and point to the particular way Maria articulates.

127 Maria tells the community story (as part of an extended narrative) as a personal experience. The specific detail, that the *finca* belonged to a dutch bank, however, is

The character of the *patrono* is portrayed here as someone 'abandoning' the "we", leaving them to suffer (line 47), similar to the majority of the community narratives. The action of the *patrono no nos pagaba* 'he did not pay us' (lines 47 and 48; 48 ET) is repeated twice, the action of the 'husband' as being an example for the workers *va de trabajar* 'he goes working' is equally repeated (line 50). With the repetitions and the imperfect verb tense in *no pagaba*, as in Lidy's short narrative, Maria highlights the actions not as single incidences, but as a general scenario of past times under the *patrono*. This is also supported by the "absoluteness" of the following utterances. The speaker creates a three-item list of her husband's sacrifices *mi esposo aquí: (–) dio todo su (.) tiempo su: (.) vida su [juventud] de trabajar* 'my husband here (–) gave all of his (.) time his (.) life his youth to working'. Lists – and even more so lists of three items – have the effect of projecting "unity or completeness" (Atkinson, 1984, 57). Usually discussed as a sign of turn completion and transition-relevant places in interaction (Atkinson1984, 57f., Jefferson 1990, Roth 2005, Gühlich and Mondada 2008, 40), in this case it serves as a rhetorical means for argument completion and climax. Maria makes the magnitude of sacrifice all-encompassing by emphasizing that her husband gave 'all' 'time', 'life' and 'youth' to the work (for the *patrón* on the *finca).* This is contrasted by the assertion that *nunca nos pagaron* 'they never paid us' (line 53). Same as the temporal adverb always, *nunca* 'never' as an absolute term generalizes the non-existence of events and actions over time (Roth, 2005, 185).

In this narrative part, Maria first singles out her own family from those who 'left', and then adduces the narrated character of her husband and his dedication and suffering as proof for the "general" and "ongoing" unfair and exploitative treatment of the *patrono* towards the family-we.

The reference to *patrón* or *patrono* is done by attributing negatively evaluated behavior to him ('he did not pay', in some cases also 'he left') across the corpus of narratives. Therefore, I want to show another example of this in a short excursus. In the spontaneous narratives, the personal repercussions of the harmed *patrón*-worker relationship, and the *patrón's* deceptions towards his *colonos* are told on a more personal basis. We can see this in the story of 50-year-old Nery, who starts her narrative after my question concerning name, age and occupation:

---

something which she marks as reported to her – *eso dicen* 'that is what they say', as in the case of the re-narrated story by Flor.

Extract 29: *Nos dejó sin maíz,* Nery (00:08:08–00:57:51)

```
1    Nery:  yo me llamo Nery (--) este: como se llama (.) pues
2           nosotros aquí (.) cuando nosotros estuvimos aquí pues el
3           patrón pues (.) nos dejó abandonado y nos dejo sin maíz
4           y pues y no nos daba maíz y nosotros nos quedamos
5           sufriendo (---) y pues (--) TOdos nos quedamos sufriendo
6           y en eso miramos de que no ya no venía no venía <<to
7           interviewer>´mire> (---) entonces nos fuimos para (-)
8           para xela a vivir (-) fuimos a vivir como año y medio
9           porque aquí ya no se podía (-) nos dejó sin maíz y no ya
10          no comíamos y ya ni
11          para comprar ropa ni para comprar zapatos ya no
```

Extract 29: English Translation, 'He left us without corn', Nery (00:08:08–00:57:51)

```
1    Nery:  my name is AP (--) this how is it called (.) well we
2           here (.) when we were here well the patrón well (.) he
3           left us abandoned and he left us without corn and well
4           and he did not give us corn and we stayed suffering
5           (---) and well (--) all of us stayed suffering and in
6           this we see that he does not come he does not come <<to
7           interviewer>look> (---) so we went
8           to (-) to live in xela (-) we went to live one and a
9           half year because here one could not do anymore (-) he
10          left us without corn and not we did not eat anymore and
11          not even to buy close anymore nor to buy shoes not
12          anymore
```

The first thing Nery wants to tell me right after mentioning her name is not her age and occupation as the initial question suggests, but having been abandoned by the *patrón* (i.e. his leaving the *finca),* and most importantly leaving the inhabitants without *maíz* 'corn'. Corn is the basic foodstuff in the area but is not grown in the *finca*.[128] In some *fincas,* the *patrónes* in their role as caretakers of their workers also provided certain amounts of basic foodstuffs, including corn (see section 1.2). Nery possibly alludes to the suspension of this practice with *no nos daba maíz* 'he did not give us corn' (line 4) and the twofold repetition of *nos dejó sin maíz* 'he left us without corn' (lines 3 and 9; 9–10 ET). Later in the longer narrative (the whole story is about four minutes long), Nery constructs a dialogue with the narrated character of her mother who lives in another community and gives corn to Nery's family. The existential problem of living without corn is also addressed by Eva (*no teníamos maíz* 'we did not have corn' is also repeated throughout her story) within the same type of spontaneous narration. The experience seems to be a

128 Some of the families that remained in the *finca* during the crisis tried to grow corn themselves, but unsuccessfully.

traumatic one; the lack of corn stands for the 'suffering' and 'hardships' following the *patrón's* 'abandonment'. Furthermore, it is proof of his 'abandonment' because the provision of corn was his duty in the position as a *patróno.* It is one of the first things that are made relevant to the interviewer – something they deem to be important. They position the narrated character of "we" as a victim of the *patrón's* actions. However, overcoming the victimization is shown by the act of narrating in the situational context of the interaction. Now, the narrators can look back, talk about suffering in the past but from a better position, even if only slightly.

Coming back to Maria, in the last part and near the end of her narrative, she adopts a we-voice referring to the whole community, and as we will see, an even broader social category. Talking about seeking help at the 'land fund', now being indebted and having to work hard applies to both her family as well as all of the community members. A contextual clue to a community-we lies in the second closing sequence similar to the one Maria chose for the ending of the first part of the overall narrative, her personal life story.

Extract 30, Maria (lines 76–82; 75–81 ET)

> *esto es la (1.1) nuestra vida de nosotros de campesinos <<pp>estamos aquí en la (1) e:n la finca> (-) ahora ya es mh (1.1) comunidad nueva: alianza (–) municipio del palmar (–) departamento del quetzaltenango (1) ahí somos (-) y aquí estamos (1.1)*
>
> 'this is the (1.1) our vida of us of the peasants <<pp>we are here in the (1) in the finca> (-) now it is already mh (1.1) community nueva alianza (–) municipality of palmar (–) department of quetzaltenango (1) there we are (-) and here we are (1.1)'

In this closing passage, Maria sums up the hardships of working hard *con el sudor de la frente*[129] 'with sweat on the forehead' (lines 70–71; 69–70 ET) as being the essence of *campesino* 'peasant' life. The category *campesino* is connected

129 Maria cites a part of a bible passage from Genesis 3, 19 here which in the original goes like this: *Te ganarás el pan con el sudor de tu frente, hasta que vuelvas a la misma tierra de la cual fuiste sacado. Porque polvo eres, y al polvo volverás.* 'By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread, till you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; for you are dust, and to dust you shall return'. In the context of the bible it is what God says to Adam and Eve after they have eaten the forbidden fruit and now are condemned to work farmland so that they do not starve. By alluding to the bible passage, Maria positions her narrating self as a pious person who is also knowledgeable about religious things. On the other hand, she provides an evaluation of the events as a God-given fate which she has to accept.

to the “we” in Maria’s closing sequence. Contemplating after a pause, it is not *la (1.1)* ‘the (1.1)’ life but *nuestra vida* ‘our life’ *de nosotros* ‘of us’ and *de campesinos* ‘of the peasants’ in general (line 76; 75 ET). The life she is describing – a life of work-related hardship to earn a salary to pay back a loan for their land and to provide food – is put on a general social level, a life she claims as being that way for ‘peasants’. Both her family and her community are thus ascribed membership to that category by living their life in that way. For Maria the time of hardship does not end with the establishment of the *finca* as a community. She is the only narrator in the corpus not stating that *ahora* ‘now’ the times are ‘better’. However, the conditions of working still have changed: *queríamos tierra (–) un pedazo de tierra tanto pedirle a dios que nos (–) dieran un pedazo de tierra* ‘we wanted land (–) a piece of land so much asking God that they (–) would give us a piece of land’ (lines 42–43). The families now can work on a ‘piece of land’, even though in Maria’s case the land itself is evaluated as ‘not having any product’ (line 39) and being ‘empty’ (line 41). The heartfelt wish for own ‘land’, *tierra,* seems to be connected to the spatial rootedness of the narrator in the ‘here’. It also points to the larger discourses which we have seen in Carlos’ narrative, and the ongoing struggle of peasants for their own land. The claim for one’s own *tierra* or *terreno* – both can be translated with ‘land – is legitimized by the personal connection to the place, not only by Maria but also by other narrators in the corpus. The whole point of the story is that they can come back to the place to which they belong.

Maria closes her long narrative account not only with allocating the ‘we’ of the community to the category of ‘peasants’, but also with a rather exact spatial positioning of this “we”. Deictics like *aquí* ‘here’ can only be disambiguated with some knowledge of interactional context, or by “adding more deictic or lexical items” (Jungbluth, forthcoming). Speakers can also leave them ambiguous to not clearly define the boundaries of the ‘here’ in interaction (Gerst et al., forthcoming). In the case of the present narrative, *aquí* is clearly defined towards the end of Maria’s account. First, she uses different categories for the labels allocated to *aquí: <<pp>estamos aquí en la (1) e:n la finca> (-) ahora ya es mh (1.1) comunidad nueva: alianza* ‘<<pp>we are here in the (1) in the finca> (-) now it already is mh (1.1) community nueva alianza’. Like in most other cases of the narratives in the corpus, *finca* is related to the past, whereas the term ‘community’ is connected to the present. Maria specifies the spatial positioning by scaling socio-political districts from the smallest onwards: *comunidad nueva: alianza (–) municipio del palmar (–) departamento del quetzaltenango* ‘community nueva alianza (–) municipality of palmar (–) department of quetzaltenango’ (lines 78–81; 77–80 ET).

It seems as if she zooms out of the locality and places it in a wider spatial context. She concludes with *ahí somos (-) y aquí estamos (1.1)* 'there we are (-) and here we are (1.1)'. Even though at the first sight this may seem a redundant thing to say, the quality of the two verbs – in English both translated with 'to be' – is different in Spanish. Whereas *ser* describes permanent conditions or attributes of a person, *estar* has a more temporally conditioned quality. Interpreting Maria's final assertion in the narrative, the speaker indexes a social and a spatial end position for the community-we. *Ahí* is used here as a reference to what has been mentioned before (RAE), this is where 'we are'; in the flows of events and developments, this is where the community stands right now – at this point of the narrative and at this point in "real time". In the second part of the predication, the "we" is positioned in the 'here' and the relation between the community and the place is again established. Furthermore, as towards the end of the personal story, *aquí estamos* also refers to a narrative endpoint – a reference to the here and now in which the speaker ends her story.

The topical thread Maria follows during her story is a brief outline of her own life, with emphasis on the traumatic death of her child, her current occupation in the community, namely taking care of the land. Talking about the land leads her to talk about the circumstances of acquiring the land, and hence, the problems with the *patrono* and the struggle of the community. She concludes with a review of how they need to work to pay back the loan and how this is the life of all the peasants. The voice in the narrative hence changes from the → *I* to a → *we (family)* to a → *we (community)*.

7.4.2. Interim Conclusion: Spontaneous Narratives

Place is used to describe attachment with, or localization in, the *aquí* 'here' in many of the narratives within the corpus. The spatial category *aquí* is very prominent in the narrative corpus within the types of stories that emerge without being asked concerning community transformation and that are organized by the speakers' own relevancy and topical focusing. There are sequences containing the condensed use of *aquí* in relation to the description of the speakers' origin and life story. We can see one of these sequences in Maria's story. Another example is the following extract depicting the beginning of 70-year-old Diego's story, as a response to my name, age and occupation question:

Extract 31: *Aquí nací aquí crecí,* Diego (00:15:55–00:39:02)

1 Diego: si yo me llamo: Diego (1.1) tengo setenta años (.) de
2 edad (.) estoy nacido el (2.1) e:l diez de mayo del mil
3 novecientos treinta y nueve (-) crecí
4 (.) <<acc>aquí nací> (-) aquí mis padres aquí vivieron
5 (-) aquí
6 nací aquí crecí (.) aquí empecé a (---) trabajar

Extract 31: English translation, 'I was born here I grew up here', Diego (00:15:55–00:39:02)

1 Diego: yes my name is Diego (1.1) I am seventy years (.) old
2 (.) I am born
3 on the (2.1) the tenth of may nineteen hundred thirty
4 nine (-) I grew up (.) <<acc> I was born here> (-) here
5 my parents lived here (-) I was born here I grew up here
6 (.) I started to (---) work here

As Maria does us the local adverb *aquí* in her short biography in the beginning of her narrative, Diego uses it in relation to his own birth and upbringing, and the step of entering the workforce in his biography. He also emphasizes his parents' relation to the place.

The speakers who do not primarily focus on the collective story of transformations, but instead on stages in their personal lives, position their narrated self and the other characters as tied to the place. This shows how inextricably their life story and the story of the whole community is linked to the space of *aquí* 'here'. Interactionally, this can be interpreted as an index for the legitimization to speak about the place, a manifestation of their rootedness and the authority over telling stories about events that happened in that place. It also legitimizes narrated actions of the agents in the story – the rootedness in the 'here' comply with claims to autochthony (Ceuppens & Geschiere 2005; Zenker 2011; Jungbluth 2017; Savedra & Mazzelli-Rodrigues 2017), of inseparably belonging to the *tierra* and *terreno.* This can, then, be a legitimizing background argument or explanation for actions of the narrated characters, facing the odds, taking the *finca* or staying there even though they suffered and barely survived.

A second characteristic of these spontaneous narratives is the use of different narrative speaker-orientation (De Fina, 2003, 52). Whereas in the other types of narratives the pronominal choice is usually established at the beginning of the story and the events portrayed in a specific voice (*I, we* or *they*), we find predominantly "mixed pronouns narratives" (De Fina, 2003, 62) in the stories which unfold without specific incentives. Maria, for example, transitions from the personal *I*, to a *we* referring to the family and then to a collective *community-*

we. Diego goes back and forth between a personal *I*-perspective and speaking with the voice of the community in the unfolding of events. He singles himself out of some community actions and creates differentiated relations of the *I* to the character of the *patrón* but also to the migrated workers. Nery mainly speaks in a we-voice of either her family or the community as a whole. However, she inserts dialogues in which the *I* speaks with different family members, like her oldest son or her mother.

All narrators of this type interweave their personal story with the community story, thus underlining their belonging to the community group. The membership in the community is crucial for the social belonging of the participants, as the connectedness to *aquí* is for their spatial belonging. Furthermore, one cannot be imagined without the other. The stories they tell about themselves to a foreign interviewer are hence unthinkable without the story of the community.

7.5. Re-Narrated Stories

Some of the community members did not experience the events leading to community transformation personally. All in all, twelve speakers can be categorized as narrators who tell the story as a second-hand experience – i.e. told to them by others and re-told to me in the interview settings. Four of the speakers (Patricia, Claudio, Eldin and Glenda) still were of a very young age when members of the community initiated the struggle for land. The others (Pia, Bianca, Pablo, Flor, Lidy, Jeremy, Helen and Andres) were still living in other areas when the events took place, and only rejoined the community when the first projects were launched. The term "re"-narrated does not allude to a repeated and routinized telling of the story that we can see with the practiced narrators. "Re-" here refers to stories that have already been told in the form of stories to the narrators themselves. It is a re-production of what they have been told by others – siblings, parents, grandparents or other members of the community with first-hand experience of the struggle. It is striking in this subsample of narratives that my inquiries of "remembering" are only challenged by one speaker, 22-year-old Andres. The initial question for all the participants has been *cómo se acuerda* 'how do you remember' the times of transformation. Even though in the case of the re-narrators the story does not refer to personal memory of events, even the youngest ones in the corpus – who were five to seven years old when the process started – are able to retell the story in different forms of narrative implementation. This shows how important the knowledge about and telling of the story is for claiming belonging to the we-group of community members.

The stories told by these speakers are especially interesting in terms of how they position themselves within the narratives. In the following, we will see three extracts mapping a continuum from a position of marked *re*-narration (Flor), a generalized telling of the events (Lidy), to an involved we-position (Jeremy) in the re-narration of the story. Even though the positionings of the narrated characters vary in the three stories, the positions of the narrators in the here-and-now of the interaction point to the telling of the story as a shared local practice. All community members, no matter whether they participated personally in the transformation or not, are entitled to, legitimized to and encouraged to tell the community story.

7.5.1. 'It says' – The Story as Community Knowledge

The following extract 32 is from Flor, a 44-year-old member of the community. She and her husband Alex had decided to leave the community before the problems with the *patrón* started to have severe consequences for the workers. They came back to the Alianza when the first projects had already been launched. After asking the question 'how do you remember the times of the transformation', there is no immediate reaction of Flor in the interview. Thus, I asked if she would remember these times, which is affirmed by her with a *si (-) si (-)* 'yes (-) yes (-)'. After another inquiry if she 'could tell me a little bit about it' Flor starts the following story.

Exctract 32: *Así nos así dicen ellos,* Flor (00:02:05–0:03:01)

```
 1   Flor:  bueno dice que: (.) ya no ha pagado el patrón [aquí]
 2     RV:  [mh]
 3   Flor:  dice (.) cuando nos fuimos (-) y: les quedó debiendo
 4          mucho a (-) toda la gente (3.2)
 5     RV:  mh
 6   Flor:  dice que ellos eh le iban a cobrar dice y él (.) se
 7          Escondió
 8          le decían que (.) <<slapping lap> que fuera::n (1.4)
 9          vengan mañana <<all>dice o que si o vengan la otra
10          semana dice> que ellos llegaban y no: [les pagaba (--)]
11     RV:  [mh]
12   Flor:  y:: (-) había (.) personas dice que: se iban sólo con su
13          pasaje (-) querían tomarse un agua por [allá (.)]
14     RV:  [mh]
15   Flor:  no (-) no ha/ (.) no tenían (.) dinero (.) porque como
16          él no pagaba
17          (-) y dice que ellos consolados llegaban a (.) xela
18          (1.2) a:: (.) a decir pues que les pagaba y según ellos
19          (.) él les iba pagar y
20          no (.) dicen que les mentÍa y se volvían a venir (--) s/
21          era posible dice que tal vez podían ellos caminar dice
22          porque se quedaban
```

```
23          sin [dinEro] (1.3)
24    RV:   [mh]
25  Flor:   pues (1.3)
26    RV:   mh
27  Flor:   <<p>así nos así dicen ellos>
```

Extract 32: English translation, 'Like this they tell us', Flor (00:02:05–0:03:01)

```
 1  Flor:   well it says that (.) the patrón has not payed anymore
 2          [here]
 3    RV:   [mh]
 4  Flor:   it says (.) when we went away (-) and he kept owing a
 5          lot to (-) all the people (3.2)
 6    RV:   mh
 7  Flor:   it says that they eh would charge him it says and he (.)
 8          hid himself they told him that (.) <<slapping lap> that
 9          they were (1.4) come tomorrow <<all>he says that yes or
10          come the other week he says> that they came and he did
11          not pay [them (--)]
12    RV:   [mh]
13  Flor:   and (-) there were (-) people it says that they went
14          alone with their ticket (-) they wanted to have a water
15          over [there (.)]
16    RV:   [mh]
17  Flor:   not (-) not (.) they did not have (.) money (.) because
18          as he did not pay (-) and it says that they came
19          consoled to (.) xela (1.2) to (.) to say well that he
20          would pay them and according to them (-) he would pay
21          them and no (.) that he lied to them and they came back
22          again (--) s/ it was possible it says that maybe they
23          could walk it says because they stayed without [money]
24          (1.3)
25    RV:   [mh]
26  Flor:   well (1.3)
27    RV:   mh
28  Flor:   <<p>this is how this is how they tell us>
```

Right at the beginning of her account, the speaker points out that she was not personally present during the events she is going to narrate. They happened *cuando nos fuimos* 'when we went away' (line 3, 4 ET). 'We', in this case, refers to Flor and her family, and not to the community. The family-related story of migration had already been outlined in the interview of her husband Alex. As the family's migration was mentioned at the beginning of the interview – before the question regarding the community's transformation – Flor could be sure that the interviewer understood her reference to 'we' as a referring to her own family. In her narration, Flor uses different means of voicing others which clearly mark the content of the narration as a *re*-narration. The specific meanings of *dice* in Flor's narrative have to be analyzed in terms of their role in the sequential structure. *Dice* 'it/he/she says' is used frequently in the account, ten times to be exact, and allocated to different speakers and characters in the narrative. Regarding "knowledge" concerning the

developments of events, Flor points to an impersonal and shared narrative source marked with an impersonal and ambiguous *dice* in the sense of 'it says'. A second, more specific source of the story are *ellos,* 'they' who are also voiced explicitly in the story. In the course of the narration, the speaker introduces two different voices who are also allocated with the verb 'say'. Within the story, the *patrón* and *ellos* 'they' are introduced as speaking characters.[130]

Let us first examine the speaker's use of the impersonal *dice* in the account. 'It says' points to a more general source of knowledge the narrative is based on (in a German translation the generalized aspect is idiomatically depicted even more clearly as 'man sagt' or 'es heißt'). We find *dice* as a frame for re-narrated content in lines 1–3, 1–4 ET: *bueno dice que: (.) ya no ha pagado el patrón [aquí] dice* 'well it says that (.) the patrón has not payed anymore [here] it says' and in line 6, 7 ET: *dice que ellos eh le iban a cobrar dice* 'it says that they eh would charge him it says'. We can also find these kinds of constructions at the end of the account in line 17, 18–19 ET *dice que ellos consolados llegaban a (.) xela* 'it says that they came consoled to (.) xela' and in lines 21, 22–23 ET *dice que tal vez podían ellos caminar dice* 'it says that maybe they could walk it'. By using the impersonal form *dice*, the speaker presents the story as shared local knowledge – as something members of the community "just know". It is striking that in the extract above, she leaves *dice* ambiguous even though her narrative points to *ellos* 'they' as the source of the narrative. Only at the end of the story it is resolved who originally experienced the events and told the story to the others: *asi nos asi dicen ellos* 'this is how this is how they tell us' (line 27; 28 ET).

Within the situated interaction, Flor positions herself as a speaker who is not the original creator of the story she is telling, and indicates this position by the repeated use of the impersonal verb 'it says' or by reference to 'them' (who experienced the events) telling the others (who did not experience them) the story so that they would be able to re-tell it. Flor also indexes her position as a re-narrator by the use of categories in her narrative account. The antagonists in the community story are introduced as the *patrón* and ellos 'they', who are also labeled as *toda la gente* 'all the people' (line 4; 5 ET). The speaker does not include her

---

130 Apart from the verbal form pointing to a general source or respectively a general community knowledge about what happened in the times of transformation, Flor embeds short sequences of construed dialogue (Tannen, 1989) within the story. Even as a storyteller re-narrating the events, she is able to animate characters and "make the story come alive" (Rosen, 1988, 14f.). There are two animated characters in this story: the *patrón* speaking in lines 9–10, and 'they', who speak in line 17 and 20, 19 and 21 ET about the lies and deceptions of the *patrón.*

narrated self into the group of 'them' (i.e. the ones suffering from the *patrón*'s actions), but into a 'we' comprised of her family (line 3, 4 ET). In combination with the reporting *dice* 'it says', this narrative positioning outside the narrated character of 'them' creates a certain distance between her and the two narrated entities. At the same time, Flor still does not tell the story as a chronicle (De Fina, 2003, 98) – a temporally ordered account of what happened as could be expected, from a re-narration. Even though she did not experience the events herself she is able to re-narrate them in detail, even voicing the involved characters. In the context of the interview she can give an authentic account of what happened according to *ellos* 'them', and as a member of the current community she is entitled to reproduce the story "owned" collectively by the community and forming part of their shared knowledge.

7.5.2. 'There is' – Generalization in Re-narration

The story told by 38-year-old community member Lidy also belongs to the type of re-narrations. She is married to a beneficiary of the community, but only moved there after the events and final adjudication of the *finca* in the Alianza union's favor. At the time of the interview she had just completed her fourth year of living in the community. After the question regarding her remembrance of the community transformation, she replies with the following story.

Extract 33: *No hay patrón,* Lidy (00:00:48–0:01:38)

```
 1     RV:  y cómo se acuerda usted a:l (-) cambio que: (.) que hubo
 2          aquí en la alianza (.) con el patrón (-) o sea cómo se
 3
 4          antes (-) a lo que: ahora llamamos (.) la comunidad
 5          nueva alianza (2.1)
 6   Lidy:  ah pues de que: ahora está mejor porque: no hay patrón
 7
 8          en cambio antes porque como: (.)
 9
10          [[salarios]]
11     RV:  [mh]
12   Lidy:  entonces había mucha (-) mucha pobreza (.) [°hmh (--)]
13     RV:  [mh]
14   Lidy:  pero ahora ya ya está mejor porque: (1) ya ahora ya es
15
16     RV:  [mh]
17   Lidy:  hay más trabajo: y (.) y hay más (1.3) más dinero para
18          poder:
19          (1.2) mantenerse uno (.) [mhm (--)]
20     RV:  [mh]
```

Extract 33: English translation, 'There is no patrón', Lidy (00:00:48–0:01:38)

```
 1     RV:  and how do you remember the (-) change that (.) that was
 2          here in the alianza (.) with the patrón (-) that means
 3          how do you remember the transformation (.) from the
 4
 5          community nueva alianza (2.1)
 6   Lidy:  ah well that now it is better because there is no patrón
 7
 8
 9          (a) patrón and and (-) he did not not pay the [salaries]
10     RV:  [mh]
11   Lidy:  so there was a lot (-) a lot of poverty (.) [hmh (--)]
12     RV:  [mh]
13   Lidy:  but now it already already is better because (1) it
14          already now already is of the forty fen/ (.) of (the)
15
16     RV:  [mh]
17   Lidy:  there is more work and (.) and there is more (1.3) more
18          money to be able to (1.2) to support oneself [mhm (--)]
19     RV:  [mhm]
```

Lidy organizes her account around temporal categories contrasting *ahora* 'now' with *antes* 'before' in a way that was already discussed in 7.6. She focuses on economic aspects of the transformation. 'Now' the place belongs to the beneficiaries (lines 6–7), whereas 'before' the *patrón* did not pay the salaries (line 9–10; 9 ET), causing a lot of 'poverty' (line 12; 11 ET). However, coming back to the 'now', Lidy portrays the current economical situation as 'better' (line 14; 13 ET) because there is more 'work' and 'money' (line 17; 17–18 ET).

The account of Lidy stands out because of its depersonalized and generalized, almost neutral telling. The speaker uses linguistic means of generalization by using the verb *haber* 'to have', by omitting indirect objects in syntactic structures, and using a generic *uno* 'one'. These generalizations index a narrative position that reports the events not based on personal experiences. However, they are not referred to as shared common knowledge within the community (*dice*) as in Flor's case.

The spatial reference point for Lidy's story is established in my question as the 'alianza' *finca como era antes* 'finca as it was before' and *comunidad nueva alianza* 'community nueva alianza' (lines 1–5). In the following sequences the speaker only assigns spatial reference to the place anaphorically. We can see this in lines 6–7: *no hay patrón sino que: ya es (.) de todos cuarenta beneficiarios* 'there is no patrón but that it is already (.) of all forty beneficiaries' and in the, almost word by word, repetition of the same thought in lines 14–15: *ya es los cuarenta fen/ (.) de beneficarios* 'it already now already is of the forty fen/ (.) of (the) beneficiaries'. The 'it' which is included in the verbal form of *ser* 'to be' *es* 'it is'

(lines 6 and 14) refers to the place established in my question. However, it is left open by the speaker whether she explicitly refers to the *finca* or the community.

For her, like for other community members, *finca* is a referential term connected to the past, though: *antes porque como: (.) era finca* 'before as like (.) it was (a) finca' (lines 8–9; 6 ET). Even though a reference point can be found in my initializing question, the speaker's not naming or labeling it explicitly keeps it somewhat vague or unspecific.

Besides the vagueness of spatial reference, the "existential *haber* constructions" (Silva-Villar & Guitérrez-Rexach, 2001, 332) of the speaker *hay* 'there is' *había* 'there was' (habitually) play into the generic way of telling the events by Lidy. 'There is' and 'there was without any further spatial determination are only bound to the temporal categories the verbs point to due to their tense. The absence of the *patrón* (line 6), and the existence of 'work' and 'money' (line 17; 17–18 ET), are allocated to the 'now'. The existence of 'poverty' is allocated to the 'before' (line 8). The predication of the speaker does not involve any acting subjects or specific spaces, but points to a *general* state of things in the 'now' and 'before'.

The only "acting" character in Lidy's account is the *patrón* who *no pagaba los salarios* 'he did not pay the salaries' (line 9–10; 9 ET). The verb *pagar* 'pay' usually requires an indirect object (he did not pay to whom?) alongside the direct object of 'salaries'. The speaker assumes the interlocutor's ability to infer the indirect object from the context. This expectation is affirmed by my feedback in line 11, 10 ET. The effect of leaving the debt holders unspecific is to draw a picture of the *patrón* as a defaulter in *general*. This is supported by the implied iterativity or habituality of this action – *no pagaba* 'he did not pay' – expressed by the use of the imperfect tense.

Lidy closes her account by saying that today work and money allow *para poder: (1.2) mantenerse uno* 'be able to (1.2) support oneself' (lines 18–19; 19 ET). The speaker does not refer to herself or the community members, or specific people from the community here (even though they can be included semantically), but instead using *uno* as an impersonal and generic reference (De Fina, 2003, 79f.).

Both speakers we have looked at apply different linguistic means of marking distance to the story they are telling. Flor explicitly and repeatedly mentions the sources of the story and positions herself as not being one of the community members who experienced the events first-hand. The aspect of re-telling is foregrounded in her account of the community story. Lidy provides an abstract and generalized version of the story. It is stripped down to the core temporal and social categories of the community story as described in 7.6. The story is concisely verbalized, states and actions allocated to either 'now' or 'before' are generalized. There is no personal account of Lidy nor an affiliation with one of the

(few) characters in the story. Her narrated self is not part of her short story about community transformation. The narrating self in the situational interaction still positions herself in the evaluative moments in the account. Whereas 'before' is described with negative actions of the *patrón* ('he did not pay the salaries') and resulting general 'poverty', the 'now' is positively evaluated by the speaker. Furthermore, she positions herself as a member of the community as she shows her competence to tell me about the community's past, despite not being present during these times.

7.5.3. 'We were workers' – We-voices in Re-narrations

The last example in the type of re-narrations is from 26-year-old Jeremy. He is the son of speakers Flor and Alex. Although he was born in the Alianza, his parents migrated to the city when he was only three years old, and hence, before the *patrón's* bankruptcy and subsequent developments in the community. He came back just after the land was legally granted to the forty beneficiaries, resulting in the founding of the community known as Comunidad Nueva Alianza. After talking shortly about his current occupation in the community and his migration story, Jeremy reacts to the question about the community's transformation in the following way.

Extract 34: *Antes eramos trabajadores* Jeremy (00:01:01–0:01:46)

```
 1      RV:  como:: se acuerda usted a la transformación (—) y las
 2           (sic!) problemas que habi:a o sea la transformacion
 3
 4  Jeremy:  que: antes (-) antes (.) eramo:s (1.1) e::h (.)
 5           trabajadores de un patrono (---) que:: (--) nos (.) daba
 6           un salario mínimo (1.2) y::: (1.2) que no teníamos
 7           pue/=libertad=pues de hacer nada (1) cualquier cosa la
 8           teníamos consultar primero (.) con el patrón (---) y
 9           ahora: (-) ahora como m/
10           ya comunidad ya: (---) sabemos que es de nosotros y
11           nosotros vamos a trabajar para: (--) que sea m/ algo
12           productiva la comunidad (--) conjuntamente (---) con
13
```

Extract 34: English translation, 'Before we were workers', Jeremy (00:01:01–0:01:46)

```
 1      RV:  how do you remember the transformation (--) and the
 2           problems which existed that means the transformation of
 3
 4  Jeremy:  that before (-) before (-) we were (1.1) eh (.) workers
 5           of a patrono
 6           (---) who (--) gave us a minimal salary (1.2) and (1.2)
 7           that we did not have liberty well to do nothing (1)
```

```
 8          anything we had to
 9
10          now that (it is) already community already (---) we know
11          that it is of us (ours) and we will work to (--) so that
12          it is something productive the community (--)
13
```

In his narrative Jeremy divides the narrative time into 'before and 'now', thus mirroring all other narrators of the re-narrations type along with the majority of narrators from the community in general. He introduces the category *trabajadores* 'workers' (line 5; 4 ET) in the story alongside the character of the *patrono* (line 5). Jeremy attributes dependency – financial dependency of relying on a 'minimal salary' (line 6) and personal dependency in terms of having to consult the *patrón* for 'anything' (line 7; 8 ET) – to the social category of 'workers'. This is contrasted with the temporal category 'now', in which the community is 'ours' and the speaker projects hopes for the community's productive future. The content Jeremy verbalizes here is familiar to us from other narratives. What is striking about this extract is the voice Jeremy chooses for his story. He explicitly clarifies that he did not personally experience the events leading to the transformation. He does so implicitly, by stating at the beginning of the interview that he left the Alianza when he was three years old and only came back five years ago. He confirms his absence a second time after his narrative when I ask him about the personal impact the developments in the community had on his life. Listening to the story as he presented it, I assumed that there must have been a misunderstanding and that he actually *did* participate in the events. His response made very clear, however, that he was not involved: *a mí no me afectó (.) porque yo como=le=dije anterior (-) me fui para mazatenango cuando tenía tres años (.) y ya que a estudiar y a todo* 'it did not affect me (.) because I like I told you before (-) I went to mazatenango when I was three years old (.) and then I studied and everything' (interview Jeremy, 00:01:56–00:02:12).

Even though he did not participate personally in the events and only joined the community after the struggle for land rights and titles, he uses a we-voice marked by verb conjugation in the third person plural throughout his narrative: *eramos* 'we were' (line 4), *teníamos* 'we had' (lines 6 and 8; 7 and 8 ET), *sabemos* 'we know' (line 10), *vamos a trabajar* 'we will work' (line 11). The personal pronoun *nosotros* 'we' is used twice by the speaker, first, to express possession *sabemos que es de nosotros* 'we know it is of us (ours)', and second, as an emphasis preceding the verb in *nosotros vamos a trabajar* 'we will work' (lines 10 and 11). The 'we' which is attributed to the temporal category of 'before' are the 'workers' of the *patrono* (line 5; 4 ET). The 'we' attributed to the temporal category 'now'

is not explicitly referenced, but is related to the spatial and social category of the *comunidad* 'community' (line 10).

Jeremy achieves two effects with this use of the we-voice in his short story. First, he indicates categorical social belonging to the we-group, both in the past and the present of his narrative. Second, marking belonging to this social category positions him as a legitimate and credible narrator in the context of the interview.

After introducing the temporal category 'before' in the first line of his story, the speaker claims membership to the group of 'workers' of the *patrono* (line 5; 4 ET) by stating 'we were workers'. The narrator includes his narrated character into the narrated group of the 'we' located in the past, together with its attributes and actions – being unfree and dependent on the *patrón.* For the temporal category 'now', the narrator maintains the collective pronominal form and indexes belonging to the group which is *ya comunidad* 'already community' (line 10). In her corpus of migration narratives of Mexican illegal immigrants to the U.S., De Fina (2003, 58) calls these kinds of stories *"nosotros* narratives", in which the individual disappears into the "collective protagonist". This can have several effects including portraying individual experiences as collective experiences, as we have already seen in the narratives of the practiced narrators in section 7.3.2.1. The Alianza storytellers re-narrating the events of community transformation, however, do not base their stories on personal experiences. This can be indexed with recurrent references to the original ownership of the story, as in Flor's case, or eschewing specifics and rather speaking in general terms, as in the case of Lidy. In extract 34, Jeremy represents the events as collective experiences. Even though he clearly marks his non-participation in the sequences before and after the story, the *nosotros* narrative is not flagged by Jeremy as problematic nor is it challenged by me. In two other cases of a re-narrated story – the narrative of 15-year-old Glenda and 30-year-old Pia – we also find the phenomenon of community stories in the we-voice. By displaying the story as a collective we-experience, Jeremy positions his narrated self as a part of the group that went through the hardships of working for a *patrón.* This emphasizes and substantiates the current belonging to the community of his narrated self within the temporal frame of *ahora* 'now'. On the level of situated interaction, the use of the we-voice positions the speaker as a narrator with the right to tell the story, and as a credible source on past events. This does not clash with the speaker's knowledge about non-participation, which is clarified twice for the interviewer before and after the story. As a member of the community, Jeremy is legitimized to tell the story,

and also legitimized to tell the story as a collective experience, all the while including his narrated self into the group with personal experiences of the events.

7.5.4. Interim Conclusion: Re-Narrated Stories

The type of re-narrations by speakers who have not experienced the community transformation personally is characterized by comparatively short accounts about what happened in the community. As in almost all narratives in the corpus, the developments are portrayed as a contrast between the temporal categories of past and present, verbalized as *antes* 'before' vs. *ahora* 'now'. The most striking phenomenon in this type of stories, however, is what *does not* happen interactionally. None of the narrators object to my question about their 'remembering' of the community transformation. As the speakers did not experience the events themselves, they could have made this a topic of discussion after my inquiry, or simply could have stated that they do not remember. Except for 22-year-old Andres, who only tells the story after clarifying that he was very young and not present in the community during these times, and 50-year-old Alex, who does not narrate the story, all interviewed participants tell a story about what happened.

In narrative analysis questions of credibility, being entitled to tell and authority over stories are discussed as being connected to speakers' personal experiences the stories are based on (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, 1972), or as transformed into reappropriations of other speakers without the actual experience (Sacks, 1972b; Shuman, 2006, 2010). The cases range from explicitly marked re-tellings to accounts in a narrative we-voice, which are not based on own experiences, but rather on collective experiences of other community members. Nevertheless, the speakers still feel entitled and authorized to do so.[131] The "ownership" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, 147f.) of the story lies within the community because the narrative is "widely circulating, shared, [and] generalized" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, 148, insertion RV). Who claims to belong to the community (and is granted that claim) is entitled to tell its story. This can take the form of a report of what the other community members experienced as in Flor's and Lidy's cases. In the stories of Jeremy and two other speakers it even is portrayed as a collective experience in which the speakers' narrated

131 In other cases such as narratives in legal settings during hearings of asylum seekers or testimonies, story ownership and credibility depend on power structures and linguistic accessibility to the "right" way of telling it (Briggs, 1996; Harris, 2001). Within the interview interactions, the speakers and I do not challenge the ownership of the story and the entitlement to tell it.

selves are included. Interestingly, the diverse "re"-tellings of the speakers in this sample do not differ essentially from the stories we can see in the sample of the narrators with personal experience. In these narratives, the narrating positions also vary between we-voices (23-year-old Wendy, 21-year-old Luis, 33-year-old Hilmar) and a reporting voice using *ellos* 'they' as the main protagonist alongside the *patrono* in the narrative of 31-year-old Elmer. The main difference, however, is the lack of an individual I-voice of the narrators, which, in two cases of the first-hand type is a "mixed pronouns narrative" (De Fina, 2003, 62) alternating between *yo* 'I' and *nosotros* 'we' (33-year-old Camila and 27-year-old Fernando), and a full fledged choice of "I" as the only main protagonist in the story in 38-year-old Julio's narrative. The last example, however, could be due to the questioning method for the 'transformation' along with 'the personal effects' it had on him (*cómo se acuerda usted (.) a la transformacón de la finca en la cooperativa alianza (–) y como le afectó personalmente*).

In conclusion, by telling the story as re-narrations, the speakers establish themselves as part of the community, not necessarily because they construe themselves as part of the narrated collective, as some of them do, but by being able to perform the linguistic practice of narrating the locally relevant story.

7.6. One Story – Thirty Versions – Shared Core Elements

As I have shown in the preceding sections, the speakers in the corpus narrate the story of community transformation in unique and different ways, thereby foregrounding specific aspects within the narrated world, but also within the narrating world of situational interaction. In this section, I want to outline what the stories of the community members have in common, and where we can find the "lowest common denominator" within the variety of the thirty accounts of the corpus. We can identify some *core elements* that are shared by all narrators. Most strikingly, a common dichotomy is the one between the category *patrón/patrono* and another social category that is labeled depending on the position the narrator takes in the story. The opposing category to *patrón/patrono* within the temporal category of 'before' extends from *nosotros* 'we' to the *campesinos* 'the peasants' to *ellos* 'they'.[132] However categorized in the different narratives the referent of the terms in most of the cases are the community members involved in the struggle for justice, money and land. In some cases, the categories *trabajadores* and *campesinos* are used to frame the

132 The term *colonos* 'tenant farmers' appears once in the story of 33-year-old Camila.

story as part of a larger discourse in order to depict relations between the negatively evaluated *patrones* and the struggling antagonists more "generally" (as for example in the stories of CarlosI, CarlosYG, Humberto and Juan).

Apart from introducing these two categories as the main characters in the stories, another core element of all narratives consists of establishing a similar relationship between the category *patrón/patrono* and the category *comunidad* in its different semantic configurations. In the vast majority of narratives, this relationship is introduced as a problematic one, and dissolved when introducing the temporal category of *ahora* 'now' that is associated with better and different times for category members of *comunidad*.

In the preceding sections, the narrative extracts have already shown some examples of how the narrators introduce and portray the two categories, how they describe the relations between them and how they finally resolve the "problem" of the story. I want to show two more short examples in which we can see how the same *core elements* are arranged differently. Both narratives stem from the type of re-narrated stories and emerged after the 'transformation question':

Extract 35: *Ya estamos un poco mejor,* Pia (0:01:05–0:01:36)

```
 1     Pia:  eh: ahorita nosotros podemos decir que ya estamos un
 2           poco [mejor]
 3      RV:  [mh]
 4     Pia:  que: cuando estabamos trabajando con el patrón (1.1)
 5           porque:: (.) tuvimos la necesidad de irnos a otro lado
 6           por lo mismo de que aquí solo se trabajaba y no: veíamos
 7           ningún sueldo (--) entonces (.) ahora todo es diferente
 8           porque ya: (.) ya no tenemos [patrono]
 9      RV:  [mh]
10     Pia:  nosotros trabajamos y ya: (-) ya asi ya vemos el sueldo
11           que asi se nos da a cada [quincena]
12      RV:  [mhm]
13     Pia:  eh por decir que no estamos bién bién [pero]
14      RV:  [mh]
15     Pia:  sí estamos mejor (1.4)
```

Extract 35: English translation, 'We are already a little bit better off', Pia (0:01:05–0:01:36)

```
1      Pia:  eh now we can say that we are already a little bit
2            [better off]
3       RV:  [mh]
4      Pia:  than when we were working with the patrón (1.1) because
5            (.) we had the need to go to another place for the same
6            reason that here one only worked and we did not see no
7            salary (--) so (.) now everything is different because
8            now (.) we do not have a [patrono] anymore
9       RV:  [mh]
10     Pia:  we work and already (-) already like this we now see the
```

```
11          salary which like this is given to us every [two weeks]
12     RV:  [mhm]
13    Pia:  eh (that is) to say that we are not well well [but]
14     RV:  [mh]
15    Pia:  yes we are better (1.4)
```

Extract 36: *Se ha desarollado bastante,* Eldin (0:00:53–0:01:28)

```
1  Eldin:
2           que ahora es comunidad (--) ay se ha desarollado::
3           bastante porque dice que antes (---) trabajaban pero no
4           ganaban (---) dice=quien gana es tan solo el patrón
5           (1.3) y:: ellos no pero ahora dice ahora (-) por lo que
6           veo que: (-) trabajan y a la vez ganan (---) porque
7           conforme cada proyecto que hay (---) ellos se es/están
8
9           y::: (---) pues (-) se ha desarollado bastante
```

Extract 36: English translation, 'It developed a lot', Eldin (0:00:53–0:01:28)

```
1  Eldin:
2
3           because it says that before (---) they worked but they
4           did not earn (---) it says who earns is only the patrón
5           (1.3) and they do not but now it says now (-) for what I
6           see that (-) they work and at the same time earn (---)
7           because with every project that exists (---) they
8
9           children (1.3) and (---) well (-) it developed a lot
```

The two accounts are quite different in terms of narrative positioning. Whereas the 30-year-old Pia uses a we-voice to narrate the events as a collective experience (even though she did not partake personally, cf. section 7.5.3), 15-year-old Eldin reports the story based on what has 'been told' (cf. section 7.5.1). However, they share *core elements* in terms of the categories chosen to present the story content regarding the community transformation. Pia summarizes the story by introducing past times under the *patrón*[133] associated with work without salary and the need to migrate and contrasting it with the present, *ahora* 'now', in which they receive a salary and are a little 'better off' (*mejor*). In the narrative account of Eldin, the story is also developed with a temporal reference to *antes* 'before' (line 3) in which the *patrón* is the cause for the problems of not receiving a salary. The past times are embedded within two descriptions of how it is *ahora* 'now' at the beginning and at the end of the account and its development for the better. It depends on the narrative types how the transition between antes 'before' and

133 Pia's narrative is one of the examples where both forms *patrón* (line 4) and *patrono* (line 8) are used.

ahora 'now' is "fleshed out". Basically, only in the stories of practiced narrators is the actual "transformation" – the time between 'before and 'now' – narrated. For the spontaneous, re-narrated and first-hand stories, the 'transformation' that I explicitly ask for stays in a "black box" (Latour, 1999). In these narratives only the starting point ('before') and the endpoint ('now') are told. The complicating action (Labov 1972) or the unexpected event (Ochs & Capps, 2001, 173) that contribute to a story's content-related "tellability" (Polanyi, 1985; Ochs & Capps, 2001), is that every narrative is primarily established around the category *patrón/patrono* and the overcoming of problems, hardships and personal circumstances related to his actions. This core element can be found in each of the thirty narratives, with three of them not naming the *patrón/patrono* as a direct character in the story, but still dealing with the repercussions of actions and events during *patrón/patrono* times.

The majority of stories also share a similar use of the temporal category *antes* 'before' with one of the protagonists of that time: the *patrón/patrono.* Using the category *patrón/patrono* refers to a certain temporal frame of a past time when the community was still a *finca*. When speakers invoke that social category, they also invoke a time which is related to the existence of that category. Furthermore, the *patrón/patrono* represents the belonging of the character labeled as such to a social category of land owners and their corresponding attributions of behavior, characteristics and interests. Finally, the *patrón/patrono* is also a reference to a very specific person, the actual owner of the *finca* during 'his' times. In the majority of the stories, these times are negatively evaluated. The majority of cases state that 'he did not pay anymore' or that he 'left'. In other cases the negative evaluations involve attributes like greed, carelessness or irresponsibility. Only in three narratives of the older speakers in the corpus, 70-year-old Diego, 68-year-old Humberto, and 63-year-old Gabriela the character of the *patrón* is portrayed in a more complex manner. In these three narratives, a look into pre-transformation times provides differentiated attributions and category-bound activities to the categories *patrón/patrono* and *trabajadores* 'workers', which are usually diametrically opposed categories in narrations of other tellers. In the narrations of older participants they go back to times when the relations between the *patrón* and the 'workers' were still functioning and in order. The category used by these speakers concerns other individuals, e.g. the forefathers of the *patrón,* who is referred to as a general entity rather than an individual person in the stories. It is only in these three stories that the category is evaluated in a differentiated way: *patrónes*

in general are ok; it is *this specific patrón* who did bad things.[134] Even though the speakers refer to a specific character in the story, they do not name him, but rather use a category related to his social and economic status and function in the story to make the reference – *patrón/patrono.* The category *dueño* 'owner' is another scarce reference in the corpus to the same character in some of the stories, which is used interchangeably with the *patrón/patrono* category. It only appears four times in the interview narratives (in JavierI, Wendy, Elmer, Gabriela), and again in JavierJV alongside to *patrón/patrono* and refers to the former owner in terms of property rights with papers. In some narratives, or later on in the interviews, the same category is used for the current position of the community beneficiaries who 'now' are *dueños* of their own parcel, but are by no means *patrones. Dueño* is semantically different from *patrón/patrono* as it does not entail the responsibilities for a local workforce and the dependency between him and the 'workers'/'we'.[135] By labeling the *patrón/patrono* character as such in the stories, the speakers point to these relationships and the deception of his role as provider of wages and a certain measure of security. The narrators achieve a specific positioning of the character as the "bad guy" in the story, as an exploitative and controlling land owner who mismanaged his business and then left in cowardice without paying his workers and leaving them to starve and suffer. The speakers position the community as 'workers' or 'we' on the receiving end of these actions in the role of the victim in the story, helplessly and passively enduring the sufferings inflicted by the *patrón.* No matter how elaborate the different stories are, these are the core categories and positionings connected to the temporal category of *antes* 'before' included in each story.

---

134 In comparison to references, categories are bound to ascriptions and activities in the specific interactional context (Sacks, 1995): "The assertions that 'categorization' is not equivalent to 'reference,' and 'reference to persons' is not equivalent to 'categorization' turn on two observations. The first is that terms for categories of persons can be used to do referring, but they can also be used to do other actions, such as describing. The second is that referring to persons can be done by use of terms for categories of persons, but can also be done by use of other resources, such as names" (Schegloff, 2007a, 434).

135 We find another meaning connected to the term *patrón* in Goldín's (2009, 83) ethnography on economic ideologies in rural Guatemala: "The owner of a small workshop was troubled by my use of the term patrón (boss-owner): "Here there are no patrones, only workers. We all work side by side. What is a patrón?" "The person in charge?" I ventured. "Patrón is he who does not work," he corrected me. He added that some people talk about patrones just to boast (algunos se dan aires)".

For the temporal category *ahora* 'now', the community is focused as the main character in the stories. Even though in many of the narratives the transition phase is not elaborated, the 'now' is explicitly evaluated as *mejor* 'better', mostly in economic terms but also in terms of education, freedom and property rights. It positions the community group as "overcomers" – as enduring suffering and defying the crisis. Thus, another core element of all the stories in the corpus is the final and overarching *telling point* – its narration as a success story and a story of overcoming hardship and achieving a collective victory. The speakers connect their own position in the here and now of interaction in the interviews (and also in the other narrative incidences) with this point, portraying the community they belong to as the "hero" of the story. It serves as an overall positive self-display (c.f. Quasthoff 1980, 151ff.; Lucius-Hoene/Deppermann 2002, 43) of the narrator (as part of the community) towards the interlocutor in the interaction.

Thus, the narratives in the corpus show how the *one* story of community transformation is told differently in thirty interview occasions (and two in the visitor history sessions) and how they still share main categories and main positions.

7.7. Interim Conclusion: Narrating as a Local Practice of Belonging

The analysis of the narrative extracts in this chapter shows belonging constructions within two dimensions: on the level of categorical belonging and on the level of shared practice.

Speakers establish their belonging in relation to spatial, social and/or temporal categories in their narratives about the transformation. The most frequent spatial category the narrators align with, often even before the "actual" narrative starts, is the local adverb *aquí* 'here'. As I have already shown in section 6, this spatial rootedness – in the strongest sense, over generations – is one of the central category-bound predicates of belonging to the local community. In the stories, this category is especially apparent in the spontaneous pretexts or openings of the transformation stories. The narrators introduce their narrated self with an I-voice or as part of the collective "we" through 'being born and raised' 'here'. This spatial belonging marks the legitimacy of 'being there' – of claiming some kind of autochthonous status and a special relation to the place. In the stories this is also an argumentative feature for the unfolding events, as Bea shows in the following short narrative extract which starts right after my usual question regarding her memory of the transformation times:

Extract 37: *Tomamos la finca,* Bea (01:50:05–02:10:02)

```
1   Bea:  es que nosotros (-) nosotros eh somos nacidos de aquí
2         (.) pero como el patrón no nos pagó (--) el nos debía
3         pero no nos pagó (-)
4
5         (1.2)
```

Extract 37: English translation, 'We took the finca', Bea (01:50:05–02:10:02)

```
1   Bea:  it is that (-) we eh we are born from here (.) but as
2         the patrón did not pay us (--) he owed us but he did not
3
```

In the short narrative accounts, often following the question 'how long have you lived in the Alianza', the return to the 'here' is argued in the first place with highly emotional, spatial attachment (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 206) as part of a belonging that is linked to the place of birth. Spatial belonging, thus, is a crucial component for the speakers' self-conceptions, also within the language practice of telling stories.

In their narratives, speakers also mark belonging to social groups by allocating narrated characters to specific social categories. Interestingly, for the temporal category *antes* 'before' that is related to the existence of the category *patrón,* there are few social groups the community-we is identified with, and few speakers that do so. Only two speakers, Jeremy and Carlos, use the expression *nosotros los trabajadores* 'we the workers' and mark the 'we' directly as belonging to this specific social class in differentiation to the *patrón.* Even though all other speakers frequently use the verb *trabajar* 'work' as an activity bound to the community-we, they do not connect it to the concept of 'workers' in the stories. Another category only appearing once in relation to the narrated 'we' in the stories is *campesinos* 'peasants', used within the story of Maria in *nuestra vida de nosotros de campesinos* 'our life of us of the peasants'. Both categories 'workers' and *campesinos* 'peasants' are used especially by the practiced narrators to point to general problems of land struggle in Guatemala, and relations between business owners and their employees. However, a direct reference to the narrated 'we' is only made in the occasions outlined here. The temporal category *ahora* 'now', the social category allocated to the 'we' (or to the 'they' in the cases where the story is told from a reporting position) is *beneficiarios* 'beneficiaries'. This category can only be found in a relatively small number of five stories (Lidy, Patricia, Jeremy, CR and CarlosI), however. This points to the distribution of property in the newly formed community and the rights and duties concerning the loan from the bank. Overall, it becomes apparent that the allocation of membership to specific social

groups is rare in the narrative corpus. The category that is mostly used for the collective as a marker of membership is the 'we', explicitly in the use of the personal pronoun or marked within the verb forms used by the speakers. Following De Fina's (2003, 62) "classification of narratives according to use of pronouns"[136] for the narrative corpus of the community the table looks as follows:

Table 3: Narrative Classification Based on Use of Pronouns and Verb Forms

Nosotros 'we' narratives	14
Mixed pronoun narratives with forms of *nosotros* 'we'	10
Ellos 'they' narratives	4
De-Personalized narratives	2
Yo 'I' narratives	1
Él 'he' narratives	1
Total Number of Narratives	**32**

Table[137] 3 shows the main protagonist in the stories. In fourteen stories, speakers exclusively render the memory of the community transformation as a collective experience. Within the mixed pronouns narratives, the speakers switch between forms of 'we' and other forms. In six of the ten mixed narratives, 'we' is the most frequent and predominant form alternating with 'I', 'they' and 'he' pronouns and verbal forms. Strikingly, only one narrative is framed as a "truly" personal story focusing only on the actions of the narrated 'I of the speaker remembering the events in his youth during transformation times (Julio). The story of young Claudio focuses only on the actions of the *patrón* ('he').

The analysis shows that remembering the community transformation is predominantly framed as a collective experience. As I pointed out before, only in three cases is the narrated group allocated to a specific social category for the times of 'before', and in five cases for the times of 'now'. The 'we' by itself sufficiently marks the social belonging of the narrated collective. Within the interview contexts, in the majority of cases it is not disambiguated explicitly, but supposed "that the addressee will be able to infer from contextual information *who* falls under the 'we', i.e. the *recognizability* of 'we'" (Pavlidou, 2014, 8, emphases in the

136 De Fina also considers verb endings in this classification, but does not explicitly mark this in the title of the table. Here, verb forms are considered as well for finding the main "story world protagonist" (De Fina, 2003, 62).

137 The sample includes the narratives of CarlosYG and JavierJV within the history sessions for visitors. This explains the diverging total number of narratives from the count of the corpus.

original). Sometimes the "we" refers to the family which is indexed by anaphorical reference to preceding narrative text. Cues for the "we" as reference to the community is only given in the initial interview question by referring to the *comunidad* or the Alianza in the question regarding transformation. In the stories, the speakers do not feel the need to specify the "we".

By speaking in a we-voice, the narrators portray the group as a unit (cf. De Fina 2003, 65), acting jointly and having a common enemy, the *patrón*. The individual speakers include themselves into this "we" and mark their belonging to this unified group without making individual characteristics relevant. Membership to the community group is, hence, the most important feature of social belonging in the corpus of narrations.

Finally, the temporal categorizations of the speakers need to be summarized. One of the core features of all narratives is to organize the story contrasting the temporal categories of *antes* 'before' and *ahora* 'now'. Whereas in many stories the narrators do not go further than contrasting the times and allocating specific characters and actions to them, in the longer and more elaborated stories of the practiced narrators, the temporal category *antes* is not outlined as a specific "point" in time, but as a "trajectory" with sequentially occurring events leading up to the *ahora*. The relation between temporal and social categories is visible in the corpus because the majority of speakers only introduce the past in connection with the existence of the *patrón*. There is also a relation between spatial and temporal belonging. As we have seen, the rootedness in the 'here' is marked by speakers as grounded in being born 'here' for generations. Take for example the often used phrase of Javier (in the community video and in JavierJV) that 'we have been born here for five generations'[138] used as an entrance to his stories. This emphasizes the authentication of belonging to the place, and strengthens claims for the struggle about it. Relating spatial belonging with temporal categories "highlights the temporal dimension of authentication, which often relies on a claimed historical tie to a venerated past" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 602). In this case, the "venerated past" refers to an attachment to the *aquí,* to the *tierra* 'land', and permeates generations of community members.

So far, I have summarized what kind of categorical memberships and attachments *to* spatial, social and also temporal dimensions are made relevant by the

138 Note that the five generations are also made relevant in the announcement of the *conferencias* 'talks' on the web page of the community: http://www.comunidadnuevaalianza.org/turismo.html (10.11.2018).

narrators. In the following, I will turn to belonging based on the shared practice of narrating – belonging *with* the community of practice.

In general, a closer look at the unique features of the different narrative types shows many similarities in ways of speaking. Especially the positionings of the speakers in the here and now of interaction and of the narrated characters play a crucial role when it comes to evaluating the story and a retrospective recollection of the events. What is especially striking regarding conceptualizing narrating transformation as a shared practice, is that the vast majority of the community members is capable of telling the story. This is also the case for the ones who did not experience the events personally. They are able to create story accounts after the question of 'remembering' (*cómo se acuerda*) even though there is nothing for the individual speaker to actually "remember": "One could say that the teller has appropriated the story – taking on someone else's experience as relevant to the teller's own experience" (Linde, 2009, 74). The story is relevant to the whole community, even the members who did not participate directly and personally in the events, because it is based on shared knowledge, it is a community-building device – it is a "story of belonging". The core element found in nearly all narratives – namely, the substantial antagonism between *patrón* and community(-we) – unifies the narrators through a shared antagonist. The past experiences which are predominantly represented as collective experiences are crucial for category membership in the community Nueva Alianza in the "here and now".

The circulation of stories also functions as performed *collective memory* (Assmann, 1992, 2012; Halbwachs, 2011). Narrating the story with the same core elements creates occasions for remembering (Linde, 2009, Chapter 3). Through their narratives, the speakers achieve a specific type of remembering and a creation of the community: "What is called collective memory is not a remembering but a stipulating: that *this* is important, and this is the story about how it happened, with the pictures that lock the story in our minds" (Sontag, 2004, 86, emphasis in the original). The speakers highlight certain evaluations and positionings, for instance the devastating actions of the *patrón* and the corresponding victimization of the 'we' in the 'before', which turns into an active and victorious 'we' making things 'better'. In their stories, established categories and positions are evaluated by the speakers. In this way, narrative remembering also plays a compelling role in the making of the community's present and the conditions of belonging (see section 8.2). Finally, remembering through narrating the story has the effect of validating the own existence as such a community, which has overcome major problems to achieve what they have in the "here and now" of narrating.

Unfortunately, I cannot elaborate upon the telling of the story within the community, within the families, and between generations.[139] The occasions of telling initiated by the community members themselves, though, are official settings with visitors from all over the world as the audience or in my case the interviews. The validation of their story and their existence as a rural community consisting of land owners and *beneficiaros* not only happens through the narrative performance itself, but is also further strengthened by others' acknowledgment. Telling the story to outsiders is a community-building device. Within the history sessions (i.e. the *conferencias* for visitors), the stories create a certain image of the community for the outside world, a picture of exceptional "endurers of suffering" and "autonomous winners" in the end. This is a practice that can also be done by other, non-practiced speakers of the community as we have seen in the many examples from the interview corpus. The narrative, thus, is a means for the speakers to set things right and frame former suffering as having been worth it in the end:

> "Narrative activity is central among groups' symbolic practices because it allows the renegotiation of social relations through reinterpretation of past and present experiences and affirmation of the moral values with which the group is associated. Through the construction of positive images of themselves, social groups can accumulate symbolic power and ultimately achieve changes in their position" (De Fina, 2008, 437).

As I have illustrated in chapter 6, telling other people where they came from, and for example to what ethnic group they belong, is difficult if not impossible for the members of the community. Telling the community story is a chance to tell *their* story – the story they deem relevant. It is a chance to convey how they were betrayed, how they struggled and why the community and they themselves are the way they are now. This story is not related to ethnic categories of ancestry, but to struggle and victory for land, for the 'here' they and their ancestors have been born in. This is possibly the most crucial category of belonging alongside the social "we" for the community members as they tell it.

139 However, I certainly assume that this is indeed happening based on the extensive knowledge of the tellers of the re-narrated stories.

8. Excursus

Before weaving the results of the analytical parts together in chapter 9, I want to complement the qualitative perspective on the data with two other approaches that further illuminate categories and practices of belonging and their relation to specific language use. In excursus I (8.1), a corpus-based and quantitatively informed analysis exploring occurrences of *aquí* and *acá* will elucidate their meaning not only in terms of local reference, but also in terms of an indicator for belonging. Excursus II (8.2) amplifies the discussion on categories and practices of belonging by further investigating the *regimes,* i.e. the collective norms and values that are manifest in specific practices in the community. By reference to one example of exclusion from the community, boundaries of belonging become observable.

8.1. Excursus I: Grounding Belonging in the Local Adverb *aquí*

Chapter 6 has shown that 'being born' in or 'being from' a place is the main category of belonging the community women use in the workshop interaction. The place is either referenced via geographic-administrative specifications like 'Palmar', 'Palmar Quetzaltenango/Xela' or the local adverb *aquí.* In the interviews, and especially in the narrative parts at the beginning of the interviews, this local deictic appears surprisingly frequently, often almost condensed and repeated in specific sequences. One example of this condensed use of *aquí* in the narrative at the beginning of the interview can be found in Maria's story, analyzed in section 7.4.1. Beyond the occurrences of *aquí* in the narratives that I analyzed in chapter 7, I will explore four interview sequences that invite a more thorough analysis of all *aquí* occurrences in the interviews.

50-year-old Alex did not narrate the transformative story of the community; however, after one of my initial questions *desde cuándo usted vive aquí* 'since when do you live here' he tells me his migration story, closing with the following sequence:

Extract 38: *Yo de aquí era,* Alex (00:01:34–00:01:54)

```
1    Alex:  entonce:s (--) me vine otra vez para=acá (---) y como::
2           yo de aquí era=pues aquí nací (1.1) o sea que aquí le
3           sentía este: (---) cariño aquí a
4           esta tierra pues
5      RV:  mh
6    Alex:  como:: nosotros aquí crecimos (---) entonce:s (-) yo me
7           siento contento que estoy [aquí]
```

```
8       RV:  [mhm]
9     Alex:  trabaja:ndo
```

Extract 38: English Translation, ‘I was from here’, Alex (00:01:34–00:01:54)

```
1     Alex:  so (--) I came back here again (---) and as I was from
2            here well
3            I was born here (1.1) that means that here I felt this
4            (---) affection here to this land well
5       RV:  mh
6     Alex:
7            I’m [here]
8       RV:  [mhm]
9     Alex:  working
```

In this short account of coming back to the community after having worked in another city, Alex utters ‘here’ five times; four times with the local adverb *aquí* and once in the beginning with *acá*. Being ‘born’ and ‘growing up’ ‘here’, in short, ‘being from here’ is related to a special bond with the land and a specific satisfaction of coming back after an episode of migration. I pointed out in the analysis of the narratives that this is a recurring motif, especially when it comes to the painful memories of migrating from the place of birth and the joys of coming back.

Another extract where the use of *aquí* is especially salient is in the interview with Bea, who we already encountered as a participant of the workshop for women in chapter 6. My question before this extract starts is whether she feels like an integral part of the community (and is, thus, maybe the most direct question on belonging in the interview questionnaire). Her answer is as follows:

Extract 39: *Aquí yo aquí soy nacida,* Bea (00:14:40–00:14:55)

```
1      Bea:  e::h es que <<all>yo aquí yo aquí soy nacida> (--)
2       RV:  sí
3      Bea:  aha yo aquí soy nacida aquí en esta comunidad es por eso
4            que yo aquí me siento:: (---) no sé (-) me siento mu::y
5            (--) muy conTENta
6            y:: (--) porque aquí he nacido pues
```

Extract 39: English translation, ‘Here I am born here’, Bea (00:14:40–00:14:55)

```
1      Bea:  e::h it is that <<all>I here I am born here> (--)
2       RV:  yes
3      Bea:  yes I here I am born here in this community that is why
4            here
5            I feel (---) I don’t know (-) I feel very (--) very
6
7            and (--) because well I was born here
```

The line of argumentation as to why she feels she is a part of the community is based on several repetitions of 'being born here'. Bea opens her turn with the statement 'I am born here' and closes it with the conclusion that she feels 'satisfied (–) because I was born here'. Even after my acknowledgment that she is 'born here' (line 2), Bea repeats it again, disambiguating the local adverb with the qualifier *en esta comunidad* 'in this community' (line 3).

The last extract stems from the interview with Luis. He is 21 years old and very engaged in community matters and politics, even though he himself is not yet a beneficiary. Eighteen minutes into the interview I asked him whether he feels like he is a part of the community.

Extract 40: *Soy personal de aquí mismo,* Luis (00:18:19–00:19:01)

```
 1   Luis:  si (--) si porque:: mi aporte: (--) que hago aquí: es
 2          (-) me formo PARte te la comunidad (--) porque:: (--) no
 3          soy pers/ (-) personal de afuera (.) trabajador
 4     RV:  mh
 5   Luis:  sino que soy personAL (.) de aquí mismo nacido de aquí
 6          (--) y conozco TOdo su (1) su historia de la comunida:d
 7          (-) todos sus trabajos (--) porque son los mismos
 8          trabajos que hace/ se ha venido haciendo del patrón (--)
 9          PEro ya son trabajos justos (-) que se le da a cada
10          trabajador
11     RV:  mhm
12   Luis:  pues sí formo PARte de aquí de la comunidad porque:: (-)
13          soy HIjo de
14
15          [mis]
16     RV:  [mh]
17   Luis:  papas son/ tenha/ aquí son [nacidos]
```

Extract 40: English translation, 'I' m staff from right here', Luis (00:18:19–00:19:01)

```
 1   Luis:  yes (--) yes because my contribution (--) that I'm doing
 2          here is (-) I form part of the community (--) because
 3          (--) I'm not staff/ (-) staff from outside (.) a worker
 4     RV:  mh
 5   Luis:  but I'm staff (.) from right here born from here (--)
 6          and I know all
 7          its (1) its story of the community (-) all its tasks
 8          (--) because it are the same tasks that one was doing
 9          (with) the patrón (--) but it already
10          are fair tasks (-) that are given to each worker
11     RV:  mhm
12   Luis:  well yes I form part of here of the community because
13
14          born here (-) [my]
15     RV:  [mh]
16   Luis:  parents are/ they have/ here they are [born]
```

Luis contrasts people ('staff') from 'here' to others who come from 'outside' and emphasizes that he feels he is a part of the community because he is *personAL (.) de aquí mismo nacido de aquí* 'staff (.) from right here born from here' (line 5). A point he makes for establishing belonging to the community is ancestry. He states that his father, then widening it to both his parents, were also 'born here' (lines 14–15 and 17; 13–14 and 16 ET). In this extract, not only the contrast with other workers 'from outside' is relevant, but Luis also points to shared practices in the community that outlasted the transformation. They are basically *los mismos trabajos* 'the same tasks' (line 7–8; 8 ET) in the times of the *patrón* and in the present times, differing only in their evaluation by the speaker: *ya son trabajos justos* 'it already are fair tasks' (line 9; 9–10 ET). The shared knowledge about the working practices in the past and the present of the community is connected to being 'staff (.) from right here born from here' (line 5). This indicates an approach to the regimes of belonging in terms of "knowing about the working practices" based on being 'from here'. This is further scrutinized in section 8.2.

Finally, Juan (one of the practiced narrators) makes a strong case for the rootedness of the 'we'. This is an extract of his narrative at a point where he constructs a dialogue with the *patrón* (and his associates), and in which his narrated self utters the following:

Extract 41: *Nosotros somos de aquí,* Juan (00:18:19–00:19:01)

```
1   Juan:  nosotros somos de aquí de la Alianza (---) vivimos aquí
2          y aquí no nos pueden sacar
```

Extract 41: English translation, 'We are from here', Juan (00:18:19–00:19:01)

```
1   Juan:  we are from here of the Alianza (---) we live here and
2          here youPL cannot remove us
```

Extract 41 shows that the claims of the narrated 'we' to 'be from here' and 'live here' are the ultimate arguments against the narrated *patrón* – why the community cannot be expelled from the place, and the legitimization for the resistance and struggle they put up to be able to stay or return to it.

The *aquí* takes a special role in these extracts of the interview and in the narratives we have seen in the previous chapter. The local adverb *aquí* seems like a recurrent pattern, as it is repeated in similar syntactical structures and in connection with similar accompanying terms.

In all four examples we find syntactical positionings of the local adverb before the verb it defines more closely (Alex lines 2 and 6; Bea lines 1, 3, 4 and 6; Luis lines 14 and 17). In Spanish syntax, the positioning of the local adverb is

unbound by grammatical rules and can be placed at the beginning of the sentence, before or after the verb or at the end of the sentence. Where it is positioned expresses the speakers *focus* (Gabriel & Müller, 2008; Guitérrez Ordóñez, 2000). The placement of certain grammatical forms in the linear structure of the sentence indicates what the speaker "considera más relevante desde un punto de vista informativo" ('considers as most relevant from an informative point of view', RV, Rodríguez Ramalle 2005, 541). By placing *aquí* before the verb, emphasis is given to the locality of the action described by the verb.

The speakers in all extracts also make use of the rhetorical means of repetition. They repeat *aquí* and combinations of *aquí* with verbs like *nacer* 'being born' and *ser* 'be'. This gives rhetorical emphasis to the local adverb as "repetition serves to create rhetorical *presence*, the linguistic foregrounding of an idea which can serve to make it persuasive" (Johnstone, 1987, 208, emphasis in the original). Repeatedly and with emphasis provided by rhetorical means, the speakers establish spatial belonging which is grounded in having been born and raised 'here'. They articulate their feelings of forming part of the 'we' (i.e. of the community) with relation to this spatial belonging. This also has a temporal aspect: 'being born' implicitly opens a time frame from back then to the moment of the interview. It is a rootedness in the place starting with the very first breath the community members take.

During the analysis of the interviews, and later on the workshop scene with the women, it became apparent that the spatiality expressed with *aquí* is one of the central characteristics of marking belonging by the speakers. So, in this excursus, a more quantitative view on the meanings and frequent co-occurrences of *aquí* with certain verbal forms will complement the qualitative analysis of the interaction on "ethnic" belonging (in chapter 6) and the community narratives (in chapter 7).[140] Table 4 summarizes all occurrences of *aquí* in the corpus of the 32 semi-structured interviews.[141] Tokens are listed, if applicable, in terms of their reference to either explicitly expressed specific places and spaces in the adjacent co-text (e.g. *aquí en la comunidad*) or, as in few cases, the references are inferred anaphorically.

---

140 A similar approach of a corpus-based quantitative analysis of the use of *aquí* in the corpus of interviews is published in Vallentin (2012a). The present analysis, however, focuses more thoroughly on the actual references in the adjacent co-text, and counts with a basis of more elaborated interview transcriptions.

141 Note that due to my interest in how the participants use *aquí,* my own contributions in the interviews are not analyzed.

Table 4: Occurrences of aquí *in the Interview Corpus*

aquí without explicit reference	278
aquí with reference to *comunidad*	54
aquí with reference *Alianza* – of these reference *comunidad Nueva Alianza*	28 3
aquí with reference to spaces and places outside of the community	27
aquí with reference to *finca*	24
aquí with reference *Nueva Alianza*	1
aquí with reference to specific places inside the community	17
aquí in temporal function	16
aquí with reference está *tierra/la tierra/mi tierra*	5
Total occurrences of *aquí* in the corpus	**449**
Total amount of tokens in the corpus	**62391**

The interview corpus is comprised of a total number of 62391 tokens. The local adverb *aquí* represents 450 cases of which 434 express a spatial reference and 16 have a temporal function[142]. The speakers use *aquí* in the majority of cases (278) without an explicit reference to a specific place or space. The referential meaning of *aquí* in these cases arises from the situational interactive context and the topical focal points of the interview. I will further elaborate this point below. The explicit reference to the community in its different labels (*comunidad, Alianza, Nueva Alianza* and *finca*[143]) comprises 107 cases in total. Spatial reference pointing to specific places *within* the community (as for example *aquí en la casa* 'here in the house', *aquí cerca de la casa* 'here near the house' or *aquí arribita* 'here upwards$_{\text{DIM}}$') make up 17 cases. A reference to *aquí está tierra* 'here this land' (3), *aquí es la tierra* 'here is the land' (1) or *aquí mi tierra* 'here my land' (1), which also relates to the space within the specific confines of the community appears five times. Finally, spatial reference to places outside the community occur in 27 cases. The most frequent reference to space outside the community is with

142 In its temporal use, *aquí* serves either as a temporal starting or endpoint of a period of time (*desde/de aquí* 'from here (on)' and *hasta aquí* 'until here').

143 As I have shown in the analysis of the narratives in chapter 7, the term *finca* usually refers to past times under the *patrón*. When used in the answers to other interview questions, speakers also relate the term to the aspect of agricultural work, as *fincas* usually rely on the production of farming products.

17 cases *aquí en Guatemala* 'here in Guatemala'.[144] Five of the cases label nearby cities *Retalhuleu* (3) and *San Felipe* (1), as well as the municipality *Palmar Quetzaltenango* (1). The remaining 6 occurrences of *aquí* referring to the outside of the community are not namely specified spaces of *country,* (other) *comunidades* and (other) *finca(s).*

After a first view on the use of *aquí* in the corpus and its explicit references, it can be concluded that the local adverb in the vast majority of cases explicitly or implicitly points to the community in which the speakers live and which they struggled for. This is not too surprising when we consider that the interviews center around community-related stories and questions.

Before I assert what this might mean for belonging to the community, another form of local expression in relation to the 'here' must be considered. As in many Latin-American Spanish varieties, the speakers have another resource to express 'here': *acá.* The differences between *acá* 'here' and *aquí* 'here' are quite nuanced. *Acá* is mostly used in combination with verbs of motion, whereas *aquí* tends to be used with rather static verbs ("rest-motion-rule" by Sacks 1954). Generally, *aquí* designates the *position of* the speaker ("Standort des Sprechers"), whereas *acá* relates to the *space around* the speaker ("Raum um den Sprecher") (Jungbluth, 2005, 171) or when we relate deictic forms to situational interaction. Maldonado (2013, 291), arguing within different ranges of a speaker's subjectivity marked by the two forms, disagrees and turns around this conceptualization – at least for the varieties of Mexican, Colombian, Madrileño, Porteño and Caracas Spanish: "A pesar de que en ambos casos el fenómeno en cuestión está cerca del centro deíctico, el evento ubicado por aquí se encuentra a mayor distancia que el que demarca acá"[145]. As mentioned above, *acá* can be associated with verbs of movement (Sacks, 1954), or from a spatial approach to deictic interpretation, referring to a space around a speaker rather than *aquí* that refers to a specific speaker position[146] (Jungbluth, 2005, 171). However, in the current corpus, the use of *acá*

144 In the majority of these cases, the speakers relate the local story or local practices (of farming, organizing etc.) to the larger social context of Guatemala. Carlos, who accounts for five of the 17 cases, for example, compares the local situation repeatedly to the national one, as I have shown in the analysis of his interview narrative in section 7.3 and its subsections.

145 'Even though in both cases the phenomenon is near the deictic center, the event which is located here [*aquí*] is to be found at a further distance than the event which is denoted with here [*acá*]', (RV).

146 This approach refers to the *Origo* (I/here/now) in the *Zeigfeld* (Bühler, 1982[1934]) as the basic coordinate for the interpretation of any other deictical expression.

is only in some cases used with verbs of movement (29 out of 122 occurrences), and is used to refer to situatedness in a space or place as well. Therefore, in table 5, the occurrences of *acá* in the interview corpus and possible references in the adjacent co-text or anaphoric references are given.

Table 5: Occurrences of acá *in the Interview Corpus*

acá without specifying reference	97
acá with reference to *comunidad*	16
acá with reference to *Alianza*	3
acá with reference to *finca*	2
acá with reference to spaces and places outside of the community Guatemala	3
acá with reference to specific places inside the community	1
– of these in connection with verbs of movement	29
Total occurrences of *acá*	**122**

In the whole corpus, 122 occurrences of *acá* can be found, 97 of which are uttered without specifying a reference.[147] Thus, as with the 279 cases of unspecified *aquí,* their referential meaning needs to be decoded in the situated interactional context. 16 cases explicitly refer to *acá en la comunidad,* three to the *Alianza* and two to the *finca*. Hence, different designations for community grounds comprise 21 of the *acá* cases in the corpus. In the remaining occurrences, *acá* refers to spaces and places outside the community (3, of which the reference to *Guatemala* accounts for 2) and one incident denotes a space in the community (*el sector de por acá donde vivimos* 'the sector here where we lived').

An analysis of the local adverbs *aquí* and *acá* and their specific meaning in interaction must take into account *contextualization cues* (Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1992). This is especially true when the reference is not provided directly following or preceding the deictic expression. Following Bühler (1982[1934]), speakers are positioned in a *Zeigfeld* from which the reference of deictic expressions can be inferred. The point zero is always located with or within the speaker and other deictical references can be interpreted from there on. This is adopted in semantic and functional distance-oriented descriptions of deixis (e.g. Diessel 1999, Klein 1983), also contrastively for different languages (e.g. Levinson 2003). Spatiality, in these approaches, is conceived to be organized in the form of "concentric circles around the ego" (Hottenroth, 1982, 142), of which different circles

147 There is no account of *acá* with a temporal function in the corpus.

(or the objects pointed to in them) are indexed with different spatial demonstratives. However, these approaches to local (and other) deictics rarely encompass the situatedness of speakers in interactional circumstances and the actual relevancies of deictic expressions in different situational contexts (Wortham, 1996; Goodwin, 1981; Schegloff, 1972).[148]

This is why its use needs to be interpreted in the situational context of an interview interaction with me as an outsider. In the case of the community Nueva Alianza, there is an attached personal relation to 'here' – in terms of "origin" and "birth", and thus positioning the speakers from the community as legitimately and authentically belonging to the 'here' – which accompanies the term in its referential function in these interactions.[149]

This can be shown by looking more thoroughly at the uses of *aquí* and *acá* within the interview corpus. A differentiation of the two terms exclusively in relation to verbs of movement (as put forward by Sacks 1954) is not fruitful, as there are 29 verbs of movement related to *acá* (around 23.7% of 122 cases in total) and 24 cases of movement related to *aquí* (around 5.5% of 434 cases with spatial reference in total). Although the percentage of use is quantitatively higher for *acá,* expression of movement is still possible and done using *aquí.* Furthermore, *acá* appears with plenty of static verbs that also accompany *aquí* in the corpus. There are, however, also differences in relation to the use of verbs alongside the two local adverbs. As we have seen in chapters 6 and 7 *ser nacido de*

---

148 Hanks (2005, 197) proposes a framework that tries to overcome the duality of "ego-centricity versus interaction-centricity and the primacy of space versus the primacy of situated relevance". A convergence of both approaches, and a turn from deictic ego-centricity to dyadic and *action oriented* ("handlungsverschränkt") deictic conceptualization can be found in Jungbluth's (2005) study on spoken Spanish, Catalan and Brazilian Portuguese. The bodily orientations of speaker and hearer to each other and the different actions pursued by them influence the choice of demonstrative pronouns used by speakers depending on specific (shared) *spaces of interaction* ("Gesprächsraum"). Her study shows how a combined spatial and interactional approach encompasses the situatedness of language use. It emphasizes how slight changes in bodily positions of speaker and hearer can alter the *inside* ("Innerhalb") and *outside* ("Außerhalb") of the space of interaction ("Gesprächsraum"), thus causing an alteration in the use of demonstrative pronouns and local adverbs within the deictic system.

149 A related observation is made by Savedra & Mazzelli-Rodrigues (2017, 16) on the use of the concept *Land* 'land/ground' in the Brazilian Pomeranian community. The term is not only used to refer to a specific territory or owned piece of land, but contains allusions to social identities and specific agricultural practices.

aquí 'being born (from) here' and *ser de aquí* 'being from here' are crucial for the speakers' local conceptualizations of belonging. Different verbal forms of *nacer* 'to be born' appear 38 times in the corpus with *aquí*, and in no case with *acá*. For the other verb *ser* 'be from here' there are 13 cases in correlation with *aquí* and none with *acá*. Other verbs that are associated with the community story also only appear in combination with *aquí: luchar* 'struggle' (9), crecer 'grow up' (5), *sufrir* 'suffer' (3).[150] These instances show a tendency towards the use of *aquí* with verbs denoting community members' shared experiences. Therefore, they might be analyzed as verbs that – for this community – are closely related to their belonging. In the interaction of community members with community outsiders, *aquí* refers to places and experiences that are closely bound to the community's belonging, whereas *acá* does not. In the next excerpts, this difference in meaning between the two local adverbs is palpable.

Bianca tells me in our interview that she wants to get married at some point in her life. She concludes:

Extract 43: Interview with Bianca (25:27:20–25:28:93)

```
1   Bianca:  si es alguien de aquí [-] me quedo acá
```

Extract 43: English translation, Interview with Bianca (25:27:20–25:28:93)

```
1   Bianca:  if it is someone from here [-] I stay here
```

Ser de 'being from' can only be realized with *aquí* and hence transgresses the *Zeigfeld* with a meaning not pointing only to a specific space but also to spatial belonging, while the spatial reference is easily done with *acá*. A similar phenomenon is visible in an utterance from Luis during the interview:

Extract 44: Interview with Luis (02:52:98–03:00:37)

```
1     Luis:  me volvía venir de nuevo por acá (.) porque
2            aquí nací y aquí (--) moriré
```

Extract 44: English Translation, Interview with Luis (02:52:98–03:00:37)

```
1     Luis:  and [--] I returned to come back again here (.) because
2            I was born here and here (--) I will die
```

150 There are significantly more occurrences of these verbs in the corpus (e.g. 70 cases of *luchar* 'struggle' verb forms), the ones presented here are directly related to *aquí*.

As in Bianca's utterance, *acá* is used for the spatial reference, whereas *aquí* is uttered as relating to place but in co-occurrence with the verbs *nacer* 'being born' and *morir* 'die'. The difference between the two adverbs lies in their ability to express different things – in this context pointing to the "socially charged" (Hanks, 2005, 210) meaning of *aquí* in contrast to the spatial meaning of *acá*.

Other phenomena support this conclusion. The use of *aquí* in the corpus appears often in condensed form, repeating itself throughout shorter sequences. Furthermore, in the cases where *aquí* is specified with a referential noun (like *comunidad,* [*Nueva*] *Alianza, finca*), it would – from a language economical point of view – suffice to just use the specifying reference without the antecedent *aquí*. However, speakers frequently update *aquí* and reinsert it into the interview discourse. They emphasize the local adverb by constantly repeating it, as extracts 38, 39, 40 and 41 in this section show.

In the narrations to outsiders, the community members tell how they progressed from a spatially scattered group of former workers into a 'better off' and unified community in the 'here' and now. The local deictic *aquí,* especially in the condensed sequences and in its relation to "origin" and "birth" as expressed by verbs that are linked to the community story, becomes more than a spatial reference: It becomes an articulation for the speakers' "hereness", carrying shared memory and expressing rootedness and legitimacy to the other interlocutor(s) from outside.

8.2. Excursus II: Regimes of Belonging

The analysis of the data in this book have shown, that in interactional contexts dealing with the (hi)story and the (ethnic) belonging of the community and its members, the local adverb *aquí* 'here' first has pivotal relevance for belonging because it references the local attachments of community speakers based on "origin" and "birth". Second, a we-perspective expressed through the personal pronoun *nosotros* 'weMASC' – or the use of predominantly first-person-plural forms of verbs – emphasizes collectivity and homogeneity in the shared practice of storytelling. Both ways of referring to the community suggest a very homogeneous and tight-knit group. As many speakers point out in the interviews, the *unión* 'union' in working and struggling, as well as the collective endeavor of obtaining the community (and hence their place of belonging) are the major building bricks for the relationships within the community. We must keep in mind, however, that this is how the speakers portray their stories and position themselves as a community *to the outside.* Nevertheless, even in these accounts, very clear boundaries are drawn by the we-group in some cases. It is the advantage

of participant observation to engage with the lives of the community members beyond the (more or less) structured interactions in interview settings, story tellings for visitors and workshops. In the second excursus, I will describe in which terms belonging is conceptualized in contexts beyond those investigated previously. As we will see, in contexts such as community meetings, other categories and practices are used and made relevant by the speakers.

The findings on the community members' regimes of belonging will be illustrated with extracts from different interactions, but it will not be an in-depth discussion of the negotiation of belonging from the perspective of conversation analysis. Rather, this excursus is designed as an ethnographic description with the aim of providing a more holistic picture of belonging in the community, thus supplementing the previous analyses.

As outlined in section 2.6.2.2, regimes of belonging emerge through mutual engagements, commonality and attachments. How mutual relationships should be organized, what common features of a group are deemed relevant and what kind of attachment is decisive for inclusion into a community and becomes an underlying norm is manifested in regimes. As we can infer from the results of the analysis, the relevance of the place and collectivity for belonging, origin and local positioning can be assumed to be the most relevant categories for claiming membership to the community (along with being granted that claim by other members). This is explicitly expressed, for example, in the extract of Luis, which was discussed in excursus 8.1:

Extract 45: *Soy personal de aquí mismo,* Interview with Luis (00:18:24–00:18:35)

```
1   Luis:  me formo PARte te la comunidad (--) porque:: (--) no soy
2          pers/ (-) personal de afuera (.) trabajador
3     RV:  mh
4   Luis:  sino que soy personAL (.) de aquí mismo nacido de aquí
```

Extract 45: English Translation, 'I'm staff from right here', Interview with Luis (00:18:24–00:18:35)

```
1   Luis:  I form part of the community (--) because (--) I'm not
2          staff/ (-) staff from outside (.) a worker
3     RV:  mh
4   Luis:  but I'm staff (.) from right here born from here
```

To be 'from outside' is an excluding attribute, whereas being 'from here' and 'being born here' are attributes of "rootedness". In Julio's narrative, the attribute necessary for belonging to the community is made clear in even greater detail. He tells me how the people who occupied the community decided upon the

composition of the future Nueva Alianza, explicitly uttering part of the regime one needs to fulfill to be granted membership:

Extract 46: Los mismos que estuvimos sufriendo aquí, Julio (00:02:57–00:3:13)

```
1   Julio:  entonces los compañeros que estuvieron (---) a cargo de
2
3           hubiera GENte que misma
4           había sufrido aquí (--) no quisieron traer GENnte de
5           afuera (--) que no conociera sino que los mismos que
6           estuvimos sufriendo aquí
```

Extract 46: English translation, 'The very same who we were suffering here', Julio, (00:02:57–00:03:13)

```
1   Julio:  so the comrades that were (---) in charge of the taking
2           of the
3
4           same people that
5           had suffered here (--) they didn't want to bring people
6           (in) from outside (--) who wouldn't know but the very
7           same who we were suffering here
```

In this part of his narrative, Julio narrows down the condition for belonging to those who 'were suffering here' (line 6; 7 ET). Those 'from outside' would not have participated in the community members' (traumatic) shared experiences – the outsider just 'wouldn't know'. This extract points to experiences that heighten *groupness* through "phases of extraordinary cohesion and moments of intensely felt collective solidarity" (Brubaker, 2002, 168). The participation in these group-defining "phases" and "moments" is a pre-requisite for social belonging and for being acknowledged as part of the in-group.

In the economical and entrepreneurial structure of the Nueva Alianza (see section 5.1.3), belonging to the community is also linked with certain obligations related to agricultural and financial practices. During the establishment of the company *Exportadora e importadora agricola e industrial Alianza S.A.* it was decided in the democratic structures of the community that, first, they would strive for organic and fair trade certification, and thus would not longer use chemicals on their products. Second, after the repartition of the land to the single beneficiaries, it was settled that the yield crops of the family-owned parcel have to be sold to the community-owned company so that they could be sold and exported collectively. Already in 2009, I heard rumours that not everyone agreed with this kind of practice, and that some community members would have preferred to revert to the traditional practices of treating plants with chemicals. This preference was supported by the appearance of a disease that threatened the macadamia

and coffee plants. In 2011, during my second visit, these rumors turned into action from three of the beneficiaries, who decided to opt out of the *Sociedad Anónima,* grow their product with conventional methods and sell it to a different buyer who would pay a slightly better price. The incident caused a lot of unrest in the community. Javier, the community and company leader at that time, frames the events as a *pequeña revolución* 'little revolution' in his narrative for the Japanese visitors and in the documentary filmed about the community. The vast majority of community members perceived it not as an economically driven decision by the beneficiaries on behalf of their families' wellbeing, but rather as a betrayal of collective values and social solidarity. During this process, I attended and recorded a community meeting in which lawyers from the AGEXPORT organization were supposed to settle the dispute within the community, at least in legal terms. The *actas* 'records' of the Alianza were consulted to determine the rights and obligations of the three beneficiaries as part of the community, even though they would no longer be shareholders of the company and would not sell their product to it. It was the first time that all of the beneficiaries were present, including the ones the meeting was about, and the voices of those who did not want to participate in the collectively organized structures were heard. I will not present detailed transcriptions of the interactions in this meeting, as it is characterized by personal accusations from both sides. Just one sentence of Eduardo, one of the farmers who left the *Sociedad Anónima,* is crucial toward understanding the main argumentative lines of those who wanted and needed to leave:

Extract 47: *Tengo derecho de todo,* Eduardo (27:59:69–28:12:11)

```
1  Eduardo:  si iba suyo abandonado (.) yo estoy de acuerdo´ (---)
2            usted no come nada pues yo no como nada (-) asi está
3            bien´ (--) pero si yo estoy guardando mi tierra (1.7)
4            tengo derecho de todo´
```

Extract 47: English Translation, 'I have the right to everything', Eduardo (27:59:69–28:12:11)

1 Eduardo: if you$_{SG}$ leave yours$_{SG}$ abandoned (.) I'm agreeing (---)
2 you$_{SG}$ don't eat anything well I don't eat anything (-)
3 it's good like this (--) but if I'm taking care of my
4 land (1.7) I have the right to everything

The utterance of Eduardo summarizes the problems related to communally organized work, in which the collective efforts of all result in the same financial revenue for everyone. This kind of system is prone to distrust and keen observations of the efforts of the "others", who get paid the same salary even though they

might not work as hard and as productive as "I" subjectively do. Since the land was distributed to the beneficiaries and their families, the financial revenues depended solely on their own work, and of course the quality of the land.[151] However, they were all still required to follow the agricultural practices of organic farming. Now, with the possession of land as an entitlement for individual authority over how to work it and how to sell its revenues, this seems to go along with the speaker of the above citation: 'if I'm taking care of my land (1.7) I have the right to everything' (lines 3–4). Doing everything also implies neglecting the community norms and values established as a result of shared struggle and success. By not participating in the democratically established practices – organic farming and collective selling of the crops to the community owned company – the social belonging to the community is also at stake. The idea of working together communally is linked to participation in the social life of the community members and of the networks the members maintain in the community. One son of a former beneficiary told me that he considered moving away from the community – to find new prospects in the city, even though he was born in the Alianza and felt strongly attached to the place.

To conclude, it is not only spatial attachment through birth and origin – and not only the attribution to the "we" which relies on shared experiences – that are decisive for claiming and being granted belonging to the community. Belonging, as I have repeatedly argued in this book, is also bound to certain local *practices*. The practice of narrating the community story was analyzed in chapter 7 as one example of how members can express belonging *with* the community. Other practices which are even more thoroughly tied to regimes such as "certain rules and norms" (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011, 205) involve farming procedures and economic organizations. Not following them leads to exclusion, not only financially

151 The parcels were assigned to the families in a lottery. I was able to observe a second lottery following the same procedure when more land was distributed to the community members. The parcels were measured accurately with the help of AGEXPORT and were assigned numbers on a little piece of paper, then mixed in a bucket. When called, the beneficiaries approached, usually with a "lucky charm" personified by their children or grandchildren, who then drew a piece of paper from the bucket. Days after the procedure, when the families had inspected their piece of land, some of them were not very pleased. They told me that their parcel would not carry a lot of product or that the trees were sick, the land ragged. Others were glad to have acquired a good parcel of land. This inequality, though based on luck in a lottery, was perceived as a threat to the community-embraced *unión* 'unity', as it caused economic inequality between the families.

as shareholders of the company, but also socially as "proper" members of the community. After the former beneficiaries' withdrawal from the collective endeavor, the community narrative was quickly altered – from forty to thirty-seven families. On the webpage of the community it states: "somos una comunidad formada por 37 familias" 'we are a community of 37 families'[152], even though the other three families still live there.

This is not necessarily told to the visitors, as it impairs the positioning of the community as a strong and cohesive "we". It shows, however, how fragile and prone to change even projects as successful as the one in the Alianza can be. It also shows how it is not only categorical features, but also practices that decide upon in- or exclusion – upon who can and who cannot belong.

152 http://www.comunidadnuevaalianza.org/index.html, last checked 10.11.2018.

9. Summary and Discussion

In the last three chapters I have shown how social and local belonging is established in different interactional contexts with community outsiders. In this discussion, I will conclude by bringing together four analytical core principles: First, I will scrutinize the spatial, social and temporal categories the speakers make relevant in all of the interactional contexts that are taken into account in this book. Second, I will focus on the references of the deictic terms chosen to express categorical belonging. Third, the positionings that speakers repeatedly use in the narratives leading to certain metanarratives are outlined. Fourth, I will discuss the narrations themselves as a shared practice and as articulations of a "collective memory" in the community. I will close this discussion with an outlook on the concept of *community of practice*, and the advantages of different data for this specific analysis of belonging.

I will begin by re-examining the categories of belonging in their spatial, social and temporal dimensions. The most prominent category that appears repeatedly, partly "condensed" in specific sequences and partly used as a supplement to other spatial references, is the local adverb *aquí* 'here'. Both in the workshop interaction with the trainer and in the narrative accounts of the participants, *aquí* is used to refer to the speakers' and/or to the community's local "rootedness". In the workshop, the women employ it as an argumentative device for rejecting the ethnic category system of the trainer from the outside. At the same time it is used to underline the importance of the locality for their belonging, which is based on spatial "rootedness" and "origin" in relation with temporality: *nacímos todos de aquí* 'we were all born from here', *somos de aquí* 'we are from here'. In the narratives, *aquí* in relation to "origin" and "rootedness" appears most often in answers to the question 'since when did you live here', or as an opener to the narrative on the community's transformation or a personal story, especially in the type of "spontaneous narratives". The analysis of *aquí* in all interviews has shown that the majority of references made with the local adverb point to the spatial boundaries of the community, and at the same time indicates a meaningful "place of belonging" which can hardly be defined solely in geographical terms. *Aquí,* thus, can be defined as an R_m term from Schegloff's (1972) taxonomy, inseparably related to the members of the community and vice-versa. R_m denotes a place that belongs to the members "to whom the place is formulated" (Schegloff, 1972, 97) as the members belong to the place. The R_m category points to relations between speaker and place that go beyond a referential function, as

I have argued in section 8.1. By emphasizing their relationship to the 'here' in interactions with interlocutors who are not part of the community, the speakers can achieve three interactive goals: First, they can explicitly point to their local conceptualization of belonging and the relevance of place in it. Second, they can use it as an argumentative device. In the workshop interaction with the trainer, 'being from here' and 'being born here' is used in order to counter their "inability" to categorize themselves according to the trainer's category system which suggested a different ethnically framed account of belonging. In the interview narratives and in stories for outsiders, the speakers' intense connection to the 'here' serves as a device for legitimization (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, 136) and authentication (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, 385) on two different levels: the "why" of the narrated events and the "how" in narrating the events. On the level of narrated events, the reference to birth and upbringing 'here' (which is usually done at the beginning or before the story), or the reference to five generations who were 'born here' (as in JavierJV) legitimizes the unfolding content of the narrative events. In the stories, in which the occupation of the *finca* and the community of workers' resistance is elaborated, the relationship to the place functions as a motivation and legitimization of these (arguably questionable or illegal) actions. As the place belongs to the speakers and the speakers belong to the place, any kind of measure to maintain this kind of relationship is evaluated as legitimate. On the level of narrating, the interaction in the "here and now" – the emphasized relation to the *aquí* – serves as a means to position the speaker. Being 'from here' or 'born here' positions the speaker as an authority on the story which happened 'here' and reinforces the events she portrays as being "authentic". This heightens the overall credibility of the narrations presented to the visitors from outside. Hence, emphasizing spatial belonging and relations to place can also function as a means for legitimizing and authenticating how one talks about that place and the events that occurred *aquí* 'here'.

The second major component of establishing belonging is the social category "we", expressed through the personal pronoun *nosotros* or through the use of verbs in first-person-plural forms. Strikingly, the majority of speakers tell the story of community transformation in a we-voice or with mixed pronouns in which the "we" still has a prominent place. This includes stories of participants who did not experience the events first-hand, but who are actually retelling them. My question aims at eliciting the personal experiences during the times of transformation ('how do *you*SG remember'). The speakers' memories, however, are presented as collective thoughts, actions and struggles with the narrator forming part of the narrated "we". Besides the explicit pronoun and verb forms

indicating collectivity, we can find other forms of we-voices in the workshop interaction. In this context, the women construe their turns as choral voices to co-construct their reactions to the trainer's questions and to explain or argue their local belonging. The choral assemblage of voices strengthens their position towards the demands of the trainer and lets them appear as a homogeneous group that effectively speaks in "one voice". It could be a subject to further discussion whether the choral voice could not only be considered as an expression of social belonging to a group and place in categorical terms, but also potentially as another practice that establishes belonging *with* the group.

Finally, temporal categories are expressed in relation to the spatial and social ones, and thus shape the local practice of narrating. Temporal categories play a role as shared features in all of the narratives. Even in the most concise account of the events, the general distinction is introduced between *antes* 'before' and *ahora* 'now'. The references to specific time-frames have a categorical quality because certain characteristics are attributed to them. The former is predominantly associated with the existence of the *patrón/patrono,* sometimes even articulated as defining the temporal category e.g. in *en el tiempo del patrón* 'in the times of the patrón' or *cuando estába el patrón* 'when there was the patrón'. The existence of the *patrón/patrono* points to specific labor conditions, suffering or dependence. Given this relationship, the temporal category of the past is evaluated negatively by all speakers.[153] The present 'now' is evaluated positively, either by pointing to independence, ownership, better wages or to a general state of being 'better off'. Only in the more elaborate stories is the transition between *antes* and *ahora* actually narrated. In the short narratives, the two temporal categories are directly contrasted, thereby emphasizing the negative and positive evaluations of the different times.

Temporality also plays a crucial role in its relation to place and to the speakers expressing this relation in the narratives, but also during the workshop interaction. 'We were born here' implies a temporal relation between the place and the speakers' past – the very beginnings of their lives – and connects this relation with the "here and now" of interaction. Often, the birth/past-relation to *aquí* is presented in temporal categories of generations, in the form of the parents and grandparents etc., who were also 'born here'. As outlined above, the temporally manifested relation of the speaker herself or the community to the place underlines "a sense of association and attachment" (Relph, 1976, 31). It also supports

153 As I pointed out, the older participants, who also knew other owners beyond the *patrón* responsible for the mismanagement of the *finca,* differentiated between the other owners and this specific *patrón* who is a character in the majority of stories.

the "authenticity" of their "origin" and their "legitimate" claim to being "rooted". The relational interplay between the main categories of belonging which are relevant in the community – 'here', 'we', 'before and now' and 'since birth' – evoke the concept of *autochthonous* belonging.

In the community context "'individualized autochthony' links the individual, territory and group in such a way that shared culture and/or descent ultimately follow from place of birth/or residence within the same present" (Zenker, 2011, 65).[154] It underpins "claims to territory[155] and the concomitant certainties it brings – authenticity, legitimacy and belonging" (Garbutt, 2011, 183). As I have discussed above, place as a central category of belonging also serves as an argumentative device for the events and actions the community members had to endure or do in order to maintain their relationship to the place and be able to stay or return there. Autochthony in "commonsense understandings" (Brubaker, 2002, 166) is conceptualized as "self-evident" and "natural" (Ceuppens & Geschiere, 2005, 397) or as a "primordial truth claim about belonging to the land" (Geschiere & Jackson, 2006, 6). In its unquestionable and elementary characteristic, autochthony does not seem to need other defining features for a community basing their belonging in it. Zenker (2011, 70) thus contrasts autochthony with concepts of ethnicity, based on a common history, cultural practices and other community-defining features. Seen in this kind of opposition, it appears that "[d]espite its heavy appeal to the soil, autochthony turns out to be quite an empty notion in practice: it only expresses the claim to have come first" (Geschiere, 2009, 28).

"Coming first", however, is not an issue in the linguistic expressions of belonging in the community. In the workshop interaction the women openly and repeatedly assert *no sabemos* 'we do not know' about their ancestors origin, and accordingly, their (ethnic) belonging. In the narratives some of the speakers refer to the generation (from the 'fifth' to the grandparents) who came to the *finca* with

---

154 Zenker (2011) outlines two different but interlocking "causal logics" of autochthony: the "individualized" type in which "place of birth and/or residence" determine commonality and groupness; and the "collectivized" type in which the primordial belonging category is social, and in a second step, the group claims belonging to a certain territory (Zenker, 2011, 71ff.).

155 Principally, the community members' claims focused on the salary the owner of the planation owed them. The "claims to territory" (Garbutt, 2011, 183) only emerged after the community members had to leave the *aquí* and migrate to other places because of the unbearable living conditions, i.e. only after their relation to the place was disrupted.

the goal of finding work. The primacy of existence of the *patrón*-owned plantation for the subsequent and somehow "unanticipated" formation of the community Nueva Alianza is never questioned. The autochthony the community members implicitly refer to in using 'here' and 'we', consolidated with a specific time linking the two, apparently is not "primordial", "natural" and "self-evident". It becomes relevant when the relationship between place (*aquí*) and group (*nosotros*) is disrupted, in this case caused by the historical circumstances, the *patrón's* mismanagement, and the subsequent collective actions as they are presented to visiting outsiders. Belonging as conceptualized in deictic categories by the speakers in interactions with outsiders might therefore better be framed as grounded in *neo-autochthonous* (Savedra & Mazzelli-Rodrigues, 2017) claims. This refers to an undisputed relation between people and land, and through that also a legitimate "claim" to that relationship (*autochthonous*). However, this relation is not framed as a self-evident conception of "being there first", but rather as a result of collective struggle, suffering and resistance to alienation from the place (*neo*).

The individual and collective belonging *to* the place that is portrayed by the speakers in the interactions with community outsiders represents a "phenomenological view of place"[156] (Garbutt, 2011, 52) as it focuses on "lived experiences" (ibid., 58) and relations within it: "Within this local frame, place and community appear co-extensive; the local and the locals are easily conflated" (ibid., 65). As I have outlined in the theoretical discussion on identity and belonging in chapter 2, the construction of "we" and a positioning of that "we" in a "here" demands the existence of an "other" and of a "there" to accomplish the differentiation necessary for creating "we" and "here". The boundaries drawn between these imagined entities determine the actual social composition of the group and the place where it "belongs". However, there is an evident "insideness" (Relph 1976, 41; Garbutt 2011, 55f.) to the narrations of the community members and to the outlined local system of belonging in the workshop interaction. The community members construe their belonging not in contrast to "others" and/or a space "outside" of the community[157], but by reference to the inside – the "here" and the

156 The other approach would be a "materialist" one (Garbutt, 2011, 57ff.) containing the interconnections between a place and external processes, places and people outside of it that determine the characteristics of the local place.

157 An exception to that general observation is the narrations of the practiced narrators Carlos and Javier, who refer to the larger Guatemalan context to stress the specificity of the developments in the community Nueva Alianza. Another exception is Ana's utterance *allí hablan k'iche'* 'there they speak K'iche' (6.3, extract 2, lines 44–45; 45–46 ET), in which she points to an ambiguous place 'there' (only specified in di-

"we" – and the events that formed them over time.[158] The *patrón/patrono* is introduced in nearly every narrative as the antagonist to the "we", who belongs to the past but whose actions are still placed "inside" the boundaries of the *finca*. The community members' migrational movement is depicted as a transitory state between *being* in the community and *returning* to the community in the majority of narrations. The story of the community, again with the exception of the practiced narrators, is not complemented by external discourses, by experiences or voices from the cities or the other places the Alianza people had to migrate to. The story is told from an internal perspective of "insideness" that takes 'here' as the pivotal point of history (as events in time), of we-construction and – threading all three elements together – of belonging.

The linguistic expression of spatial and social belonging, which is solidified through the temporality of their relations, is striking and needs to be analyzed more closely. The local adverb *aquí* 'here' is used without explicit reference in 278 of 449 cases in the interview corpus. The "we" is not assigned to other social categories, except for two narratives, in which the community members are assigned to the category of *trabajadores* 'workers' (Alex and Carlos), and one story closing with *nosotros los campesinos* 'we the peasants' (Maria). Temporal categories, which are collectively used by all speakers, are *antes* 'before' and *ahora* 'now' and usually not specified with temporal markers like dates or years, again with the exception of the practiced narrators. The speakers generally express categories of belonging in the interaction with outsiders in "basic" deictic terms. These deictics are not connected to category-bound activities or predicates (Sacks, 1995) *a priori*. For example, the categories 'workers' and 'peasants' can be correlated with class-based properties like relations of dependency/independency or poverty/property and respective category-bound activities. The specifics of the categories are object to interactional achievement; however, interlocutors count on a "shared 'stock of common-sense knowledge'" (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002, 62) and basic ascriptions to spatial, social and temporal categories. By using the deictic terms 'here' and 'we', the referential meaning of the categories is primarily established in the situated interaction. The reference of *aquí* and *nosotros* (or the "we" marked in verb forms) in the context of visitor narrations

rection through her head tilt) and an undefined 'they' who, in differentiation to the 'we' in the 'here', speak a language other than Spanish.

158 A differentiation to other communities and/or for example practices in the cities, or Guatemala as a whole, is part of the interview trajectories (see question 4 on the interview questionnaire in appendix B). The differentiation to others and to other places is question-induced in these contexts.

and workshop interaction is not made a "communicative problem" (Hausendorf, 2000, 99f.) that would have to be processed. It is the *common ground* between the interlocutors where the boundaries of the 'here' are, and who counts as part of the "we", since the terms are related to prior text. The "generality" (Hanks, 2005, 195) of these deictic terms, as I have argued in section 8.1, allows the speakers to "load" the terms with meanings that go beyond referentiality and establish belonging in the interactions with outsiders. This additional meaning is indexed through co-occurrences of 'here', for example with the verb *nacer* 'being born', or by its grammatically emphasized and repeated use in sequences in which the temporal relations of the speaker, her ancestors or the community group as a whole to the place are made relevant. 'We' and 'here' in their relation to 'before/now' and 'since birth' are not general and arbitrary. They rather acquire their function as terms that define belonging in the interaction with the outsiders as a self-representation of "who we are" in the narratives for different audiences, or as a counter-argument to other categories of belonging in the workshop. Especially for the social categories of belonging, the speakers could draw from a variety of different categories related to times past and present, e.g. workers, *colonos*, peasants, farmers, beneficiaries, owners etc. By using forms of "we" with its "positive emotional significance" (Brewer & Gardner, 1996, 86) instead, they emphasize collectivity. This is strengthened by the underlying story of community transformation. By using forms of "we", the speakers also implicitly fortify claims to neo-autochthony – as 'we' and 'here' are the most basic, elementary and presumably "authentic" categories that can be related to each other.

Portraying of the community in terms of a cohesive and collective "we" that is rooted in the 'here' through time promotes a homogeneous and undifferentiated in-group. Every member of the community is subsumed under the collectivizing umbrella of the 'we' in most of the narratives[159] and the workshop interaction. This invokes a community concept in the primordial sense as an "organic" relation of kinship, neighborhood and friendship (Tönnies, 1972[1887]). In sociological theory, the primordial community is often contrasted or seen as a primary stage in the development to a highly differentiated, individualized and alienating society[160], resulting in discussions on *communitarianism* (Honneth, 1993) that might tackle the woes of modern society by re-establishing the values and norms of a local, cohesive and collective groupness. These are also the

159 Except for eight stories that focus on 'they', 'I', and 'he' or use a generalized voice in the stories (see 7.7).

160 See theories of Tönnies (1972[1887]), Simmel (1908), Weber (1980) or Parsons (1985).

characteristics highlighted in the content of the narrations and through the community members' language use. Nonetheless, this cohesion and collectivity that is portrayed as a successful project to the visiting outsiders, is also fragile as I have shown in excursus 8.2.

The positionings of the "we" in the narratives contribute to these constructions of cohesive and homogeneous collectivity because they evoke a narrative "evolution" in the acquisition of power and agency. For the short and concise stories, we can find a transformation in the overall evaluation of the speakers from negative (past, *antes* 'before') to positive (present, *ahora* 'now'). In the more complex narrations of other speakers, the evaluations are connected to positionings of the narrated "we" in the past as a victim and/or endurer; and in the present as self-organized agents. A recognizable persistent motif is the transition of the "we" from a dependent, powerless and passive "object" of the *patrón's* regime, to an organized, proactive and independent "subject" united in the common cause of retrieving money and land with the means of collective agency and legitimate claims. A metanarrative emerging from the synopsis of all narratives in the corpus, then, is a "David vs. Goliath" story of victory against all odds. This points to the low social position of the Alianza people as landless peasants vs. the landowner, who reveices 'privileges' from the Guatemalan state (as for example Carlos repeatedly tells us) and the powerful institution of a bank. At the same time it is a story about the "power of the many" – about the strength of the group against an individual. The positionings of the "we" are aligned with a positioning of the speakers in the "here and now" of the interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 592). Most of them tell the story as part of the "we", and thus position themselves as part of the collective that suffered, and in the end and against all odds succeeded. The speakers reconstruct past events in a way that creates a positive and admirable image of the community and of themselves as part of it. By telling the story in this way, they get recognition from their interlocutors (visiting groups or the interviewer): recognition of their struggle and recognition of their success. Apart from the psychological impacts of such a form of reconciliation with the past, it ultimately also leads to economic benefits. With this kind of story, and of course also democratic organization, ways of working and a competent funding application, the community was able to obtain substantial financial support for their projects from NGOs or state institutions. Likewise, people hearing the story are prone to spread it (as does this book) and possibly create revenue from the visits of other people interested in this extraordinary story.

The telling of the story also has another compelling effect – it is a practice that "makes the history" of the community: "Storytelling is how historical reality is

socially constructed through language" (Johnstone, 1990, 126). Narrating community transformation in an interview setting is a rather unusual practice, at times perhaps even a onetime event for the participants. Narrating community transformation for visiting tourists is a common practice for a certain group of "eligible" speakers since the opening of the eco-tourism project. The story is also told to other organized rural groups or community representatives from all over Guatemala and Central America. In these narrations, the collective memory (Halbwachs, 2011) of the community is consolidated in authenticating spatial and social belonging and perpetually reproducing local categories of belonging and positions through the trajectory from 'before' to 'now' to others. The knowledge about the story (what to tell and how to tell) is shared, amongst the ones who personally experienced the events and also among the ones who did not participate: the young community members or the ones who (re)joined the common endeavor later on. The shared story expresses social belonging since "[s]hared stories are the sources of shared notions of truth and appropriateness which bind people together" (Johnstone, 1990, 126). Telling them is a reproduction of that "truth", of "how the things happened" in the community and partaking in a community-based practice that "may provide a sense of belonging, of attachment, of agency" (Lessard et al., 2011, 12). The shared story and the narration of it using similar core elements, again, bolster the collectivity and social cohesion of the community as it is portrayed by the participants to others. Participating in this community of narrative practice implies a linkage to the story, and an access to the collective experiences and the authority to tell it to others.

The conceptualization of the participants' stories as a practice of belonging shows how a community of practice can be both cohesive and diversified. The practice of narrating in this community consists of individual realizations of core story elements, categories and positions performed very differently according to context and interlocutors. Communities of practice have been portrayed as having specific endeavors in common around which practices emerge (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992a; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Only recently has the analytical focus turned from a focus on collective *doing* (and learning how to do it), to differentiations in the communities of practice that show how "the process of identity construction leads speakers to construct their own styles to find their own ways of asserting their own places in group practice" (Eckert & Wenger, 2005, 584). The variations within this particular community (of practice) are instantiated by the different narrative types all focusing on different aspects of the same story. Strikingly, variation in terms of gender seems to play only a minor role in the ways of telling the story. The only gender-based difference is the access to

positions of "official" narrating for tourist groups, which is a privilege of the male community leaders. Age is a determining factor for narrative practice, though. Whereas the older participants predominantly engage in first-hand, spontaneous and more elaborated stories based on personal experiences, a large number of the younger generation tells the story as a re-narration since they did not experience the events themselves. The analysis of the narrative corpus has shown that belonging is not only established through categorization, but that it is also grounded in shared practices such as narrating the community story. It provides a basis for belonging *with* the other members by referring to a shared past and narrating it to others in ways that are at the same time collective and individual.

To conclude, comparing data from different interactional contexts in the same community and with the same speakers is an opportunity to consolidate the general findings on belonging and language use in the community. The interactional contexts were made up of similar insider-outsider constellations, as they always involved one or more community members and one or more outsiders inquiring about the story, or more explicitly, about their (ethnic) belonging. In *all* of these interactions the same categories emerged, pointing to the participants' emphasis on spatial and social belonging which can only be legitimized by linking it to temporality, to the time the "we" spent 'here'. That this emerges in varying interactional contexts with different speakers from the community and with different interlocutors from the outside emphasizes yet again the local, emic and collectively shared significance of these categories in the portrayal of their community towards others. Due to their specific history, the participants do not have many other categorical resources to draw on. As I have pointed out several times now, a conceptualization of the community's belonging in these neo-autochthonous terms – 'here', 'we', 'since birth'/'before and now' – strengthens their claim to the land they have negotiated, their legitimacy of and authority over their own belonging, and their symbolic power as a locally "rooted" and "cohesive" collective. Narrating them is a communally shared practice in which belonging *to* place and group through time is made relevant, and in which belonging *with* the community can be expressed.

10. Conclusion and Prospects

In this book I have analyzed, discussed and theoretically underpinned how belonging is achieved in interaction in a Guatemalan highland community. To establish a theoretical understanding of how the concept of belonging is fruitful in the specific context of this case, I thoroughly discussed its relation to the concept of identity in chapter 2. I also examined how belonging is currently conceptualized in its different relations to place, social position, regimes and time. I concluded the theoretical chapter by defining belonging as encompassing both belonging *to* certain spatial, social or temporal categories, and belonging *with* a group, a place or a time. This conceptualization was further elaborated in chapter 3, in which I explore an understanding of belonging as something "done" and achieved by speakers with the means of language. This chapter also put forward that the means for achieving belonging can be similar across a group of speakers forming a community of practice. Chapter 4 then set out how to trace the linguistically achieved categories and practices of belonging in spoken data, focusing specifically on the merits of membership categorization and conversation analysis, positioning analysis and finally the analysis of narratives as a form of language practice. The chapter on data collection and data processing provided a more detailed description of the community focusing on its current organization and economic links, as well as the compilation of the spoken data corpus. As this was an ethnographically grounded data collection, chapter 5 also gave special emphasis to the relations of the researcher with the community members, my access to the field and what kinds of data were possible for me to collect at all.

The analytical chapters provided different perspectives and insights on the research questions. The first two research questions about how belonging is established in interaction, and what kind of categories and positions are made relevant are explored in chapter 6. In a workshop interaction of several women from the community with an outsider trainer, belonging is made an explicit topic and locally relevant categories emerge against the backdrop of an ethnically oriented category system. The main finding presented in this chapter is that the community women establish their belonging by means of the local adverb *aquí* 'here' and a shared origin of *nosotros* 'we' indicating temporal relations to that place. The extracts also showed how interactional positions and different claims to legitimacy can impact the *in situ* negotiation of belonging. The importance of acknowledging and listening to locally relevant concepts of belonging was another outcome of the analyses in this chapter. This chapter has shown that

the construction of social membership in ethnic categories, which is common practice in Guatemala, clashes with the women's understanding of their local belonging. Especially the relevance of spatial belonging proved to be important in the analysis of the participants stories about the community transformation that were the focus of chapter 7. The local adverb *aquí* and the personal pronoun *nosotros,* as well as verbal forms of 'we', also emerged as commonly established ways of referencing belonging in the majority of the narratives. 'We' and 'here' are connected through trajectories of time in these stories, which emphasizes a (neo-)autochthonous understanding of the speakers' belonging. A crucial result linked to the third research question focusing on narrating as a practice of belonging was the exploration of shared core elements in all thirty narratives that tell the story of community transformation. The shared knowledge about "what" to tell, and the assembling of that knowledge in certain ways of "how" to tell it, show belonging *with* the community.

The excursus in chapter 8 complemented the analysis by focusing on belonging from two further analytical perspectives. In section 8.1, an analysis of the interview corpus showed the use of the local adverb *aquí* in its overall reference to the community (and not to other places). Also, the possibility of an added meaning of *aquí* besides referencing place was discussed. Speakers use *aquí* when they talk about their birth, their origin and their attachments to the place. Thus, *aquí* is also used to articulate spatial and social belonging. The second excursus in 8.2 explored the regimes of belonging, and thereby showed the other side to the participants portrayal of the community as a "cohesive" and "homogeneous" collective. With reference to ethnographic knowledge acquired during my fieldwork stays, I demonstrated that belonging to the community and the place is not without cost, but relies on the compliance with shared norms, rules and practices. This ties in with theoretical work by Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011) and Yuval-Davis (2006). In this particular community, the regimes of belonging center on 'being born' in the community, shared suffering, and specific farming practices.

In chapter 9, I connect the results of the analytical chapters. The discussion has shown how we can make sense of the theoretical complexity of the concept of belonging in its categorical, positional and practice oriented dimensions. The achievement of belonging in interaction has been shown to have specific functions in the situational contexts of their utterance. Establishing belonging in this way allows speakers to legitimize their 'being here' and legitimize the community story and the speakers' collective project in front of others who do not form part of the group.

There are certain issues that I have only been able to touch upon and that could be made fruitful topics of further exploration in the field of language-oriented research on belonging. First, for further insight into the negotiation of belonging in interaction in this Guatemalan region, it would be beneficial to widen this case study to other communities in the highlands. They might be more prone to operate with "official" ethnic categories – as introduced by the trainer in chapter 6. How these categories are "filled" and evaluated – the "cultural stuff" (Barth, 1969) they are assigned with – should be analyzed from a local perspective. This might support a more complex concept of belonging as the ethnic categories might suggest, as has become apparent in chapter 6. Furthermore, in communities where indigenous languages such as K'iche' or Mam are spoken, the language use itself could be scrutinized as a means of assigning people to ethnic or other relevant categories.[161] Second, my research would profit from an anthropologically oriented exploration of practices beyond narrating to broaden our understanding of different ways of expressing belonging *with* the place and the community. Agricultural practices, body practices or other language practices – for instance ways of interactionally arriving at conflict resolutions – can point to locally specific ways of doing things in this community. A challenging discussion for these considerations then would be where to draw the boundary of the "local", and how to recognize practices as community-specific, regional or even as language-induced activities. Third, there are certain limits to the data collection, and hence to the composition of the corpus this book is based on. As a participant observer in the field, I only had access to data recorded in my presence and the presence of other outsiders.[162] With an interest in interactive achievements of belonging, however, this limitation can be turned into an advantage. As we have seen in chapter 6, belonging often only becomes an interactional "problem" (Hausendorf, 2000, 99.f) that needs to be dealt with in differentiation to other category systems (in the workshop interaction), or

---

161 In her study on identification and belonging of Georgian Greeks, Höfler (forthcoming) shows how language competence is not necessarily the main identification category for belonging to a group with strong links to that language.

162 Of course there are other means of erasing the observer from the scene, such as leaving the recording device alone with the participants. I did leave it repeatedly in the houses of the participants asking them to just keep it on during dinner with the family etc. These data can be interesting for other research foci, e.g. language variation, interactional categories and positionings in the realm of the family household. However, belonging to the place or the community unsurprisingly did not become relevant in these contexts.

in explicit presentations of the collective and the self (as in the interview narratives and the historical sessions for tourists). Belonging is a concept that is emphasized and foregrounded in contact with the "other" or the outsider. However, a thorough analysis of belonging in exclusive in-group interactions could indicate whether there are possible differences in the relevancies speakers put on categories and positions towards outsiders or members of their own group. The ethnographically grounded excursus in section 8.2 is a first step in this direction.

The contribution of this book to current research on belonging and language use is threefold. First, this book offers an analysis of belonging with a corpus comprising spoken data from diverse interactions and informed by ethnographic knowledge. The interactions share the characteristic of having one or more interlocutors from outside, with one or more interlocutors from the community. They are, however, varied in their setting and interactive goals. The analysis of categories and positions of belonging that emerge in these different interactional contexts validate their local relevance not only across different speakers, but also across interactions with different interlocutors.

Second, I suggest a theoretical approach to belonging that encompasses spatial, social and temporal categories and positions (belonging *to*), as well as shared practices (belonging *with*) established in interaction. This theoretical approach is empirically grounded in the data and validated by them. I contribute to a view on belonging and language use in which deictics are crucial in speakers' establishment of belonging. The categorical components of belonging are hitherto often envisioned in the sense of Tajfel (1974) as membership to social groups. As we have seen in the analysis, it is not only the social group, but also the relations between spatial, social and temporal dimensions that are central to the way speakers establish their belonging. Spatial and temporal categories have recently gained more prominence and analytical recognition in their relation to the social (c.f. Meinhof and Galasiński 2005; Housley and Smith 2011; Gerst 2016; Höfler forthcoming). This book contributes to this line of thought and proposes that the theoretical concept of belonging is especially apt for interlinking all three of these ontological categories. Besides speakers' attributing belonging *to* the categories, belonging *with* a group is a second component of the concept. Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011) speaks of "commonality" and "mutuality" in thinking about belonging *with* a group, and points to mutual expectations, norms and values. Whereas these terms are rather vague for an interactional approach to belonging as achieved with linguistic means, I conceptualize commonality and mutuality as forms of shared (linguistic) practices, specifically the shared practice of narrating the community story. Narratives, especially biographic or founding narratives,

are a promising locus for interactively establishing categories of belonging and positions across different speakers, as the studies of Linde (2009), Meinhof & Galasiński (2005), De Fina (2003) and my own have shown. Furthermore, a close examination of shared elements in these stories and a participation in their telling without possessing firsthand experiences (in the case of re-narrated stories, see section 7.5) point to shared knowledge on what to tell and how to tell it. This consolidates a homogenous and cohesive image of the community. For a holistic comprehension of belonging and language use, therefore, the proposed combination of analyzing categories of belonging and practices of belonging in various interactional contexts has proven to be fruitful.

Finally, my contribution lies in its emphasis on *local* relevancies and ways of establishing belonging. Especially the workshop interaction in chapter 6 has shown that sensitivity to local category systems and practices in research about belonging and identification is pivotal. Context-sensitivity is one of the main premises when it comes to interaction-oriented analysis of categories and positions. It takes into account who speaks with whom, when and where, about what and in what sequentiality. Moreover however, to understand the categories of belonging categories and positions of our participants more fully, we also have to contextualize them in relation to their history, and possible global categories they align with or deviate from. In the case of this study, a more holistic understanding of the locally relevant categories of belonging categories was achieved through ethnographic engagement in the community, which led to my "being there" when categories were openly and explicitly discussed. Thus, I would encourage research that is involved in our participants life worlds to better capture what matters from their local perspective, especially when it is considered in connection with topics as socially and politically relevant as belonging.

Bibliography

Adler, Patricia A. & Adler, Peter (1987) *Membership Roles in Field Research*. London: Sage, (=Qualitative Research Methods).

Alonso-Fradejas, Alberto (2012) Land control-grabbing in Guatemala: the political economy of contemporary agrarian change. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue canadienne d'études du développement,* volume 33(4): 509–528.

Anchimbe, Eric A. & Janney, Richard W. (2011) Postcolonial pragmatics: An introduction. *Journal of Pragmatics,* volume 43: 1451–1459.

Anderson, Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* 2nd Auflage, London/New York: Verso.

Andrews, Molly; Squire, Corinne; & Tamboukou, Maria (eds.) (2008) *Doing narrative research.* London: Sage.

Antaki, Charles & Widdicombe, Sue (1998) *Identities in Talk*. London: Sage.

Anthias, Floya (2002) Where do I belong? Narrating collective identity and translocational positionality. *Ethnicities,* volume 2(4): 491–514.

Anthias, Floya (2009) Translocational Belonging, Identity and Generation: Questions and Problems in Migration and Ethnic Studies. *Finish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration,* volume 4(1): 6–15.

Anthias, Floya (2016) Interconnecting boundaries of identity and belonging and hierarchy-making within transnational mobility studies: Framing inequalities. *Current Sociology,* volume 64(2): 172–190.

Antonsich, Marco (2010a) Meanings of place and aspects of the Self: an interdisciplinary and empirical account. *GeoJournal,* volume 75: 119–132.

Antonsich, Marco (2010b) Searching for Belonging – An Analytical Framework. *Geography Compass,* volume 4(6): 644–659.

Assmann, Aleida (2012) *Introduction to Cultural Studies. Topics, Concepts, Issues.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt, (=Grundlagen der Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 36).

Assmann, Jan (1992) *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. München: Beck.

Atkinson, Max (1984) *Our Masters' Voices. The language and body language of politics*. London/New York: Methuen.

Atkinson, Paul (1995) *Medical Talk and Medical Work: The Liturgy of the Clinic*. London: Sage.

Atkinson, Paul & Hammersley, Martyn (1994) Ethnography and Participant Observation. In: Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* London: Sage, 248–261.

Atkinson, Paul & Hammersley, Martyn (2007) *Ethnography. Principles in practice*. 3rd Auflage, London/New York: Routledge.

Auer, Peter (1992) Introduction: John Gumperz' Approach to Contextualization. In: Peter Auer & Aldo Di Luzio (eds.), *The Contextualization of Language,* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1–37.

Bailliet, Cecilia (2000) Preventing internal displacement: Conciliating land conflicts in Guatemala. *Refugee Survey Quarterly,* volume 19(3): 187–208.

Baker, Carolyn (1997) Membership Categorization and Interview Accounts. In: David Silverman (ed.), *Qualitative Research. Theory, Method and Practice*, London: Sage, 130–143.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1981) *The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays.* Austin/London: University of Texas, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1984[1963]) *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, translated by C. Emerson.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1986) *Speech genres and other late essays*. Austin: University of Texas, (=University of Texas Press Slavic Series, 8).

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1986[1961]) The problem of the text in linguistics, philology, and the human sciences. In: Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist (eds.), *Speech genres and other late essays*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 103–131, translated by V. McGee.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1987[1965]) *Rabelais und seine Welt. Volkskultur als Gegenkultur.* Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, edited by Renate Lachmann.

Bamberg, Michael (1997) Oral Versions of Personal Experience: Three decades of narrative analysis. Special issue of Journal of Narrative and Life History. In: *Journal of Narrative and Life History,* volume 7, 1–4, Amsterdam/Philadephia: John Benjamins.

Bamberg, Michael (2006) Biographic-narrative research, quo vadis? A critical review of 'big stories' from the perspective of 'small stories'. In: Kate Milnes; Christine Horrocks; Nancy Kelly; Brian Roberts; & David Robinson (eds.), *Narrative, memory and knowledge: Representations, aesthetics and contexts,* Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press, 63–79.

Bamberg, Michael (2007) Narrative Analysis and Identity Research: A Case for 'Small Stories'. Unpublished Manuscript, last accessed 10.09.2016. URL http://wordpress.clarku.edu/mbamberg/publications/.

Bamberg, Michael (2012) Why narrative. *Narrative Inquiry,* volume 22(1): 202–210.

Bamberg, Michael & Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2008) Small stories as a new perspective in narrative and identity analysis. *Text & Talk,* volume 28(3): 377–396.

Bandeira, Pablo & Sumpsi, Jose Maria (2011) Rural poverty and access to land in developing countries: theory and evidence from Guatemala. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue canadienne d'études du développement,* volume 32(2): 139–161.

Barnes, Barry (2001) Practice as Collective Action. In: Theodore R. Schatzki; Karin Knorr Cetina; & Eike von Savigny (eds.), *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory,* London/New York: Routledge, 25–36.

Barth, Fredrik (ed.) (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Bauman, Zygmunt (2001) *Community. Seeking Safety in an Insecure World.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Berger, Peter L. & Luckmann, Thomas (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.* London: Penguin.

Bühler, Karl (1982[1934]) *Sprachtheorie – Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache.* Stuttgart: Fischer.

Blommaert, Jan (2007) Applied ethnopoetics. In: Michael Bamberg (ed.), *Narrative – State of the Art,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 215–224.

Blommaert, Jan & Jie, Dong (2010) *Ethnographic Fieldwork. A Beginner's Guide.* Bristol et al.: Multilingual Matters.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977) *An Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (2005) *Was heißt Sprechen? Zur Ökonomie des sprachlichen Tausches.* 2nd Auflage, Wien: Braumüller, mit einer Einführung von John B. Thompson, übersetzt von Hella Beister.

Brewer, John D. (2000) *Ethnography.* Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Brewer, Marylinn B. & Gardner, Wendi (1996) Who is this "we"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* volume 71: 83–93.

Briggs, Charles L. (1986) *Learning how to Ask. A Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of the Interview in Social Science Research.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Briggs, Charles L. (1996) The politics of discursive authority in research on the "invention of tradition". *Cultural Anthropology,* volume 11(4): 435–469.

Bromme, Rainer; Jucks, Regina; & Rambow, Riflef (2004) Experten-Laien- Kommunikation im Wissensmanagement. In: Gabi Reinmann & Heinz Mandl

(eds.), *Der Mensch im Wissensmanagement: Psychologische Konzepte zum besseren Verständnis und Umgang mit Wissen,* Göttingen: Hogrefe, 176–188.

Brown, Penelope & Levinson, Stephen C. (1987) *Politeness. Some universals in language usage.* Cambridge et. al: Cambridge University Press, (=Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics, 4).

Brubaker, Rogers (2002) Ethnicity without groups. *Archives Européenes de Sociologie,* volume 2(XLIII): 163–189.

Brubaker, Rogers (2005) The 'diaspora' diaspora. *Ethnical and Racial Studies,* volume 28(1): 1–19.

Brubaker, Rogers & Cooper, Frederick (2000) Beyond "identity". *Theory and Society*, volume 29: 1–47.

Bruner, Jerome (1991) The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry,* volume 18(1): 1–21.

Bruner, Jerome (2002) *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life.* Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press.

Buber, Martin (2008[1923]) *Ich und Du.* Stuttgart: Reclam, mit einem Nachwort von Bernhard Casper, (=Reclams Universal Bibliothek).

Bucholtz, Mary & Hall, Kira (2004) Language and Identity. In: Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, Malden: Blackwell, 369–394.

Bucholtz, Mary & Hall, Kira (2005) Identity and Interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies,* volume 7 (4–5): 585–614.

Bulmer-Thomas, Victor (1978) Policy for Land Reform in Guatemala / Politique de Reforme agraire au Guatemala. *Civilisations,* volume 28(1): 76–89.

Callon, Michel & Latour, Bruno (2006) Die Demontage des großen Leviathans: Wie Akteure die Makrostruktur der Realität bestimmen und Soziologen ihnen dabei helfen. In: Andréa Belliger & David J. Krieger (eds.), *ANThology. Ein einführendes Handbuch zur Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie,* Bielefeld: Transcript, 75–101.

Cassirer, Ernst (1923) *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen.* Weimar: Dietsch & Brückner.

Celia Kitzinger, Sue Wilkinson (2003) Constructing identities: A feminist conversation analytic approach to positioning in interaction. In: Rom Harré & Fathali M. Moghaddam (eds.), *The self and others,* Westport: Praeger, 157–180.

Certeau, Michel De (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, translated by Steven Rendall.

Ceuppens, Bambi & Geschiere, Peter (2005) Autochthony: local or global? New Modes in the struggle over citizenship and belonging in Africa and Europe. *Annual Review of Anthropology,* volume 34: 385–407.

Ciapuscio, Guimar E. (2005) Identitätskonstitution in Experten-Laien-Kommunikation: Die Rolle der Textherstellungsverfahren. In: Guiomar E. Ciapuscio; Konstanze Jungbluth; & Dorothee Kaiser (eds.), *Linguistik am Text. Beiträge aus Argentinien und Deutschland*, Berlin: Institut für Romanische Philologie der Freien Universitat Berlin, 125–151, (=Neue Romania; 32).

Cohler, Bertram (1988) The Human Studies and Life History. *Social Service Review*, volume 62: 552–575.

Cornips, Leonie & de Rooij, Vincent (eds.) (2018a) *The Sociolinguistics of Place and Belonging. Perspectives from the margins*. Amsterdam/Philadephia: John Benjamins, (=IMPACT Studies in Language and Society 45).

Cornips, Leonie & de Rooij, Vincent A. (2018b) Introduction. Belonging through linguistic place-making in center-periphery constellations. In: Leonie Cornips & Vincent A. de Rooij (eds.), *The Sociolinguistics of Place and Belonging. Perspectives from the margins,* Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1–13, (=IMPACT Studies in Language and Society 45).

Coseriu, Eugenio (1955–56) Determinacion y entorno: dos problemas de una lingüística del hablar. *Romanistisches Jahrbuch*, volume 7: 29–54.

Coseriu, Eugenio (1976) *Das romanische Verbalsystem*. Tübingen: Narr, (=Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik, 66).

Couto, Hildo Honorio do (2007) *Ecolingüística. Estudo das relações entre língua e meio ambiente*. Brasilia: Thesaurus.

Cox, Andrew (2005) What are communities of practice? A comparative review of four seminal works. *Journal of Information Science,* volume 31(6): 527–540.

Craib, Ian (1998) *Experiencing Identity.* London: Sage.

Croucher, Sheila L. (2004) *Globalization and Belonging. The Politics of Identity in a Changing World*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.

Czarniawska, Barbara (2004) *Narratives in Social Science Research.* London: Sage.

Czyżewsky, Marek; Drescher, Martina; Gülich, Elisabeth; & Hausendorf, Heiko (1995) Selbst- und Fremdbilder im Gespräch. Theoretische und methodologische Aspekte. In: Marek Czyżewsky; Elisabeth Gülich; Heiko Hausendorf; & Maria Kastner (eds.), *Nationale Selbst- und Fremdbilder im Gespräch. Kommunikative Prozesse nach der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands und dem Systemwandel in Ostmitteleuropa,* Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 11–81.

Davies, Bronwyn & Harré, Rom (1990) Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves. *Journal for the Theory Of Social Behaviour,* volume 20(1): 43–63.

Day, Dennis & Kjaerbeck, Susanne (2013) 'Positioning' in the conversation analytic approach. *Narrative Inquiry,* volume 23(1): 16–39.

de Cillia, Rudolf; Reisigl, Martin; & Wodak, Ruth (1999) The discursive construction of national identities. *Discourse and Society,* volume 10(2): 149–173.

De Fina, Anna (2003) *Identity in Narrative: A Study of Immigrant Discourse.* Studies in Narrative, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

De Fina, Anna (2008) Who tells which story and why? Micro and macro contexts in narrative. *Text & Talk,* volume 28–3: 421–442.

De Fina, Anna & Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2008a) Analysing narratives as practice. *Qualitative Research,* volume 8: 379–387.

De Fina, Anna & Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2008b) Introduction: Narrative analysis and the shift from text to practices. *Text & Talk,* volume 28(3): 275–281.

De Fina, Anna & Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2012) *Analyzing Narrative. Discourse and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Fina, Anna & Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (eds.) (2015) *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.

del Valle Escalante, Emilio (2008) *Nacionalismos mayas y desafiós postcoloniales en Guatemala: Colonialidad, modernidad y politicas de la identidad cultural.* Guatemala Cuidad: FLACSO Guatemala.

Deppermann, Arnulf (2000) Ethnographische Gesprächsanalyse: Zu Nutzen und Notwendigkeit von Ethnographie für die Konversationsanalyse. *Gesprächsforschung* – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion, *volume 1: 96–124.*

Deppermann, Arnulf (2010) Zur Einführung: 'Verstehen in professionellen Handlungsfeldern' als Gegenstand einer ethnographischen Konversationsanalyse. In: Ulrich Reitemeier; Reinhold Schmitt; & Thomas Spranz-Fogasy (eds.), *Verstehen in professionellen Handlungsfeldern,* Studien zur deutschen Sprache (52), Tübingen: Narr, 7–25.

Deppermann, Arnulf (2013a) How to get a grip on identities-in-interaction. (What) Does 'Positioning' offer more than 'Membership Categorization'? Evidence from a mock story. *Narrative Inquiry,* volume 23(1): 62–88.

Deppermann, Arnulf (2013b) Positioning in Narrative Interaction. *Narrative Inquiry,* volume 23(1): 1–15.

Deppermann, Arnulf; Feilke, Helmuth; & Linke, Angelika (2016) Sprachliche und kommunikative Praktiken: Eine Annäherung aus linguistischer Sicht. In: Arnulf Deppermann; Helmuth Feilke; & Angelika Linke (eds.), *Sprachliche und kommunikative Praktiken,* Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 1–24.

DeWalt, Kathleen M. & DeWalt, Billie R. (2002) *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers.* Lanham: AltaMira Press.

Diekmann, Andreas & Voss, Thomas (2004) Die Theorie rationalen Handelns. Stand und Perspektiven. In: Andreas Diekmann; Thomas Voss; & Anatol Rapoport (eds.), *Rational-Choice-Theorie in den Sozialwissenschaften: Anwendungen und Probleme,* München: Oldenbourg, 13–29.

Diessel, Holger (1999) *Demonstratives: Form, function, and grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dittmar, Norbert (2004) *Transkription. Ein Leitfaden mit Aufgaben für Studenten, Forscher und Laien.* 2nd Auflage, Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Dow, Leslie McKean jr. (1981) *Ethnicity and Modernity in the Central highlands of Guatemala.* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International Michigan.

Drew, Paul & Heritage, John (1992) Analyzing talk at work. An introduction. In: Paul Drew & John Heritage (eds.), *Talk at work. Interaction in institutional settings,* (=Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 8), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3–65.

Duranti, Alessandro (1997) *Linguistic anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duszak, Anna (ed.) (2002) *Us and Others. Social Identities across Languages, Discourses and Cultures*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Eckert, Penelope (2006) Communities of Practice. In: Keith Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics 2nd edition,* volume 2, Amsterdam et. al: Elsevier, 683–685.

Eckert, Penelope & McConnell-Ginet, Sally (1992a) Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology,* volume 21: 461–490.

Eckert, Penelope & McConnell-Ginet, Sarah (1992b) Communities of practice: Where language, gender, and power all live. In: Kira Hall; Mary Bucholtz; & Birch Moonwomon (eds.), *Locating Power,* Proceedings of the 1992 Berkeley Women and Language Conference, Berkeley: Berkeley Women and Language Group, 89–99.

Eckert, Penelope & Wenger, Étienne (2005) What is the role of power in sociolinguistic variation? *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* volume 9(4): 582–589.

Edwards, John (2009) *Language and Identity.* Key Topics in Sociolinguistics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ehlich, Konrad (1992) Sprache als System versus Sprache als Handlung. In: Gerold Ungeheuer; Hugo Steger; & Herbert Ernst Wiegand (eds.), *Sprachphilosophie,* Berlin: de Gruyter, 952–963, (=HSK, 7.1.).

Emerson, Robert M.; Fretz, Rachel I.; & Shaw, Linda L. (2001) Participant Observation in Fieldnotes. In: Paul Atkinson; Amanda Coffey; Sarah Delamont; John Lofland; & Lyn Lofland (eds.), *Handbook of Ethnography,* London: Sage, 352–638.

Enfield, Nick J. (2013) Reference in Conversation. In: Jack Sidnell & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis,* Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 433–454.

Erikson, Erik H. (1959) *Identity and the Life Cycle*. New York: International Universities Press.

Fahrenwald, Claudia (2011) *Erzählen im Kontext neuer Lernkulturen.* Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Fearon, James D. (1999) What is Identity (as we no use the word)?, unpublished paper, Stanford University.

Fetzer, Anita (2012) Contexts in interaction. Relating pragmatic wastebaskets. In: Rita Finkbeiner; Jörg Meibauer; & Petra B. Schumacher (eds.), *What is a Context?,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 105–127.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1985) *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival.* Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, (=Contributions to the Sociology of Language, 37).

Fitzgerald, Richard (2012) Membership categorization analysis: Wild and promiscuous or simply the joy of Sacks? *Discourse Studies,* volume 14(3): 305–311.

Fitzgerald, Richard & Housley, William (2015) Introduction to Membership Categorisation Analysis. In: Richard Fitzgerald & William Housley (eds.), *Advances in Membership Categorisation Analysis,* London: Sage, 1–21.

Flick, Uwe (2007) *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung.* Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch, Vollständig überarbeitete und erweiterte Neuausgabe.

Foucault, Michel (1980) *Power/Knowledge.* Brighton: Harvester.

Gabriel, Christoph & Müller, Natascha (2008) *Grundlagen der generativen Syntax. Französisch, Italienisch, Spanisch.* Tübingen: Niemeyer, (=Romanistische Arbeitshefte, 51).

Gairola, Rahul K. (2016) *Homeland. Postcolonial Diasporas and Transatlantic Belonging*. London/New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Garbutt, Robert George (2009) Social inclusion and local practices of belonging. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal,* volume 1(3): 84–108.

Garbutt, Robert George (2011) *The Locals. Identity, Place and Belonging in Australia and Beyond.* Bern: Peter Lang, (=Cultural Identity Studies, 22).

Garfinkel, Harold (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Gee, James Paul (1986) Units in the Production of Narrative Discourse. *Discourse Processes,* volume 9: 391–422.

Geertz, Clifford (1973) Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In: *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays,* New York: Basic Books, 3–30.

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2005) Same old story? On the interactional dynamics of shared narratives. In: Uta M. Quasthoff & Tabea Becker (eds.), *Narrative Interaction,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 223–241, (=Studies in Narrative, 5).

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2006) Thinking big with small stories in narrative and identity analysis. In: Michael Bamberg (ed.), *Narrative — State of the Art,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 145–154.

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2007) *Small Stories, Interaction and Identities.* Studies in Narrative (SiN), Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra (2013) Building iterativity into positioning analysis. A practice-based approach to small stories and self. *Narrative Inquiry*, volume 23(1): 89–110.

Gerst, Dominik (2016) Praxeological foundations, sequential intertwining and the search for adequate research designs – Membership Categorisation Analysis with and after Sacks. Review for Advances in Membership Categorisation Analysis. *Pragmatics Reviews,* volume 4(1): 6–13.

Gerst, Dominik; Höfler, Concha Maria; & Vallentin, Rita (forthcoming) Ambiguities of space and place: making sense of the rural/urban divide. In: Arianna Maiorani & Bruna Mancini (eds.), *Space Intersections: Cross-Disciplinary Encounters in Narrative Places,* Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Geschiere, Peter (2009) *The Perils of Belonging. Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago.

Geschiere, Peter & Jackson, Stephen (2006) Autochthony and the crisis of citizenship: Democratization, decentralization, and the politics of belonging. *African Studies Review,* volume 49(2): 1–7.

Giles, Howard & Powesland, Peter (1975) *Speech Style and Social Evaluation.* London: Academic Press.

Gilroy, Paul (1997) Diaspora and the Detours of Identity. In: Kathryn Woodward (ed.), *Identity and Difference,* London/Thousand Oaks: Sage/Open University, 299–343.

Glaser, Barney G. & Strauss, Anselm L. (2006[1967]) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* 3rd Auflage, New Brunswick: Aldine.

Gülich, Elisabeth (1999) <Experten> und <Laien>: Der Umgang mit Kompetenzunterschieden am Beispiel medizinischer Kommunikation. In: Konferenz der deutschen Akademien der Wissenschaften und der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (ed.), *Werkzeug Sprache. Sprachpolitik, Sprachfähigkeit, Sprache und Macht,* Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 165–196.

Gülich, Elisabeth & Mondada, Lorenza (2008) *Konversationsanalyse. Eine Einführung am Beispiel des Französischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Günthner, Susanne (2004) Narrative reconstructions of past experiences. Adjustments and modifications in the process of recontextualizing a past experience. In: Uta M. Quasthoff & Tabea Becker (eds.), *Narrative Interaction,* Kapitel 12, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 185–301.

Günthner, Susanne (2013) Ko-Konstruktionen im Gespräch: Zwischen Kollaboration und Konfrontation. *GIDI-Arbeitspapierreihe (Grammatik in der Interaktion),* volume 49, last accessed 14.07.2017. URL http://noam.uni-muenster.de/gidi/arbeitspapiere/arbeitspapier49.pdf.

Günthner, Susanne & Bücker, Jörg (2009) Einleitung zum Sammelband: „Grammatik im Gespräch: Konstruktionen der Selbst- und Fremdpositionierung". In: Susanne Günthner & Jörg Bücker (eds.), *Grammatik im Gespräch: Konstruktionen der Selbst- und Fremdpositionierung,* Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1–19.

Goffman, Erving (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Goffman, Erving (1967) *Interaction Ritual. Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour*. New York: Pantheon.

Goffman, Erving (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper and Row.

Goffman, Erving (1991 [1963]) *Stigma. Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Gold, Raymond L. (1958) Roles in Sociological Field Observation. *Social Forces,* volume 36 (3): 217–223.

Goldín, Liliana R. (2009) *Global Maya. Work and Ideology in Rural Guatemala.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Goodman, David (2008) The International Coffee Crisis: A Review of the Issues. In: Christopher M. Bacon; V. Ernesto Méndez; Stephen R. Gliessman; David Goodman; & Jonathan A. Fox (eds.), *Confronting the Coffee Crisis. Fair Trade,*

Sustainable Livelihoods and Ecosystems in Mexico and Central America, Cambridge/London: MIT, 3–25.

Goodwin, Charles (1981) *Conversational organization: Interaction between speakers and hearers*. New York: Academic Press.

Goodwin, Charles (1984) Notes on Story Structure and the Organization of Participation. In: J. Maxwell Atkinson & John Heritage (eds.), *Structures of Social Action. Studies in Conversation Analysis,* Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 225–246.

Goodwin, Charles (1986) Audience diversity, participation and interpretation. *Text,* volume 6(3): 283–316.

Grosen, Jakob (2012) Green Growth in Practice. Lessons Learnt from Promoting Eco-Enterprises in Honduras and Guatemala. Last accessed 15.03.2017. URL http://um.dk/en/danida-en/results/eval/Eval_reports/.

Guitérrez Ordóñez, Salvador (2000) *Temas, remas, focos, tópicos and comentarios.* Madrid: Arco.

Gumperz, John J. (1971) *Language in Social Groups. Essays by John J. Gumperz.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, edited by Anwar S. Dil.

Gumperz, John J. (1982) *Discourse Strategies.* Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haber, Alejandro F. (2010) This is not an Answer to the Question "Who is Indigenous?". In: Margaret M. Bruchac; Siobhan M. Hart; & H. Martin Wobst (eds.), *Indigenous Archaeologies. A Reader on Decolonization,* Kapitel 3, Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 38–43.

Halbwachs, Maurice (2011) from The Collective Memory. In: Jeffrey K. Olick; Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi; & Daniel Levy (eds.), *The Collective Memory Reader,* 139–149: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 139–149.

Hall, Stuart (1996) Who needs 'identity'? In: Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity,* London: Sage, 1–17.

Hall, Stuart (2001) Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse. In: Margaret Wetherell; Stephanie Taylor; & Simeon J. Yates (eds.), *Discourse Theory and Practice. A Reader,* London: Sage, 72–81.

Hanks, William F. (1996) *Language and Communicative Practices.* Critival Essays in Anthropology, Boulder: Westview Press.

Hanks, William F. (2005) Explorations in the Deictic Field. *Current Anthropology,* volume 2: 191–220.

Harré, Rom (2012) Positioning Theory: Moral Dimensions of Social-Cultural Psychology. In: Jaan Valsiner (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Culture and Psychology,* Kapitel 9, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 191–206.

Harré, Rom; Moghaddam, Fathali M.; Cairnie, Tracey Pilkerton; Rothbart, Daniel; & Sabat, Steven R. (2009) Recent Advances in Positioning Theory. *Theory and Psychology,* volume 19(1): 5–31.

Harré, Rom & van Langenhove, Luk (1999) *Positioning Theory: Moral contexts of intentional action*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harris, Sandra (2001) Fragmented narratives and multiple tellers: witness and defendant. *Discourse Studies,* volume 3(1): 53–74.

Hastings, Adi & Manning, Paul (2004) Introduction: acts of alterity. *Language & Communication,* volume 24(4): 291–311.

Haugen, Einar (1972) *The Ecology of Language. Essays by Einar Haugen*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, edited by Anwar S. Dil.

Hausendorf, Heiko (2000) *Zugehörigkeit durch Sprache. Eine Linguistische Studie am Beispiel der Deutschen Wiedervereinigung*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Hausendorf, Heiko (2004) Social identity work in storytelling: Methodological remarks. In: Michael Bamberg & Molly Andrews (eds.), *Considering Counter-Narratives. Narrating, resisting, making sense,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 239–244.

Hausendorf, Heiko & Bora, Alfons (2006) Reconstructing social positioning in discourse. Methodological basics and their implementation from a conversation analysis perspective. In: Heiko Hausendorf & Alfons Bora (eds.), *Analyzing Citizenship Talk,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 85–97, (=Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture, 19).

Heritage, John (1984) *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology.* Cambridge: Blackwell.

Herman, David (1999) *Narratologies: New Perspectives on Narrative Analysis.* Ohio: Ohio State University Press.

Hester, Stephen & Eglin, Peter (1997) Membership Categorization Analysis: An Introduction. In: *Culture in Action. Studies in Membership Categorization Analysis,* Lanham: University Press of America, Co-published by arrangement with the International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, 1–23, (=Studies in Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, 4).

Hester, Stephen & Francis, David (1997) Reality analysis in a classroom storytelling. *British Journal of Sociology,* volume 48(1): 95–112.

Höfler, Concha Maria (forthcoming) *Identifying as Greek and belonging to Georgia: Processes of (un)making boundaries in the Greek community of Georgia*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Hollway, Wendy (1984) Gender difference and the production of subjectivity. In: *Changing the Subject. Psychology, social regulation and subjectivity,* London/New York: Methuen, 227–263.

Honneth, Axel (1993) Einleitung. In: Axel Honneth (ed.), *Kommunitarismus,* Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 7–17.

Hörning, Karl Heinz (2001) *Experten des Alltags. Die Wiederentdeckung des praktischen Wissens*. Weilerswist: Velbrück.

Hottenroth, Priska (1982) The System of Local Deixis in Spanish. In: Jürgen Weissenbom & Wolfgang Klein (eds.), *Here and There. Cross-linguistic Studies on Deixis and Demonstration,* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 133–153.

Housley, William & Fitzgerald, Richard (2002) The reconsidered model of membership categorization analysis. *Qualitative Research,* volume 2(1): 59–83.

Housley, William & Fitzgerald, Richard (2015) Introduction to Membership Categorization Analysis. In: Richard Fitzgerald & William Housley (eds.), *Advances in Membership Categorization Analysis,* London: Sage, 1–21.

Housley, William & Smith, Robin James (2011) Mundane reason, membership categorization practices and the everyday ontology of space and place in interview talk. *Qualitative Research,* volume 11(6): 698–715.

Hughes-Freeland, Felicia (1999) Dance on Film: Strategy and Serendipity. In: Theresa J. Buckland (ed.), *Dance in the Field: Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography,* Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 111–122.

Hymes, Dell (1981) *"In vain I tried to tell you": essays in Native American ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hymes, Dell (1989) Ways of speaking. In: Richard Bauman & Joel Sherzer (eds.), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking,* volume 2nd edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 433–451.

Hymes, Dell (1996) *Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality. Toward an Understanding of Voice*. London: Taylor and Francis.

Hymes, Dell (2004) *Now I know so far: Essays in etnopoetics.* Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press.

Inglis, Tom & Donnelly, Susie (2012) Local and National Belonging in A Globalised World. *Irish Journal of Sociology,* volume Volume 19(2): 127–143.

Janney, Richward W. (2002) Cotext as context: Vague answer in court. *Language and Communication,* volume 22(4): 457–475.

Jefferson, Gail (1978) Sequential Aspects of Storytelling in Conversation. In: Jim Schenkein (ed.), *Studies in the Organization of Conversation,* New York: Academic Press, 79–112.

Jefferson, Gail (1990) List-construction as a task and a resource. In: George Psathas (ed.), *Interaction competence,* Washington DC: University Press of America, 63–92, (=Studies in Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, 1).

Jenkins, Richard (1994) Rethinking ethnicity: Identity, categorization and power. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* volume 17(2): 197–223.

Jenkins, Richard (2008) *Social Identity.* 3rd Auflage, London/New York: Routledge.

Johnstone, Barbara (1987) Introduction: Perspectives on repetition. *Text,* volume 7: 205–214.

Johnstone, Barbara (1990) *Stories, Community, and Place. Narratives from Middle America*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Jungbluth, Konstanze (1996) *Die Tradition der Familienbücher. Das Katalanische während der Decadència.* Tübingen: Niemeyer, (=Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, 272).

Jungbluth, Konstanze (2005) *Pragmatik der Demonstrativpronomina in den iberoromanischen Sprachen.* Tübingen: Niemeyer, (=Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, 329).

Jungbluth, Konstanze (2011) This? No, that! Constructing shared contexts in the conversational dyad. In: Anita Fetzer & Etsuko Oisho (eds.), *Context and Contexts. Parts Meet Whole,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 93–114.

Jungbluth, Konstanze (2015) Crossing the Border, Closing the Gap: Otherness in Language Use. In: Peter Rosenberg; Konstanze Jungbluth; & Dagna Zinkhahn Rhobodes (eds.), *Linguistic Construction of Ethnic Borders,* Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 209–227.

Jungbluth, Konstanze (2016) Co-Constructions in Multilingual Settings. In: Marta Fernández-Villanueva & Konstanze Jungbluth (eds.), *Beyond Language Boundaries: Multimodal Use in Multilingual Contexts,* Boston/Berlin: de Gruyter, 151–166.

Jungbluth, Konstanze (2017) Ethnicity in Motion: constructing Brasilidade by giving former migrants autochthonous status. *Gragoatá,* volume 22(42): 27–43.

Jungbluth, Konstanze (forthcoming) Positions – Constellations – Practices: Referring to the space in front of the hearer. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano.*

Junker, Buford H. (1960) *Field Work: An Introduction to the Social Sciences.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kabatek, Johannes (2011) Diskurstraditionen und Genres. In: Sarah Dessì Schmid; Ulrich Detges; Paul Gévaudan; Wiltrud Mihatsch; & Richard Waltereit (eds.), *Rahmen des Sprechens. Beiträge zu Valenztheorie, Varietätenlinguistik, Kreolistik, Kognitiver und Historischer Semantik. Peter Koch zum 60. Geburtstag,* Tübingen: Narr, 89–100.

Kahn, Seth (2011) Putting Ethnographic Writing in Context. In: Pavel Zemliansky Charles Lowe (ed.), *Writing Spaces: Readings on Writing*, volume 2, Anderson: Parlor Press, 175–192.

Kerner, Ina (2009) Alles intersektional?: zum Verhältnis von Rassismus und Sexismus. *Feministische Studien,* volume 27(1): 36–50.

Kesselheim, Wolfgang (2009) *Die Herstellung von Gruppen im Gespräch – analysiert am Beispiel des argentinischen Einwanderungsdiskurses*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Klein, Wolfgang (1983) Deixis and spatial orientation in route directions. In: Pick Herbert & Linda Acredolo (eds.), *Spatial orientation,* New York/London: Plenum, 283–320.

Knorr-Cetina, Karin (1984) The Fabrication of Facts: Toward a Microsociology of Scientific Knowledge. In: Nico Stehr & Volker Meja (eds.), *The Sociology of Knowledge*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 223–244.

Knorr-Cetina, Karin (2001) Objectual practice. In: Theodore R. Schatzki; Karin Knorr Cetina; & Eike von Savigny (eds.), *The Practice Turn in Contempory Theory,* London/New York: Routledge, 184–197.

Koch, Peter (1988) Norm und Sprache. In: Jörn Albrecht; Jens Lüdtke; & Harald Thun (eds.), *Energeia und Ergon. Studia in Honorem Eugenio Coseriu,* volume Vol. II, Tübingen: Narr, 327–354.

Koch, Peter (1997) Diskurstraditionen: zu ihrem sprachtheoretischen Status und ihrer Dynamik. In: Barbara Frank; Thomas Haye; & Doris Tophinke (eds.), *Gattungen mittelalterlicher Schriftlichkeit,* Tübingen: Narr, 43–79.

Kowal, Sabine & O'Connell, Daniel C. (2008) Zur Transkription von Gesprächen. In: Uwe Flick; Ernst von Kardorff; & Ines Steinke (eds.), *Qualitative Forschung. Ein Handbuch,* volume 6., durchgesehene und aktualisierte Auflage, Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch, 437–447.

Krappmann, Lothar (1971) *Soziologische Dimensionen der Identität. Strukturelle Bedingungen für die Teilnahme an Interaktionsprozessen*. Stuttgart: Klett.

Kraus, Wolfang (2006) The narrative negotiation of identity and belonging. *Narrative Inquiry,* volume 16(1): 103–111.

Kresić, Marijana (2006) *Sprache, Sprechen, Identität. Studien zur sprachlich-medialen Konstruktion des Selbst*. München: Iudicum.

Krzyżanowski, Michał & Wodak, Ruth (2008) Multiple Identities, Migration and Belonging: 'Voices of Migrants'. In: Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard & Rick Iedema (eds.), *Identity Trouble. Critical Discourse and Contested Identities,* Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 95–119.

Krzyżanowski, Michał & Wodak, Ruth (2009) *The Politics of Exclusion: Debating Migration in Austria*. New Brunswick/London: Transaction.

Labov, William (1972) The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax. In: William Labov (ed.), *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 354–396.

Labov, William & Waletzky, Joshua (1967) Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience. In: June Helm (ed.), *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts,* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 12–44.

Ladewig, Silva H. (2014) Recurrent gestures. In: Cornelia Müller; Alan Cienki; Ellen Fricke; Silva H. Ladewig; David McNeill; & Jana Bressem (eds.), *Body – Language – Communication. An International Handbook on Multimodality in Human Interaction*, volume 2, Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 1558–1574, (=HSK, 38.2).

Lamont, Michèle & Molnár, Virág (2002) The study of boundaries in the social sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology,* volume 28: 167–195.

Latour, Bruno (1999) *Pandora's hope: essays on the reality of science studies.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Latour, Bruno (2008) *Wir sind nie modern gewesen: Versuch einer symmetrischen Anthropologie*. Berlin: Suhrkamp.

Lave, Jean & Wenger, Etienne (1991) *Situated Learning. Legitimate Peripheral Participation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (=Learning in Doing: Social, Cognitive, and Computational Perspectives).

Le Page, Robert B. (1986) Acts of Identity. *English Today,* volume 2(4): 21–24.

Le Page, Robert B. & Tabouret-Keller, Andrée (1985) *Acts of Identity. Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lefebvre, Henri (2004) *Rhythmanalysis. Space, Time and Everyday Life*. London: Continuum, translated by Gerald Moore and Stuart Elden.

Lemnitzer, Lother & Zinsmeister, Heike (2010) *Korpuslinguistik. Eine Einführung.* 2nd Auflage, Tübingen: Narr.

Lessard, Hester; Johnson, Rebecca; & Webber, Jeremy (2011) Stories, Communities, and Their Contested Meanings. In: Hester Lessard; Rebecca Johnson; & Jeremy Webber (eds.), *Storied communities: narratives of contact and arrival in constituting political community*, Vancouver: University of British Colombia Press, 5–25.

Levinson, Stephen C. (2003) *Space in language and cognition: Explorations in cognitive diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lähdesmäki, Tulli; Ahvenjärvi, Kaisa; Hiltunen, Kaisa; Jäntti, Saara; Saresma, Nina Sääskilahtiand Tuija; & Vallius, Antti (2014) Mapping the Concept(s) of Belonging. In: *Official Conference Proceedings,* The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies, 85–100.

Lähdesmäki, Tuuli; Saresma, Tuija; Hiltunen, Kaisa; Jäntti, Saara; Sääskilahti, Nina; Vallius, Antti; & Ahvenjärvi, Kaisa (2016) Fluidity and flexibility of "belonging": Uses of the concept in contemporary research. *Acta Sociologica:* 1–15.

Linde, Charlotte (2009) *Working the Past. Narrative and Institutional Memory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lipski, John M. (1994) *Latin American Spanish.* New York: Longman.

Lovell, Nadia (1998a) Introduction. In: Nadia Lovell (ed.), *Locality and Belonging,* London/New York: Routledge, 1–24.

Lovell, Nadia (ed.) (1998b) *Locality and Belonging.* London/New York: Routledge.

Lucius-Hoene, Gabriele & Deppermann, Arnulf (2002) *Rekonstruktion narrativer Identität. Ein Arbeitsbuch zur Analyse narrativer Interviews*. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Lyotard, Jean-François (1979) *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir.* Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.

Maldonado, Ricardo (2013) Niveles de subjetividad en la deixis. El caso de aquí y acá. In: *Anuario de Letras. Lingüística y Filología,* volume I, 2, 285–326.

Malinowski, Bronisław (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific. An account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London/New York: Routledge, (=Studies in economics and political science, 65).

Mannheim, Karl (2015[1929]) *Ideologie und Utopie.* 9th Auflage, Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann.

Maslow, Abraham Harold (1970 [1954]) *Motivation and Personality.* 3rd edition Auflage, New York et al.: Harper and Row.

Matthew, Laura (2006) Mexicanos and the Meanings of Ladino in Colonial Guatemala. *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History,* volume 7(1).

Matveeva, Kristina (2017) In Search of Belonging. Russian LGBT people in Germany. In: Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka (ed.), *Das soziale Leben der Universität. Studentischer Alltag zwischen Selbstfindung und Fremdbestimmung,* Bielefeld: Transcript, 243–266.

Mauss, Marcel (1990[1925]) *Die Gabe – Form und Funktion des Austauschs in archaischen Gesellschaften.* Berlin: Suhrkamp, aus dem Französischen von Eva Moldenhauer, Vorwort von E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

May, Vanessa (2011) Self, Belonging and Social Change. *Sociology,* volume 45(3): 363–378.

McCabe, Scott & Stokoe, Elizabeth H. (2004) Place and Identity in Tourists' Accounts. *Annals of Tourism Research,* volume 31(3): 601–622.

McConnell-Ginet, Sally (2011) *Gender, Sexuality, and Meaning: Linguistic Practice and Politics*. Studies in Language and Gender, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McCreery, David (1994) *Rural Guatemala. 1760–1940.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

McHoul, Alec & Watson, Rod (1984) Two Axes for the Analysis of 'Commonsense' and 'Formal' Geographical Knowledge in Classroom Talk. *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* volume 5(3): 281–302.

Mead, George Herbert (1934) *Mind, Self and Society. From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist.* Chicago: University of Chicago, edited by Charles W. Morris.

Meinhof, Ulrike Hanna & Galasináski, Dariusz (2005) *The Language of Belonging*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Melucci, Alberto (1989) *Nomads of the Present. Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Melucci, Alberto (1995) The Process of Collective Identity. In: Hank Johnston & Bert Klandermans (eds.), *Social Movements and Culture,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 41–63.

Michaelis, Andree (2013) *Erzählräume nach Auschwitz. Literarische und videographierte Zeugnisse von Überlebenden der Shoah*. Berlin: Akademie, (=WeltLiteraturen – World Literatures, Schriftenreihe der Friedrich Schlegel Graduiertenschule für literaturwissenschaftliche Studien, 2).

Mishler, Elliot G. (2006) Narrative and identity: the double arrow of time. In: Anna De Fina; Deborah Schiffrin; & Michael Bamberg (eds.), *Discourse and Identity,* Kapitel 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 30–47.

Mitchell, W. J. Thomas (ed.) (1981) *On Narrative.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

Moerman, Michael (1988) *Talking Culture. Ethnography and Conversation Analysis.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Moghaddam, Fathali M.; Harré, Rom; & Lee, Naomi (2008) *Global Conflict Resolution Through Positioning Analysis*. New York: Springer.

Mufwene, Salikoko (2004) *The Ecology of Language Evolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Narciso, Rubén; Reyes, Marvin; Hernández, Patricia; & Donis, Sucely (2014) Caracterización departamental Quetzaltenango 2013. Technical Report,

Instituto Nactional de Estadística Guatemala, last accessed 25.09.2017. URL https://www.ine.gob.gt/index.php/estadisticas.

Nash, Manning (1958) *Machine Age Maya. The Industrialization of a Guatemalan Community*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Niles, John D. (1999) *Homo Narrans: The Poetics and Anthropology of Oral Literature.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Nititham, Diane Sabenacio (2017) *Making Home in Diasporic Communities. Transnational belonging amonst Filipina migrants*. London/New York: Routledge.

Nogué Serrano, Neus (2013) "M'encantaria poder venir a l'estadi a jugar contra el meu equip": dixi de persona, footing i identitat, una entrevista a Pep Guardiola. *Treballs de sociolingüística catalana,* volume 23: 375–389.

Norrick, Neal R. (1997) Twice-told tales: Collaborative narration of familiar stories. *Language in Society,* volume 26: 199–220.

Ochs, Elinor (1997) Narrative. In: Teun A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Structure and Process,* London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, 185–207.

Ochs, Elinor & Capps, Lisa (1996) Narrating the self. *Annual Review of Anthropology,* volume 25: 19–43.

Ochs, Elinor & Capps, Lisa (2001) *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Okely, Judith (2012) *Anthropological Practice: Fieldwork and the Ethnographic Method. New York et al.: Bloomsbury.*

O'Reilly, Karen (2009) *Key Concepts in Ethnography.* London: Sage.

Parsons, Talcott (1985) *Das System moderner Gesellschaften. Mit einem Vorwort von Dieter Claessens*. Weinheim/München: Juventa.

Pavlenko, Aneta (2008) Multilingualism in post-soviet countries: language revival, language removal, and sociolinguistic theory. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism,* volume 11: 275–314.

Pavlidou, Theodossia-Soula (2014) Constructing collectivity with 'we'. An introduction. In: Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou (ed.), *Constructing Collectivity. 'We' across Languages and Contexts,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1–19.

Pennycook, Alastair (2004) Language Policy and the Ecological Turn. *Language Policy,* volume 3: 213–239.

Pennycook, Alastair (2010) *Language as a Local Practice.* London: Routledge.

Petchers, Seth & Harris, Shayna (2008) The Roots of the Coffee Crisis. In: Christopher M. Bacon; V. Ernerso Méndez; Stephen R. Gliessman; David Goodman; & Jonathan A. Fox (eds.), *Confronting the Coffee Crisis. Fair Trade, Sustainable*

Livelihoods and Ecosystems in Mexico and Central America, Food, Health, and the Environment, Kapitel 3, Cambridge/London: MIT, 43–66.

Petitjean, Cécile (2009) *Représentations linguistiques et plurilinguisme.* Ph.D. thesis, Faculté de Lettres Institut des Sciences du Langage et de la Communication Université de Neuchâtel.

Pfaff-Czarnecka, Joanna (2011) From 'identity' to 'belonging' in Social Research: Plurality, Social Boundaries, and the Politics of the Self. In: Sarah Albiez; Nelly Castro; Lara Jüssen; & Eva Youkhana (eds.), *Etnicidad, cuidadanía y pertenencia: prácticas, teoría y dimensiones espaciales. Ethnicity, Citizenship and Belonging: Practices, Theory and Spatial Dimensions.,* Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert, 199–219.

Pfaff-Czarnecka, Joanna (2013) Multiple Belonging and the Challenges to Biographic Navigation. In: *ISA eSymposium for Sociology,* 1–17.

Phelan, James; Richardson, Brian; Herman, David; Warhol, Robyn; & Rabinowitz, Peter J. (eds.) (2012) *Narrative Theory: Core Concepts and Critical Debates.* Theory Interpretation Narrativ, Ohio: Ohio State University Press.

Pinkerton, Anne (1986) Observations on the tú/vos option in Guatemalan Spanish. *Hispania*, volume 69: 690–698.

Polanyi, Livia (1981) Telling the same story twice. *Text,* volume 1(4): 315–336.

Polanyi, Livia (1985) *Telling the American Story: A structural and cultural analysis of conversational storytelling*. Norwood: Ablex.

Popova, Ekaterina (2016) *Sprachen und Interethnische Beziehungen in Estland in der Umbruchszeit: Russische Bevölkerungsgruppe zwischen Anpassung und Protest.* Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, (=Sprachliche Konstruktion sozialer Grenzen: Identitäten und Zugehörigkeiten / Linguistic Construction of Social Boundaries: Identities and Belonging, 2).

Punday, Daniel (2002) *Narrative after Deconstruction*. Albany: State University of New York.

Quasthoff, Uta M. (1978) Bestimmter Artikel und soziale Kategorisierung: Zum Mechanismus von Referenz und Kohärenz. In: Dietrich Hartmann; Hansjürgen Linke; & Otto Ludwig (eds.), *Sprache in Gegenwart und Geschichte. Festschrift für Heinreich Mathias Heinrichs zum 65. Geburtstag,* Köln und Wien: Bohlau, 154–173.

Quasthoff, Uta M. (1980) *Erzählen in Gesprächen. Linguistische Untersuchungen zu Strukturen und Funktionen am Beispiel einer Kommunikationsform im Alltag*. Tübingen: Narr, (=Kommunikation und Institution, 1).

Quasthoff, Uta M. & Becker, Tabea (2004) Introduction. In: Uta M. Quasthoff & Tabea Becker (eds.), *Narrative Interaction,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1–11.

Quine, Willard van Orman (2000) I, you, and it: an empistemological triangle. In: Alex Orenstein & Petr Kotatko (eds.), *Knowledge, language and logic,* Dordrecht: Reidel, 1–6.

Rabinow, Paul (1977) *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco.* Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Rampton, Ben (2000) Crossing. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology,* volume 9: 54–56.

Reckwitz, Andreas (2003) Grundelemente einer Theorie sozialer Praktiken. Eine sozialtheoretische Perspektive. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie,* volume 32/4: 282–301.

Reisigl, Martin & Wodak, Ruth (2001) *Discourse and Discrimination. Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*. London/New York: Routledge.

Relph, Edward (1976) *Place and Placelessness.* London: Pion.

Ribeiro, Branca Telles (2006) Footing, positioning, voice. Are we talking about the same things? In: Anna De Fina; Deborah Schiffrin; & Michael Bamberg (eds.), *Discourse and Identity,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 48–82.

Ricoeur, Paul (1981) Narrative Time. In: W. J. Thomas Mitchell (ed.), *On Narrative,* Chicago: University of Chicago, 165–186.

Ricoeur, Paul (1988) *Time and Narrative,* volume Volume 3. Chicago/London: University of Chicago., translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer.

Robben, Antonius C.G. M. & Sulka, Jeffrey A. (eds.) (2006) *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader.* Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rodríguez Ramalle, Teresa María (2005) *Manual de Sintaxis del Español.* Madrid: Castalia.

Rosen, Harold (1988) The autobiographical impulse. In: Deborah Tannen (ed.), *Linguistics in context: Connecting observation and understanding,* Norwood: Ablex, 69–88.

Rosenberg, Katharina (2014) *Interkulturelle Behördenkommunikation. Eine gesprächsanalytische Untersuchung zu Verständigungsproblemen zwischen Migranten und Behördenmitarbeitern in Berlin und Buenos Aires*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, (=Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 380).

Rosenberg, Peter; Jungbluth, Konstanze; & Rhobodes, Dagna Zinkhahn (eds.) (2015) *Linguistic Construction of Ethnic Borders.* Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang.

Roth, Marita (2005) *Stereotype in Gesprochener Sprache. Narrative Interviews mit Ost- und Westberliner Sprechern 1993–1996*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, (=Stauffenburg Linguistik, 36).

Rubin, Margot (2012) 'Insiders' versus 'outsiders': What difference does it really make? *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, volume 33: 303–307.

Sacks, Harvey (1967) The Search for Help. No One To Turn To. In: Edwin S. Shneidman (ed.), *Essays in Self Destruction,* New York: Science House, 203–223.

Sacks, Harvey (1972a) An initial investigation of the usability of conversational data for doing sociology. In: Sacks (1972b), 31–74.

Sacks, Harvey (1972b) On the analyzability of stories by children. In: J.J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: the ethnography of communication,* New York: Rinehart & Winston, 325–345.

Sacks, Harvey (1995) *Lectures on Conversation*, volume I and II. Cambridge: Blackwell, edited by Gail Jefferson; with an introduction by Emanuel A. Schegloff.

Sacks, Harvey (1996) Das Erzählen von Geschichten innerhalb von Erzählungen. In: Ludgar Hoffmann (ed.), *Sprachwissenschaft. Ein Reader,* Berlin: de Gruyter, 227–234.

Sacks, Harvey; Schegloff, Emanuel A.; & Jefferson, Gail (1974) A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation. *Language,* volume 50(4): 696–735.

Sacks, Norman (1954) Aquí, acá, allí and allá. *Hispania,* volume 27: 263–266.

Samson, C. Mathews (2007) *Re-enchanting the world: Maya Protestantism in the Guatemalan highlands*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Savage, Mike; Bagnall, Gaynor; & Longhurst, Brian (2005) *Globalization and Belonging.* London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage.

Savedra, Mônica Maria Guimarães & Mazzelli-Rodrigues, Leticia (2017) A língua pomerana em percurso histórico brasileiro: uma variedade (neo)autóctone. *Working Papers em Linguística,* volume 18(1): 6–22.

Schatzki, Theodore R. (2001) Introduction. Practice Theory. In: Theodore R. Schatzki; Karin Knorr Cetina; & Eike von Savigny (eds.), *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory,* London/New York: Routledge, 10–23.

Scheffel, Michael (2012) Nach dem 'narrative turn'. Handbücher und Lexika des 21. Jahrhunderts. *DIEGESIS. Interdisziplinäres E-Journal für Erzählforschung / Interdisciplinary E-Journal for Narrative Research*, volume 1: 43–55.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1972) Notes on a Conversational Practice: Formulating Place. In: *Studies in Social Interaction,* New York: The Free Press, 75–119.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1997a) "Narrative analysis" thirty years later. Oral versions of personal experience: Three decades of narrative analysis. *Special issue of Journal of Narrative and Life History,* volume 7: 97–106.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1997b) Whose text? Whose context? *Discourse and Society,* volume 8: 165–187.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2007a) Categories in action: person-reference and membership categorization. *Discourse Studies,* volume 9: 433–461.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (2007b) A tutorial on membership categorization. *Journal of Pragmatics*, volume 39: 462–482.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. & Sacks, Harvey (1973) Opening up Closings. *Semiotica,* volume 8: 289–327.

Schenkein, Jim (1978) Sketch of an analytic mentality for the study of conversational interaction. In: Jim Schenkein (ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction*, New York: Academic Press, 1–6.

Schevill, Margot Blum (1993) *Maya Textiles of Guatemala.* Austin: Austin University Press.

Schäfer, Hilmar (2016a) Praxis als Wiederholung. Das Denken der lterabilität und seine Konsequenzen für die Methodologie praxeologischer Forschung. In: *Praxistheorie. Ein soziologisches Forschungsprogramm,* Bielefeld: Transcript, 137–159.

Schäfer, Hilmar (ed.) (2016b) *Praxistheorie. Ein soziologisches Forschungsprogramm*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Schlieben-Lange, Brigitte (1983) *Traditionen des Sprechens: Elemente einer pragmatischen Sprachgeschichtsschreibung*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Schmidt, Thomas & Wörner, Kai (2009) EXMARaLDA – creating, analysing and sharing spoken language corpora for pragmatic research. *Pragmatics*, volume 19(4): 565–582.

Schmitt, Reinhold & Knöbl, Ralf (2013) Recipient design aus multimodaler Sicht. In: Deutsche Sprache. *Deutsche Sprache,* volume 3(13): 242–276.

Schneider, Arnd (2006) *Appropriation as Practice. Art and Identity in Argentina.* Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schütze, Fritz (1983) Biographieforschung und narratives Interview. *Neue Praxis,* volume 13: 283–293.

Scollon, Ron & Scollon, Suzanne Wong (1981) *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication*. Norwood: Ablex.

Selting, Margret; Auer, Peter; Barth-Weingarten, Dagmar; Bergmann, Jörg; Bergmann, Pia; Birkner, Karin; Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth; Deppermann, Arnulf; Gilles, Peter; Günthner, Susanne; Hartung, Martin; Kern, Friederike; Merzlufft, Christine; Meyer, Christian; Morek, Miriam; Oberzaucher, Frank; Peters, Jörg; Quasthoff, Uta; Schütte, Wilfried; Stukenbrock, Anja; & Uhmann, Susanne (2009) Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2 (GAT 2). *Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion*, volume 10: 353–402.

Shore, Cris (1999) Fictions of Fieldwork: Depicting the 'Self' in Ethnographic Writing. In: Theresa J. Buckland (ed.), *Dance in the Field: Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography,* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 25–49.

Shuman, Amy (2006) Entitlement and empathy in personal narrative. *Narrative Inquiry,* volume 16(1): 148–155.

Shuman, Amy (2010) *Other People's Stories. Entitlement Claims and the Critique of Empathy*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Silva-Villar, Luis & Guitérrez-Rexach, Javier (2001) Demonstratives in a Feature-Based Theory of Syntax. In: Galina M. Alexandrova & Olga Arnaudova (eds.), *The Minimalist Parameter: Selected papers from the Open Linguistics Forum, Ottawa, 21–23 March 1997,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 325–344, (=Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 192).

Silverman, David (1998) *Harvey Sacks. Social Science and Conversation Analysis.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Silverstein, Michael (1976) Shifters, Linguistic Categories, and Cultural Description. In: Keith H. Basso & Henry A. Selby (eds.), *Meaning in Anthropology,* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 11–55.

Simmel, Georg (1890) *Über soziale Differenzierung.* Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, (=Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen X, 1).

Simmel, Georg (1908) *Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

Slembrouck, Stef (2015) The Role of the Researcher in Interview Narratives. In: Anna De Fina & Alexandra Georgakopoulou (eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis,* Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 237–254.

Smith, Carol A. (1984) Local History in Global Context: Social and Economic Transitions in Western Guatemala. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, volume 26(2): 193–228.

Smith, Robin James (2013) Accounting for the Landscape of Regeneration: Spatial Membership, Categorization Practices, and the Moral Order of Commonsense Topographies. *Space and Culture,* volume 16(1): 43–59.

Solares, Jorge (1993) *Estado y Nación. Las demandas de los grupos étnicos en Guatemala*. Guatemala Cuidad: FLACSO Guatemala.

Sontag, Susan (2004) *Regarding the Pain of Others.* New York: Picador.

Spradley, James P. (1980) *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stavenhagen, Rodolfo (1965) Classes, Colonialism, and Acculturation. Essay on a System of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Mesoamerica. *Studies in Comparative International Development,* volume 1(6): 53–77.

Stodulka, Thomas (2017) *Coming of Age on the Streets of Java. Coping with Marginality, Stigma and Illness*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Stodulka, Thomas; Thajib, Ferdiansyah; & Dinkelaker, Samia (2019) *Affective Dimensions of Fieldwork.* New York: Springer.

Stokoe, Elizabeth (2012) Moving forward with membership categorization analysis: Methods for systematic analysis. *Discourse Studies,* volume 14: 277–303.

Stokoe, Elizabeth H. & Wallwork, Jodi (2003) Space invaders: The moral-spatial order in neighbour dispute discourse. *British Journal of Social Psychology,* volume 42: 551–569.

Tabouret-Keller, Andrée (1997) Language and identity. In: Florian Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics,* Oxford: Blackwell, 315–326.

Tacke, Felix (2015) *Sprache und Raum in der Romania: Fallstudien zu Belgien, Frankreich, der Schweiz und Spanien*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Tajfel, Henri (1974) Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information,* volume 13(65): 65–93.

Tannen, Deborah (1986) Introducing Constructed Dialogue in Greek and American Conversational and Literary Narratives. In: Florian Coulmas (ed.), *Direct and Indirect Speech,* Berlin: Mouton, 311–322.

Tannen, Deborah (1989) *Talking voices. Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tedlock, Dennis (1972) *Finding the Center. Narrative of the Zuni Indians*. New York: Dial Books.

Tilley, Christopher (1994) *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg.

Tönnies, Ferdinand (1972[1887]) *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie.* 3rd Auflage, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Toffin, Gérard & Pfaff-Czarnecka, Joanna (2014) *Facing Globalization in the Himalayas: Belonging and the Politics of the Self.* Los Angeles et al.: Sage Publications.

Travis, Catherine E. (2005) *Discourse Markers in Colombian Spanish. A Study in Polysemy.* Cognitive Linguistics Research 27, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Turner, Stephen (1994) *The Social Theory of Practices: Tradition, Tacit Knowledge, and Presuppositions.* Cambridge: Polity Press; Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Vallentin, Rita (2010) An Imagined Community through Participation in a Global Public Sphere? A Case-Study from the Guatemalan Highlands, unpublished Master's Thesis.

Vallentin, Rita (2012a) El idioma como práctica social – Construyendo una identidad rural comunitaria amarrada al aquí. In: *Conference Proceedings of the Latin American Studies Association. San Francisco,* Latin American Studies Organization.

Vallentin, Rita (2012b) Entwurf eines praxeologischen Ansatzes für die empirische Normenforschung. In: Katharina Rosenberg & Rita Vallentin (eds.), *Norm und Normalität. Beiträge aus Linguistik, Soziologie, Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften,* Berlin: Logos, 27–40.

Vallentin, Rita (2015) Linguistic Strategies of Constructing Durable and Permeable Ethnic Boundaries in a Brazilian Quilombo Community. In: Peter Rosenberg; Konstanze Jungbluth; & Dagna Zinkhahn Rhobodes (eds.), *Linguistic Construction of Ethnic Borders,* Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 33–53.

Vallentin, Rita (2018) Contando a própria identidade – uma narrativa quilombola como projeto colaborativo. In: *Actas do V Simpósio Mundial de Estudos de Língua Portuguesa,* Lecce, Italy.

van Dijk, Teun A. (1987) *Communicating Racism. Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Vogler, Carolyn (2000) Social identity and emotion: the meeting of psychoanalysis and sociology. *The Sociological Review,* volume 48(1): 19–42.

Watson, Bill C. W. (ed.) (1999) *Being There: Fieldwork in Anthropology.* London: Pluto Press.

Weber, Max (1980) *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*. Tübingen: Mohr.

Welz, Frank (2005) Rethinking identity: Concepts of identity and 'the other' in sociological perspective. *The Society. An International Journal of Social Sciences*, volume 1: 1–25.

Wengraf, Tom (2001) *Qualitative Research Interviewing. Biographic Narrative and Semi-Structured Methods*. London: Sage.

White, Michael & Epston, David (1990) *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee (2008) *Sprache, Denken, Wirklichkeit. Beiträge zur Metalinguistik und Sprachphilosophie.* 25th Auflage, Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Williams, Glyn (2004) Community / Gemeinschaft. In: Ulrich Ammon; Norbert Dittmar; Klaus J. Mattheier; & Peter Trudgill (eds.), *Sociolinguistics. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society,* volume 1, 2nd Auflage, Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 486–490.

Wimmer, Andreas (2008) The making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries: A multilevel process theory. *American Journal of Sociology,* volume 113(4): 970–1022.

Winker, Gabriele & Degele, Nina (eds.) (2010) *Intersektionalität. Zur Analyse sozialer Ungleichheiten.* Bielefeld: Transcript.

Wodak, Ruth (2008) The Contribution of Critical Linguistics to the Analysis of Discriminatory Prejudices and Stereotypes in the Language of Politics. In: Ruth Wodak & Veronika Koller (eds.), *Handbook of Communication in the Public Sphere,* Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 291–316.

Wodak, Ruth (2016) *Politik mit der Angst: Zur Wirkung rechtspopulistischer Diskurse*. Wien: Edition Konturen.

Wodak, Ruth; de Cillia, Rudolf; Reisigl, Martin; & Liebhart, Karin (1999) *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Wolff, Stephan (2004) Clifford Geertz. In: Uwe Flick; Ernst von Kardorff; & Ines Steinke (eds.), *A Companion to Qualitative Research,* London: Sage, 47–52.

Wortham, Stanton (1996) Mapping Deictics: A Technique for Discovering Teachers' Footing. *Journal of Pragmatics,* volume 25(3): 331–348.

Wortham, Stanton (2000) Interactional Positioning and Narrative Self-Construction. *Narrative Inquiry,* volume 10(1): 157–184.

Wortham, Stanton (2001) *Narratives in Action. A Strategy for Research and Analysis.* New York/London: Teachers College Press.

Yuval-Davis, Nira (2006) Belonging and the politics of belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice,* volume 40(3): 197–214.

Yuval-Davis, Nira (2010) Theorizing identity: beyond the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy. *Patterns of Prejudice,* volume 44(3): 261–280.

Yuval-Davis, Nira (2011) Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging. *FREIA's Working Papers Series from the Institut for Kultur og Globale Studier, Aalborg Universitet*, (75): 2–16.

Zenker, Olaf (2011) Autochthony, ethnicity, indigeneity and nationalism: time-honouring and state-oriented modes of rooting individual-territory-group triads in a globalizing world. *Critique of Anthropology,* volume 31(1): 63–81.

Zermeño-Padilla, Guillermo (2008) Del mestizo al mestizaje: arqueología de un concepto. *Memoria y Sociedad,* volume 12(24): 79–95.

Appendix

A. Speaker Table

Table 6: Speakers in the corpus

Acronym	Gender	Age at the time of the interview
Alex	male	50
Ana	female	53
Andres	male	22
Bea	female	47
Bianca	female	25
Camila	female	33
Carlos	male	42
Claudio	male	15
Diego	male	70
Eldin	male	15
Elmer	male	31
Eva	female	41
Ferndando	male	27
Flor	female	44
Gabriela	female	63
Glenda	female	15
Helen	female	30
Hilmar	male	33
Humberto	male	68
Javier	male	42
Jeremy	male	26
Juan	male	43
Julio	male	38
Lidy	female	38
Linda	female	24
Luis	male	21
Maria	female	58
Miguel	male	17

Acronym	**Gender**	**Age at the time of the interview**
Nery	female	50
Pablo	male	27
Patricia	female	17
Pia	female	30
Sol	female	41
Walter	male	45
Wendy	female	23

B. Interview Questionnaire

1. ¿Nombre, edad y ocupación en la Alianza?
   'Name, age and occupation in the Alianza?'
2. ¿Cómo se acuerda Usted a la transformación en la Alianza?
   'How do you remember the transformation in the Alianza?'
3. ¿Cómo le afectó personalmente esta transformación?
   'How did this transformation affect you personally?'
4. ¿Cómo la Alianza se distingue de otras comunidades?
   'How is the Alianza different from other communities?'
5. ¿Cómo está organizada la Alianza políticamente?
   'How is the Alianza politically organized?'
6. ¿Cuáles son los proyectos que la Alianza tiene ahora?
   'What projects does the Alianza have today?'
7. ¿Cómo la comunidad colabora con otras organizaciones e instituciones?
   'How does the community collaborate with other organizations and institutions?'
8. ¿Usted se siente como parte integral de la Alianza?
   'Do you feel like an integral part of the Alianza?'
9. ¿Cómo Usted piensa sobre futuro de la Alianza y su propio futuro en la comunidad?
   'How do you think about the Alianza's future and your own future in the community?'

Index

A
agency 6, 23, 31f., 46, 252f.
attachment 26, 30, 36, 199, 205, 226, 240, 247, 253
authentication 22, 226, 246
authenticity 248
autochthony 37, 206, 248f.

B
belonging 2ff., 15ff., 24ff., 36f., 250, 254ff.
  language use and belonging 5, 39ff.
  social belonging 22, 27f., 37, 207, 225f., 250, 253f.
  spatial belonging 25ff., 36f., 206f., 224, 226, 233, 246, 250
  temporal belonging 35ff., 41, 226
  regimes 33ff., 229, 232, 239, 240, 256

C
co-construction 23, 75, 152
Collectivity 24, 151f., 246f.
colono 9–13, 74
commonality 27–30, 43, 155, 258
community of practice 14, 44, 52ff., 74, 253
conversation analysis 56ff.
choral voice/poly-voiced chorus 141, 144, 151, 247

D
deictics 59, 235f., 249f.
  aquí 'here' 59, 121, 141, 199, 204ff., 229–239, 245f.
  acá 'here' 235–239
  'we' 181–184, 215f., 220, 246f.

E
ethnography 47

F
fieldnotes 99f.

G
gatekeeper 85
Guatemala 8ff., 42, 78, 88f., 103, 144, 173, 257

I
identification 15, 17ff., 70
identity 15ff., 18ff., 22f., 24, 27f.
  collective identity 20f., 27f.
  personal identity 16, 18f., 26
  social identity 18ff., 22, 27
indexicality 55, 61, 73, 146
interaction 2–5, 13f., 17, 19f., 22, 34, 39, 51, 55
intersubjectivity 17

L
locality 26, 47, 245

M
membership categorization 56–61, 104
mutuality 6, 29, 37, 43, 45, 258

N
narrative 28, 32, 50, 63
  narrative ownership 159, 175, 216f.
  narrative practice 53, 64ff., 68, 71, 253f.
neo-autochthonous 37, 249, 254, 256

P
place 6, 26f., 30ff., 36f., 59, 245–249
positioning 22f., 32, 55, 61–64, 72ff., 161, 180f., 204, 222, 227, 252
  social positioning 22–24, 29f.
practice 24, 32f., 36f., 39, 43–49

S
social group 5, 20, 27, 28, 36, 40, 56, 258
social location 29–35, 70

T
time/temporality 25, 35f., 245, 247

V
voice/voicing 73, 180ff., 184ff., 187ff.
  we-voice 181–184, 214–217, 226, 246f.

Sprachliche Konstruktion sozialer Grenzen: Identitäten und Zugehörigkeiten / Linguistic Construction of Social Boundaries: Identities and Belonging

Herausgegeben von / Edited by Konstanze Jungbluth und Mônica Maria G. Savedra

Band 1 Dagna Zinkhahn Rhobodes: Sprechen entlang der Oder. Der Charakter der sprachlichen Grenzen am Beispiel der deutsch-polnischen Sprachroutine. 2016.

Band 2 Ekaterina Popova: Sprachen und interethnische Beziehungen in Estland in der Umbruchszeit. Russische Bevölkerungsgruppe zwischen Anpassung und Protest. 2016.

Band 2 Mario Luis Monachesi Gaio: Etnicidade Linguística em Movimento. Os Processos de Transculturalidade Revelados nos Brasileirítalos do Eixo Rio de Janeiro-Juiz de Fora. 2018.

Band 4 Rita Tamara Vallentin: Language and Belonging. Local Categories and Practices in a Guatemalan Highland Community. 2019.

www.peterlang.com