MULTILINGUAL LITERACIES IN BOLIVIA

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1. Introduction

This paper offers some insights in our project "Multilingual literacies from a cross-cultural perspective"[1], the everyday uses of literacy among bilinguals in Bolivia and Uganda focused from the perspective of the user. Due to the limited space available and the focus of the Seminar on Indigenous Bolivian and Rondónian Languages, held in Leiden, September 2000, we will concentrate on Bolivia.

Our main interest is neither the acquisition of literacy in school settings nor the historical development of predominantly oral languages into written languages, but the importance and impact of literacy for the regular bi- or multilingual indigenous citizen in Bolivia. Literacy is seen not as a set of independent skills associated with reading and writing, but as the application of those particular skills for specific purposes in specific contexts, a socio-cultural practice.

We should also emphasise that the analysis of multimedia communication events (oral and written) are gaining importance due to the cultural changes produced by global communication flows. Tannen (1987: 85) already stressed this fact in her seminal contribution "The Orality of Literature and the Literacy of Conversation" when she stated that "orality and literacy, speaking and writing, are not dichotomous but rather complex, overlapping and intertwined". Von Gleich (2000) has elaborated on this medial development in the Aimara-Spanish social communication and called this type of literacy the 'literacidad oculta' (hidden or covert literacy) in the so-called new global orality.

In what follows we will briefly present the outline of the project, the methodology developed for the empirical work and some evaluation procedures as well as some preliminary results obtained in Bolivia, concentrating on the Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in the department of Cochabamba.

1.1. Design of the project

The project analyses literacy practices, i.e. "the social practices associated with the written word" (Barton 1994: 37) in multilingual contexts. In its first phase, the project focuses on those multilingual communities where languages differ significantly with regard to their social and functional recognition, their degree of standardisation and their literary tradition, as it is the case in large areas of Africa and Latin America.

[1] The project was designed between 1998 and 1999, submitted for evaluation in January 1999 to the DFG (German Science Foundation) and approved in July 1999 as one of the projects in the package of the Sonderforschungsbereich 538, granted to the University of Hamburg under the direction of Prof. J. Meisel.

Due to the increased promotion of literacy in indigenous languages in countries of these two continents during the last two decades, these languages are expected to compete with European languages as written media.

Our explorative study tries to find out whether literacy in more than one language might achieve importance in the near future in everyday life situations beyond the education system and beyond specialised professional groups such as interpreters, and to explore the nature of such new functions.

On the basis and against the background of the "New Literacy Studies" approach (e.g. Street 1982; Barton 1994; Prinsloo & Breier 1996; Hamel 1996; Hornberger 1997; Hornberger & Skilton Sylvester 2000) the project analyses the use of literacy in various multilingual regions of Africa (first phase: Uganda) and in Latin America (first phase: Bolivia) applying qualitative and quantitative methods (observation, interviews, questionnaires, biographical narration) in various communicative settings, family, work, church, public life, and administration among multilingual individuals and groups. The leading questions focus on:

1. Forms and ways of multilingual practices;
2. Factors that enhance or restrict the expansion and diffusion of specific literacy events;
3. Costs and benefits of multilingual literacy for individuals, groups and societies.

The present and changing ecology (cf. Haugen 1972) of multilingual literacy will be investigated in case studies of communities selected according to their specific linguistic constellations including varying degrees of dominance in written and oral use. This user-oriented design will be complemented by studies of the selected population (groups and individuals), elaborating on attitudes towards literacy per se, own biographical experiences, and opinions about people who can be considered *model speakers*, always taking into account the reality of the respective setting, i.e. access to printed material, language policy, linguistic distribution, number of speakers, types of multilingualism, literacy tradition of the languages involved, etc.

The sampling in Bolivia is based on the principles of the community profile method (Wölck 1975; von Gleich 1982; Moelleken 1997), in Uganda preferably on subsequent clustering as well as on elements of the communicative network approach.

2. Methodology

As already mentioned a package of different methods for the collection of the data is being used. Before going into the details it should be pointed out that the common methodology serves as a linking tool, a medium of comparison (*tertium comparationis)* between the two selected countries.

Let us begin with some explanations about the selection of the two countries or continents. The two main researchers, Mechthild Reh and Utta von Gleich, have been working during the last twenty years in different sociolinguistic contexts of Africa and Latin America, not only as descriptive or contact linguists, but both being involved on various occasions in counseling governments on how to standardise local languages for schooling purposes, especially the introduction of mother tongue education in the framework of bilingual intercultural education and also in informal education system and in development projects. Moreover, our personal commitment to the protection and maintenance of vulnerable languages made us curious to find out what situations vernacular languages are facing when competing with the major written languages of the ex-colonial world, English, French and Spanish.

Despite their geographic distance and many obvious differences Bolivia and Uganda share some socio-historical features:

- colonial administration
- imported educational systems from Europe
- high degree of illiteracy (Bolivia 1999: 20%, Uganda 47%)
- a great variety, (number, size and linguistic properties) in up to forty indigenous languages concentrated in different regions
- an exogenous official language: Spanish and English
- a sporadic experience of mother tongue literacy during the last 25 years in form of pilot projects
- a high degree of poverty, both countries belong to the poorest of the respective continent (60-70% of the population below poverty line)
- a very young population (more than 50% under the age of 20)
- a big interest in development and modernisation along with a high degree of ethnic and linguistic loyalty claiming mother tongue education and civil rights
- educational reforms are under way starting in the nineties and promoting bilingual education
- economies based on primary sectors, mining, agriculture and trade in Bolivia, agriculture and trade in Uganda
- rapidly growing urbanisation

Summarising, we can state that the everyday living conditions, on the micro and meso level and the socio-linguistic features look quite similar.

However, comparing the societies of the two countries as a whole we find significant differences: Uganda's population is almost 90% of African origin and only up to 10% are immigrants from Europe or other countries, whereas Bolivia is split up roughly into three different ethnic groups: the descendants of the original populations 42% (*los pueblos originarios*), the mixed Mestizo population, almost 30% and the so called white population 15%, descendants of the Spanish colonialists and the rest are diverse smaller immigrants groups.

The significance of bi- or multilingualism is similar at least in some regions, but there is an important difference in the language profile between the two countries: while in Bolivia only about 11% (Albó 1995: 23, on the basis of the census of 1992) are monolingual mother tongue speakers of American indigenous languages and 40% monolingual speakers of Spanish (first language = L1), the majority of speakers of an indigenous languages, almost 60%, are bilingual (indigenous mother tongue and Spanish, but increasingly Spanish as first language (L1) and an indigenous language as second language (L2)[2]; in Uganda almost 90% have an indigenous language as their mother tongue, being at the same time bilingual in another African language, and/or trilingual in English. Only a small portion shows English as a first language. The overall degree of individual multilingualism with normally three languages is higher in Uganda than in Bolivia where Spanish appears as a second language in addition to a language of indigenous origin.

In the case of Bolivia our selection of sub-samples according to certain characteristics of school level and individual multilingualism was facilitated by the excellent study of Albó (1995), a combined demographic-administrative and multi-lingual census prepared for the implementation of the Education Reform that is expected to extend intercultural bilingual primary education for all.

The addressees of our study on reading and writing habits in literacy events are bilingual persons (indigenous languages + Spanish) with sufficient schooling (primary completed). Monolingual illiterates are of course not in the centre of our interest; nevertheless their way of dealing with written elements in everyday life situations will be observed in order to complete the study. Socially our informants belong to low-income groups and most of them have to be considered as poor.

Up to the present only very few members of the indigenous population have obtained higher university degrees (there are some professionals in agriculture, some lawyers and mainly teachers). Therefore our study is limited to the socially underprivileged lower and middle class. An outstanding exception is the former vice-president of Bolivia, a former teacher and lawyer, Victor Hugo Cárdenas, who enforced the concept of interculturalism as a democratic attitude in a multiethnic society.

Thanks to the help of our Bolivian colleagues in preparing the selection of our samples, we decided to work in three comparable smaller cities that show representative situations for the three chosen languages:

- Aimara in Viacha (close to El Alto with 500,000 inhabitants the large satellite community next to the capital of La Paz),
- Quechua in Sacaba near Cochabamba, and

[2] The new national census of 2001 to be carried out in September will specify this question by more precise questions. The first question remains "¿ Qué idiomas o lenguas habla? (Which languages do you speak?), but will be complemented by ¿ En cuál de estas lenguas aprendió a hablar? (In which language did you learn to speak?).

- Guarani with permanent residents in Camiri in the Cordillera, and in various migrant settlements in Santa Cruz.

The original idea to work in El Alto or respectively in Cochabamba was given up due to the personal and financial limitations of the project to cover a representative portion of these huge populations and also because it was not easy to define a coherent social communication network that is needed for the application of an anthropologically orientated community profile. In Viacha, Sacaba and Camiri, however, these conditions can be found, as will be shown later.

As to the three main questions that guided the first phase of our joint research, it has to be emphasised that the first question: *forms and ways of multilingual practices* has received priority treatment in the first year.

For the purpose of documentation of multilingual literacies we use two basic concepts: *literacy practices* and *literacy events* as defined by Barton (1994: 36-37) within the context of literacy:

> "Literacy is a social activity and can be described in terms of people's *literacy practices* which they draw upon in *literacy events*; the latter are all sorts of activities in everyday life where the written word has a role. The second term that is useful is that of *literacy practices*. There are common patterns in using reading and writing in any situation and people bring their cultural knowledge to an activity. We refer to their ways of using literacy as *literacy practices.*"

Applying anthropological criteria for the selection of the mayor communicative situations, we developed a common profile of potential everyday communicative lite-racy events structured in so-called domains (Annex 1). This type of communicative profile has been widely applied over the last 25 years in studies about language use in bilingual communities (Wölck 1975; von Gleich 1982; Moelleken 1997; and others) where full fledged data collection was either not possible or recommendable, as well as in literacy studies (Wagner 1993) in order to compartmentalise the universe in smaller relevant social units.

The tentative list of domains in which to look for literacy events was discussed with our local colleagues. In the case of Uganda some minor adjustments were introduced later which albeit will not diminish the comparability with the Bolivian case.

In order to systematise our data we developed observation sheets; one for the description of the visual environment (Annex 2) as we assume cultural differences in this field and impacts on the reading motivation; a second one for the recording and the categorisation of the literacy events (Annex 3) and a third (Annex 4) showing some essential data about the most active participants in the event that might be interviewed afterwards. This means that, wherever it was possible we added an informal oral or tape-recorded interview with at least one participant of the event and the

provider of the information in order to develop a coherent impression of the literacy event.

A guideline containing a list of key questions was given to the interviewers to help them structure the interviews (von Gleich, Reh, and Glanz 2000). In addition to this systematic collection of information we had conversations with key persons about the values of writing and reading and observed carefully the ongoing public discussion on multilingualism and interculturalism in both countries. Key or focus persons were personalities who have some influence on the reading and writing culture in the respective country (writers, politicians, professional, academics and especially ethnic authorities). In the case of Bolivia we organised with the help of the local Goethe Institut a public roundtable discussion on 'Aimara en la comunicación social' where the local Aimara leadership as well as the professional academics expressed and discussed their points of view.

The second mayor question concerning factors that enhance or restrict the expansion and diffusion of specific literacy practices as well as respective attitudes, beliefs, that have an impact on the peoples literacy practices will be studied and systematised at a further stage of the project, complemented by tests to determine vernacular criteria of the so called perfect bilingual.

Finally we want to mention that we made some videotapes about specific literacy events. For the sub-sample of Quechua bilinguals in Cochabamba we were fortunate to videotape a comprehensive interview (approx. 60 minutes) about the editing procedures of a bilingual newspaper that has a tradition of 15 years, and secondly we videotaped a working session with Quechua monolingual writers (also 60 minutes). For the Aimara sub-sample we have a video on the distribution of certificates by the Mallku (highest authority) as well as a video on a seminar about literacy among Aimara-Spanish bilinguals (60 minutes), and a wide range of snapshots of literacy events.

3. Biliteracy among Quechua-Spanish bilinguals

3.1. Short socio-economic profile of Sacaba

Sacaba is a middle-sized town of about 36,000 inhabitants. It is situated at an altitude of 2,600m in a very fertile, well-irrigated valley with a mild climate, at 10 km from Cochabamba, the capital of the Department of Cochabamba. The administrative status as municipality, according to the new Constitution of 1994, has given considerable autonomy to the Council and the mayor of the town and it has been rated as one of the priority regions by the general developmental plan of the Republic (CORDECO).

The educational level is still modest but improving: 30% of the population have accomplished basic education, 20% secondary school, only 2% teacher training seminars, 4% have some sort of University degree, and a medium of 10% are illiterate, a percentage which of course is higher in the local rural hinterland.

The linguistic composition is the following: of the population above 6 years 77% speak Spanish, 61% speak Quechua, and 4% Aimara, which indicates the high degree of bilingual Quechua speakers. More than half of the population is under 20 years.
In the last years Sacaba has begun to benefit from the decentralisation law and the law of social participation. A major number of development projects for basic needs were established in order to attend the rural hinterland. In the urban areas the basic supply of water, electricity, health service, and schools is guaranteed but there is still a considerable deficit in rural areas.

Cash incomes are modest, most people still supplement their budgets by agricultural and cattle raising activities. There is no predominant economic activity; instead we find people working in small commerce, administration, transportation and all kinds of handicraft activities. The three mayor markets, the Central market, the potato market (*papa qancha*) and the cereals market, which operate mostly during weekends, are important elements for the local economy. Summarising, we could say the city of Sacaba is economically self-maintaining, although it is into-grated in the bigger network of Cochabamba. This applies especially to the information and education network; newspapers come from Cochabamba, TV channels and also radio emissions, especially in Quechua for the farmers, are produced in Cochabamba. Due to the proximity, secondary and higher education is attended in Cochabamba.

This diversity of local urban activities tied to agricultural activities in the rural districts nearby allowed us to identify a rather complex scenario of communications domains with pertinent literacy events. The pilot study was presented to the local authorities and welcomed.

3.2. Some results and conclusions

3.2.1. First question: visual environment, forms and ways of multilingual events and practices

According to the notes in the observation sheets (Annex 2), the visual environment is almost monolingual in Spanish and includes commercial and professional propaganda, posters and slogans in all domains. Nevertheless, some elements such as proper names, names of streets, menus in restaurants, etc., integrate Quechua terms; in many cases they are completely hispanizised so that the normal user is not aware of the loan character. The written elements are stickers, flyers, price lists, selling advertisements, professional propaganda, newspapers, books, postcards, and pur-chase conditions in shops and banks.

Forms and ways of multilingual events have been observed according to a community profile of Sacaba and recorded in the observation sheets (Annex 3).

The predominant configuration pattern of a literacy event is a medium-sized group in public and private institutions; this implies different clients waiting in line or sitting around, in general more users than providers, which induces automatically different flows of conversation. In the case of medical attention the groups are smaller and the central conversations are not public; one patient and two-three rela-

tives vis-à-vis the doctor, accompanied by a nurse or other personal assistant. Almost all literacy transactions in private and public institutions are semi-public.

The *written elements* used in the performance of the literacy event are letters of complaint, forms, documents, instructions, prescriptions, protocols, notes, bills, receipts, etc., typical for the respective activity. Culturally they all belong to the written communication practices of the dominant Hispanic society. The language used in these written documents is mostly Spanish. The culturally different back-ground and the individual educational level are the main reasons for communication difficulties and not only the linguistic barrier as commonly suggested. We will illustrate this phenomenon on page 10 on the basis of the conversation between a doctor and a patient. The domains that differ from this pattern are domain 5 (churches and ceremonies), domain 12 (mass media), and domain 9 (educational sector).

In the religious domain, especially in protestant churches, the bible is available and read and explained in Quechua during the ceremony; books for the prayer and singing books, and the religious education recommendations are also in Quechua, but very few books are bilingual.

In domain 12, the mass media, messages for the radio are, for instance, delivered in Quechua (afterwards promulgated in Spanish or Quechua according to the wish of the client). This also applies to the bilingual magazine *Nawpaqman*, in which half of the texts are in Quechua, some originally edited in Quechua, some translations or short versions of information relevant to the readers (clients). In the case of *Nawpaqman* we clearly see a symbiosis of the indigenous cultural contents shaped into a written form according to occidental norms (letters, protocols of meeting, list of topics of an discussion agenda, list of participants etc.).

Since July 2000, *Presencia* a leading daily, privately financed newspaper (daily edition of 500,000), includes every day one full page with news in Quechua and Aimara. This is a surprisingly positive and very rare initiative. It is a clear proof for the linguistic flexibility and creative innovative capacity of indigenous languages, which means new cultural concepts and everyday events, political, societal, cultural and private topics that can be communicated in Quechua and also be written down and understood by the readers. Thus the story of the sunken Russian submarine or the law suit against general Pinochet in Chile and many other international as well as national topics were dealt with in this section. We still do not have a systematic analysis of the new readers but the fact that since July 2000 the journal is practically sold out one hour after its delivery, as well as many comments of the vendors support the speculation that the supplement in indigenous languages is attractive.

In the educational sector (domain 9), all primary schools that belong to the transformation plan of the Educational Reform have sufficient teaching material in Quechua, in the classrooms, in the reading corner, in the library, as well as in the recreation areas. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that in the city of Cochabamba we find some secondary schools where Quechua is systematically taught as a second or foreign language, such as, for instance, at the schools of '*Fe y Alegría'*, at *El Co-*

legio San Rafael, or as a foreign language, at the Instituto Maryknoll, IDELCO, and other schools. Even at the local university Quechua is obligatory in the respective curricula for medicine, law, agricultural studies and linguistics, but the implementation should be handled more strictly.

For the first time, since August 2000, the School of Education of the University San Simon offers during weekends and holidays a '*Licenciatura especial en Educación Bilingüe Intercultural'* for teachers in service. The informal education institutions offered mostly by the non-governmental organisations (domain 14) are more inclined to communicate bilingually, in the oral and written mode, especially in adult literacy and professional training. The above mentioned domains (religion and education) tend to offer literacy events to a larger audience, open to everyone as in the case of churches, but in pre-established groups or on invitation (parents-teacher meeting, members of a club and so on) in the case of training and schooling.

Summarising, we can state that the oral use of Quechua in private and public institutions is still alive, but that bilingual oral communication of course is predominant. The written elements are mostly Spanish so that we could speak in terms of Fishman (1975) of a diglossia between written and oral modes of communication. But we should be aware that such a type of conflictive diglossia is still widely tolerated as people in the street still take for granted the functional division: you talk in Quechua but you read and write (study) in Spanish.

In some experimental interviews of on-air callers to radio stations in La Paz and Cochabamba we found out that most people still believe in this stereotyped prejudice. As a consequence of the educational reform only recently a process of awareness and questioning of these stereotyped beliefs is taking place publicly, initiated by the indigenous speakers and their leading personalities. The Hispanic society's intercultural behaviour, therefore, is increasingly challenged to change.

3.2.2. Communication flows in Sacaba

If we look closer at a sequence of communicative acts among the local population in different situations –public and private institutions–, we can isolate six major linguistic communication patterns[3] that may easily co-occur or intertwine in a single literacy event. As an illustration we present the following example: a medical consultation of a pregnant woman.

The consultation of a bilingual family in a health centre, which I (Interviewer/ Observer 2: German/Spanish, Quechua) observed together with my local research assistant, a Quechua-Spanish bilingual teacher-trainer (=interviewer1), showed a rather complex communication configuration). The medical staff consisted of one administrative female assistant, a nurse (Quechua+Spanish) serving as a translator, one doctor and one assistant doctor (Spanish only), one technical assistant

[3] Among our speakers we can find different types of bilingualism, those who have Quechua as a first language (L1) and Spanish as a second language (L2) or Spanish as first language and Quechua as L2. Therefore we indicate the sequence of acquisition in brackets. Simultaneous bilinguals are very rare among indigenous speakers in the Andean countries.

(Quechua+Spanish). The clients were the young mother (Quechua+Spanish), her husband (Quechua+Spanish) served as a translator and knowledge-mediator, and two children, 4 and 6 years old, respectively (Quechua only).

The six major communication patterns are the following:

1. Spanish among Spanish monolinguals (doctor and assistant doctor);
2. Spanish between bilingual Spanish speakers and monolingual Spanish speakers (doctors and nurse);
3. Spanish among bilinguals with obvious linguistic variations, style variation or register according to the social class, e.g. the nurse talking to a bilingual peasant as compared to her colleague;
4. Bilinguals speaking with monolinguals in indigenous languages (nurse with children);
5. Speakers of the same indigenous language (children with mother, but also bilingual mother with our bilingual observer);
6. Foreign Spanish bilingual with local mono- and bilinguals (foreign observer in Spanish to the clinic staff and Quechua with the woman and children).

On this basis the development of a complex multilingual communicative event could be observed, which we will split up in episodes representing typical activity units, some with a written element.

Communicative bilingual episodes (E) in a routine medical consultancy:

E	Participants	Function	Written element Language used	Languages orally used
1a	Interviewer 1 Interviewer 2	Introduction of visitors to administration	Personal card Off. letter of recommendation (Spanish)	Sp.+Quechua Spanish
1b	Int.1 and Int.2	Introduction to the doctor		Spanish
1c	Client family With administration	Registration for consultation	Sequence coupon no.	Spanish
1d	Interviewers + clients	Self-introduction to the client family Int.1 to female client Int.2 to male client		 Quechua Spanish
1e	Female client + children Nurse to children	Explanation of the visit Providing confidence		Quechua Quechua
1f	Male client to Interv.2	Explanation of the visit		Spanish

2	Clients, doctors, nurses and interviewers Doctor to client Nurse to female client Female client to doctor Husband to doctor Doctor to client Nurse to client Female client Nurse to Doctor Doctor to female client Nurse to female client Doctor to client Nurse to client Doctor to clients Nurse to clients	**Routine consultation** *Part 1* Diagnosis Short interpretation of situation Translates doctor's Spanish talk Questions Husband translates More questions Translates questions Gives further information Translates answers *Part 2* Suggestion for treatment/therapy (Caesarean section) translates into *Part 3* Physical exam Translates during exam *Part. 4* Appointment for the last medical check Results of the exam Translation of results	Folder (in Spanish) with data about the patient Demonstration cards (Spanish) Ultrasound pictures	 Spanish into Quechua Quechua and Spanish into Quechua into Quechua Quechua into Spanish Spanish Quechua Spanish into Quechua Spanish into Quechua
3a	Clients to doctors and nurse	Thanks and goodbye		Spanish
3b	Clients to administration	Appointment for the last exam	Writing down in the calendar & little note to the client (Sp.)	Spanish/ Quechua
4	Conversation between doctors & interviewers	Additional information		Spanish
5	Interviewers to nurse	Thanks and new appointment	Leaving a note with the telephone number of Int.1	Spanish and Quechua

E1: Presentation between the actors
1a The presentation of the observers to the clinic administration starts with two written elements personal card and a recommendation letter from a professor of the Faculty of Education of the University (in Spanish).
1b Followed by a brief presentation to the doctor (he reads the letter and the card and then talks to us in Spanish).
1c Registration. A family enters the waiting room and picks up a *numbered coupon* for the consultation. The local observer uses this opportunity to start a conversation in Spanish and Quechua with the family waiting for attendance (presentation of our research about multilingual language usage).
1d Self-introduction. Female patient explains her case in Quechua to the Quechua speaking interviewer; parallel to this the man talks in Spanish to the foreign observer/interviewer.
1e Instruction of the mother to the children in Quechua; the nurse also talks to them in Quechua, because she identifies them as Quechua mother tongue speakers (how: the pregnant woman wears traditional clothes and the children speak to each other in Quechua.
1f The husband is demonstrating his communicative competence in Spanish, speaking in a local variety to the foreign observer.

E2: Consultancy with the doctor
Conversation with the doctors in the presence of the personal assistant and the interviewers/observers.
Part 1: The doctor asks for the reason of the visit, reading silently in the folder the notes of previous visits and immediately asks the bilingual nurse to repeat what he had said (information) in Quechua to the woman for better and safer understanding. Then he asks again in Spanish for further information, the kind of problems she has or feels. The woman starts in Spanish, then switches into Quechua, looks at her husband who starts to translate and sometimes the nurse intervenes repeating with additional explanations the information given by the woman and her husband (completing the previous knowledge about the patient's condition).
Part 2: The doctor tries to explain to the woman that they might have to perform a caesarean section due to overtime of the pregnancy. In this context he uses a set of demonstration cards and explains how the baby will be born/freed. Understandably this frightens the woman. She reacts shocked and silenced, a big *susto*, while the nurse is trying to give her confidence by giving a long explanation in Quechua.
Part 3: Medical exam. Next step: the doctor tries to explain that he wants to make an ultrasound diagnosis in order to know the exact position and size of the baby. He shows two different ultrasound pictures and tries to explain to the woman that the baby has to turn head down for a normal birth. Again a long repetition follows in Quechua while the doctor also tries to calm the husband in Spanish.

Part 4: The medical check is done in another room. We stay with the husband and the children.
E3a They comes back and the conversation ends with a long explanation to the husband in Quechua by the nurse and in Spanish by the doctor. The family leaves with respectful thanks to the doctor and an appointment for a last check within five days. During the whole consultation the doctor talks also to the foreign observer mentioning the problem of translation into Quechua, but with no negative attitude. He regrets not to be able to speak Quechua, but fortunately he always finds a bilingual nurse.
E3b The family expresses the gratitude for the good attendance and leaves.
E4 We continue the conversation with the doctor who preferred not to be taped. He admits the necessity of written bilingual instruction material but points also to the fact of the high rate of illiterates and rather recommends visually understandable instructions as he was using.
E5 The interviewers express their gratitude to the nurse and administrative assistant and leave also.

The evolution of this conversation fits with some modification easily into the institutional pattern analysis of doctors and patients conversation, observed by Bührig, Durlanik and Meyer (2000), the so-called *praxeogramm*. It is culturally very similar due to the fact that both observations have their roots in an occidentalized classical clinic treatment. Compared to the clearly structured obligatory medical explanation talk in Germany (Meyer 2000), the Bolivian communicative practice of the doctor focuses directly on co-operation with the patient, overcoming fear and consolidating confidence. The explanations given by the doctor are therefore integrated in the part diagnose and therapy proposal. The linguistic situation differs also: in Bolivia the bilingual nurse is the major communicative actor whereas in the German situation a family member or friend has to fulfil the interpretative job, i.e. in the case of the Bolivia the institution takes care of the interpretation and linguistic mediation, whereas in Germany the foreign client is on its own.

In the case of Bolivia we can of course also identify an ethnic midwife model that is still in use in the countryside with a predominant oral communication in the local indigenous language, but in the case of feared complications bilingual clients nowadays approach with more confidence the institutions of the Hispanic culture.

Interesting in our case is the continuous usage of both languages in changing speakers' constellations and the interference of written elements in Spanish that are the origin of the vast explanation and translation procedures. Seen quantitatively the reduced amount of written elements in Spanish provokes a time consuming procedure of interpretation. But we have to be aware that the reason behind that is not just the lack of the translated instruction but the unfamiliarity with different cultural medical procedures and their understanding.

4. Conclusions

Literacy practices among Quechua Spanish bilingual speakers in everyday communication are highly dominated by the Spanish language. All written elements, as shown in the example of medical routine consultation, are in Spanish. This is also the case in almost all other private and public institutions (cf. list of domains). The asymmetric relationship between Spanish and indigenous languages is obvious and confirms the assumption of a diglossic situation in terms of Fishman. Non-Spanish mother tongue speakers in Bolivia have to learn not only to speak but also to read and write in Spanish if they want to have access to minimal basic services and civic rights. Although Art. 1 of the Constitution reads "Bolivia, libre, independiente, soberana, ***multiétnica y pluricultural*****,** constituida en República unitaria, adopta para su gobierno la forma democrática representativa, fundada en la unión y la solidaridad de todos los bolivianos", we miss the solidarity on the linguistic level.

The educational sector is the only domain of the state where we can recognize serious efforts to democratise the unequal linguistic situation through the implementation of the bilingual intercultural education model for all Bolivians.

If we review the different oral monolingual and bilingual communication flows presented above, we can easily verify their combined and rich appearance in everyday multilingual literacy events and practices. This means that as long as Bolivia has such great numbers of bilingual speakers, biliteracy in the community and the society in general should be given a broader chance to become reality.

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ANNEX 1 List of domains

Corresponding to a tentative community profile of literacy events, discussed with colleagues in Bolivia, October-November 1999

Domain 1:	Outdoor, (in the street, places, daily and weekly markets etc)
Domain 2:	Private transportation: taxis, (colectivos, micros, buses and trains)
Domain 3:	Health Centres
Domain 4	Small shops, retailers and supermarkets
Domain 5:	Churches, religious and cultural centres
Domain 6:	Leisure-activities (sports, music, dancing, cinema and theatre)
Domain 7:	Cultural Ceremonies (birth, marriages, burials, funeral services, celebrations, festivities)
Domain 8:	At home
Domain 9:	Education Sector (primary schools, non formal Education institutions, Public Education Administration dependencies)
Domain 10:	Public institutions and relevant basic services (registration and counseling, energy and housing supply)
Domain 11:	Private institutions (credit and finance, working place)
Domain 12:	Mass media (radio, films, TV, Newspapers + magazines, books, video-cassettes)
Domain 13:	Professional associations or organisations (taxi drivers, teachers + workers' unions, etc.)
Domain 14:	Non-governmental social institutions and organisations (NGO's)
Domain 15:	International organisations, UN-Dependencies, UNESCO, UNICEF, Human rights organisations, ILO etc.)

ANNEX 2 (example)

Observation sheet for the documentation of Multilingual Literacy in the "Visual Environment":

Observations

Observer: Julieta
Date: 17/12 1999 in Sacaba

DOMAIN 3: Health Centres (clinic, doctors...)
(Give details of type of location, signs and **languages used**)

Location: in the eastern area on the main road, Cochabamba to Santa Cruz
On the building (outside)*:* Hospital Mexico
From far away a big visible announcement at the entrance of the building

In the building (inside) *waiting area:*
Specifiers on the doors: Laboratory, x-rays, vaccinations
A list of all doctors and their services, attendance hours
A list of prices for the different services
(birth attendance: free!)
Walls full of information about health campaigns, preventive health programs, vaccination campaigns
Some newspapers
A television corner
An altar for the local saint: San Juan de Dios

Reception desk*:*
Distribution of numbered vouchers for attention
Folders, entries in the cardex system

Doctor's room:
Illustrative posters and instructive material for different health problems. Diplomas and awards, as for example for the first "vesícula extraction" in May 1999

All written elements in Spanish

ANNEX 3
LITERACY EVENT NO._____
2.**OBSERVER** 3. DATE:_____ 4. TIME:_____
5. **OBSERVATION TYPE**: natural experimental 6. Participatory: no or yes if YES introduced by:_____
7. Observer known to participants: No , yes to some , yes to all
8.**PROPERTIES OF LOCALITY**:_____
9. **TOPIC** of the literacy event_____
10. **EVENT** is: Spontaneous or organised 11. Type of Event: Irregular or regular , frequency:_____
12. **PURPOSE/S** of the event
13. **TARGET AUDIENCE**:_____
COMMUNICATION-CONFIGURATION: DATA CONCERNING THE WRITTEN ELEMENT:
14. Meeting , person-to-person 19. Type of written element (book, flyer...): _____
15. Estimated no. of participants: ____ 20. Already produced or product of the event
16. Audience: invited , public or both 21. Physically present: yes or no
17. Frontal , roundtable 22. Language/s: _____
or informal grouping □
18. Relationship: formal or informal 23. Function_____
24. Language/s of mediation in the event_____

ANNEX 4: observation sheet for active participants during literacy events
Date Observer:

Participant

Name: (F)em / (M)asc.
Age
Home/residence Occupation:
Role or function in the event:

Participant: behaviour during the event

Activities during the event (type and with whom?)

Languages of mediation during the event:
Written languages during the event:
Nonverbal communication (gestures, mimics):