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"And If We Lose Our Name, Then What About Our Land?" Or, What Price Development?

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Ak markanga warniq warnjamchaga, karmaps karnajjamchaga.

(Here in Tzipe women are as women themselves and men are also as men themselves.)

—TUPE SAYING

On the high, wind-swept plateaus and in the rugged, steep valleys of the Andes, Andean civilizations flourished for centuries, maybe millennia. From what remains and from what can be reconstructed, we know the cultures in existence a little over 500 years ago were thriving cultures with intimate and specific knowledge of the rugged environment that allowed not only survival but prosperity. The steep, terraced hillsides were richly productive in agriculture, everyone had enough to eat, an extensive, well-maintained road system allowed exchanges for a rich diversity in food and other products.¹

Cultural norms were of equality between women and men with complementary, sometimes overlapping roles, with a balance of power between the sexes, both believed to be equally necessary to a viable human community. The languages, in consonance with the cultures, had no structures for the denigration of women; rather, the grammatical structures affirmed humanness. The major grammatical divisions are not sex-based but rather human-based, with a separate set of pronouns for human beings and another for all else, including animals. The major inflectional category is not number, but data source, that is, sentences are marked as to the source of the material being presented, whether personal experience, knowledge-through-language, or some nonpersonal source. The languages grammaticalized the simile and have no easy way of ranking comparatively. The language and culture were deeply rooted in community and cooperation, not in ranking and competition.

Five hundred years ago, out of Europe, a conquest swept over the Americas devastating the existing cultures and leaving in its wake the European version of sexism with its own particular characteristics deeply rooted in the structure of the Indo-European family of languages (Miller 1977). The specific grammatical structures that so lowered the status of women in the Andes, as elsewhere, are sex-based gender with the feminine

as a derivation of the masculine, number with plural derived from the singular, and the pervasive ranking comparative/absolute. I call the interplay of these three structures "derivational thinking."

Sex-based gender marking in the world's languages is not necessarily rare, although the way in which grammars have been written by members of the conquering European societies gives us a biased idea of frequency and typology. The language structures brought by these conquerors involved not only the obligatory marking of sex-based gender, but a derivation of the feminine from the masculine, the result of a tradition at least 5,000 years old, in a constant feedback loop between women's place in these European societies and in their languages.

Part of the realization of this derivation is in the naming practices imposed on all conquered populations, patronymics that labeled all people, and by implication all goods, as belonging to men. The power to name implies much of the power of creation. Our patronymics give the power to name people exclusively to men; without a father the child "has no name"; ancestry and family are identified through father's name; mother loses her name and identity at marriage. Our old property rights exactly echoed these practices: old Anglo law allowed no property to a woman; what was her father's became her husband's at marriage and her son's on his death. Recent times have modified these practices, but the underlying attitudes remain, particularly as "development" is practiced on "third world" countries. The devastation of the conquest was compounded for women as these practices were imposed by law, denying them the name, property, and identity rights that they had never had any reason to think were not theirs by birthright.

Current efforts at "development" threaten to destroy what little language and culture has survived the original European conquerors. The affected women lose status, position and, often, their very means of livelihood. Women's resistance to schooling, for example, is frequently a recognition of the loss such implies for them (Stein, ms.). At the same time, the rest of us may be losing models for what nonsexist societies might look like, a chance to imagine ourselves as living and growing in such societies. I argue this is a loss to the women and men of the affected societies and to ourselves as participants in the European-derived societies. In the languages of the conquerors, other women are invisible to us.

The Jaqi family of languages has been the focus of my research. As an anthropological linguist, my primary training enables discovery of the grammar of a language previously undescribed. This involves, in so far as possible, seeing a language within its context in order to discover the meaning and function of grammatical particles. Necessarily, one must understand the sentences, discourses, and cultural contexts in which these are used if one is to account for the distribution.² Part of the methodology is the collection of "texts" for analysis. These texts include narrations which include, among other things, stories, autobiographies, biographies, histories, myths, descriptions, and also the recording of such ongoing events as conversations, speeches, celebrations, and ceremonies. For accurate language analysis, these texts must be collected without a translation interface, that is, in the context of the language being studied, not of a dominant prestige group. A language needs to be studied where it is spoken.

Jagaru is a member of the Jaqi family of languages, which also includes Aymara, a major language of Bolivia, of southern Peru and of northern Chile. There are today some three and a half million speakers of Jaqi languages, the remnant of an empire that, before the time of the Incas, stretched from Ecuador to Argentina. The homeland of the Jagaru speakers is a steep valley heavily terraced on both sides. The plaza is a little over 9,000 feet above sea level. Although under Spanish rule for 500 years, they have been able to maintain many of their own cultural constructs. This they have done by internal community cohesion, by the use of the language, and by reconstructing much of what they have been given to better fit their own worldview.

I, personally, have gained much from observing the women in Tupe. I first went there in the 1950s, when women's choices in the United States were far more circumscribed than they are today. I watched women working, not in the home and with no notion of the role of "housewife." I listened to and worked with a language that carried no deprecations of women and with texts from strong, self-possessed women who could not understand subservience. I remember one incident: my husband and I were living a long-distance marriage for professional reasons, which meant that he was not with the children. I was complaining of this to a Jagaru friend. Utterly baffled as to why I had a problem, her solution was, "Well, you just tell him where he should live." For myself, as a young woman in the 1950s, this possibility had not occurred to me.

About fifteen years ago I invited my children's godparents to visit with us in Tupe, where Jagaru is spoken. The godparents are very tall, fair *gringos* (the usual word in Peru, often said with affection, for European-looking foreigners). Because Tupe is a two-day trip from Lima, the second day on foot for some twenty-five kilometers and with a climb of some 5,000 feet, foreign visitors were, and are, exceedingly rare. One evening, after my *compadres* had recovered from their climb, I introduced them to a group assembled for tea and conversation in the home of one of my Tupe friends. The godparents' English name was very difficult for the people of Tupe to pronounce. For the godfather they finally got it right: *Erdmann*. Then they all braced for the godmother's name. I will never forget the look on the Tupinos' faces when her name turned out to be the same!

The only possible explanation for the two sharing a name that would have occurred to any of the Jagaru people was that they were blood kin, therefore: incest. The godmother asked me to explain as, for this situation, her Spanish was failing her. I explained how in the United States a woman took her husband's name at marriage, losing hers, resulting in their having the same name. So that was why the names of my *comadre* and my *compadre* were the same. A young woman farmer, married to the man schoolteacher, looked quite perplexed and said to me: "But what, then, of inheritance, what of our land?" Yes, a good question indeed. The name attached to the land is also the name of the owner of the land. If a woman would have no name of her own, then how could she have land of her own? European practices had certainly long reflected that. At the time this conversation took place, it had only been legal for about a year for a woman to buy property in Florida without a male relative's signature.

EUROPEAN LANGUAGE AND EMBEDDED SEXISM

As part of the European conquest, the European system of patronymics was introduced. From early baptismal records found in Andean churches (Collins, 1983, and personal communication) the practice was apparently resisted. Today, children throughout the Andes follow the law in taking both the mother's and the father's patronyms. However, women do not take the husband's name, not even in Andean newspapers. One does find the name change practice, in almost Anglo style, among the upper classes with heavy international contacts. These are also the women who find our style of feminism most congenial and, by their names, are an example themselves of one of the ways in which importation of our traditions may be detrimental to other women. That this loss is serious was recognized by the woman quoted in the title of the paper, from the anecdote above. Her motive was to prevent loss, but even she did not know how much was already gone.

Most detrimental is the notion, based in the grammatical structure of derivational thinking, that, if one has in hand the masculine (in most cases for social sciences this means the men's point of view), then one has everything and all else can be derived therefrom. This, together with the singular and the ranking comparative/absolute, I call "derivational thinking." Derivational thinking has given us, in all the sciences, studies of and by men that have purported to be studies of us all. This is also the case in the fields of linguistics and anthropology. For example, in anthropology, the ethnographies have been written of half a culture and then labeled as though the ethnography were valid for the whole. In linguistics not only do we have the problem in grammars, as mentioned above, but, as an example, the defining work for sociolinguistics, Labov's work on New York dialects, was exclusively of men and boys (Labov, 1966). Women are, by the view fostered through this grammatical structure, grammatically unnecessary for physical reproduction of the species, or for language or cultural reproduction.

Some of the societies affected by the conquest may or may not have had a sexism of their own, though the Jagi clearly did not. In any event, whatever sexism did exist was of a different structure, both in language and in culture, from that which the conquerors would impose. In some cases, the impact of the imported sexism has been so heavy that by now we can no longer know the nature of the original social structure. Florence Babb (1980) discusses the imposition of sexism as she details the devastating effect on women of the Vicos project, held up by many as a model of proper third world development, run by Cornell anthropologists in Peru. Vicos is located in the northern Andes of Peru; the people speak one of the Quechua languages, the largest family of languages extant in the Andes, Jagi being the second. She states that there was a mild form of sexism already in place. The people involved were by then into at least the tenth generation of serfdom on an *hacienda* (plantation). To what degree the in-place sexism was original and to what degree imposed by the overlords is difficult to know. She discusses the reaction of the women to the loss of land being imposed on them by the male anthropologists from the United States, together with the loss of the Quechua

language (Stein, ms.), and how the introduction of European values and economics also included the teaching of violence toward wives.

Another example of historical loss reclaimed is found in the work of Maria Rostworowski (1983) on Inca society at the time of the conquest. She has sharply challenged the notion of a single male leader, suggesting, rather, that the power of appointment was in the hands of the sisterhoods (*pona*, "sister," clearly an important political concept within the Inca structure, but baffling to European men scholars) and that at all times there were two male executive secretaries, or administrators, appointed by the sisterhoods. These men, assumed by Europeans to be dictatorial monarchs, were, according to this study, subject to recall. This means that at the very point of conquest the original gender roles all but disappeared, as the Spanish elevated these administrators to all powerful "Incas" and furthermore assumed them to be singular.

The success of the imposition of sexism by colonial powers is widely documented. In fact, it has been so complete that the assumption is voiced frequently that all women in all times and places have been oppressed in the same way. To the contrary, at least in some cases, the strength of the nonsexist native culture has been able, in part, to maintain the balance of women's and men's positions within the realm of the culture itself. A brief description of Jagi women, what they have and what they have lost, what they seek and how they are currently placed within their own culture, the national culture, and on the world stage may be of value to perceive the possibilities for alternate constructions of social structure.

WOMEN AND LANGUAGE IN JAGI CULTURE

The Jagi women of the Andes are primarily farmers and merchants, with some number talented also in weaving and other trades. They have been the primary movers behind the education of their children, wishing the best for their children and believing that education will give them a better life. Sometimes the impact of education is not what they had hoped for; in the case of their daughters it is almost always a deep disappointment. What is sad to see is strong, self-possessed grandmothers, making great sacrifices to go to the coast or to the cities in order to further the education of their children and themselves struggling to learn some Spanish, then coming down hard on their daughters whom they perceive as failures. The grandmothers, coming from a native culture of equality between the sexes, perceive school as equal opportunity. When the girls do not achieve as the boys nor are offered jobs equal to those of the boys, the old women perceive this to be the fault of the girls, rather than of the culture into which they have been thrown. Sometimes this leads to the decision of families not to educate their daughters, and sometimes one finds the granddaughters turning to European-based feminism to undo the damage done to their mothers.

What is even sadder is that these young women are sometimes blinded by the coastal culture and by the rhetoric of the imported European feminism to all that their

grandmothers had and have lost, in spite of the few voices that have recently been raised to the contrary (Alderete, 1992; Mita & Montecinos, 1992). They learn to see their grandmothers as illiterate, ignorant peasants with no culture at all and, in the process, lose their own history.

The Jaqi languages themselves function to structure perceptions of women by both women and men such that the European version appears "uncivilized," or irrational. The Jaqi languages themselves have no gender marking of any kind. The pronoun sets distinguish human as contrasted to nonhuman, and inclusiveness or not of addressee; they do not distinguish sex.³ For example, the human pronouns are: *naya* (I, we but not you), *jima* (you), *jipa* (she, he, they), *jivasa* (you and I, with or without others). The non-human pronouns are: *aka iika k'oya*. These are usually translated as "this," "that," "yonder X," that is, as demonstrative pronouns, which obscures their function as nonhuman pronouns and leads to unfortunate translations. There are specific vocabulary items that refer to people such as *Jaqi* (people) or *Wawa* (child, baby): to women and men, such as *Warmi* (woman, wife), *Awila* (grandmother, old woman), and *Chacha* (man, husband), *Achachila* (grandfather, old man); to girls and boys, such as *Imilla* (girl child), *Tawqqa* (teenage girl, young unmarried woman) and *Yaqalla* (boy child), *Wayna* (teenage boy, young unmarried man) and so on. These are all roots, none derived from another, unlike European languages, as in English *woman* is perceived as being derived from *man*. The terms with sex meaning are applicable when appropriate but there is no need to refer to sex when it is irrelevant to the conversation. Words for animals are different from those for humans, also as different roots, for example: *nywa* (domestic animal) *qachu* (female animal) and *uryu* (male animal). Use of these terms for people is equivalent to our own type of insults whereby men are insulted with terms for women. On the other hand, the highest praise for anyone, and the goal for children, is to be *Jaqi*, "human."

EUROPEAN-IMPORTED SYMBOLIC SEXISM IN THE JAQI CULTURE

In all of the sayings and jokes that I have collected within the language, I have found no deprecations of women in general. There is nothing like, for example, our class of "woman driver" or "dumb blonde" jokes. There are other classes of jokes, for example, the "idiot" jokes. Regarding men, a sort of running comment is that they are lazy. In fact one word in Jaqaru, *Aymara*, means "lazy," although, because this somehow became the name of the sister language, its use is now in rapid decline. When the men shift into Spanish, one does find antiwoman jokes and sayings. With loss of the native language comes the loss of the native perspective; women become objects of ridicule.

The denigration of women and of women's work and the difficulty of perceiving women and women's work as autonomous, following the European language structure, shows up in any and all aspects of social interaction. For ourselves, that women's work be less valued is not a surprise. Among the Jaqi, it directly reflects where the conquerors

have been successful. For example, the impact of the importation of sexism from the conquerors can be seen in the tax structure. Within the community, where the tax is based on labor, a woman's day is exactly equal to a man's day, that is, it is a human labor day. These activities are primarily dealt with in Jaqaru. When cash money, an introduction from Europe, is used, as in cash wages, a woman day is worth exactly half a man's day. These latter activities are mostly dealt with in Spanish.

Women who remain farmers and who sell, for example, cheese, on the open market or who, for example, run restaurants during fair/market days, can do very well indeed. Women, in fact, are major business entrepreneurs within the Andes, though ignored by international development concerns. For example, when I needed a truck to move my household goods from Bolivia to Peru it was done by an Aymara woman who owned a fleet of trucks for international commerce; she hired a man to drive the truck to Peru for me. Given the European belief in the name/property tie and the man/name tie, economic development is aimed at men only, including in the Andes commerce; but in the Andes, women are the merchants and the money handlers. No international small business loans or development materials ever go in their direction.

Another example of how the sexism is imposed and what it does to women's status is how the school system, held universally to be a "good" and to be a way to improve oneself, acts differentially on the girls and the boys, not because of the native culture but because of the imposition of the behaviors associated with derivational thinking from the dominant society. If a woman goes to school, then her possibilities become circumscribed by the Hispanic norms, which in the Andes are less severe than Anglo norms, but are nevertheless far more restrictive than the comparable status in the native cultures or for men in the European-derived sectors.

With the conquest, the imposed loss of name, and the loss of land came also the threat, and the reality, of violence, specifically in the form of rape. Rape was apparently unknown in the Jaqi societies; there is no easy linguistic way even of speaking of it, no name for it. Even today, in this aspect, there has not been a great deal of impact within village life. However, in language terms, a whole new genre of oral literature has developed to warn young women of this danger from Spanish speakers. Even in these stories the danger is depicted as seduction and betrayal, not as the violence with which we are so familiar. This new genre is one of the creative ways in which the Jaqi people have tried to cope with the new dangers specific to women. Translating or understanding structured violence toward women is difficult for people coming from a different sexual reality.

In texts I have recorded from Jaqi women, it is often what they do not say that is very telling. Their stories focus on themselves, not on their husbands, on their own land, not on the land of their husbands. Land is held personally; I have not yet met any Andean woman willing to pass the title of her land to her husband. This is a major issue in land reform, at least to the women involved, whether coming from revolution or internal politics or imposed by foreign institutions (BID, USAID, etc.) in the name of development. Florence Babb (1976, 1980) cites a particularly appalling example of development depriving women of land rights. In Vicos, men were given formal title,

although under the old system women also had had land use rights. One woman came to the meeting to protest the loss of her land. Her husband was ordered by the anthropologists to throw her out. He did nothing; according to the local culture he had no such right over her—so the anthropologists bodily threw her out in a demonstration of the modern, developed way to treat women.

Many of the land reforms have worked in this way, especially since the World War II when norms from the United States have had hegemony. I have known of some women in good marriages who decided not to fight the law. They have come to regret their acquiescence because they cannot then bestow the land to inheritors as they wish. They do indeed lose, sometimes the land itself, and thus their livelihood, if for any reason the marriage ends. Others have gone to great lengths in attempts to keep land, sometimes involving Byzantine paperwork and creative use of the Andean custom of multiple homes.

Grammatical number is an important component of the patterns of perception described here. By our naming patterns, the "family" becomes "one," by the name of the "man," which makes it grammatically easy to handle as a singular, which we also equate with "good." Land reforms have attempted to place one "man" (i.e. family) in one house on one plot of land. For people who farm widely separated plots of land in as many ecological zones as possible, and who have several houses at various altitudes, and who hold land personally, the land reforms, repeatedly launched for political purposes with democratic intentions, are a recipe for disaster. Singular is seen as stark poverty, little short of having nothing. A couple have many plots of land, many from her side and many from his side. Hers remain in her name, and his in his, and thus pass to the children. She keeps her name and he keeps his, passing both to the children. In survival terms, these many plots allow for variety in the diet in a good year, and food to eat when there is crop failure at one altitude. The latter is a frequent occurrence. Potatoes, domesticated in the Andes and known in some 10,000 varieties, are regularly cultivated in dozens of varieties by a woman and man together. Some can be freeze-dried, some can withstand frost, and so on. Potatoes there almost always are, from one altitude or another. One man, one house, one plot is not the Andean way.

Sexism, including the naming custom, forms part of a structure within the dominating culture. As part of that structure, many of the imports from Europe have had the effect of reducing women's lives and enlarging men's, even in areas where one might not think to look. These additional imports have the added effect of strengthening the pattern of loss so sharply detailed in the land and name loss, deepening the overall loss of autonomy and even power to fight against each new loss. Some examples might give the flavor of the daily context in which the Jagi women attempt to maintain or reclaim their status.

According to my texts, the old pattern for music was that the women would sing and men would answer, and that men would play the reeds and women would play the *tinnya*, a small drum. The roles were fully complementary and necessary to each other. European instruments have been assigned entirely to the men, with nothing correspondingly given to the women. Furthermore, on the European model, bands have

now been formed that do not require any singing. In many places the ceremonies requiring singing are gradually being lost and/or separated from the men's use of instruments. This means also the loss of the language components of the musical tradition. The modified version, men only or primarily, is what is today marketed as "indigenous" music of the Andes. Thus, music is perceived as belonging only to the men, with women having a small, derivative, occasional part.

There is also the problem of occupation as indicated on identity and voting cards. I remember being quite shocked the first time I saw it. A friend of mine, a farmer, showed me an ID she had been required to get on the coast. It labeled her as "housewife"—a nonexistent role in the Andes. She had been told that was what she was supposed to be! Thus land and agriculture are perceived as belonging only to the men.

One additional anecdote may give the flavor of the problems women face today in "development," based on the behaviors resulting from derivational thinking, in this case through the social sciences as taught from textbooks based on U. S. social science textbooks and European-inspired international notions of development and education.

For Tupe, the government from time to time assigns "developers," depending on the political fashion of the period. Not too long ago a young, idealistic woman sociologist was assigned to help in economic development. She came to Tupe and called a meeting. We all went. The woman sitting next to me fell asleep on my arm—she had already put in a sixteen-hour day by the time the meeting had been called, had walked some ten miles with loads on her back, had irrigated, had herded her cows, sheep and goats, had milked and made cheese, and was tired. The developer came up with a new activity for women—raising rabbits. She talked on and on about how rabbits would be good for the women to raise.

I looked down on the woman leaning against me and wondered when she would have any time. People were courteous and after the meeting I asked some of them what they thought of the idea. Most just laughed, having made no sense of the matter at all. Two young women, active in the municipal organization, talked it over. There was no time to bother with rabbits. No one was ever in the community anyway during the day except the school children, the drunks and the sick. They all agreed that certainly no one had any time for such nonsense. At last one young woman remarked that maybe the men could raise the rabbits, especially the drunks, since they were around the town during the day!

I tried to discuss the matter with the young sociologist, without success. She informed me that in Tupe the men made all the decisions! As far as I could discern, she never once spoke to the women, but confined her conversation to the men that she perceived as being in power. Also, as is common, upon observing women working in the fields, by the application of derivational thinking, she had assumed that such labor was "helping" the men and was in no way essential, that women's time was by definition "vacant." This perception is exacerbated by the translation tradition and the conflicting interpretations of the verb "to help" (*ayudar* in Spanish) and *yanapaña* (Aymara) or *yanhishi* (Jagaru). The Jagi verbs are based on the root *yanha*, "companion" (Jagaru) and do not carry a sense of primary/secondary of hierarchy. The Jagaru root,

furthermore, is verbalized with a suffix meaning "mutually." Thus to say that someone "helps" another, in Jaqaru, means the people work together mutually in companionship. Thus if a woman says she "helps" her husband in the fields it does *not* mean that the work is primarily his, it means the two of them jointly cultivate both her fields and his. That time the developer did not succeed. There are still no rabbits in Tupe.

Stories are numerous, where "development" is fed through the men with no consultation with those who handle the money and with those who would be most affected; see, for example, the work of the Cuzqueña Daisy Irene Núñez del Prado Béjar for examples involving Quechua speakers (1975a, 1975b). In fact, in the Andes, money management is the almost exclusive province of women.

About the same time as the rabbit story, I was called upon to evaluate a similar project for another community. These projects were being pushed as major development from the central Eurocentric government. The whole notion of women having a lot of free time comes, of course, from our western definitions of housework as "not work" and from seeing all other work as done by men, thus obliterating from view the work the women actually do. If women are viewed as derivative of men, a woman and a man working together in the fields is easily and commonly perceived as one man only. This example of derivational thinking involving language and perception is amazing perhaps, when analyzed as I have done here, but is nevertheless common and normal.

CONCLUSION

As the conquerors' languages both reflected and caused the sexism they sought to impose, so also the nonsexist culture of the Jaqi is both reflected in and imposed by the language. Today there is a real possibility that, as a result of past governmental programs and present terrorism, what little has been able to survive these five centuries will be destroyed by violence. The loss of the language may close forever the possibility of thinking and speaking in this one nonsexist way both for the descendants of these self-possessed women and for us.

The differences make a difference: Language patterns that are used on a daily basis give rise to and reinforce different perceptual patterns. I have been the beneficiary of the opportunity to talk with and live with women who have never thought of themselves as derivations of men nor as "belonging to" men, but who have thought of themselves as autonomous productive human beings. In the crush of "world culture" these differences may well be lost. Respect for difference on our part, a profound belief in different and equal, may be the only hope for survival for these differences. As a minimum, we can listen to the voices, few though they be, that are now asking for that respect and for the return of the status held by their foremothers. As part of that ability to listen, we can also understand the blinders our own language places on us. A woman's name is her own; we must not assume we know hers simply because we have met her husband. Her land is her livelihood and her dignity.

NOTES

1. At the time of the conquest, the Andes supported some 20-30 millions in population, without hunger for anyone. Twenty-five years after the conquest, the population was one million and is only now rising again to pre-conquest numbers, but with extensive hunger and poverty.
2. Methodology is described in the field methods textbook (Hardman & Hamano, 1993).
3. All examples in this paragraph are from the Aymara language.

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