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

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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

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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 acknowl-
edging the individual performance of each narrator embedded in its specific inter-
actional 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 narra-
tive types in the corpus. The first group of "practiced" narrators is composed
of three male participants who are actively involved in the community's politi-
cal 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

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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.

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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.

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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]

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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
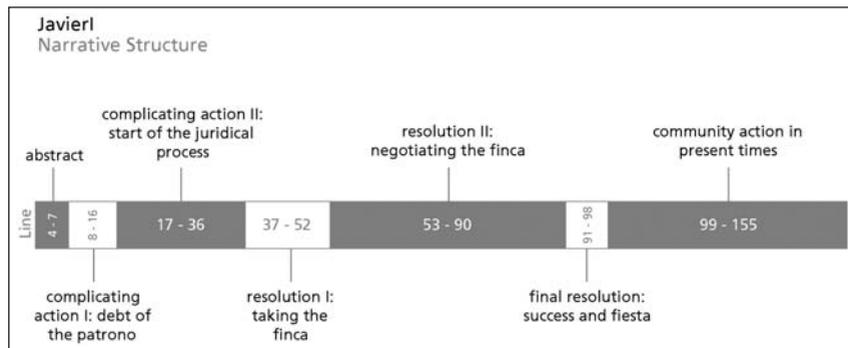
The speaker structures the story in six main parts, which are developed in a chronological way in the narrated time with a well defined temporal starting (*en el:: (1.8) en=el noventa y ocho noventa y nueve (.) dos mil (1) se empezó el proceso* 'in the (1.8) in ninety-eight ninety-nine (.) two-thousand (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.

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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.

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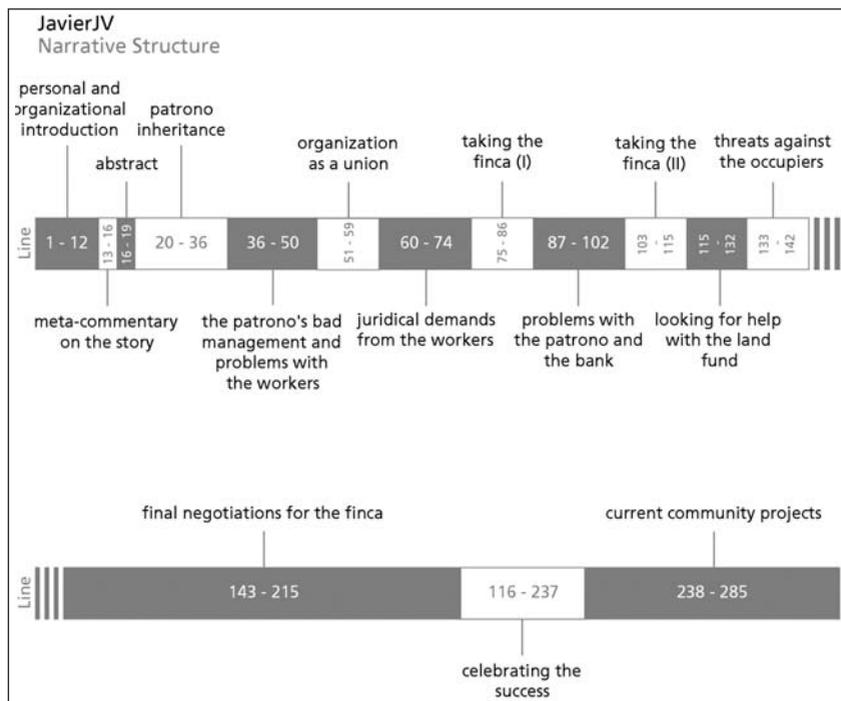
Extract 9: *Cómo fue la historia,* Narrative entrance for Japanese Visitors JavierJV
(00:00:40–00:04:38)

```
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

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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.

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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]

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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
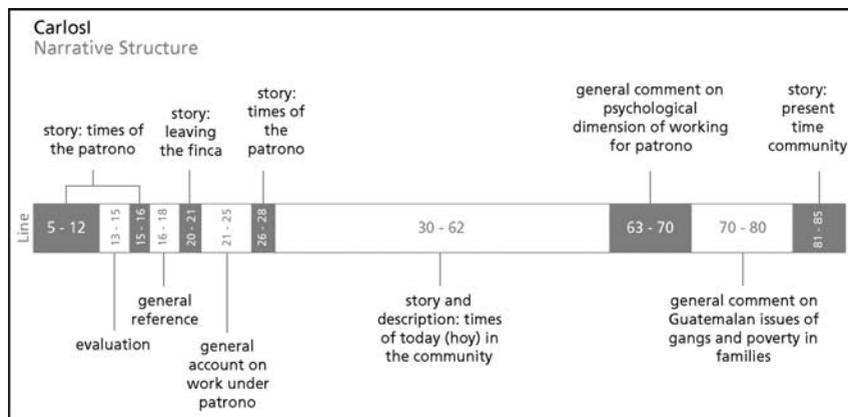
With his allusion to the community story, Carlos opens a window for the following track of the interview, while proceeding with a question concerning the times of transformation. I pick up his allusions by stating that this is 'concerned with my next question', and ask him explicitly about the 'times 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

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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.

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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
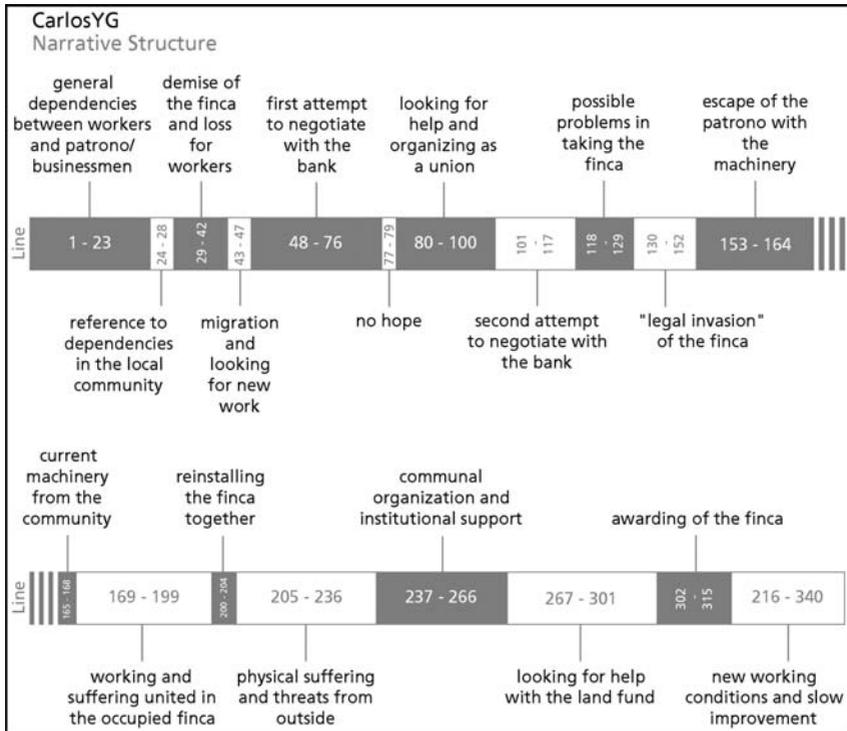
Contrary to his narrative in the interview, Carlos organizes the community story in a chronological way here. Within the story of the community, he weaves in aspects of a general discourse on social structure in Guatemala being divided into *empresarios* 'businessmen', *trabajadores* 'workers' and *campesinos* '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

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

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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;

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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

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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 nace (.) 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 (—)'

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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
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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

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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

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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 recount 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'

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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 meta-commentary 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 educación 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 su/ (-) 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 millón 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 creí*, 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 creí (-)
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 (--)
```

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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 (-)
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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
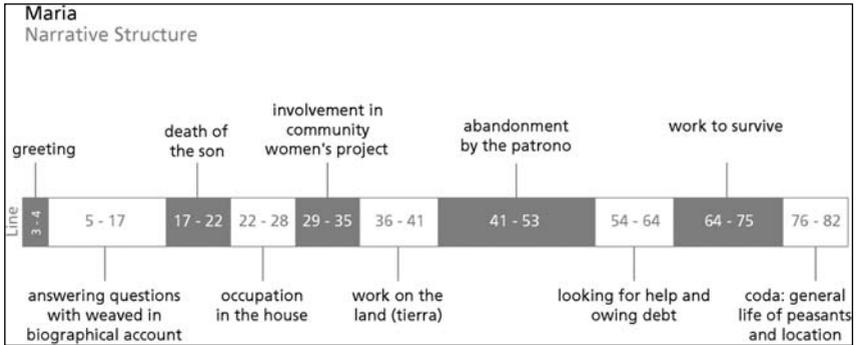
Let us look at some aspects of Maria's account more closely. So far, we have seen versions of the story as depictions of what *ellos* 'they' experienced and did, or as *nosotros* narratives in the we-voice. Maria provides an example of a story in which the *yo* 'I' is the starting point for the developing 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 differ-ent 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 com-municative 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) servi-*
> *dora 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) ser-
> vant 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

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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]

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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:

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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)

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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
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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

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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

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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 insepararably 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 sub-sample 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

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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 *traba-jadores* '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), *sabe-mos* '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

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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

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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
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```
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

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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 JavierIV 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.

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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

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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

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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.

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139   However, I certainly assume that this is indeed happening based on the extensive knowledge of the tellers of the re-narrated stories.