

Text, Grammar, and Worlds

Towards a narrative typology of Quechua folk tales

**Inaugural-Dissertation**

zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie  
an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

vorgelegt von

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aus Hunan, China

2020

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Tag der Mündlichen Prüfung: 25.11.2019

For my families in China and Germany  
and my beloved husband

In memory of my mentor and a brilliant linguist  
Professor Wolfgang Schulze



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### III. Glossing abbreviations

1	<i>First person</i>	INCL	<i>(First person plural) inclusive</i>
2	<i>Second person</i>	INF	<i>Infinitive</i>
3	<i>Third person</i>	INFER	<i>Inferential</i>
ABL	<i>Ablative</i>	INSTR	<i>Instrumental</i>
ACC	<i>Accusative</i>	INTERJ	<i>Interjection</i>
ADD	<i>Additive</i>	INTERR	<i>Interrogative</i>
ADV	<i>Adverbializer</i>	INTL	<i>Intentional</i>
AFF	<i>Affirmative</i>	LIM	<i>Limitative</i>
AG	<i>Agentive</i>	LOC	<i>Locative</i>
AL	<i>Allative</i>	NARR	<i>Narrative past</i>
APPR	<i>Approximative</i>	NEG	<i>Negation</i>
ART	<i>Article</i>	NMLZ	<i>Nominalizer</i>
ASIS	<i>Assistive</i>	NX.PAST	<i>Non-experienced past</i>
AUG	<i>Augmentative</i>	O	<i>Oblique</i>
BEN	<i>Benefactive</i>	ONOM	<i>Onomatopoeia</i>
BENE	<i>Benefactive case</i>	P	<i>Possessive</i>
CAUS	<i>Causative</i>	PAST	<i>Simple past</i>
CERT	<i>Certainty</i>	PERL	<i>Perlative</i>
CIS	<i>Cislocative</i>	PL	<i>Plural</i>
COM	<i>Comitative</i>	POT	<i>Potential</i>
CON	<i>Contrastive</i>	PROG	<i>Progressive</i>
DAT	<i>Dative</i>	PROH	<i>Prohibitive</i>
DIM	<i>Diminutive</i>	PURP	<i>Purposive</i>
DISTR	<i>Distributive</i>	RECI	<i>Reciprocal</i>
DS	<i>Different subject</i>	REFL	<i>Reflexive</i>
DUB	<i>Dubitative</i>	REG	<i>Regressive</i>
EMO	<i>Emotive</i>	REP	<i>Repetitive</i>
EU	<i>Euphonic</i>	RESP	<i>Responsive</i>
EXH	<i>Exhortative</i>	SD	<i>Sudden discovery</i>
FACT	<i>Factitive</i>	SOC	<i>Sociative</i>
FIN	<i>Final case</i>	SS	<i>Same subject</i>
FUT	<i>Future</i>	STAT	<i>Stative</i>
GEN	<i>Genitive</i>	TERM	<i>Terminative</i>
HAB	<i>Habitual past</i>	TOP	<i>Topic</i>
HS	<i>Hearsay</i>	TRANS	<i>Transformative</i>
IMP	<i>Imperative</i>	TRSL	<i>Translocative</i>
INCH	<i>Inchoative</i>		

#### IV. Zusammenfassung

Bei dieser Dissertation handelt es sich um eine einzelsprachlich typologische Beschreibung des traditionellen narrativen Genres in Cusco Quechua. Hauptziele der Arbeit sind die Aufstellung eines Wissensmodells für das narrative Genre und die Beschreibung diskursgrammatischer Merkmale innerhalb dieses Genres. Neben einer umfangreichen linguistischen Untersuchung ausgewählter Texte werden kulturelle Hintergründe der andinen Erzähltradition bzw. stilistische Merkmale und textsemantische Strukturen beleuchtet. Die Arbeit soll einen Beitrag zur textbasierten Forschung innerhalb der Kognitiven Linguistik und Sprachtypologie leisten.

Theoretisch und methodisch orientiert sich die Dissertation an einer Reihe textlinguistischer Ansätze. Die Grundannahme der Arbeit – angelehnt an den Prämissen kognitiv orientierter Sprachmodelle wie „Textwelten“ (Werth 1999; Gavins 2007) – lautet, dass Wissensrepräsentation und Informationsverarbeitung der Menschen auf der Basis mentaler Modelle, oder „Welten“, erfolgen. Solche kognitiven Modelle beinhalten im Kontext bestimmter Handlungssequenzen aktivierte Wissensräume, die zum größten Teil gelernt, aber auch z.T. präkonzeptuell vorstrukturiert werden (Schulze 2019:170–173). Diese Wissenskategorien können direkt in Symbolisierungsverfahren wie Texten repräsentiert sein oder auch durch textuelle Signale aktiviert werden. Ein Textgenre kann als ein solches Symbolisierungsverfahren betrachtet werden. Basierend auf dem Konzept der *world-builders*, d.h. Bausteine, mit denen Textwelten konstruiert werden können, geht die vorliegende Arbeit auf folgende Größen in den Quechua-Erzählungen ein: Referenten (darunter Agonisten als handlungsfähige Referenten), Raum, Zeit und Ereignisse. Linguistisch werden lexikalische und grammatische Elemente, die sich auf die vier Kategorien beziehen, untersucht. Hinzu kommen weitere diskursgrammatische Merkmale wie Versstruktur, Topikmarkierung, Deixis, Evidentialität und Modalität, Satzverknüpfung sowie Phrasenstellung. Diese stellen einerseits allgemeine Züge der textuellen Organisation dar; andererseits ermöglichen sie wie auch lexikalische Elemente Rückschlüsse auf Wissensstrukturen, die der Textproduktion und dem Textverstehen zugrunde liegen. Ansätze aus der Erzähltheorie und Märchenforschung werden bei der Beschreibung der Textwelt-Bausteine herangezogen, wie die Klassifizierung der Agonisten nach Propp (2009), das Konzept von *cognitive maps* aus der Kognitiven Narratologie (Ryan 2003) und die Analyse der zeitlichen Gestaltung der Erzählung nach Genette (1980). Als weitere textlinguistische Ansätze kommen zudem das Salienschema von Robert Longacre und die *discourse measurements* von Talmy Givón zum Tragen. Darüber hinaus werden stilistische Merkmale, die Max Lüthi (2005; 1998) für europäische Märchen beschrieben hat, als Beschreibungskriterien eingesetzt.

Die Zielsprache der Dissertation gehört zur Gruppe IIC der Quechua-Sprachfamilie (nach der Klassifikation von Alfredo Torero). Typologisch ist sie eine agglutinierende Sprache, die ausschließlich Suffixe verwendet. Sie weist in Bezug auf die Kasus- und Agreement-Markierung ein akkusatives System auf. Ein polypersonales Agreement-System liegt vor, wenn der Undergoer (im Sinne von *macro-roles*) ein Sprechakteilnehmer ist. Die Grundwortstellung in Cusco Quechua ist SOV (oder S/AV und OV). Einbettung von Nebensätzen erfolgt über nominalisierte Satztypen bzw. die Ko- und Switch-Referenz-Konstruktionen. Die meisten der Quechua-Varianten verfügen über ein dreiteiliges Evidentialsystem. In Cusco Quechua umfasst das System den Affirmativ *-mi/-n* (Kategorie der Evidentialität: direkte Informationsquelle), den Reportativ *-s(i)* (indirekte Informationsquelle durch Hörensagen) und das Inferential *-chá* (indirekte Informationsquelle durch logisches Schließen). In der Quechua-Forschung herrschen unterschiedliche Meinungen darüber, ob die drei Evidentialkategorien auch epistemische Modalitäten kodieren. Indirekte Evidentialität wird zudem durch den Marker der „nicht selbst erlebten Vergangenheit“ (*non-experienced past*) *-sqa* ausgedrückt. Dasselbe Suffix funktioniert zudem als Marker der Mirativität und im Kontext der Volkserzählungen als Genremarker (gliedert zusätzlich die Makrostruktur). Die Quechua-Sprachen weisen gemeinsamen Wortschatz und eine große Anzahl paralleler morphosyntaktischer Strukturen mit der benachbarten Sprachfamilie Aymara auf, welches auf historische Sprachkontakte bis zu 800 v. Chr. zurückgeführt wird (Adelaar 2012). Die vorliegende Arbeit zeigt eine weitere Ähnlichkeit in der Markierung von diskursiven Strukturen auf.

Als empirische Daten dienen sechs Quechua-Erzählungen (mit den Abkürzungen MU, SIS, JL, SN, JP und CI), die aus vier Textsammlungen aus dem Zeitraum vom Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts bis 2000 entnommen sind. Das Korpus wurde digitalisiert und in einer MySQL-Datenbank annotiert. Alle sechs Erzählungen haben das Thema der Mensch-Tier-Interaktion und das Motiv der Verwandlung gemein. Bei MU, JL und CI handelt es sich um Versionen bzw. Varianten der in den Anden weit verbreiteten Bärensohn-Erzählung. Aufgrund von thematischen Ähnlichkeiten wird die Bärensohn-Geschichte von dem Quechua-Forscher Itier (2007:145–154) auf Themen aus drei europäischen Erzählungen zurückgeführt. Es gibt aber auch Hinweise, die für einen einheimischen Ursprung dieser Geschichte sprechen. So könnte der andine Brillenbär oder die in den Anden verbreiteten Anekdoten über Vergewaltigungen von Mädchen durch Bären als Inspiration gedient haben. Zudem sind die sog. „Bärentänzer“, junge Männer im Bärenkostüm, von großer ritueller Bedeutung. In SIS, SN und JP verliebt sich ein Junge

oder ein Mädchen in ein Tier, das sich in einen Menschen verwandeln kann. Bis auf SN enthalten alle Erzählungen zwei Teilgeschichten, die durch eine gemeinsame Figur verbunden sind. Die Bärensohn-Erzählung gliedert sich typischerweise in die Vorgeschichte, an deren Ende der Bärensohn seiner Mutter zur Flucht verhilft, und die Folgegeschichte, in der der zum Protagonisten gewordene Bärensohn versucht, seinen Platz in der zivilisierten Gesellschaft zu finden. Die sechs Erzählungen können dem Genre *kwintu* (Spanisch *cuento*) zugeordnet werden, da sie alle von Mensch-Tier-Interaktionen handeln. *Kwintus* sind Geschichten, die nach Glauben des Sprechers nicht stattgefunden haben oder einer anderen Zeit bzw. Welt zuzuordnen sind.

Die „Funktion“-basierte Analyse nach Propp (2009) zeigt, dass die sechs Erzählungen trotz z.T. unterschiedlicher Handlungen und Figuren auf der Oberfläche ähnliche Abfolgen abstrahierter Handlungseinheiten und Konstellationen abstrahierter Figuren beinhalten. Nicht alle von Propp definierten „Funktionen“ und Aktanten (auch „Dramatis Personae“) kommen in den untersuchten Quechua-Erzählungen vor. Beispielsweise bekommt der Held normalerweise kein „magisches Mittel“ zur Hilfe; er wird auch nicht von einem „falschen Helden“ hintergangen. Untersuchungen lexikalischer Elemente aus den vorliegenden Texten zeigen gemeinsame textsemantische Züge, die auf allgemeine Wissensstrukturen des Genres *kwintu* hinweisen. Zu den Hauptaktanten gehören stereotypisierte Paare wie Mann (oder Junge) und Frau (oder Mädchen) sowie Kind und Eltern und weitere Tierarchetypen. Räumliche Bezeichnungen umfassen allgemeine landschaftliche Begriffe, Orte der von Menschen bewohnten Welt sowie Dinge und Körperteile, die eine lokalisierende Funktion haben. Die Verteilung semantischer Verbklassen, die verschiedene Ereignistypen kodieren, fällt ebenfalls relativ homogen aus. Handlungsverben stellen den häufigsten Verbtyp im vorliegenden Korpus dar; diesen folgen Bewegungsverben und Verben des Redens. Quechua-spezifische Merkmale bzw. kulturelle Attribute spiegeln sich bei der Konkretisierung abstrahierter Kategorien wider. So kommen in den *kwintus* Tiere vor, die in der andinen Welt heimisch sind; diesen kommen auch typische Funktionen zu: z.B. der Kondor als Entführer, Helfer oder Gegenspieler des Fuchses. Die lexikalischen Elemente mit räumlichem Bezug sind zwar meistens generische Bezeichnungen, sie stellen dennoch Skizzen der andinen Lebens- und Glaubenswelt dar: z.B. ein Felsbrocken auf der Puna oder ein Bergsee als Orte für jenseitige Begegnungen.

Weitere Züge eines prototypischen Wissensmodells für das Genre *kwintu* sind innerhalb der Kategorien Anfangsformel, Requisiten, Zeit, Dialoge sowie Modalität, Emotion und Inferenz

auch anhand von grammatischen Elementen und mithilfe erzähltheoretischer Zählungsmethoden festgestellt worden. Auf der zeitlichen Ebene sind beispielsweise die Ereignisse der untersuchten Geschichten bis auf einige Flashbacks chronologisch nach der „erzählten Zeit“ (*story time*) erzählt. Das narrative Tempo befindet sich durchschnittlich auf dem Level von mehr als 20 einfachen Sätzen pro Tag. Die vorliegende Dissertation geht auf die Diskursfunktionen folgender Evidential- und Modalitätsmarker – der Marker für *non-experienced past* bzw. Mirativität *-sqa*, der Reportativ *-s(i)* und das Inferential *-chá* – ein. Dabei wird deutlich, dass *-sqa* im Erzähltext (nicht-dialogischer Textteil) weniger Affekte und Spannungen markiert als vielmehr die mirative Semantik ausdrückt. Der Quechua-Erzähler kann Mirativität mitschwingen lassen, wenn die Figuren neue Entdeckungen machen oder der Hörer dies tut. Die mit dem Inferentialsuffix *-chá* markierten Ereignisse oder Beschreibungen im Erzähltext gehören nicht zum „stabilen“ Bestandteil einer Erzählung, sowie Coler (2014) auch für Volkserzählungen in Aymara festgestellt hat. Sie werden entweder anhand von narrativem bzw. kulturellem Wissen inferiert oder der Erzähler signalisiert damit, dass bestimmte inhaltliche Details fehlen oder dass diese irrelevant für die Erzählung sind.

Folgende diskursgrammatische Merkmale des Cusco Quechua werden im Rahmen dieser Dissertation beschrieben: die Verwendung von Nullanaphern, Topikmarkierung, räumliche und zeitliche Deixis, Tempusmarkierung im Zusammenhang mit dem Salienzschema, Informationsstruktur, Satzverknüpfung und Phrasenstellung. Nullanapher ist ein typologisch weit verbreitetes Phänomen (vgl. Givón (2017)). Das vorliegende Korpus zeigt eine starke Tendenz zur Verwendung von Nullanaphern. Diese werden z.T. von syntaktischen Strukturen wie der Subordination ausgelöst. Auf der Diskursebene kann weiterhin zwischen Erzähltext und Dialogen unterschieden werden. Als Pro-Drop-Sprache verwendet das Cusco Quechua in direkter Rede Pronomina für die Sprechakteilnehmer lediglich in markierten Kontexten. Im Erzähltext werden vor allem bei der Referenz auf Agonisten auf Anaphern verzichtet (bis auf emphatische bzw. kontrastive Kontexte). Im Bereich grammatischer Relationen zeigen die untersuchten Erzählungen einen unter dem typologischen Durchschnitt liegenden Lexikalitätsgrad des Objectives. Nullanaphern werden außerdem im Fall eines indefiniten Subjekts verwendet und können in der Geschichtenerzählung eine mysteriöse Atmosphäre erzeugen. Z.B. heißt es in MU: „(Jemand oder eine Stimme) schreit von einem Berggipfel“, bevor der übernatürliche Condénado in die Szene eintritt. Es gibt in den untersuchten Erzählungen auch eine Gegenteiligkeit zu der häufigen Verwendung von Nullanaphern. Topikale Referenten werden nämlich unter bestimmten Umständen lexikalisch erwähnt. Ein topikaler Agonist wird beispielweise wahrscheinlicher

explizit genannt, wenn ihn ein anderer Agonist begleitet. Die Disambiguierung von Agonisten findet z.T. bei postverbalen Nominalphrasen statt. Thematische Umschaltungen aufgrund eines räumlichen oder zeitlichen Wechsels können, müssen aber keine overte Kodierung von Agonisten auslösen.

Die untersuchten Quechua-Erzählungen weisen ähnliche stilistische Merkmale auf, die Lüthi (2005) für europäischen Märchen beschrieben hat. Diese spiegeln sich u.a. in der Verteilung lexikalischer Elemente bzw. an bestimmte Verbtypen gebundener Phrasen wider. Beispielsweise zeichnen sich die Erzählungen durch die sog. „Flächenhaftigkeit“ aus. Figuren in einer *kwintu* zeigen keine geistige oder seelische Tiefe. Eigenschaften und Gefühle werden auf die Ebene der Handlung projiziert. Textuell kann festgestellt werden, dass Nominalphrasen, die sich auf Agonisten beziehen, wenige bis gar keine Attribute aufweisen und dass Verben des Denkens und Fühlens ebenfalls selten vorkommen. Die Untersuchung von Verbkonstruktionen mit lokativischen Phrasen im vorliegenden Korpus zeigt, dass Bewegungsverben vor allem zusammen mit Phrasen im Allativ vorkommen. In den *kwintus* geht es mehr darum, wo sich eine Figur hinbegibt, als wo sie herkommt. Unter dem Merkmal „Isolation“ erwähnt Lüthi, dass die Handlung eines Märchens typischerweise in bestimmten Formen und Richtungen rasch und entschieden fortschreitet. Die Kookkurrenz von Bewegungsverben und im Allativ markierten Phrasen kann als Ausdruck dieses stilistischen Merkmals interpretiert werden.

Neben den textsemantischen, diskursgrammatischen und stilistischen Gemeinsamkeiten unter den untersuchten Erzählungen zeigen sie Unterschiede auf, die auf verschiedenen Ebenen anzusiedeln sind. Es gibt keine systematischen Hinweise auf diachrone Entwicklungen bis auf zwei Adverbialsuffixe, die im Laufe der Zeit den mittleren Plosiv verlieren, sowie einen leicht erhöhten Anteil postverbaler Elemente in den späteren Texten. MU und SIS aus Uhles Sammlung zeichnen sich durch elaborierte Dialoge und poetische Strukturen aus. Letztere sind in den anderen Texten kaum anzutreffen. JL und SN aus Liras Publikation unterscheiden sich von den anderen Erzählungen durch einen sehr niedrigen Anteil spanischer Lehnwörter und die häufige Verwendung des narrativen Vergangenheitsmarkers *-sqa* (in JL auch häufig als Mirativmarker benutzt) und des Reportativs *-s(i)*. Weiterhin fällt auf, dass das Pronomen der dritten Person nur in JL als (neutrale) Anapher (nur für den Protagonisten) eingesetzt wird. Die Erzählerin von JP, einem der späteren Texte, zeigt ihren lebhaften Erzählstil durch die häufige Verwendung von Interjektionen und Lautmalereien. Im selben Text findet man vereinzelte Hinweise darauf, wie der narrative Kontext möglicherweise Einfluss auf die Erzählung genommen hat.

Die vorliegende Dissertation zeigt, wie das erzähltypologische Profil eines narrativen Genres durch eine quantitative und qualitative textlinguistische Untersuchung mit Einbezug ethnologischer und folkloristischer Gesichtspunkte erarbeitet werden kann. Die typologischen Beschreibungskriterien betreffen sowohl diskursgrammatische Kategorien als auch textsemantische und stilistische Größen sowie erzähltheoretische Strukturen. Dabei wurde, sofern sprachvergleichende Daten vorliegen, auf universale Tendenzen und Quechua-spezifische Merkmale hingewiesen. Zudem wurden Top-Down-Prozesse beschrieben, in denen linguistische Phänomene im Rahmen von kulturellem, Genre-bezogenem oder textsemantischem Wissen erklärt werden. Das narrative Wissensmodell des Cusco Quechua besteht aus „Mittelwerten“ der untersuchten Erzählungen, die als prototypisch für das Genre *kwintu* anzunehmen sind. Durch die Untersuchung weiterer Texte kann das Modell verfeinert werden, etwa mit Hinblick auf die Gewichtung der darin beschriebenen Kategorien bzw. der Wissensstrukturen innerhalb der Kategorien.

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Goal and organization of the study

The present study aims to describe discourse grammatical or textlinguistic features of traditional narratives in Cuzco Quechua, a variant of the Quechuan language family spoken in South America, and to characterize knowledge frames which underpin this narrative genre based on ethnological evidence and linguistic expressions of pertinent narrative-semantic categories. One of the rationales of the study lies in the cognitive oriented holistic view of language use and discourse with the basic assumption that human beings store knowledge and process information in terms of mental models such as FRAMES (Minsky 1975), IDEALIZED COGNITIVE MODELS (Lakoff 1987), SCRIPTS (Schank & Abelson 1995), MENTAL SPACES (Fauconnier 1994), and TEXT WORLDS (Werth 1999). The study has been largely inspired by Schulze's (2019[ms.]) cognitive genre analysis in terms of the methodology for the construction of text world models. The typological-functional analysis of the linguistic data uses well-established parameters so that quantitative results can be compared with those from other languages. The study further represents one that incorporates narratological theories and methods into linguistic analysis.

The genre of folk tale has been selected for the textlinguistic study for various reasons. Folk tale is a widespread cultural phenomenon, representing in its original form orally transmitted discourse. Because such narratives are handed down through generations and have been repeatedly told, it can be assumed that certain structures in them are stable and independent of narrative context (cf. Schulze (2019[ms.]:170, 177)). Apart from recurrent linguistic structures like 'once upon a time', they also reflect sociocultural knowledge systems. Folk tales are more suitable for an in-depth analysis than modern literature because their thematic structure is not too complex. One of the goals of the present study is to explore the connections between the text-semantic and the discourse grammatical levels. Moreover, formal traits have been described for European folk tales based on the systems of Propp and Lüthi, which allows a cross-cultural comparison regarding narrative structure and style.

The present study is organized as follows. It begins with a typological description of the target language Cuzco Quechua with a focus on grammatical features that are relevant for the discourse analysis. While other studies on Quechua grammar are taken as references, the data from the present corpus, which consists of six narratives from different collections and time periods, serve as empirical evidence for the description of grammatical categories. The next chapter first gives an overview of the central research topics from folk tale studies; then some general information on the Andean oral tradition is presented; at last, the present corpus is

analyzed in terms of cultural elements, possible origins of the themes, and formal semantic structure based on Proppian ‘functions’. In chapter four, the theoretical and methodological framework of the study is outlined, which includes cognitive textlinguistic, narratological, discourse grammatical and functional approaches. Chapter five constitutes the main part of the study where linguistic expressions of the four narrative-semantic categories are described qualitatively and quantitatively: text referents (especially agonists), space, events (or event images), and time. Further syntactic and pragmatic features are presented in a separate section. The methodological transparency of the analyses allows future replication, which means if more texts are examined, the results can be confirmed or refuted accordingly. In the last chapter, a text world model is constructed for Quechua narrative in terms of narrative knowledge frames and their linguistic expressions. Further typological features related to discourse organization are presented in another section, followed by a style analysis of the Quechua tales. While the results summarized in the first three sections are mainly based on structural similarities among the six texts, the final section discusses variations and idiosyncrasies.

## 1.2 The Quechuan language family

The term Quechua refers linguistically to a group of related language varieties spoken from southern Colombia along the Andean cordilleras to northern Argentina. The word possibly comes from the Proto-Quechua *\*qiçwa* (*qheswa* in Cuzco Quechua), which refers to the altitude zone between 2,500 and 3,500 meters (Adelaar 2006:179). Historically, Quechua was an official language in the final stage of the Inca Empire and later one of the *lenguas generales* besides Aymara and Puquina used for administrative and religious purposes during the colonial period (ibid.: 167). The population of Quechua speakers suffered a drastic decrease after the Spanish conquest. Nowadays, Quechua has lost its historical prestige and is rather considered as a language of rural areas. Despite being the most widely spoken American indigenous language with over six millions speakers, Quechua is endangered due to the shift towards Spanish (Manley, Muntendam & Kalt 2015:21).

The Quechua dialects are divided into two branches. An early classification by Parker (1963) has named them Quechua A and B, which correspond to Quechua II and I in the classification by Torero (2003[1964]). Torero’s terms are now used more commonly since his system includes a more refined division of the two branches into further subgroups. Quechua I refers to the central dialects which are spoken in regions spanning from the department of Ancash to the departments of Ica and Huancavelica. The Quechua II dialects include variants spoken in Ecuador (IIB), northern Peru (IIA), and southern Peru and northern Bolivian (IIC). The two main

branches are believed to have split up at the level of Proto-Quechua (see below). Within Quechua II, the subgroups IIB and IIC are closely related, whereas the dialects of IIA occupy an intermediate position between Quechua I and the rest of Quechua II (Adelaar 2006:186). Within the subgroup IIC, Ayacucho Quechua exhibits the most conservative features and is thus older than Cuzco and Bolivian Quechua (Adelaar 2012:466).<sup>1</sup> The differences between the two main branches can be observed on a phonological, morphological, and lexical level. While long vowels only exist in Quechua I (and Pacaraos Quechua from IIA), aspirated and glottalized stops and affricates are only found in some of the Quechua IIB and IIC dialects (see section 2.1). The most prominent morphological distinction between the two branches concerns the first-person marker for subject and possessor: in Quechua I, it is marked by the lengthening of the preceding vowel, both on verbs and nouns; in most of Quechua II, it is -y (nominal and verbal) or -ni (only verbal) (see also section 2.3.2.1). Some markers of case, aspect and tense also differ formally: the ablative marker is -pita and -manta in South Conchucos Quechua (SCQ) (I) and Cuzco Quechua (IIC) respectively; the continuous -yka: in SCQ corresponds functionally to the progressive -sha in Cuzco Quechua; the narrative past marker is -na: and -sqa in the two variants respectively. One example of lexical differences between the two branches can be given by the verb root for ‘go’: aywa- in Quechua I vs. ri- in Quechua II.

Torero (1970:248)<sup>2</sup> ascribes the homeland of Proto-Quechua to the coast and *sierra* of Central Peru due to the fact that the dialects spoken in this region exhibit the greatest dialectal complexity. On the other hand, Cerrón-Palomino (2013:299) excludes the coastal area from the homeland based on ethnohistorical and toponymic evidence; he mentions the language Quingnam, also known as *la lengua pescadora* ‘fisherman’s language’, which is not related to Quechua and seems to have dominated in the coastal region north of Lima. Adelaar (2012) suggests a model of convergence where the predecessor language of Proto-Quechua, termed Pre-Proto-Quechua, is assumed to have been in contact with Pre-Proto-Aymara. Aymara is spoken today in the highlands of Bolivia and in Southern Peru near the Bolivian border. On the one hand, the Quechuan and Aymaran families show significant structural and lexical similarities (for a detailed description see Cerrón-Palomino (2008)). On the other hand, there are factors which speak against a common origin, such as different phonotactic structures, absence of systematic formal correspondences between grammatical morphemes, the fact that the part of

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<sup>1</sup> The state of *Huari* (500-900 A.D.) is considered responsible for the expansion of Quechua II into the southern Peruvian Andes.

<sup>2</sup> Torero, Alfredo. 1970. Lingüística e historia de la sociedad andina. *Anales Científicos de la Universidad Nacional Agraria* 8. 231–64. Lima. Cited in Adelaar (2006:181).

basic vocabulary in shared lexical items is not noticeably higher than that of non-basic vocabulary and so on (Adelaar 2012:462f.). According to the convergence model, the proto-languages of the two language families have very likely developed from an earlier stage where significant contact between the predecessor languages had already taken place, which can explain the widespread Aymaran influence in today's Quechua variants, including those which were not affected by later contact that was for instance responsible for the spread of glottalized and aspirated obstruents from Aymara. The separation of the two Quechuan branches and that of two main Aymaran branches are dated between 300 and 500 A.D.; the time of convergence between the two pre-proto-languages is estimated around the final centuries of the Early Horizon (800 B.C. to 200 A.D.) (ibid.: 467).

Quechuan languages have an agglutinative structure with very regular suffixation. At the clausal level, a double-marking system<sup>3</sup> with case and agreement based on grammatical person exists; the object agreement only appears in cases of SAPs. Quechua shows a nominative-accusative alignment in terms of case and agreement, that is, the subject in transitive clauses and the subject in intransitive clauses are marked in the same way, whereas the direct object in transitive clauses is marked differently. The basic word order is predominately SOV. Quechuan languages are also known for their (three-fold) evidential system, which marks the source of information grammatically; studies have also shown their functional extensions as focus and modal markers.

### **1.3 The study of Quechua narrative**

The sources of Quechua narrative texts can be divided into two main types: colonial writings and modern recordings. The Huarochirí manuscript from the beginning of the 17th century is only known collection of texts written in Quechua from the colonial period, including commented and edited Quechua mythic narratives. It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that authentic narratives were recorded (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2007:33). One of the earliest collections was made by the German archeologist Max Uhle around 1904, which was not published until 1968. From the 1960's onwards both Peruvian folklorists (Arguedas 1961; Farfán 1963; Lira 1990) and Western ethnographers (Weber 1987; Payne 2000; Itier 2007) have contributed to the recording and publishing of Quechua narratives. The research center on Andean culture *Bartolomé de Las Casas* in Cuzco and the *Summer Institute of Linguistics* (SIL) have

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<sup>3</sup> Terminology by Nicols (1986).

been greatly involved in the publication of texts. The six stories used in this study come from some of these well-known narrative collections.

With the accumulation of text material, a wide array of ethnological, literary, narratological, and linguistic studies on Quechua narrative have been conducted. Ethnologists such as Catherine Allen (1983; 1993; 2011) and Rosaleen Howard(-Malverde) (1984; 1988; 1989; 2006; 2014) have published on a wide range of topics concerning Andean oral tradition such as symbolism and cultural relevance of narrative themes, variability in collective narrative, time and space, grammatical categories such as tense, evidentiality, and epistemic modality in structuring narrative etc. Allen (2011) shows in her latest monograph how traditional motifs and stock characters can be interweaved into new stories, alluding to the parallels between storytelling and fabric weaving in Andean culture. An overview of Andean mythical themes can be found in *Handbook of Inca Mythology* (Steele 2004) with detailed references to secondary literature. Scholars from SIL are said to have initiated textlinguistic studies on Quechua narrative are (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2007:35). Some of the studies, especially the early ones, are influenced by the approaches of Grimes and Longacre (see also section 4.3). Levinsohn has for instance published on topics such as progression and digression in Quechua narrative (1976), referential markings (1978), and tense-aspect markings (1991). The typologically and functionally oriented work of Diane Hintz and Daniel Hintz on South Conchucos Quechua in the past ten years has focused on the categories of tense, aspect, evidentiality, and mirativity in conversational and narrative contexts (Hintz 2007; Hintz 2011; Hintz 2012; Hintz & Hintz 2014). There has also been attempts to apply methods of ethnopoetic studies to the analysis of Quechua narrative. In fact, Hornberger's (1992) verse analysis of two Southern Quechua narratives represents one of the few textlinguistic studies on Cuzco Quechua (the studies mentioned above mostly deal with other variants of Quechua). The in-depth analyses in the present study will thus contribute to this specific field of research.

## 2 A typological outline of Cuzco Quechua

### 2.1 Phonology

The phonemic system of Cuzco Quechua consists of 26 consonants and three vowels. The consonant phonemes are listed along with the corresponding graphemes<sup>4</sup> in Table 1. Typologically speaking, the size of the consonant inventory falls into the category ‘moderately large’ (26-33) (cf. Maddieson (2013)). The system further includes less common consonant types like uvulars and glottalized ones. The phonemic status of the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ is questionable. Adelaar (2006:202) mentions that the sibilants /s/ and /ʃ/ have emerged into /s/ in most of the Quechua IIC dialects. The text CI from the present corpus includes a variant of the word *iskay* ‘two’ with the postalveolar fricative: *ishkay*, which shows that the sound is preserved at least by some speakers of Cuzco Quechua. One also has to consider the fact that even though only the variant *iskay* appears in the other texts of the corpus, the written form does not necessarily reflect the pronunciation. The allophones of the velar and uvular stops are not reflected in the written system. The two stops become fricativized in syllable-final position, e.g. *taklla* /taxʎa/ ‘plow’, *pachak* /patʃax/ ‘hundred’, *suqta* /soʃta/ ‘six’, and *sumaq* /sumax/ ‘nice, beautiful, delicious’. This also represents one of the consonant weakening processes in many Quechua II dialects (Cerrón-Palomino 1987:180f.; Adelaar 2006:199f.).

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Postalveolar/Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops/Affricates	plain	p <p>	t <t>	tʃ <ch>	k <k>	q <q>	
	aspirated	p <sup>h</sup> <ph>	t <sup>h</sup> <th>	tʃ <sup>h</sup> <chh>	k <sup>h</sup> <kh>	q <sup>h</sup> <qh>	
	glottalized	p' <p'>	t' <t'>	tʃ' <ch'>	k' <k'>	q' <q'>	
Fricatives			s <s>	ʃ <sh>			h <h>
Nasals		m <m>	n <n>	ɲ <ñ>			
Laterals			l <l>	ʎ <ll>			
Flaps			r <r>				
Glides		w <w>		j <y>			

Table 1 Consonants in Cuzco Quechua

<sup>4</sup> Note that in Uhle’s texts, the palatal glide is written as <i> when it appears at the end of a syllable, e.g. *kai* ‘this’ and *taitai* ‘my father’. The lowering of vowels in the environment of uvulars is reflected in the original transcriptions of MU and SIS but not in the glossed examples in the present study.

The vowel inventory of Cuzco Quechua is quite small, consisting of the three phonemes /i/, /a/, and /u/. The two high vowels /i/ and /u/ have lowered allophones in the environment of uvular sounds. The degree of lowering depends on whether the vowel in question directly follows or precedes a uvular (Cusihuamán 1976:49–51). In the following examples, the vowels /i/ and /u/ are realized in more open allophones when they follow a uvular (and are not followed by one): *uqi* ‘lead (metal), the color of lead’ /oqe/, *irqi* ‘small child’ /erqe/, *Quqsqu* ‘Cuzco’ /qosqo/; note that the vowel-lowering effect is not blocked by the liquid /r/ between the initial vowel and the uvular in *irqi*. In the present study, the allophones are not reflected in the writing system; <e> and <o> only appear in Spanish loanwords.

Cuzco Quechua has preserved most of the phoneme inventory of Proto-Quechua (cf. Adelaar (2006:196)). The presence of the aspirated and the glottalized stops and affricates in Cuzco-Bolivian Quechua is considered to be a result of language contact with Aymara, which has the same contrasts (Cerrón-Palomino 1987:119; Adelaar 2006:195).<sup>5</sup> However, there are frequent inconsistencies in lexical cognates between dialects, and even within a dialect: e.g. Cuzco Quechua *riku-* ‘see’ vs. *rikhuri-* ‘appear’. Mannheim and Newfield (1982) have shown how iconicity-driven mechanisms could have contributed to the spread of aspiration and glottalization in Cuzco Quechua. Sound symbolism is supposed to be found in a series of native words where an aspirated stop mirrors the “expulsion of air in the actions they denote” (ibid.: 214): e.g. *thuqay* ‘to spit, spit’, *khasay/khapay* ‘belch’, *achhiw* onomatopoeia. Another series of native lexemes and (possible) Spanish loans with glottalized stops and affricates describe abrupt or forceful actions: e.g. *wikch'uy* ‘expel violently, vomit’, *hayt'ay* ‘kick’, *t'inkay* ‘flick with finger’, *hich'ay* ‘throw out (< Sp. *echar*)’, *t'iray* ‘take out (< Sp. *tirar*?)’.

The syllable structure in Proto-Quechua and most modern dialects is CV(C), and (C)V(C) in word-initial syllables (Adelaar 2006:206). In Cuzco Quechua, like in most of the other variants, the stress is on the penultimate syllable of a word except for some interjections with word-final stress such as *achacháw* ‘What a surprise! How frightening!’ and words which end in a stress-bearing clitic such as the inferential marker *-chá*.

## 2.2 Word structure and word classes

As mentioned in section 1.2, Quechua consists of agglutinative languages with very regular suffixation. The corpus on which the present study is based shows a moderate synthetic degree: the average number of morphemes per word is 1.50, which does not pass the Greenbergian

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<sup>5</sup> Ecuadorian Quechua also has a series of aspirated stops, which can possibly be traced back to the presence of speakers of Cuzco Quechua in the region during the last years of the Inca Empire (Cerrón-Palomino 1987:184).

threshold of being polysynthetic (Greenberg 1960). The number of syllables per word in the present corpus is estimated at 3.50 to 4.50,<sup>6</sup> which is considerably lower than the value of eight to ten syllables given by Cerrón-Palomino (1987:262) allegedly in normal language use. Nevertheless, complex verbal morphology can be found in the present texts, as in the following example:

- (1) *tapu=tapu-ri-yu-ku-spa-s* [JP317]<sup>7</sup>  
 ask=ask-INCH-AUG-REFL-SS-HS  
 ‘(The boy walked along,) asking and asking (everyone he met about her).’

The example shows a subordinate clause marked by the co-reference marker *-spa*. The verb stem *tapu-* is reduplicated. This morphological structure denotes here that the action of asking is carried out repeatedly. Both the augmentative *-yu* and the reflexive *-ku* convey the meaning of intensity in this case. The semantics of *-ri* is unclear; the suffix does not necessarily mark the inchoative aspect (see section 2.4.2). The hearsay suffix *-s(i)* at the end of the verb originally indicates that the information conveyed by a clause has been told to the speaker by someone else; its distribution in narrative discourse will be discussed in section 5.7.3.2. Morphosyntactically, *-s(i)* has the status of a clitic, which means that it can be attached to various clausal elements. In the example above, it appears at the end of the subordinate clause which counts syntactically as the first element, namely an adverbial, in the complex sentence (the main clause directly follows the subordinate one).

Cusihuamán (1976:69ff.) divides the lexical stems and lexemes in Cuzco Quechua into nominal stems, verbal stems, ambivalent stems, and particles. While nominal stems can form an autonomous word without further modification, verbal stems need at least one suffix in order to be morphosyntactically independent. Ambivalent stems can be either nominal or verbal: e.g. *para(-)* ‘rain, to rain’ and *kuru(-)* ‘worm, to become wormy’. The category of particles includes adjectives, adverbs, negators and discourse particles. Weber (1989:35) concludes that for Hualaga Quechua nouns and adjectives form a single word class. Similar evidence in Cuzco Quechua is provided by Cusihuamán (1976:70) and can be found in the present corpus. For instance, the adjective *sumaq* ‘nice, delicious’ can be used as a noun without any morphological derivation; when it is marked in the accusative case, *sumaqta* means ‘something nice or delicious’. Adverbs can be derived from adjectives by the adverbializer *-ta*: e.g. *sumaqta* as an adverb means ‘well, nicely’. The limitative *-lla* can form adverbs based on infinitive forms of

<sup>6</sup> Stems are regarded as bi- or trisyllabic and suffixes as monosyllabic.

<sup>7</sup> The source index of the examples consists of the abbreviation for the story and the numeration of the clause in the story.

verbs; examples from the present corpus include *phawaylla* ‘fast’ (< *phawa-* ‘fly, run’) and *usqhaylla* ‘rapidly’ (< *usqha-* ‘hurry’). There are also unmarked adverbs such as *ancha* ‘very much’, *nishu* ‘too much’, *yaqa* ‘perhaps’, as well as temporal expressions like *kunan* ‘now’.

### 2.3 Noun phrase

Table 2 summarizes typological features of nouns and modified noun phrases in Cuzco Quechua, following categories suggested by Rijkhoff (2002) and based on features described by Cusihuamán (1976:103–151) and those observed from the present corpus. The term ‘noun phrase’ (NP) refers here to the linguistic expression of what Schulze and Sallaberger (2007:166) call *Referenz* at the conceptual level, i.e. the permanent qualification of object images (verb phrases (VPs) express *Relationen*, i.e. the permanent qualification of event images). An NP can be a bare noun, a compound, or a head noun with determiners and/or modifiers.

<b>Nominal subcategory</b>	Flexible nouns: singular object noun or set noun (no obligatory plural marking)
<b>Possessive construction</b>	POSSESSOR-genitive + N-possessive suffix
<b>Adposition</b>	Postpositions
<b>Case</b>	10-11 categories, nominative-accusative alignment
<b>Noun-numeral construction</b>	Numeral (+ measure word) + N
<b>Constituent order in NP</b>	Determiner + modifier (adjective or nominalized structure) + N, N + nominalized modifier
<b>Declination of NP</b>	Determiner + modifier + N-case, N + modifier-case
<b>Appositional construction</b>	Modifier-case + N-case, N-case + modifier-case
<b>(In-)definiteness</b>	Optional marking of (in-)definiteness

Table 2 Typological features of nouns and modified noun phrases in Cuzco Quechua

Determiners like demonstratives and the indefinite article always appear left to the head noun. The present corpus shows instances of postnominal modifiers which are either nominalized structures such as in *uno t'impu-pu-sqa-ta* (water boil-STAT-NMLZ-ACC) ‘boiled water’ [MU], or Spanish loans like in *chay sitio peligro-kuna-man* (that place dangerous-PL-AL) ‘to those dangerous places’ [CI]. These two types of modifiers can also precede the head noun. Once a modifier is marked by the same case suffix that also appears on the head noun, an appositional construction is present. In such cases, the marked modifier can precede or follow the head noun.

### 2.3.1 Cases

According to Cerrón-Palomino (1987:270f.), the case system of Cuzco Quechua consists of 11 categories, which are divided into grammatical and semantic types in Table 3 (cf. Blake (2004:31ff.)). Cusihuamán (1976:126) does not include the comparative case. In the present corpus, *hina* ‘like’ is mostly not written together with the NP, which indicates its status as a postposition; only the most recent text, CI, has one instance of the suffix form. Theoretically, further adverbial markers like the possessive *-yuq* and the sociative *-ntin* can be added to the case system.

Grammatical cases	Core	Nominative <i>-∅</i>
		Accusative <i>-ta</i>
		Genitive <i>-pa</i> (after consonant)/ <i>-q</i> (after vowel)
Semantic cases	Local	Locative <i>-pi</i>
		Allative <i>-man</i>
		Ablative <i>-manta</i>
		Terminative <i>-kama</i>
		Comitative-instrumental <i>-(pu)wan</i>
		Benefactive-final <i>-paq</i>
		Causal <i>-rayku</i>
		Comparative <i>-hina</i>

Table 3 Case system in Cuzco Quechua

The distinction between the two types of cases, however, is not clear-cut. The accusative marker *-ta* can have allative and perlativ (‘through, across’) meanings. (2) shows an example where the locational NP is marked by the allative *-ta*. The multifunctionality of *-ta* can be explained by the affinity of two conceptual domains, namely direction in space and direction in transitive relations. While the allative meaning refers to a goal-oriented movement, as an accusative marker it indicates that the action denoted by the verb in question is directed from the agent towards the patient.

- (2)            *chai-qa*            *ukuku-qa*            *pasa-n*            *wasi-n-ta*            [MU130]  
                  that-TOP            bear-TOP            leave.for-3            home-3P-AL  
                  ‘Then the bear went home.’

The locational cases also show semantic extensions. In (3a), the locative *-pi* marks a nominalized temporal clause. In (3b), the same case suffix marks two abstract NPs in the sense of ‘under certain circumstances’. The allative case in (3c) denotes a (physical) transition. The ablative case in (3d) has a causal meaning.

- (3) a. *chay condenaw-wan pelea-sqa-n-pi-ña-yá* [CI234]  
 that condenado-COM fight-NMLZ-3P-LOC-ALREADY-EMO  
 ‘When he was fighting with the condenado...’
- b. *chai-qa mama-n-ta abuelo-n-ta* [MU171]  
 that-TOP mother-3P-ACC grandfather-3P-ACC
- abuela-n-ta-qa carcel-man apa-ika-chi-nku*  
 grandmother-3P-ACC-TOP jail-AL carry-AUG-CAUS-3PL
- queja-kuna-pi riña-kuna-lla-pi*  
 complaint-PL-LOC dispute-PL-LIM-LOC  
 ‘Then they sent his mother and grandparents to jail under all the complaints and conflicts.’
- c. *llaqta-q kantu-n-pi-qa p’asña-man* [SIS23]  
 village-GEN boundary-3P-LOC-TOP girl-AL
- tuku-rqa-pu-q*  
 transform-EXH-STAT-HAB  
 ‘(The dove) would transform herself into a girl at the boundary of the village.’
- d. *manchai usphu usphu pinkullu-cha-n-manta* [SIS130]  
 very miserable miserable flute-DIM-3P-ABL
- ‘(Siskucha) felt very miserable because of his little flute.’

Dative functions are covered by *-ta*, *-man*, and the benefactive-final *-paq*. There are some semantic differences between *-ta* and *-man* regarding dative object marking. In the present corpus, the addressee of speech verbs is mainly marked by *-ta*, such as the referent Girl<sup>8</sup> in (4a). In (4b), the Hummingbird marked by the dative *-ta* is the possessor of the referent that is the direct object; it can also be regarded as a maleficiary (cf. the German dative: *Der Bär bricht dem Kolibri die Flügel*). (4c) shows an example where *-ta* marks the topicalized possessor in the construction of predicative possession; usually possessors in such constructions are in the genitive case (cf. section 2.3.3). Cusihuamán (1976:127) mentions that *-ta* is used with verbs denoting transfer of knowledge such as *yachachiy* ‘teach’ and *rikuchiy* ‘show’. However, the present corpus shows co-occurrence of *-man* and this verb class, as shown in (5a). Usually the dative *-man* is used with verbs of transfer where the patient is a concrete entity or a human like in (5b); the dative meaning here is close to the allative semantics.

- (4) a. *hina-spa ukuku-qa ni-n p’asña-ta* [MU6]  
 like-SS bear-TOP say-3 girl-DAT  
 ‘Then the bear said to the girl: ...’

<sup>8</sup> The dramatis personae of the present narratives are written with a capitalized initial letter (see section 3.3.3.2).

- b. *hina-spa ataka-cha-n-ta p'aki-rpari-n* [CI86]  
 like-SS wing-DIM-3P-ACC break-INTL-3

***q'inti-cha-ta***

hummingbird-DIM-DAT

‘Then (the bear) broke the little wings of the hummingbird.’

- c. *hina-spa colegial-ta-qa mana miqhu-i* [MU307]  
 like-SS schoolboy-DAT-TOP NEG eat-INF

*ganas-ni-n-pas*

desire-EU-3P-ADD

*ka-n-chu*

be-3-NEG

*llakiku-i-manta*

be.distressed-INF-ABL

‘The schoolboy had no appetite because of distress.’ (literarily: ‘for the school-boy, there was no appetite’)

- (5) a. ...*wayk'u-sqa-ta pay ukuku-man-pis mihu-y-ta* [CI35]  
 cook-NMLZ-ACC 3 bear-AL-ADD eat-INF-ACC

*yacha-chi-n*

know-CAUS-3

‘...she taught the bear to eat cooked food.’ (literally: ‘she taught the eating of cooked food to the bear.’)

- b. *kura-man entrega-pu-n* [CI118]  
 priest-AL hand.over-STAT-3  
 ‘(His mother) handed him over to the priest.’

Weber (1989:161ff.) has pointed out that the case marking of the causee in a causative construction is governed by transitivity in Huallaga Quechua. In the current corpus, a causee can be marked in three different ways, compare example (6), (7), and (8). While the instrumental *-wan* (like in Huallaga Quechua) and the allative-dative *-man* tend to (but do not exclusively) mark causees which take the role of agentive<sup>9</sup> in the underlying clause of the causative construction, as in (7) and (8), the accusative *-ta* is used when the underlying clause is intransitive, as in (6). The objective of an underlying transitive clause is also marked by *-ta*, like *uñata* in (7) and *chaytas* in (8).

- (6) *yawar-ni-n-ta-s sut'u-rqa-chi-n maki-n-man-kama-lla* [JL53]  
 blood-EU-3P-ACC-HS drop-EXH-CAUS-3 hand-3P-AL-TERM-LIM  
 ‘She let her blood drop in her hand.’

- (7) *chicu-wan wikchu-chi-mu-sunchik... uña-ta...* [JP57]  
 boy-INSTR abandon-CAUS-TRSL-FUT:1INCL baby-ACC  
 ‘We’ll let the boy leave the baby (somewhere).’

<sup>9</sup> For the set of terminology for grammatical relations used in this study see section 2.5.

- (8) *chay-ta-s chay mach'aqway-man llaqwa-ya-rqa-chi-n* [JL54]  
 that-ACC-HS that snake-AL lick-AUG-EXH-CAUS-3  
 ‘She let the snake lick it up.’

(9) shows two instances where *-ta* marks the agentive of an underlying transitive clause. It is possible that the use of *-ta* is motivated by decrease in transitivity in both cases. In (9a), the verb ‘wait’ does not denote any dynamic action; in (9b), the referent ‘daughter’ is forced to make the provisions and thus has less volitionality.<sup>10</sup>

- (9) a. *huk inocente chucu-cha-ta-wan suya-chi-wanqa* [JP130]  
 one innocent boy-DIM-ACC-ADD wait-CAUS-FUT:3>1  
 “‘Also let one innocent little boy wait for me.’”
- b. *ususi-n-ta-qa ...quqaw-cha-ta ruwa-yka-chi-n* [SN287]  
 daughter-3P-ACC-TOP provisions-DIM-ACC make-AUG-CAUS-3  
 ‘They had their daughter prepare provisions.’

(10) shows one of a few passive-like constructions from the present corpus, with the underlying agent marked by *-wan*. This ties in with the observation from above that the same suffix also marks agentive causees. Typologically, there are other languages which mark the underlying agent of a passive construction with the instrumental case, such as Kannada (see (11)); in Russian, there is a so-called backgrounding passive construction where a non-human agent, like the ‘storm’ in (12), is put in the instrumental case.

- (10) *ña-s nanay-wan hap'i-chi-ku-n-ña ...* [SN151]  
 already-HS pain-INSTR catch-CAUS-REFL-3-ALREADY  
 ‘She was already in labor ...’ (literally: ‘she was caught by the pain’)
- (11) *huDugar-inda ba:vuTa ha:risalpaTTitu* [Siewierska (2013)]  
 boys-INSTR flag.NOM fly.INF.PASS.PST.3SG.N  
 ‘The flag was flown by the boys.’
- (12) *burej povali-l-o derevo* [Kulikov (2013:377)]  
 storm.INSTR knock.over-PST-SG.N tree.ACC  
 ‘The tree was knocked over by the storm.’

Double case marking can be observed in Quechua. Weber (1989:254) mentions the co-occurrence of the genitive and the accusative markers when the NP only consists of a genitive noun: *Hwan-pa-ta rika-:* (John-GEN-ACC see-1) ‘I see John’s (house)’. In example (6) above, the allative *-man* and the terminative *-kama* double-mark a locational referent. In (13), *-kama* follows the accusative marker and conveys the distributive meaning.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. parameters of transitivity by Hopper and Thompson (1980).

- (13) *kimsa-ta-s wacha-ku-n qhari-ta-kama* [JL335]  
 three-ACC-HS give.birth-REFL-3 male-ACC-DISTR  
 ‘She gave birth to three (babies), all boys.’

## 2.3.2 Pronouns and demonstratives

### 2.3.2.1 Pronouns

Cuzco Quechua distinguishes between three persons at the levels of pronouns and pronominal inflection (including possessive and verb agreement markers). Adelaar (2006:211) speaks of the fourth person, which refers to the first person plural inclusive. This pronominal category is well-preserved in both Quechua I and II variants, as shown in Table 4. The forms of the pronouns are fairly consistent across the two dialectal groups except for first person plural exclusive. Quechua I uses the nominal plural ending *-kuna*, whereas Quechua II shows the form *-yku*. *-y* is used for the first person in nominal and verbal inflection; *-ku* also marks plurality in the third-person possessive and subject endings. Table 4 further shows the most prominent morphological distinction between the two Quechuan branches, namely in the possessive and subject endings of the first person singular and plural exclusive.<sup>11</sup> Plurality is a marked category in all three persons in the possessive and subject endings in most of the Quechua II variants including Cuzco Quechua, whereas most of the Quechua I dialects only have plural forms in the first person.<sup>12</sup>

	Pronouns	Possessive suffixes	Subject endings (polypersonal forms not included)
<b>1. pl. incl.</b>	<i>ñuqanchik</i> (QI),	<i>-nchik</i> (QI), <i>-nchis</i> (QII)	<i>-ñchik</i> (TQ), <i>-nchis</i> (CQ)
<b>1. (pl. excl.)</b>	<i>ñuqanchis</i> (QII)		
	<i>ñuqa(-kuna)</i> (QI), <i>ñuqa(-yku)</i> (QII)	<i>-:</i> (QI), <i>-y(-ku)</i> (QII)	<i>-:</i> (TQ), <i>-ni(/-yku)</i> (CQ)
<b>2. (pl.)</b>	<i>qam(-kuna)</i>	<i>-yki</i> (QI), <i>-yki(-chis)</i> (QII)	<i>-°nki</i> (TQ), <i>-nki(-chis)</i> (CQ)
<b>3. (pl.)</b>	<i>pay(-kuna)</i>	<i>-n</i> (QI), <i>-n(-ku)</i> (QII)	<i>-n</i> (TQ), <i>-n(-ku)</i> (CQ)

Table 4 Pronominal forms in the Quechuan language family

Cuzco Quechua exhibits polypersonalism when the objective is the first or second person, or SAP; the third-person objective can be regarded as zero-marked. The agreement markers are shown in Table 5 (Cerrón-Palomino 2008:137). The two series of persons are termed ‘actor’

<sup>11</sup> For the subject endings without polypersonal forms, only the forms from Tarma Quechua (TQ) and Cuzco Quechua (CQ) are presented (cf. Cysouw (2003:255)).

<sup>12</sup> In these dialects, the plural can be shown in the pronoun: e.g. *qam-kuna-p wasi-yki* (2-PL-GEN house-2P) ‘your (pl.) house’, whereas in Quechua II, an additional genitive pronoun is not necessary: *wasi-yki-chis* (house-2P-PL) (QII) (cf. Cerrón-Palomino (1987:269)).

and ‘undergoer’ based on Van Valin’s notion of macro-roles (2001); section 2.5 will show that the agreement markers denote more thematic relations than the prototypical transitive relation between an agent and a patient. The suffix *-wa*, which stands for the first-person oblique form, is still transparent,<sup>13</sup> whereas the two markers involving the second-person oblique form, *-yki* (2>1) and *-sunki* (3>2), cannot be easily segmented.<sup>14</sup>

	Undergoer			
Actor	1	2	3	4
1	/	<i>-yki</i>	<i>-Ø-ni</i>	/
2	<i>-wanki</i>	/	<i>-Ø-nki</i>	/
3	<i>-wan</i>	<i>-sunki</i>	<i>-Ø-n</i>	<i>-wanchik</i>

Table 5 Polypersonal agreement markers in Cuzco Quechua

Quechua is a pro-drop language, which means that pronouns as clausal arguments are only mentioned lexically under certain pragmatic circumstances; the person in question is otherwise marked in the verb. (14) shows two lines from a dialog sequence in MU. The first-person pronoun is only made explicit in the second clause where it is marked by the additive *-pas*.

- (14) i.      *quqau-ta*                      *apa-ka-mu-rqa-ni*                      [MU12, 15]  
                  provisions-ACC                      carry-REFL-CIS-PAST-1SG  
                  (...)
- ii.      *ñuqa-pas*                      *apa-ka-mu-lla-rqa-ni-taq-mi...*  
                  1-ADD                      carry-REFL-CIS-LIM-PAST-1SG-CON-AFF  
                  ‘(i) (The girl said to the bear:) “I brought provisions.” (...) (ii) (The bear said to the girl:) “I also brought (provisions).”’

In the present corpus, the third-person pronoun *pay* is mainly used as an emphatic pronoun, except for the story JL where it is used frequently as an anaphor for the protagonist, the Mayor, also in non-emphatic context (see section 5.3.2.4). In the following example, *pay* is used in a contrastive context which is made explicit by the adverb *aswan* ‘on the contrary’.

- (15) i.      *runa-kuna*                      *chanqa-ika-mu-i-ta*                      *muna-sqa-nku*                      [MU212-213]  
                  person-PL                      throw-AUG-TRSL-INF-ACC                      want-SD-3PL
- llipi-nku*  
                  all-3P:PL

<sup>13</sup> *-wa* can also be separated from the other part of the personal ending by tense-aspect-markers, such as in *fastidia-mu-wa-sha-ra-n* (annoy-TRSL-IO-PROG-PAST-3) ‘they were annoying me there’ [CI143].

<sup>14</sup> Both Cerrón-Palomino (2008:137) and Adelaar (2006:221) have mentioned the reanalysis of *-su* as the second-person oblique form in some Bolivian and Argentinian dialects. Note that the parts *-ki* and *-nki* in the suffixes *-yki* and *-sunki* respectively are reminiscent of the second-person subject marker. This could point to an underlying inverse system where the second-person undergoer is marked like an actor in the verb agreement due to its salience as the addressee.

ii. *hina-spa*      *pai*      *aswan*                      *llipi-nku-ta*      *runa-kuna-ta*  
 like-SS              3              on.the.contrary                      all-3P:PL-ACC      person-PL-ACC

*chanqa-ika-m-pu-sqa*

throw-AUG-TRSL-STAT-SD

‘(i) The people, all of them, wanted to push (the boy-bear) down. (ii) But it was he who pushed all the people down.’

### 2.3.2.2 *Demonstratives*

Cuzco Quechua has three demonstratives: the proximal *kay*, the distal *chay*, and the obvial *chahay*, that is, referring to distances greater than the distal category; the three elements have a prefixed form respectively: *ankay*, *anchay*, and *anchahay*; the obvial demonstrative shows different variants such as *chhaqay*, *haqhay*, *haqay*, *hahay*, *ahay*, etc. (cf. Cusihuamán (1976:110)). They can be used adnominally or referentially. When marked in locational cases, they refer to places: e.g. *kay-pi* this.place-LOC ‘here’, *chay-man* that.place-AL ‘thither’.

Following Diessel (1999:6f.), we distinguish between two types of functions of the demonstratives, namely exophoric and endophoric. The endophoric use further includes three subtypes: anaphoric demonstratives keep track of prior discourse referents; discourse deictic demonstratives refer to larger chunks of discourse; in the recognitional use, they indicate that the referent is known to speaker and hearer based on shared knowledge. *kay* and *chay* are both used exophorically in the present corpus where they refer to entities present in the speech situation in the characters’ world. In (16a), the proximal demonstrative is contrasted against the distal; note that the locational NPs *kayñachu* and *chayñachu* are not marked in the locative case, which could be a verbal error of the narrator. (16b) shows one of a few occurrences of *kay* in a non-dialogic clause from the corpus; my interpretation of the phrase *kaymanta* is that the narrator mimicked how the Boy held onto the Condor at the moment of speaking. Nuckolls et al. (2015:79) describe a similar use of the proximal demonstrative in Amazonian Quichua which indicates a comparison to the speaker’s own body or immediate spatial field.<sup>15</sup> (16c) represents the only instance of an obvial demonstrative in the present narratives; the NP *chhaqay llaqtapin* refers to a location that is far away from the speaker and the hearer.

<sup>15</sup> Dedenbach (2007:231f.) also mentions a similar usage of *kay* in the Huarochirí manuscript where it marks an animal the deity Cuniraya encounters. She describes it as a dramatic device that connects mythic events with real life.

- (16) a.i. *kay-ña-chu* [JP202-3]  
 here-ALREADY-INTERR
- ii. *chay-ña-chu* *yayku-ra-mu-nqa* *wawa-y-qa*  
 there-ALREADY-INTERR enter-EXH-CIS-FUT:3 child-1P-TOP  
 ‘(The mother thought to herself:) “(i) Will my child come in this way (ii) or that way?”’
- b. *kay-manta* *qaqa-ta* *ch’ipa-yu-ku-chka-n* [JP418]  
 this-ABL tight-ADV squeeze-AUG-REFL-PROG-3
- chaki-n-kuna-wan-raq*  
 leg-3P-PL-INSTR-IN.ADDITION  
 ‘He held tight onto (the condor’s body) like this, with his legs as well.’ (literally: ‘from (the condor’s body)’)
- c. *chhaqay* *llaqta-pi-n* *Supay wasi-pi-ña* [JL511]  
 that.over.there village-LOC-AFF devil house-LOC-ALREADY
- runa pusa-q* *runa uywa-q* *misti-nku-pis*  
 people lead-AG people take.care-AG mestizo-3P:PL-ADD
- ka-pu-sha-n*  
 be-STAT-PROG-3  
 ‘(The condenados spoke up: “Our Lord said to us:) “In that village far away, their mayor who is in charge has ended up at the Devil’s place.”’

There are a few instances in the corpus where *kay* is used to introduce a new topic in direct speech. Nuckolls et al. (2015:80) describe this function of the proximal demonstrative as drawing hearers’ attention upon a new referent; the recognitional use of demonstratives as mentioned by Diessel (1999:7) includes only referents which are known by the speaker and the hearer. In (17a), *kay* marks the unspecific referent ‘seven pairs of sandals’, while in (17b), the marked referent ‘your father’, which is newly introduced in the corresponding stretch of direct speech, is known to both speech participants. Since this function of *kay* in Cuzco Quechua is not limited to known referents, it is better described as marking joint attention.

- (17) a. *kay* *imaymana* *qanchis* *par-is* *husut’a-ta* [JP306]  
 this all seven pair-PL sandal-ACC
- ruwa-ku-nki*  
 make-REFL-FUT:2  
 ‘(The she-calf said to the boy:) “You’ll make these seven pairs of sandals altogether.”’
- b. *kai* *taita-iki* *ñuqa-ta* *kai-man* *pusa-mu-wa-n* [MU59]  
 this father-2P 1-ACC this-AL take-CIS-1O-3

‘(The boy-bear’s mother said to him:) “This father of yours took me here.”’

The distal demonstrative *chay* occurs frequently in the anaphoric use, both adnominally and referentially. In (18a.i), the referent Girl, who was introduced at the beginning of the story (a few lines before the current clause), is referred to by the (predicate) NP *chay sapan ususil-layuqsi* with *chay* as an adnominal demonstrative. In the next clause, (18a.ii), the same referent occurs as an anaphor in *chayllata* where *chay* is used referentially. *chay* is further used as a discourse deictic demonstrative (see above). In (18b), the NP *chayllatachu* refers to a previous passage of direct speech.

(18) a. i. *tayta mama-n-qa chay sapan ususi-lla-yuq-si* [SN4-5]  
 father mother-3P-TOP that only daughter-LIM-HAVING-HS

*ka-sqa*

be-NARR

‘She was her parents’ only daughter.’ (literally: ‘her parents were that-only-daughter-possessor’)

ii. *chay-si chay-lla-ta sapa p'unchay*  
 that-HS that-LIM-ACC every day

*kacha-q*

*michi-na-man*

send-HAB

graze-NMLZ-AL

‘They sent her alone every day to the grazing land.’

b. *chay-lla-ta-chu ni-mu-ra-sunki* [JP159]  
 that-LIM-ACC-INTERR say-CIS-PAST-3>2  
 ‘(The she-calf’s mother said to the servant:) “Did she say that to you?”’

(19) shows a cataphoric use of *chay* where the newly introduced referent ‘town of Sumaq Marka’ directly follows the NP *chay llaqtapis*. Section 5.7.2.2 includes a further survey on the textual distribution of the demonstratives.

(19) *chay llaqta-pi-s Sumaq Marka-pi-s ka-n* [SN291]  
 that village-LOC-HS Sumaq Marka-LOC-HS be-3

*wacha-ku-na*

*hanpi-s*

*ni-spa-s*

give.birth-REFL-NMLZ

remedy-HS

say-SS-HS

“‘In that town, Sumaq Marka, there’s a medicine for giving birth.’”

### 2.3.3 Possessive constructions and their semantic extensions

The possessive NP construction in Cuzco Quechua is double-marked: POSSESSOR-*q/-pa* + POSSESSED-possessive suffix, e.g. *ukuku-q churi-n* (bear-GEN son-3P) ‘son of bear’ and *wawa-y-pa tayta-n* (child-1P-GEN father-3P) ‘father of my child’. One semantic extension of this construction concerns the coding of spatial relations. Cusihuamán (1976:148) notes that while some

relational nouns requires the double-marked construction, such as *pacha* ‘bottom’, *hawa* ‘top, outside’, *ladu* ‘side’, *chawpi* ‘middle’ etc., others do not, e.g. *pata* ‘top, border’ and *k’uchu* ‘corner, foot (of a mountain), side’. In the current corpus, the ground referent of such locational NPs is usually not marked in the genitive case, as in *sipas-pa wasi qhipa-n-pi* (girl-GEN house back-3P-LOC) ‘at the back of the girl’s house’ [JL]. However, when the relational noun is a Spanish loan, the double-marked construction is used: e.g. *catre-p esquina-n-pi* (bed-GEN corner-3P-LOC) ‘in the corner of the bed’ [JP]. There is one instance in the corpus where the construction is used to denote a temporal relation:

- (20) *tayta mama-n-qa chay qhipa-ta-qa* [SN376]  
 father mother-3P-TOP that back-AL-TOP
- tapu-y-ta qallari-sqa*  
 ask-INF-ACC begin-NARR  
 ‘After that (what happened), her parents began to ask her.’

Another function of the possessive NP construction is to introduce nominalized clauses. Here the possessor is the subject of the underlying clause and the possessed is the nominalized VP, for the discussion of nominalized clauses and examples see section 2.6.2.

Quechua does not have a verb for ‘have’. The predicative possession is realized in an existential sentence based on the possessive NP construction. In (21), the possessive NP is discontinuous. The possessor, marked in the genitive case, is topicalized by *-qa*, which could mean that the construction is reanalyzed as a quasi-‘have’-construction.

- (21) *chay sipas-pa-qa mana-s ka-sqa-chu* [JL6]  
 that girl-GEN-TOP NEG-HS be-NARR-NEG
- tayta mama-n-pas*  
 father mother-3P-ADD  
 ‘The girl didn’t have any parents.’ (literally: ‘the girl’s parents were not there’)

(22) also shows another form of predicative possession. Here the possessed is marked by the suffix *-yuq* ‘having’ which indicates possession. On the other hand, the sociative *-intin* is used when temporary possession is implied: e.g. *paipas ovejallantintaq* ‘he also had sheep with him’ [MU5].

- (22) *chay-si vecinu-n-qa ka-sqa* [JP171]  
 that-HS neighbor-3P-TOP be-NARR
- huk wawa-cha-yuq*  
 one child-DIM-HAVING  
 ‘(She-calf’s mother) had a neighbor who had a child.’

## 2.4 Verb phrase

### 2.4.1 Transitivity and verb valency

Non-derived verbs in Cuzco Quechua are not marked for transitivity. The present corpus does not show any ambitransitive verbs of the type S=O like the English verb ‘boil’ (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000)). ‘boil’ can be used as an intransitive verb or a transitive one; the same referent takes the syntactic role of S in the former case and the role of O in the latter: cf. ‘the water boils’ vs. ‘he boils the water’. In Quechua, the same verb *t'impuy* has intransitive meaning; the transitive counterpart is marked by the causative *-chi* (for valency-increasing/decreasing devices see below). If the unmarked verb is transitive and agentive such as *kichay* ‘open (something)’, the intransitive meaning ‘be in the state of’ can be derived by using the perdurative suffix *-raya*.<sup>16</sup> The difference in telicity in some cognitive and posture-related verbs is not marked morphologically.<sup>17</sup> For instance, *tiyay* can mean ‘sit’ or ‘sit down’ and *qhaway* can mean ‘look (at)’ or ‘see’.

Valency-increasing devices in Quechua include the causative *-chi*, the assistive *-ysi*<sup>18</sup> and the benefactive *-pu*. In (23), the intransitive verb ‘sleep’ takes an objective because of the valency-increasing assistive. In (24), the ditransitive verb ‘give’ is causativized and thus opens four argument slots, two of which, the first and second person, are marked in the verb. The suffix *-pu* is ambiguous: it can be interpreted as the benefactive, in the sense of ‘for me’; a regressive reading (toward the point of origin) is also plausible (see the next section).

(23)      *...puñu-ysi-mu-saq*                      *señora-ta*                      [JP253]  
            sleep-ASIS-TRSL-FUT:1              mistress-ACC  
            “... I’ll help the mistress sleep.”

(24)      *si*      *es*                      *qu-chi-pu-wa-qti-yki-qa*                      [SIS168]  
            if      be:PRES:3SG      give-CAUS-BEN/REG-1O-DS-2P-TOP  
            “if you make him it back to me”

The reflexive-mediopassive suffix *-ku* (allomorph *-ka*) is typically associated with reduced transitivity. Its functions include the real reflexive where the objective refers to the same referent as the agentive, the middle voice which denotes a kind of subject-affectedness that is not part of a reflexive dynamic event (cf. Kemmer (1993:3)), and passivization (see example (10)). Regarding the middle morphology, the present corpus shows verb forms that can be put into

<sup>16</sup> *-raya* can also verbalize nouns: e.g. *yana* ‘black’ > *yanarayay* ‘look black’, *muqu* ‘hill’ > *muqurayay* ‘stand out like a hill’ (Cusihuamán 1976:198).

<sup>17</sup> The posture verb *kumpay* ‘lay down’ is a counterexample. The atelic version of the verb is marked by the durative suffix: *kumparayay* ‘be in the state of lying’.

<sup>18</sup> Based on the term *asistivo* by Cusihuamán (1976:210).

the following categories after Kemmer's typology (1993:16–20): verbs of grooming or body care such as *armaku-* 'bathe' and *ch'ustiku-* 'strip off (clothes)', verbs of nontranslational motion and change in body posture such as *saq'aku-* 'shake (one's body)' and *mast'aku-* 'lie down', and verbs of emotion such as *manchaku-* 'be afraid' and *phiñaku-* 'be angry'. While *-ku* co-occurs regularly with verbs of emotion, its semantics in the other categories has to be investigated in future studies, especially considering that the suffix is polysemous (see the next section) and influence from Spanish, which also has a pronounced middle morphology, can play a role. For instance, the phrase 'to marry someone' could be a loan translation from Spanish, since it has the same structure as *casarse con*. The two most recent texts, JP and CI, use the Spanish verb root *casa-* to form the lexeme *casaku-*, whereas SN, a story from an earlier time, uses the Quechua root *yanascha-*.

The reciprocal marker *-naku*, which is based on the reflexive *-ku* according to Cusihuamán (1976:205), is another valency-reducing device. A typical transitive verb loses one argument slot (linguistically) when it is marked by *-naku*: e.g. *pusanaku-* 'accompany each other' [SN].

#### 2.4.2 Directional, aspectual, and adverbial meanings in verbal morphology

Verbal morphology in Quechua contains a wide range of semantic categories. Cusihuamán (1976:193) divides verbal suffixes into the following types: verbalizers, modifiers, auxiliary suffixes, and directional suffixes. This classification can be considered preliminary at best, since the categories partly belong to different linguistic levels and the problem of polysemy is not treated systematically. For instance, auxiliary suffixes include valency-changing suffixed mentioned in the previous section such as the causative *-chi* and the assistive *-ysi*, which have impact on the argument structure of the verb, while modifiers only change the verbal meaning adverbially. Polysemy is widespread in Quechua verbal suffixes. Hintz (2011) has analyzed the grammaticalization of directional suffixes in South Conchucos Quechua (QI). In this section, I follow the description of five suffixes in Cuzco Quechua from a fairly recent study by Kalt (2015).

Two of them, the augmentative *-y(k)u* and the exhortative *-r(q)u*,<sup>19</sup> can be traced back to two formally identical suffixes in Proto-Quechua with the meanings of 'inward' and 'outward' respectively (cf. Hintz (2011:188)); the former is for instance retained in the verb *haykuy* 'enter' and the latter is possibly reflected in the verb *hurquy* 'take out'. Another two of the suffixes

<sup>19</sup> Both are based on the Spanish terminology of Cusihuamán (1976). The allomorphs *-y(k)a* and *-r(q)a* occur when they are followed by other suffixes like *-ri* (inchoative), *-ysi*, *-chi*, *-mu* or *-pu*. The exhortative *-r(q)a* is formally identical with the simple past tense marker; according to Daniel Hintz (personal communication, February 2016), the two suffixes are not cognate.

are *-mu*, often termed ‘cislocative (toward a deictic center)’ and ‘translocative (occurring elsewhere than the deictic center)’, and *-pu*, regressive in its directional meaning. All four suffixes mentioned so far have (possibly motion-based) aspectual and adverbial meanings (see the examples in (25) below). Kalt has also included the reflexive *-ku*, which has an array of adverbial meanings (for a summary of the semantic fields of the five suffixes see Kalt (2015:39f.)). Table 6 shows the frequency of *-y(k)u* and *-r(q)u*, along with two other adverbial suffixes, the intentional *-rpari* (denoting intentionality or abruptness) and the exaggerative *-tiya* (which modifies actions carried out in an excessive or unusual way), in four texts from the present corpus. The table also includes the clusters the four suffixes form with one another and other suffixes. While *-y(k)u* and *-r(q)u* with perfective, intensifying, and affection-related meanings are the two most frequent aspectual and adverbial suffixes in MU, JL, and JP, *-rpari* is the most common adverbial suffix in CI. MU has the lowest percentage of verbal phrases marked by these suffixes. The average frequency of cases where the suffixes occur alone in the four texts is ca. 60%. The narrators tend to repeat certain clusters, such as *-y(k)u-ku*, *-y(k)a-mu/-pu/-mpu*, and *-r(q)a-mu/-pu/-mpu* in MU, JL, and JP and *-r(q)u-ku* in JL. JL and JP show in the clusters of *-y(k)u* two aspectual markers: the repetitive *-paya* (repeated or prolonged actions) and the iterative *-kacha* (repeated actions or actions with interruptions or change of direction).

	<b>MU</b>	<b>JL</b>	<b>JP</b>	<b>CI</b>
<b>-y(k)u</b>	51	85	77	17
-y(k)u-r(q)u	5	6	2	
-y(k)u-r(q)u-ku		3		
-y(k)u-ku	9	11	12	1
-y(k)a-ka-mu/-pu/-mpu	3			
-y(k)a-mu/-pu/-mpu	10	17	9	3
-pa(ya)-/kacha-yka(-mu)		3	4	
-ya-rpari				2
<b>-r(q)u<sup>20</sup></b>	34	99	78	13
-r(q)u-ku		17	8	3
-r(q)a-ka-mu/-pu	1	2	3	2
-r(q)a-mu/-pu/-mpu	10	21	12	4
<b>-rpari</b>		6	1	27
-rpari-mu/-pu		1		5
<b>-tiya</b>				6
-tiya-rpari				5
<b>Total</b>	85	190	156	63
<b>Percentage of total VPs</b>	22.85%	30.65%	31.39%	26.25%

Table 6 Distribution of four aspectual and adverbial suffixes in MU, JL, JP, and CI

(25) shows three examples containing the clusters *-yka-ka-mu*, *-ra-ka-mu*, and *-rqa-ka-m-pu* respectively. *-yka* (or *-ika* in the writing system of MU) in (25a) can be interpreted aspectually in the sense of ‘completely’; the reflexive suffix describes here an action carried out of the agent’s own accord. The semantics of the sequence *-ra-ka* in (25b) can be inferred based on the imperative mood: the exhortative probably conveys that the action should be carried out with care, also because of the reduplicated adverb *allin allinta*; the reflexive implies an affectionate or polite request. *-rqa* in (25c) denotes unexpectedness based on the presence of the mirative *-sqa*; the utterance itself also implies surprise since it is made at the moment when the speaker finds out that he has forgotten something. The meaning of the reflexive in (c) cannot be explained by the options given by Kalt (2015:39); it could be a case of cognitive middle (cf. Kemmer (1993:19)). The directional *-mu* shows two different meanings in the examples. In (a), the verb implies motion toward the Condénado’s property where the observers (the Boy-bear

<sup>20</sup> Note that the causative *-chi* can occur between *-r(q)u* and another suffix: e.g. *wañu-ra-chi-pu-* (die-EXH-CAUS-STAT-) ‘kill someone unexpectedly’ [CI].

and the Schoolboy) are. In cases of non-motion verbs like in (b) and (c), *-mu* indicates that the event takes place somewhere else than the deitic center. In (b), the Bear is standing at the top of the ravine trying to take the Mayor out of it; in (c), the Priest is at home talking about having left the book at the cemetery. *-mu* has a third meaning which is related to aspect (glosses as cislocative); it is used with “[a]tmospheric verbs and verbs indicating emergence from inside either a human body, object, the earth or a body of water” (Kalt 2015:36): e.g. *illari-mu-n-ña* (get.light-CIS-3-ALREADY) ‘it became dawn’ [JL201]. Finally, *-pu* in (25c) probably conveys the result-related perfective meaning. Kalt (2015:32) mentions a negative pragmatic meaning of *-pu* where the speaker disapproves of the event – this also seems to be a plausible interpretation of the suffix in (c).

- (25) a.     ...*kiki-lla-nku*           *huñu-ika-ka-mu-nku*           *lliu*                   [MU303]  
                   oneself-LIM-3P:PL   gather-AUG-REFL-CIS-3PL       all

*animal-kuna*

animal-PL

‘All the animals gathered back home by themselves.’

- b.     *allin allinta*           *wiqaw-ni-yki-manta*   *khipu-ra-ka-mu-y...*       [JL281]  
       good   good-ADV       waist-EU-2P-ABL       knot-EXH-REFL-TRSL-IMP  
       ‘(The bear said to the mayor:) “Tie (the rope) carefully around your waist.”’

- c.     *libro-cha-ita-n*           *qunqa-rqa-ka-m-pu-sqa-ni*                   [MU192]  
       book-DIM-DIM-AFF       forget-EXH-REFL-TRSL-STAT-SD-1  
       ‘(The priest said to the boy-bear:) “I forgot my book there (at the cemetery).”’

Another aspectual suffix which occurs frequently in the corpus is the inchoative *-ri*. While its inchoative meaning is transparent in some verbs: e.g. *qallariy* ‘begin’ and *puri-ri-y* (go-INCH-INF) ‘set out’, it seems to have become fossilized in others like *uyariy*, which can mean ‘listen’ or ‘hear’. However, another verb of perception, *qhaway* ‘look at, see’, is only marked by *-ri* in the imperfective meaning. There are also verbs which appear both with and without *-ri* in the corpus, such as *chinka(-ri)y* ‘disappear’, *qati(-ri)y* ‘follow’, and *mancha(-ri)y* ‘be afraid’. *-ri* can further be attached to reduplicated verb stems, as in example (1), although it is unclear if *-ri* conveys the inchoative meaning in such cases. Hintz (2011:72) mentions a similar combination in SCQ without including the inchoative semantics.

### 2.4.3 Tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality

#### 2.4.3.1 Tense-aspect system

The tense system of Cuzco Quechua contains three categories: present, past and future (cf. Cusihuamán (1976:167–176)). Table 7 at the end of the section summarizes the tense-aspect personal suffixes. The present tense is zero-marked. The marker for the simple past tense is *-r(q)a* (< Proto-Quechua *\*-rqa*, with synchronic reflexes in almost all Quechuan languages (Hintz 2011:43)). Direct speech from the present corpus shows that this marker does not appear necessarily in the reporting of past events (see section 5.5.2.2). The future tense is encoded differently according to the grammatical person. The tense markers for the first and third person are portmanteau morphemes: *-saq* for first person singular, *-sunchis* for first person plural inclusive, and *-nqa*<sup>21</sup> for third person. In the second person, the future tense is zero-marked, which can be explained pragmatically in that when the speaker talks about the hearer, who is also present in the speech situation, the utterance often has future-related or modal meanings. In the two examples in (26), two types of modality are implied by the second person future marker. In (26a), the speaker makes a conjecture, while in (26b), a demand is expressed. Note that the connection between future tense and modality is well-attested cross-linguistically (cf. de Haan (2013:459f.) and footnote 21).

- (26) a.i. *aslla-ta-wan*                      *wiñari-spa*    [MU88-9]  
          little-ADV-ADD                      grow-SS
- ii. *tanqa-iku-rqu-nki*    *ni-spa*  
              push-AUG-EXH-FUT:2 say-SS  
              “(i) After you grow a little more, (ii) you will push away (the rock).”
- b. *qam-pas*                      *yanapa-mu-wanki*    *imaina-lla-ta-pas*    [MU315]  
              2-ADD                      help-CIS-FUT:2>1                      somehow-LIM-ADV-ADD  
              “‘You will help me somehow.’”

While tense locates the point in time of an event with reference to speech or reference time, aspect shows how an event unfolds, e.g. as an action in progress (progressive) or as a repeated action over an extended period of time (habitual) (de Haan 2013:5f.). The progressive aspect in Cuzco Quechua, marked by *-sha*, can co-occur with present and past tense. Hintz (2011:42) notes that the cognate *-ra* in South Conchucos Quechua is not compatible with the progressive aspect and thus termed past perfective. Another tense-aspect category in Cuzco Quechua is the habitual past, encoded by the analytic construction: *V-q + ka-PRES*. The copula *ka-* is not used

<sup>21</sup> Cerrón-Palomino (1987:195) points out that the Proto-Quechua future participle *\*-nqa* has given rise to the non-past and modal nominalizer *-na* in the southern dialects.

when the third person is the subjective or the agentive (or actor) with a non-SAP objective (or undergoer), cf. *puklla-q* (play-HAB) ‘he used to play’ vs. *yachachi-q ka-sunki* (teach-HAB be-3>2) ‘he used to teach you’ (Cusihuamán 1976:173f.). Note that *-q* is also the agentive marker (see section 2.6.2). A clause like *puklla-q ka-ni* (play-NA/HAB be-1SG) is thus ambiguous and can mean ‘I am a player’ or ‘I used to play’.

The past tense has a further evidential-modal category: the non-experienced past *-sqa*. In a relatively recent survey of the evidential-modal-mirative markers in Cuzco Quechua, Manley (2015:154) proposes that the simple past *-r(q)a* contrasts with *-sqa* in terms of evidentiality and epistemic modality. While the former indicates a direct information source and can convey a high level of certainty, the latter communicates an indirect information source and may express doubt. *-sqa* is also an important element in Quechua narrative. Its multifunctionality in discourse will be discussed in sections 2.4.3.3 and 5.7.3.1.

Tense	Marker	1SG	1EXCL	1INCL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Present	-∅	-ni	-y-ku	-n-chis	-nki	-nki-chis	-n	-n-ku
Progressive	-sha	-ni	-y-ku	-n-chis	-nki	-nki-chis	-n	-n-ku
Simple past	-r(q)a	-ni	-y-ku	-n-chis	-nki	-nki-chis	-n	-n-ku
Habitual past	-q + ka-; -q (3rd person)	-ni	-y-ku	-n-chis	-nki	-nki-chis	-∅	-ku
Non-experienced past	-sqa	-ni	-y-ku	-n-chis	-nki	-nki-chis	-∅	-ku
Future	portantenaus; -∅	-sqa	-sqa-ku	-su-n(-chis)	-nki	-nki-chis	-nqa	-nqa-ku

Table 7 Tense-aspect personal markers in Cuzco Quechua<sup>22</sup>

### 2.4.3.2 Modality

Cuzco Quechua has one modal marker which interacts with the personal paradigm: the potential *-man* (apart from suffixes which mark the imperative, interrogative, and negative moods),

<sup>22</sup> Polypersonal suffixes with the first or second person as undergoer not included.

although modality can also be expressed by the nominalizer *-na* (see section 2.6.2), the dubitative clitics *-chus/-suna/-sina*<sup>23</sup>, and evidential-modal markers (see the next section). The potential marker *-man* can denote epistemic (necessity and possibility) and deontic (wish, request, obligation, belief etc.) modality. It follows the personal ending in the suffix order. The ending for the first person singular is *-y*, formally identical to the nominal suffix. The first person plural inclusive has the same form as its future tense marker: *-sunmanchis*; JL from the present corpus shows a contracted form of it: *-swanchis*. In the second person, the potential mood has a form that does not belong to the *-man* paradigm, namely *-waq*.<sup>24</sup>

*-man* appears mostly in dialogs in the present narratives. In (27a), the clause in the potential mood is also marked by the inferential *-chá* (see also the next section), which indicates that the speaker is making a conjecture, namely based on his/her own reasoning. In (27b), the adverb *paqta* ‘hopefully’ shows that *-man* denotes deontic modality, namely a wish.

- (27) a. *chay-lla-man-chá pusa-wanki-man...* [SN43]  
 there-LIM-AL-INFER take-2>1-POT  
 “‘You can probably take me there.’”
- b. *yao suit'u paqta-taq icha-qa* [SIS118]  
 INTERJ long.form hopefully-CON but-TOP
- aiqiri-chi-waq pinkullu-cha-i-ta...*  
 escape-CAUS-POT:2 flute-DIM-1P-ACC  
 ‘(Siskucha said to the fox:) “Hey, you long snout, hopefully you won’t take away my little flute.”’

The present corpus further contains an analytic construction of the potential mood which denotes possible or non-factual events in the past, as in (28a) and (28b) respectively. The construction consists of a main verb marked by *-man* (or *-waq*) and the copula *ka-* marked in the third-person simple past tense.<sup>25</sup> In the present study, the subjective or agentive in such constructions is considered the same as that of the main verb. The first person pronoun in (28b) also shows that the agentive of the main verb is the real topic of the clause despite the mismatch between the topic and the third-person agreement marker in the copula.

- (28) a. *Señorá-y paqta huk señora-cha-ta* [JP321]  
 mistress-1P perhaps one mistress-DIM-ACC

<sup>23</sup> Cusihamán (1976:246) mentions *-suna/-sina* as the dubitative, which can be preceded by the interrogative-negative *-chu*. The present corpus only contains instances of *-chus*.

<sup>24</sup> This isolated and probably older form points to a high frequency of use of the second person potential mood.

<sup>25</sup> The construction reveals the nominal nature of verbs marked by *-man*. This probably also explains the formal identity between the first-person possessive suffix *-y* and the first-person singular ending in the potential mood.

*riku-waq ka-ra-n*  
 see-POT:2 be-PAST-3SG  
 “‘My lady, have you perhaps seen a little girl?’”

- b. ... *allipas ñuqa willa-iki-man ka-rqa-n...* [MU119]  
 although 1 tell-1>2-POT be-PAST-3SG  
 “‘although I would have told you something’”

The present corpus also shows cases where clauses in the potential mood are semantically dependent clauses. It is reminiscent of the subjunctive used in subordinate clauses in English. In (29a), the dependent clause (ii) refers to a possible scenario in the future. In (29b), the dependent clause (ii) expresses a wish.

(29)a.i. *ima kunan sonsera-s* [SIS121-2]  
 what now silliness-HS

- ii. *aiqiri-chi-y-man-ri*  
 escape-CAUS-1-POT-RESP  
 “‘(i) How silly would it be (ii) if I took away (your flute).’”

b.i. *muna-waq-chu* [SIS163-4]  
 want-POT:2-INTERR

- ii. *ñuqa qu-chi-pu-iki-man-yá*  
 1 give-CAUS-STAT/BEN-1>2-POT-EMO  
 “‘(i) Do you want (ii) me to take (the flute) back for you?’”

#### 2.4.3.3 Evidential clitics and the non-experienced past tense

Quechuan languages are considered to have a three-fold evidentiality system. The evidential clitics in Cuzco Quechua are the affirmative *-mi* (after consonant)/*-n* (after vowel), the reportative or hearsay marker *-si* (after consonant)/*-s* (after vowel), and the inferential *-chá*. The non-experienced past *-sqa* also contrasts with the simple past *-r(q)a* in terms of direct and indirect information source; it further denotes mirativity. While authors like Cusihamán (1976) and Faller (2002; 2004) describe the three clitics and *-sqa* as pure evidentials without modal extension, many others have pointed out epistemic meanings of at least some of these markers. For instance, Weber (1989:424) claims that the affirmative and the reportative can both be used validationally (the affirmative more often so) in Hallaga Quechua, although the fundamental distinction between them is evidential. In his study of Tarma Quechua, Adelaar (2013:102) describes the reportative and the inferential as evidential and the affirmative as primarily epistemic. Hintz (2007:70) concludes that in South Conchucos Quechua the affirmative and the inferential have evidential and validational meanings, while the reportative is a pure evidential marker. Manley (2015:191) claims in his recent work on Cuzco Quechua that *-mi/-n* is a direct

evidential with epistemic extension to indicate certainty; *-s(i)* is an indirect evidential with epistemic extension to convey doubt; *-chá* is a conjecture evidential with the same epistemic extension as *-s(i)*; *-sqa* can be used to communicate meanings of three dimensions: indirect information source, doubt, and mirativity.

Since the debate on the evidential or/and epistemic nature of the clitics and the non-experienced past tense marker goes beyond the scope of this study, we will only take a brief look at some arguments and examples. Aikhenvald (2004:3) defines evidentiality as “a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information (...) without necessarily relating to the degree of speaker’s certainty concerning the statement or whether it is true or not.” Faller (2002:130ff.) has pointed out that the distinction between direct and indirect evidence is fluid. For instance, cultural and encyclopedic knowledge as well as information from authoritative sources can be marked grammatically as direct evidence in Cuzco Quechua, even when the speaker has not witnessed the events or states in question. Manley has made similar observations. In a role-play experiment, she found out that when the speaker receives information from a trusted person, he can use the affirmative *-mi/-n* instead of the reportative *-s(i)* when he tells it to someone else (Manley 2015:180). In another experiment, a participant used the affirmative marker when he was asked to play the role of someone who passes on the news of the terrorist attack of September 11 after hearing it on the radio. Manley (2015:183) comments that radio news is possibly “considered trustworthy in general” for this participant; the high level of certainty can also be based on the speaker’s own knowledge about the event. Note that although the two authors seem to agree upon the nature of the grammatical category ‘direct evidentiality’, they still hold two different opinions about whether the affirmative *-mi/-n* conveys epistemic modality or not.

Part of the debate on the evidentials boils down to the question whether direct evidentiality automatically implies the meaning of certainty. In Cuzco Quechua, utterances can be expressed without any evidentials. Faller (2002:23) reports that according to her consultants, the two sentences in (30) have the same meaning with the difference in emphasis – the marked constituent *t'antatan* is namely put into focus; note that not only the evidentials but also other clitics in Quechua have focus-marking function.<sup>26</sup> However, Manley (2015:172) found out in her cer-

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<sup>26</sup> Cusihuamán (1976:240) terms them ‘focal enclitics’; they further include the emotive *-yá*, the impressive *-má*, the dubitative *-suma/-sina* (or *-chus*), and the interrogative-negative *-chu*. One can also add to the list the additive *-pas/-pis*, the adverbial *-raq* ‘still, in addition’, and the contrastive *-taq*. Section 5.7.3.2 includes a detailed analysis of the reportative *-s(i)* as a focus marker.

tainty-ranking survey that when two sentences are in the same tense (simple past or non-experienced past), the one that is not marked by the affirmative *-mi/-n* was ranked generally higher in certainty than the marked one by the participants. It is nevertheless debatable whether the study is flawed in that the participants were attuned to the category of certainty before the ranking.

- (30) a. *Pilar-qa t'anta-ta mikhu-rqa-n*  
 Pilar-TOP bread-ACC eat-PAST-3  
 'Pilar ate bread.'
- b. *Pilar-qa t'anta-ta-n mikhu-rqa-n*  
 Pilar-TOP bread-ACC-AFF eat-PAST-3  
 'Pilar ate bread.'

The example (31a) from the present corpus seems to confirm the epistemic implication of the affirmative clitic. The first-person future marker *-saq* indicates a high level of certainty on the part of the speaker. When the Boy-bear assures his mother that he will be strong enough one day to push away the rock, he does not seem to be basing the statement on any objective evidence but is rather relying on his intuition. The function of the affirmative *-mi* is thus linked to speaker's subjective evaluation. (31b) is also an interesting example in that *-mi* occurs in the potential mood encoded by *-man*. Since *-man* indicates here possibility, *-mi* can be either interpreted as strengthening the degree of possibility, or as a direct evidential, denoting that the Parrot is basing the utterance on its knowledge about male bears. An argument which speaks for the first interpretation is that clauses in the potential mood which are marked by the dubitative *-chus*, such as (32), contrast with those marked by the affirmative in terms of degree of certainty.

- (31) a. *mama-i ati-lla-saq-mi* [MU77]  
 mother-1P can-LIM-FUT:1-AFF  
 '(The boy-bear said to his mother:) "Mother, I'll be able to (push away the rock)."'
- b. *mikhu-ru-sunki-man-mi* [JL241]  
 eat-EXH-3>2-POT-AFF  
 '(The parrot said to the mayor:) "(I found a male bear, but I didn't tell him to come for you). He'd eat you."'
- (32) *hó qan suit'u-ña-taq-chus toca-i-ta* [SIS106]  
 INTERJ 2 long.form-ALREADY-CON-DUB play-INF-ACC  
  
*ati-waq*  
 can-POT:2

““Hey, you long snout, how can you possibly play (the flute)?””

The interpretation of the reportative *-s(i)* and the inferential *-chá* is also confronted with the question whether they have modal extensions. Weber (1989:424) and Manley (2015:170) both describe the epistemic meaning of *-s(i)* as denoting a low level of certainty. The present study will focus on its distribution in non-dialogic narrative discourse where modal readings are not relevant (see section 5.7.3.2). As an evidential, the inferential *-chá* implies that the speaker considers an utterance “to be a possibility based on his or her own reasoning” (Faller 2002:171). Faller (2002:174) gives the following minimal pairs of clauses marked by the dubitative and the inferential respectively:

- (33) a.     *muchila-y-pi-chu*                    *hina*  
           backpack-1P-LOC-DUB            like  
           ‘In my backpack.’ (speaker remembers vaguely that she saw her keys in her backpack)
- b.     *muchila-y-pi-chá*  
           backpack-1P-LOC-INFER  
           ‘In my backpack.’ (speaker conjectures that her keys are in her backpack)

As Faller comments, the degree of certainty in (33b) can be higher than in (33a), since the speaker is making the conjecture based on some good reason such as that she is in the habit of putting her keys in her backpack; however, the two markers are sometimes interchangeable, with the difference that *-chá* implies a deduction. Both Cusihamán (1976:245) and Weber (1989:426) point out the rhetorical effects of the inferential marker. (34) presents an example from a dialog in one of the present narratives. Here the Hummingbird is not asking a question but rather teasing the Bear, who does not know yet that his wife has escaped. Section 5.7.3.3 will discuss the meanings of *-chá* in the non-dialogic parts of the narratives.

- (34)       *pi-q-má*                            *urpi-cha-n-chá*            *llaqta-n*                            [MU112]  
           who-GEN-IMPRES               dove-DIM-3P-INFER       village-EU
- q'asa-ta-ña*                        *wasapa-rqu-sia-n...*  
           pass-AL-ALREADY               climb.over-EXH-PROG-3  
           ‘(The hummingbird said to the bear:) “Whose little dove could it be that is crossing the pass of the village?”’

Many Quechua dialects, as well as Aymara, distinguish between an two past tenses indicating direct and indirect experience respectively (Adelaar 2006:190; Cerrón-Palomino 2008:142). Manley (2015:172) shows that in Cuzco Quechua clauses in the simple past and the non-experienced past can occur without evidentials or be marked by the affirmative or the reportative; under the same evidential marking, clauses in the simple past denote a higher level of certainty

than those in the non-experienced past. Moreover, a mirative reading of *-sqa* is often possible when the speaker has experienced something indirectly, for instance not in full awareness (cf. Manley (2015:176ff.)). Cusihuamán (1976:170f.) presents a list of contexts in which *-sqa* occurs; some of them are exemplified in (35). (35a) shows a typical beginning of a folk tale, where the clause is marked by the reportative *-s(i)* and *-sqa*, which is called ‘narrative past’ in this type of context. Similar narrative genres like myths and legends, as well as historical reports, can be marked in this way. In (35b), *-sqa* marks an event that took place when the speaker’s faculty of memory had not fully developed; it is logical that the speaker has learned it from someone else, hence the presence of the reportative *-s(i)*. Cusihuamán further mentions the use of *-sqa* in situations where the speaker is not fully conscious such as in dreams or when one is drunk. (35c) shows a dialogic line from a present narrative where the affirmative co-occurs with *-sqa*. While the former marker indicates that the speaker has direct evidence of (and is certain about) the fact that he has forgotten the book at the moment of speaking, the latter conveys surprise, as the mirative marker or the marker of ‘sudden discovery’. While Cusihuamán’s analysis is limited to conversational situations, section 5.7.3.1 will discuss the use of *-sqa*, as the narrative past and mirative marker, in non-dialogic narrative discourse.

- (35)a. *huq oveja michi-q p'asña-s ka-sqa* [MU1]  
 one sheep herd-AG girl-HS be-NARR  
 ‘Once there was a shepherd girl.’
- b. *wawa-cha ka-sha-qti-lla-y-raq-si tiyu-y-qa wañu-pu-sqa*  
 child-DIM be-PROG-DS-LIM-1P-STILL-HS uncle-1P-TOP die-STAT-NX.PAST  
 ‘My uncle died when I was still a little child.’
- c. *libro-cha-ita-n qunqa-rqa-ka-m-pu-sqa-ni* (=25c)  
 book-DIM-DIM-AFF forget-EXH-REFL-TRSL-STAT-SD-1  
 “‘I forgot my book there.’”

Faller (2004:82) points out the difficulty of reconciling the two uses of *-sqa* for indirect evidentiality and mirativity. She argues that the two categories are possibly related in that the mirative meaning also implies some kind of indirectness, namely “it took some time for the event to enter the speaker’s consciousness”. *-sqa* further reflects a typologically common diachronic link between perfect participles and inferentials (Faller 2004:65f.). Apart from being an evidential-modal marker, *-sqa* also functions as a nominalizer denoting states: e.g. *macha-sqa runa* (drink-NMLZ person) ‘a drunken man’. The Turkish suffix *-miş* shows similar multifunctionality: e.g. *kuru-muş çiçek* (dried-PTCP flower) ‘dried flower’, *çiçek kuru-muş* (flower dry-PAST.INFER) ‘the flower dried (apparently, reportedly)’.



also marks the semantic roles of maleficiary and experiencer. The semantic role ‘causee’ can be marked by *-wan* (instrumental), *-man*, and *-ta*. Examples from the current corpus show that *-ta* marks OS (objective-subjective) where the underlying clause is intransitive; OAs (objective-agentive) marked by *-ta* can be less agentive than those marked by *-wan* or *-man*.

Comitative NPs are notated as S# in the present study. Quechua has the feature of mentioning the S# in a clause even though both referents are encoded in the verb agreement. In (37), the referent ‘young man’, which appears in a comitative NP, is also part of the plural referent encoded by the verb agreement marker *-nku*.

- (37)      *ña-s*                      *unay-ña*                      *ka-nku*                      [SN19]  
             already-HS              long.time-ALREADY      be-3PL
- chay*                      *wayna-wan*  
             that                      young.man-COM  
             ‘They were together for a long time, (the girl) and the young man.’

With regard to the polypersonal agreement marking, there are a wide range of semantic relations that can occur between the actor and the SAP undergoer. In (38a), the referent that is marked as the undergoer in the verb agreement is the theme of a speech act. In (38b), the undergoer in first person is the reason why the actor is angry. (38c) shows that even a motion verb can agree with its locative argument when it is an SAP.

- (38) a.      *nuqa-qa*                      *mana-chá*                      *muna-ku-wan-chu*                      [JP467-8]  
             1-TOP                      NEG-INFER                      love-REFL-3>1-NEG
- ni-ra-yki*  
             say-PAST-1>2  
             “‘I said about you: “Perhaps he doesn’t love me.”””
- b.      *manta-nchik*<sup>28</sup>                      *phiña-ku-wa-nqa*                      [JP120]  
             mistress-1P:INCL                      be.angry-REFL-1O-FUT:3  
             “‘Our mistress will be angry with me.””
- c.      *señora-chá-y*                      *hamu-chka-yki-n*                      [JP96]  
             lady-DIM-1P                      come-PROG-1>2-AFF  
             “‘My lady, I’m coming to you.””

<sup>28</sup> *manta* occurs frequently in the text JP and is possibly a contracted form of *mamita*.

## 2.6 Clause linking

### 2.6.1 Linking types without nominalization

The first section on clause linking deals with strategies like conjunctions and ellipsis where no VPs are nominalized. Cusihuamán (1976:275–279) distinguishes between two types of complex clauses with “cláusula subordinada”. In the present study, only nominalized clauses are considered subordinate ones (see the next section); the term ‘dependent clause’ will thus be used here. (39a) exemplifies the first type, where the dependent clause is marked with a post-verbal conjunction. *chayqa* is used as a conditional conjunction in the example. In (39b), the second clause is introduced by the conjunction *chaipaq* ‘therefore’, which marks the utterance as a kind of logical conclusion of clause (i). It seems more appropriate to call the *therefore*-clause ‘focal clause’ (as opposed to ‘supporting clause’, cf. Dixon (2009)), since it is semantically the opposite of the antecedent clause in (39a). (39c) shows the Spanish *pero* as a clause-initial conjunction denoting contrast. Its Quechuan counterpart, *ichaqa*, can occur at the beginning or in the middle of a clause; MU shows one instance of the combined form *pero ichaqa*. In the present corpus, this kind of conjunction appear mainly in direct speech; in the non-dialogic parts of the narratives, interclausal conjunctions (e.g. *hinaspa*, *hinas*, *chayqa* etc., see section 5.7.1) and temporal anaphors (e.g. *chaykama* ‘at the same time’, *chayman* ‘after that’ etc.) are commonly used.

(39) a. i. *mana chay-ta apa-mu-wanki chay-qa* [SN253-4]  
 NEG that-ACC carry-CIS-2>1 that-TOP

ii. *p'ana-yku-sqayki-n*  
 beat-AUG-FUT:1>2-AFF  
 “‘(i) If you don’t bring it (the medicine), (ii) we’ll beat you up.’”

b. i. *kunan-mi mama-i wawa-i-pa taita-n hamu-nqa* [MU137-8]  
 now-AFF mother-1P child-1P-GEN father-3P come-FUT:3

ii. *chai-paq-yá iskai perol-kuna-pi uno t'impu-pu-sqa-ta*  
 that-BEN-EMO two pot-PL-LOC water boil-STAT-NMLZ-ACC

*suya-chi-sunchis ...*  
 wait-CAUS-FUT:1INCL

“‘(i) Now mother, the father of my child will come. (ii) So let’s make two pots of boiling water and wait for him.’” (literally: ‘let’s make two pots of boiling water wait for him’)

c. i. *pero mana yacha-ni-chu* [MU55-7]  
 but NEG know-1-NEG

- ii. *kausa-sqa-nku-ta*  
live-NMLZ-3P:PL-ACC
- iii. *ni wañu-sqa-nku-ta-pas ni-spa*  
nor die-NMLZ-3P:PL-ACC-ADD say-SS  
“(i) But I don’t know (ii) (if my parents) are alive (iii) or dead.” (literally: ‘nor do I know if they are dead’)

The present narratives mainly use coordinating and disjunctive conjunctions from the Spanish language. In other cases, clauses are juxtaposed with no explicit conjunctions, showing ellipsis in one of them. In (40a), for instance, there is no disjunctive conjunction connecting the two phrases *kayñachu* and *chayñachu*. In (40b), *y* combines two clauses sharing the same sentence subject; the agentive in the second clause is in zero-anaphora. (39c\_iii) above shows an example of the use of the Spanish negative conjunction *ni*.

- (40) a.i. *kay-ña-chu* (=16a)  
here-ALREADY-INTERR
- ii. *chay-ña-chu yayku-ra-mu-nqa wawa-y-qa*  
there-ALREADY-INTERR enter-EXH-CIS-FUT:3 child-1P-TOP  
“(i) Will my child come this way (ii) or that way?”
- b.i. *hina-spa Siskucha-qa manchai contento* [SIS74-5]  
like-SS Siskucha-TOP very happy
- flauta-cha-m-pa misq'i-lla-ña waqa-sqa-wan*  
flute-DIM-3P-GEN sweet-LIM-ALREADY cry-NMLZ-COM
- ii. *y flauta-cha-n-ta-ri urqu punta-cha-kuna-pi-taq-si*  
and flute-DIM-3P-ACC-RESP mountain top-DIM-PL-LOC-CON-HS
- toca-iku-n*  
play-AUG-3  
‘Siskucha was very happy with the sweet sobbing of his flute and he played his little flute on the mountain tops.’

The texts from Lira’s collection show instances of locational and temporal relative clauses without nominalization. In (41a), the locational relative clause (ii) is introduced by *maypin*, based on the interrogative word *may* ‘where’. In (41b), *may pachan* functions as a temporal conjunction; line (i) can be regarded as a headless relative clause which reads ‘the moment when’.

- (41) a.i. *hina-spa-s chay hatun wasi punku-pi#<sup>29</sup>* [JL558-9]  
like-SS-HS that big house door-LOC

<sup>29</sup> The two hashtags mark the original position of clause (ii).

- |     |  |                                      |                             |                          |                             |                       |
|-----|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
|     | <i>#chay-si</i><br>that-HS             | <i>saya-sha-sqa</i><br>stand-PROG-SD | <i>punku-pi</i><br>door-LOC |                          |                             |                       |
| ii. | <b><i>may-pi-n</i></b><br>where-LOC-EU | <i>tiya-rqa-n</i><br>live-PAST-3     | <i>chay</i><br>that         | <i>huq</i><br>one        | <i>allin</i><br>good        | <i>sunqu</i><br>heart |
|     | <i>chanin</i><br>righteous             | <i>misti</i><br>mestizo              | <i>runa</i><br>person       | <i>llaqta</i><br>village | <i>michi-q</i><br>govern-NA |                       |
- ‘(i) He was standing at the door of that big house (ii) where the kindhearted and righteous mestizo, the head of the village, had lived.’
- |      |   |                                    |                                  |                                   |           |
|------|---|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| b.i. | <b><i>may pacha-n</i></b><br>when time-EU | <i>ususi-n</i><br>daughter-3P      | <i>wiksa-yuq</i><br>belly-HAVING | <i>rikhuri-n</i><br>appear-3      | [SN140-1] |
| ii.  | <i>chay-ña-s</i><br>that-ALREADY-HS       | <i>ni-naku-nku</i><br>say-RECI-3PL | <i>tayta</i><br>father           | <i>mama-n-qa</i><br>mother-3P-TOP |           |
- ‘(i) When their daughter became pregnant, (ii) the parents said to each other ...’

## 2.6.2 Subordinate clauses

The following subordinators are relevant for the present study: the nominalizers *-na* for unrealized or ongoing actions and *-sqa* for realized actions or as a passivizer, the agentive suffix *-q* which marks nominal relative clauses and the purpose-motion construction, the infinitive suffix *-y*, the co-reference marker *-spa* and the switch-reference marker *-qti* (these two markers will be discussed in section 5.7.4). *-na* and *-sqa* show various functions in the present corpus, including marking complement clauses, relative clauses, temporal, modal, and state-denoting adverbial clauses. (39c) shows two complement clauses ((ii) and (iii)) marked by *-sqa*. The clause nominalized by *-na* in (42ii) is an object complement of the verb *muna-* ‘want someone to do something’ in the matrix clause. This kind of complement clause can also be regarded as modal. Note that in the subordinate clause, the agentive of the complement clause is different than that of the matrix clause.

- |         |                                  |                                      |   |                               |             |
|---------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|-------------|
| (42) i. | <i>ay</i><br>INTERJ              | <i>aguilitá-y</i><br>eagle:DIM-1P    | <i>aguilitá-y</i><br>eagle:DIM-1P                                 | <i>kunan-chá</i><br>now-INFER | [JP458-459] |
|         | <i>muna-y-man#</i><br>want-1-POT | <i>#ka-ra-n</i><br>be-PAST-3         | <i>ni-spa-s</i><br>say-SS-HS                                      |                               |             |
| ii.     | <i>chay</i><br>that              | <i>paluma-cha-ta</i><br>dove-DIM-ACC | <i>ch'aqllay-ra-mu-wa-na-yki-ta</i><br>slap-EXH-VE-1O-NMLZ-2P-ACC |                               |             |
- “(i) Oh little eagle, little eagle, I’d like (ii) you to knock down that little dove for me!”

As for nominalized temporal clauses, *-na* is typically used with the case marker *-kama* ‘while’: e.g. *qhuspa-ska-na-n-kama* roll.around-PROG-NMLZ-3P-TERM ‘while (the bear) was rolling around (in the hot water)’ ([MU155]). On the other hand, *-sqa* co-occurs with the locative *-pi*, encoding realized events. Interestingly, the realized events can also be iterative ones: in (43), Siskucha’s parents is referring to a past habit of his.

- (43) *ho ocioso maqta sapa p'unchai chai* [SIS47]  
 INTERJ lazy young.man every day that  
  
*urpi-cha-lla-wan puqlla-sqa-iki-pi ka-nki*  
 dove-DIM-LIM-COM play-NMLZ-2P-LOC be-2  
 “‘Oh lazy boy, you’ve been playing with that little dove every day.’”

Regarding nominalized modal clauses, *-na* and *-sqa* both co-occur with case markers which have modal meanings. While *-na* tends to appear in purpose-denoting phrases marked by the final case suffix *-paq*, *-sqa* often co-occurs with the ablative *-manta*. In (44a), the causal meaning of the nominalized phrase *flautachan quchipusqanmanta* is based on the temporal meaning of posteriority of *-manta*. *-na* differs from *-sqa* in that it also occurs in modal constructions without modal case markers, such as (42) above. (44b) shows a deontic-modal construction where the verb is marked by *-na* and the possessive suffix *-yki* based on the person of the subjective.

- (44) a.i. *chai-qa Siskucha-qa agrade-sqa-n achqa-ta* [SIS256-257]  
 that-TOP Siskucha-TOP thank-NARR-EU much-ADV  
  
*kontor-ta-qa*  
 condor-ACC-TOP  
  
 ii. *flauta-cha-n qu-chi-pu-sqa-n-manta*  
 flute-DIM-3P give-CAUS-REG-NMLZ-3P-ABL  
 ‘(i) Siskucha thanked condor sincerely (ii) for taking back his flute.’  
  
 b. *kay-ta mana-n qam-paq-qa puri-na-yki-chu...* [JP369]  
 this-PERL NEG-AFF 2-BENE-TOP walk-NMLZ-2P-NEG  
 “‘This place is not for you to walk around.’”

State-denoting adverbial clauses are only marked by *-sqa*. (45a) shows a common usage of *-sqa* where a verb of emotion is marked adverbially in (ii). In (45b\_ii), *-sqa* has a passivizing function; a state is described like in the previous example, with the difference that the underlying event is transitive.

- (45) a.i. *hina-spa-n apa-n mama taita-man* [SIS10]  
 like-SS-EU carry-3 mother father-AL

- ii. *manchai kusi-sqa*  
 very.much be.happy-NMLZ  
 ‘(i) Then he brought (the dove) to his parents, (ii) with joy.’
- b.i. *hina-s p'ananaku-na-ntin# #suya-yku-nku* [SN316-317]  
 like-HS cudgel-NMLZ-SOC wait-AUG-3PL
- ii. *q'asu-na rikra-yku-sqa-lla-ña*  
 cudgel-NMLZ carry.on.shoulders-AUG-NMLZ-LIM-ALREADY  
 ‘(i) They waited with cudgels, (ii) (with) them carried on their shoulders.’

Relative clauses can be formed by *-na*, *-sqa*, or *-q*. The first two nominalizers mark relative clauses where the referent is not in the syntactic foreground. (46a) shows a headless relative clause with the passivizing *-sqa*. The referent which is described is the objective of the underlying clause of (i); the agentive ‘mother’ is marked by the genitive suffix. In (46b), the relative clause (i) is in a hypothetical mood and thus employs *-na*. What is interesting here is that the clause refers to the adverb *asnata*. In (46c), *escuelapi kaq* functions as an attribute of the head NP *masin warmachakunata*; the referent is the subjective of its underlying clause. Relative clauses in the present corpus can also be appositional, that is, when they are on the same syntactic level as the head NP. This can be observed when for instance the same case marker is also attached to the relative clause; sometimes relative clauses appear to the right of the head NP. An example from JP shows both features: *cama-ta ama pi-q-pa puñu-sqa-n-ta* bed-ACC (PROH who-GEN-GEN sleep-NMLZ-3P-ACC) ‘a bed, one that no one should have slept in (in the accusative)’. It is further noteworthy that the accusative case marker does not seem obligatory in such subordinate clauses. For instance, the embedded verb *muchuy* of the modal verb ‘can’ is unmarked in (46b\_i). In the case of the agentive *-q*, this is often a sign of lexicalization. For instance, the word for ‘shepherd’, *oveja michiq*, can be regarded as a compound. Interestingly, the present corpus also includes an instance where *oveja* is marked in the accusative case, which means that lexicalization caused by *-q* is a matter of degree.

- (46) a.i. *mama-n-pa lliw apa-mu-sqa-n-ta-s* [JL430-431]  
 mother-3P-GEN all carry-CIS-NMLZ-3P-ACC-HS
- ii. *allinnin-ta q'ipi-cha-rqu-ku-nku q'ala-ta*  
 good-ADV pack-FACT-EXH-REFL-3PL all-ACC  
 ‘(ii) They packed well (i) all the stuff brought by their mother, all of them.’
- b.i. *mana hayk'aq-pas muchuy ati-na* [JL186-187]  
 NEG when-ADD bear can-NMLZ

- ii. *asna-ta supi-yka-mu-sqa*  
 fetid-ADV fart-AUG-CIS-SD  
 ‘(ii) (The devil) farted so fetidly (i) that (no one) could ever bear (to smell it).’
- c. *huq hait'a-pi huq saqma-lla-pi-s wañu-rqa-chi-pu-n* [MU170]  
 one kick-LOC one punch-LIM-LOC-HS kill-EXH-CAUS-STAT-3
- escuela-pi ka-q masi-n warma-cha-kuna-ta*  
 school-LOC be-AG fellow-EU child-DIM-PL-ACC  
 ‘(The boy-bear) killed his little fellows at school with just one kick or one punch.’

The agentive suffix *-q* further marks the subordinate clause denoting purpose in the purpose-motion construction, as in (47). Note that the construction in the example is broken down into two clauses because the subordinate clause is transitive, while the same agentive referent is in the role of subjective in the main clause based on the motion verb. In cases where subordinate clause marked by *-q* is intransitive, the construction is annotated as one clause in the present study. The present corpus also shows other analytic constructions involving *-q*: e.g. *V-q atipaku-* ‘insist to do something’ (SN), *V-q tuku-* ‘pretend to do something’ (JP), and *V-q sigui-* (< Span. *seguir*) ‘continue doing something’ (JP).

- (47) i. *tayta mama-n hanpi-q* [SN154-5]  
 father mother-3P treat-PURP
- ii. *hayku-qti-n*  
 enter-DS-3P  
 ‘(ii) When her parents came in (i) to treat her ...’

The infinitive marker *-y* is mainly used to mark embedded clauses in co-referential modal constructions. In (42ii) above, the agentive does not refer to the same referent as in the main clause; the nominalizer *-na* is thus used instead of *-y*. There are a few instances in the present corpus where *-y* shows other functions. In (48a\_iii), it marks a relative clause of the head NP *wai-q'ukunamanta* in (i). In (48b\_ii), the subordinate clause marked by *-y* represents a subjective complement of the first clause.

- (48) a.i. *pero uyari-sia-n# #waiq'u-kuna-manta* [SIS135-7]  
 but listen-PROG-3 gorge-PL-ABL
- ii. *toca-mu-sqa-n-ta-qa*  
 play-TRSL-NMLZ-3P-ACC-TOP
- iii. *mana haiku-i ati-y*  
 NEG enter-INF can-INF  
 ‘(i) But (Siskucha) could only listen to (ii) (the fox) playing from gorges (iii) nobody could go into.’

b.i. *chay-si*      *pay-pa*      *oficio-n-qa*      *ka-sqa*      [JP110-1]  
that-HS      3-TOP      habit-3P-TOP      be-NARR

ii. *sapa* *dumingu-n* *ri-y*  
every Sunday-EU go-INF  
'(i) It became his habit (ii) to go (to visit her) every Sunday.'

### 3 Quechua narrative in the light of folk tale studies

#### 3.1 Theories and methods in folk tale studies

##### 3.1.1 Definition and characteristics of folk tales

The term ‘folk tale’ is a translation of the German *Volksmärchen* and refers to oral or written forms of prose narrative in its broader sense (Thompson 1946:4; Zipes 2000:167). The other term, ‘fairy tale’, a translation of the French *conte de fée*, can be used interchangeably when it comes to ‘folk tale’ in a narrow sense. Fairy tales, myths, and legends are considered the main oral prose genres of folklore (Zipes 2000:165); differences between them will be discussed in the next section. The inception of folk tale studies is associated with the collection of folk literature inspired and done by German-speaking scholars, with the publication of the Grimms’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children’s and Household Tales*) in 1812 as the first milestone. The Grimms’ collection includes not only fairy tales but also other narrative types such as fables, legends, and anecdotes, which shows the Grimms’ holistic view of the genre *Märchen*. In its academic usage, the German word *Märchen* represents a genre consisting of ‘tales of magic’<sup>30</sup> as the central type and subtypes such as animal tales, novellas (realistic tales in the Aarne-Thompson-Uther type index), jests, riddles, and legends (Pöge-Alder 2011:28).

Folk tales or *Märchen* have been defined based on various criteria. Stith Thompson, one of the compilers of the most influential international tale type index, gives the following description (1946:8):

A *Märchen* is a tale of some length involving a succession of motifs or episodes. It moves in an unreal world without definite locality or definite characters and is filled with the marvelous. In this never-never land humble heroes kill adversaries, succeed to kingdoms and marry princesses.

Three features are mentioned in this definition: *Märchen* are considered motif-based; they contain fantastic elements; there are typical characters such as heroes, their adversaries (or villains), and princesses. With respect to the interpretation of the contents of a tale, the question of fictionality is often involved. While magic tales show happenings that one usually does not encounter in everyday life and features like lack of exact spatial and temporal information hint at unreal events, the tales can nevertheless reflect social and interpersonal relationships in the real world; they can further contain so-called ‘survivals’, i.e. historical belief systems and costumes (cf. Pöge-Alder (2011:29)). Moreover, the emic view can differ from the etic one when it comes to the question whether a story is true or not; the emic view concerning the status of a tale can

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<sup>30</sup> A synonym of fairy tales used by folklorists. They also refer to tales listed under the numbers 300-749 in the Aarne-Thompson tale type index.

also be ambiguous (see section 3.2.1). Psychoanalytical interpretations of tales in turn regard motifs as projections of the unconscious mind. Jungian analysts for instance aim to identify ‘archetypes’ in tales, defined by Jung (1980:4) as “[t]he contents of the collective unconscious”.

According to the motif-based view of tales, they consist of reoccurring semantic components such as certain actors, objects, and incidents (see also section 3.1.3). Not only can different motifs be combined in different ways, but their semantic components can also change according to the narrative context and the tale type; for instance, a sword can turn into a musket and a king can be replaced by a president when the narrative time changes (Pöge-Alder 2011:30). The Russian formalist Vladimir Propp has been one of the major opponents of the motif-based method, for whom wonder tales should be defined by the so-called ‘functions’ or acts of characters as interpreted in the context of the plot. He claims that “[m]orphologically, a tale (*skázka*) may be termed any development proceeding from villainy (...) or a lack (...), through intermediary functions to marriage (...), or other functions employed as a *dénouement*” (Propp 2009[1928]:92).

The Swiss folklorist Max Lüthi (2005[1947]; 1998[1962]) ascribes a typical aesthetic style to *Märchen* like those published by the Grimms. The characteristics include one-dimensionality (e.g. figures can move unproblematically between the real and enchanted worlds), depthlessness (e.g. personalities and feelings of the figures are projected onto the surface of actions instead of being directly described), abstraction (e.g. tendency toward extremes, contrasts, and fixed formulas), (visible) isolation and (invisible) universal connection (e.g. figures are isolated from each other in that they do not have sustained relationships, but they can be brought together in a flexible manner), and sublimation and worldliness (motifs in *Märchen* are in general estranged from their origins; they reflect essential elements of the human existence).

Structuredness of folk tales is also reflected in typical opening and closing formulas such as ‘once upon a time’ and ‘happily ever after’. The collective nature of folk tales with individual variability has been a much-debated topic (see also section 3.1.5). While the contents of folk tales are usually not linked to individual experience, the ethnographically influenced view of narrative traditions holds that the composition of each oral or written tale can be determined by the narrative talent, intention, and style of the narrator, as well as the audience; each composition exhibits certain variances around a core structure consisting of episodes, personages, and motifs; literary fairy tales (*Kunstmärchen*) can be distinguished from folk tales proper in that the author of the former genre counts as the originator of a tale and has more freedom for the composition (Pöge-Alder 2011:30–32). The national viewpoint which originated from the

19th century and believes that folk literature “represent[s] the genius of a nation” has also been criticized in that the ‘folk’ should not be regarded as an undifferentiated mass with respect to the ownership of narrative knowledge; even within national borders, different regions can have different oral traditions (Holbek 1987:27ff.). The functions of folk tales include not only entertainment but also social and psychological dimensions such as the transfer of knowledge, the psychodramatic resolution of conflicts, the depiction of hope, and shared social experience (Pöge-Alder 2011:33).

### 3.1.2 The genre complex

This section will discuss some central features of oral narrative forms which constitute a genre continuum with fairy tales or tales of magic. Pöge-Alder (2011:34) points out that all forms of folk literature share certain features such as that the narrator is not the creator of a narrative; a narrative represents a version of an underlying *Erzähltext*; a narrative can consist of different categories as defined by folklorists. The subgenres often exhibit family resemblance. For instance, myths are typically tales from a remote past “laid in a world supposed to have preceded the present order” (Thompson 1946:9); they can be hero legends or etiological stories which depict the creation of the world or explain the origins of ancient social practices and natural phenomena (Pöge-Alder 2011:38). Themes from explanatory or etiological tales in general are often added to a story to give an interesting ending. In English, the term ‘legend’ is usually used with some attribute to refer to a certain genre. The German *Sage* corresponds to the English ‘local legend’ or the French *tradition populaire* and is defined as “an account of an extraordinary happening believed to have actually occurred”; the events depicted in such legends can be mythical themes or encounters with supernatural beings (Thompson 1946:8). Sydow (1948a:87) divides *Sagen* further into memorial sagns (accounts of personal stories), different kinds of fabulates (short and single-episodic tales), etiological sagns, family tales (multi-episodic tales like chronicles in Scandinavian folk tradition) etc.; he also notes that multi-episodic sagns differ from hero tales in that the former tell of figures confined to certain regions whereas the latter are known to a wider audience. The German term *Legende* mainly refers to religious legend in its original usage; the stories recount religious miracles and deeds of saints and are often embedded in a dogmatic belief system (Pöge-Alder 2011:39ff.). Pöge-Alder also comments that while *Sagen* focus on events, characters are at the core of *Legenden*; however, one category of *Sagen* as defined by Sydow (ibid.), namely person fabulates, tells of figures like *Till Eulenspiegel*.

As can be seen from the definitions above, categories like myth, (local or saint's) legend, hero tale, and etiological tale are closely interwoven, even though some central features can be assigned to each of them when they are abstracted from the actual narratives; features like length, themes, and focus on events or characters often cannot serve as sufficient classification criteria. Quechua folk literature also represents a good example of genre fluidity. The tales like those in the present corpus are called *cuentos* or *kwintus* by modern speakers (see also section 3.2.1). On the one hand, they include storylines similar to European fairy tale motifs such as the abduction of a girl by an animal and a boy's pursuit after a girl which leads to her freedom from a spell (see also section 3.3.2.4). On the other hand, they show motifs which can be traced back to Inca mythology and biblical legends; etiological themes and motifs from local legend-like tales of supernatural beings and fable-like animal tales also occur.

### 3.1.3 Types and motifs

One of the goals in folk tale studies is the classification of tales. The Aarne-Thompson-Uther classification system (ATU), a catalog of international tale types, is arguably one of the most authoritative references.<sup>31</sup> The ATU system contains the following categories: animal tales, tales of magic, religious tales, realistic tales, tales of the stupid ogre (giant, devil), anecdotes, and jokes and formula tales.<sup>32</sup> Each tale type has a title and a description of the content. Motifs are considered the smallest semantic unit in a narrative, which can be a statement about an actor, an object, an incident, or a combination of all these elements, for instance, "when a woman uses a magic gift to cause a change in the situation" (Uther 2004a:10). Each motif or type can potentially be combined with other motifs or types; as Uther (2004a:8) puts it: the tale types "must be understood to be flexible". For example, some of the motifs of the type 409A 'The girl as goat' occur in the story JP from the present corpus: a woman bears a girl in the form of a goat; a youth observes the girl after she removes her animal skin; the youth frees the girl from the spell (cf. Uther (2004a:243)). Other components in JP are obviously of Andean nature: animals such as condor and guinea pig and natural surroundings like mountains and boulders.

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<sup>31</sup> The ATU catalog was first created by Antti Aarne, one of the founders of the Finnish school, for European tales in 1910. It was then twice revised by the American folklorist Stith Thompson in 1928 and 1961 with additions of tales in the region ranging from Europe to India. Hans-Jörg Uther (2004a; 2004b) eventually expanded and restructured the catalog extensively in terms of geographic distribution, type assignment, and references.

<sup>32</sup> The maximal numbering of the tale types is 2399. The actual entries, however, include the so-called subtypes or types limited to certain regions to which an extra letter or asterisk are assigned by Thompson. Some of the tale types are considered invalid by Uther but left with the same numbering. Some numbers do not refer to a separate type anymore in the ATU system due to structural overlappings with another existing type. Regrettably, the exact number of types and subtypes in the ATU catalog cannot be presented here.

The division of tales into motifs, moves, or sequences is a common methodological principle, especially in the comparative study of tales. Motifs as building blocks of a tale exhibit the following features: they tend to be retained in the transmission chain; they show deviations from everyday life; they bear significance in terms of universal and traditional life experience (Pöge-Alder 2011:55). A group of Quechua narratives, for instance, begin with the seduction of a girl by a wild animal disguised as a young man. Firstly, this is not a situation one would encounter in normal life, although bears are believed to display human-like sexual behavior and unwary shepherdesses can fall victim to bear-rape in the Andes (Allen 1983:39). Secondly, the motif can be interpreted as a reflection of the social tension caused by potential premarital sex, since the girl in the story is often a shepherdess and the isolated watch huts in the Andean highlands are meeting points for unmarried teenagers (Allen 2011:136); it could also be seen as a manifestation of the universal fear of outsiders and strangers. The appearance of this motif in different narratives corresponds to what Pöge-Alder (*ibid.*) calls ‘paradigmatic recurrence’; in the present corpus, the seducing animal is a bear in MU and a snake in JL. At the ‘syntagmatic’ level, the same motif can develop into different plots: in MU, the Boy-bear whose fate dominates the rest of the story is born after the abduction; in JL, the Girl’s poor condition eventually causes her parents’ intervention.

The Russian structuralist Vladimir Propp (2009[1928]:5–13) regards neither themes nor motifs as adequate criteria for classifying tales. The theme of animals, he would argue, cannot be the defining element for a subgenre as in the case of animal tales in the ATU catalog, since animals also play an important role in tales of magic. The same can be said about the subcategories of tales of magic, such as stories with supernatural adversaries, supernatural tasks, and supernatural helpers – themes which often co-occur in tales. Furthermore, themes are more complex than motifs and thus too “closely linked to one another” and “mutually interwoven” to be the basis of a classification. If a motif is used to identify tale types, it should also be somehow abstracted from its content. For instance, the recurrent motif ‘the seduction of a girl by an animal’ in Quechua tales would be described as “the villain abducts a person” by Propp (2009[1928]:31). Uther (2004a:10f.) is aware of this weakness of the ATU catalog and has pointed out that the description of the tale types does not show their meaning or function in context. Nevertheless, he defends the catalog as “a bibliographic tool that characterizes such diversity, represented by published narratives of different ethnic groups and time periods”.

### 3.1.4 Theories of origin and diffusion

When the Grimms noticed the commonalities among tales that come from different regions, they started to seek the reasons behind it (Pöge-Alder 2011:70–9). In the light of Indo-European studies, they attempted to apply the comparative method from historical linguistics to the reconstruction of folklore; residues of ancient myths as part of an Indo-European legacy were believed to be present in contemporary tales. For instance, Sleeping Beauty is compared to Brynhild who is stabbed with a sleep thorn in the Nordic saga. This Eurocentric and myth-focused conception of folk tales continued to influence the mythological school, which views European mythology as the foundation of its prose tradition and a key part of the national cultural assets. The dominance of natural sciences in the 19th century led to the formation of the school of nature mythology, which attempted to interpret myths and fairy tales as allegories of natural phenomena. The Sanskrit scholar Friedrich Max Müller, for instance, believed that most mythical themes could be linked to the sun and other natural phenomena.

In the early stage of research work on the origin of folk tales, especially during the period of the European nationalist movement, the theory of monogenesis and diffusion was widely accepted (Pöge-Alder 2011:85ff.). Tales were believed to have emerged at a certain place (or places referred to as the ‘folk tale nuclei’ according to the Finnish school (Sydow 1948b:46)) and then spread over national or tradition borders. The Indian theory by Theodor Benfey (1809-1881), a German oriental philologist, is certainly the most prominent monogenetic theory. It postulates India as the place of origin for European tales on the textual basis of the classical Indian fable collection ‘Panchatantra’ from the period between the first and sixth century; Benfey also believed to have found in Aesop’s fables sources for most of the animal fables. Although the theory is widely rejected today, it gave rise to the concept of migration in folk tale studies. Benfey linked the diffusion of oriental narratives in the Western world to the expansion of the Islamic people and their spread in Asia to the influence of Buddhism. Following the premises of the theory of monogenesis and diffusion, the Finnish school developed the historical-geographical method where narratives are sorted according to their places of recording and put into historical context with the help of literary sources. The goal of the method lies in the reconstruction of the so-called *Urform* of a narrative by describing its local variants, their dissemination and relations among each other.

With respect to the diffusion of tales, the principle of automigration is postulated by the Finnish school, which views it as some mechanical process without taking into account the migration of people and historical events. The principle is criticized by Carl von Sydow, a

prominent Swedish folklorist, in his paper 'Geography and folk-tale ecotypes' (1948b). 'Ecotype', or 'ecotype', is a term borrowed from botany and refers to a version of a stable and widespread tale type that is adapted to a certain region or ethnic group (introduced by Sydow in 1932, cited in Pöge-Alder (2011:94)). Ecotypes are located within tradition boundaries which can be inside national borders (Sydow 1948b:51ff.).<sup>33</sup> Carriers of folk tale traditions within a cultural sphere can compare their variants of tales and make alterations if they wish to. When an emigrating narrator moves to a new country, the tales or ecotypes he takes with him will either be accepted in the new environment (with or without modifications, or even becoming fused with some local variants) or they do not agree with local culture so that they will be forgotten or develop into different types of tales. One of the examples Sydow gives considers the different ecotypes of an antique myth, 'Great Pan is dead'; the Celtic ecotype is for instance recognizable by the demons in cat form and widespread in the French variants, whereas the Teutonic ecotype is less dominant in French territory.<sup>34</sup> A further scenario where ecotypes emerge is when a people is divided up into separate cultural spheres. Sydow hypothesizes that the ecotypes of the internationally widespread tale 'The Giant Without a Heart' did not emerge because of migration, because it cannot explain why the ecotypes can be divided precisely into an Asiatic and European group and the underlying theme of the tale is primitive enough to be universal.

The theory of polygenesis holds the opposite premise to the theory of monogenesis, namely that similarities among folk tales from different regions do not have to be explained by a common origin and that identical motifs can be created in different places independently (Pöge-Alder 2011:102ff.). This view was developed during a time when the amount of folklore collected had increased considerably and not all the material could be explained by the theory of monogenesis and diffusion. During the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, folk tale studies were also influenced by other fields such as philosophy, anthropology, and ethnology. According to the polygenetic view, the creation of similar narrative elements can be linked to shared characteristics among humans. For instance, the German philosopher Theodor Waitz

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<sup>33</sup> Sydow's argument that only a certain group of a people are the real carriers of a tradition refutes the national viewpoint which holds that folk tales "somehow represent the genius of a nation, its inherited identity" (Holbek 1987:27-29). This viewpoint first surfaced in the writings of the Brothers Grimm and was later nourished by the nationalist movement in Europe in the 19th century. Holbek also argues that languages may define national borders, but they do not bear any relation to the contents of tales. Furthermore, the knowledge of tales cannot be ascribed to a nation as an undifferentiated mass since different regions can have different oral traditions regardless of national borders; narrators from a certain region can also differ in the number and the types of their stories.

<sup>34</sup> Note that Sydow does not corroborate his observations here with historical facts of migration, nor does he show why the Celtic ecotype is more acceptable by French culture than Teutonic culture.

(1821-1864) argued that all people are equal in their natural state and racial differences are caused by differing physical, emotional, and intellectual development and sociocultural environment. The German doctor and ethnologist Adolf Bastian (1826-1905) coined the term *Elementargedanke*; elementary ideas are supposed to have a universal character and also show cultural variance, they can be found in the basic elements of all kinds of material and intellectual culture, including folklore.

The English anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) described three possible scenarios for the formation of folk tales: autonomous creation, inheritance from ancestors of another region, and transference from another ethnic group (Pöge-Alder 2011:110f.). However, it is not always clear if a motif is autochthonous or borrowed. According to Tylor, smaller elements in folk tales, e. g. a mythic motif like ‘ascension to the sky (with a certain tool)’, are more likely to be created by different cultures independent of each other, whereas it is more reasonable to assume monogenesis and diffusion for the recurrence of complex narrative themes.

### **3.1.5 Narration and narrators**

In the first few decades of the 20th century, the focus of folk tale studies shifted towards narration as performances in a sociocultural context and towards narrators, whereas earlier folklorists like many from the Finnish school devoted themselves to the reconstruction of the original forms of tales and ignored the creativity of narrators for the sake of mechanical laws which were believed to underlie the transmission of tales (Holbek 1987:31–33; 39–44). With the rise of the ethnographic approach, the concept of craftsmanship emerged, which regards narrators not as mere reproducers of tales but as “individuals acquiring skills in traditional arts and crafts and developing them to various degrees of perfection depending on talent, opportunity and need” (ibid.: 41). Russian folklorists first started to include biographical details of narrators in their collections (Pöge-Alder 2011:152–169). According to the Folk Tale Committee of St. Petersburg, more than 1000 folk tales from the Northern European region of Russia were published between 1908 and 1926, along with the profiles of 35 female narrators. Pioneering ethnographic work was also done in Germany: collectors began to document personal information of the narrators as well as the working process with them. Based on his fieldwork in Pomerania, Ulrich Jahn (1861-1900) reported that only the working class from the countryside – mostly male fishers and seamen, middle-aged or older – told stories among themselves and to their children; the storytellers all had a relatively large repertoire of 50 to 60 or even more stories;

during the story telling, they used facial expressions and gestures and interacted with the audience; the narrators also modified stories for their own purposes and tended to multiply or combine themes. Jahn further suggested that the folklorist should wait for the right time to record and be generous with rewards.

Pöge-Alder (2011:148–152) portrays the narrator as follows:

1. The narrator is not the creator of a folk tale; the original creator cannot be traced back.
2. The narrator represents a collective oral tradition which sets the norms for the acceptability of a tale and the degree of change in its structure and style.
3. The narrator does not merely reproduce a tale, he can decide how he builds up, modifies, and expands his repertoire. Different memorization techniques are adopted, varying from learning by rote to modern methods which for instance use mental images and rhythms in the language.
4. Narrators exhibit individual differences in terms of presentation technique, repertoire, audience engagement, text learning, and staging.
5. The way a narrator tells a story can be on the spectrum between reciting and improvisation; he is the producer of folklore within the historical and contemporary context.

Sydow (1948b:48ff.) distinguishes between active and passive carriers of a tradition. Active carriers in a folk tale tradition, the so-called ‘traditors’, are supposed to know a few tales quite well<sup>35</sup> and have a sort of literary copyright<sup>35</sup> on their tales, that is, nobody else in the community would try to tell their stories. The number of traditors of one specific tale is estimated as being only one per mille of a country’s population at most. The passive carriers, on the other hand, are familiar with tales which they have heard on a regular basis yet do not have the opportunity or ability to tell them. But if the traditor of a community leaves, the passive carrier could assume the mantle of the new traditor; if the latter moves to a new place, he could also be asked to become a narrator because of his knowledge.

With respect to the analysis of narrative texts, Milman Parry (1930) developed the ‘formulaic theory’ to describe Homer’s work in terms of formulaic characteristics of oral tradition in the 1920s and 30s. Parry’s assistant Albert B. Lord (1951) then tested the theory on Yugoslavian epic poems and enriched it with research aspects such as the process of oral transmission

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<sup>35</sup> Here Sydow only draws on his experience with narrators from “Teutonic districts”, who allegedly rarely had large repertoires, especially when it comes to the long and complex chimera tales. Some of the German collectors mentioned by Pöge-Alder (earlier in this section), however, claim to have met more than a few narrators with relatively large repertoires. Pöge-Alder (2011:184) calls narrators who only know a few stories ‘occasional narrators’.

and structural features like syntactic parallelisms and alliteration and assonance. While dealing with more exotic prose texts from indigenous North American people, anthropologists like Franz Boas and Melville Jacobs (1959) viewed them as literary forms and paid special attention to genre-specific stylistics including formal and thematic structures. The principle of working with authentic oral narratives adopted by the Boasian method laid the ground for the ethnopoetic studies carried out by Dennis Tedlock and Dell Hymes in the 1970s. For instance, Tedlock (1971) pointed out genre features on a phonological, lexical, and grammatical level for Zuñi narratives (New Mexico); Hymes (1981; 1985; 1987) developed the verse analysis method where Native American and English texts are divided into groups of lines which form semantic units and are considered to be the underlying structure of a narrative (see also section 5.7.1).

Besides the recognition of indigenous oral narratives as verbal art, these anthropologically trained scholars also centered their attention on the performance itself. The research field ‘ethnography of speaking’, which first appeared in a seminal essay by Hymes in the 1960s, is concerned with “speaking, the *use* of language in the conduct of social life”; the ethnographers of speaking are supposed to explore linguistic patterns beyond the sentence level and most importantly, in the social context of their usage (Bauman & Sherzer 1975:95–98). Storytelling within a certain oral tradition is also termed ‘performance’ – a concept borrowed from generative grammar, as Hymes (1981:80–81) comments:

In contemporary folklore the term performance has reference to the realization of known traditional material, but the emphasis is on the constitution of a social event, quite likely with emergent properties. (...) the performance as situated in a context, (...) as unfolding or arising within that context.

The performance-centered approach has also been adopted by Quechua folklorists. Howard-Malverde (1989) examined five versions of the same story in Pariarca Quechua and identified how the narrators shape their performances on different levels. The author calls these processes emotive shaping, commentative shaping, and manipulative shaping; in the last one, the narrator reshapes a story to meet his personal goals such as attacking a personal enemy in the community. Mannheim and Vleet (1998) claim that Quechua narratives are neither fixed nor formulaic by showing a narrative told in conversational form in Bolivian Quechua which does not have typical structures of transcribed stories such as opening and closing formulas.

## 3.2 An overview of the Andean oral tradition

### 3.2.1 Narrative genres in Quechua

For the early colonial period, the following classification of Quechua oral literature based on characteristics of poetry and prose is given by Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (2007:120):

<i>simi</i> (general term for well-formed and authoritative speeches)	
<i>simi</i> (speech in prose form)	<i>taki</i> (poetic songs)
<i>hawarikuy</i> (myths)	<i>wariqsa/wari</i> (initiation songs)
<i>huqari(-pu)y</i> (authoritative public speech)	<i>haylli</i> (hymns of triumph)
	prayers

Table 8 Genres of Quechua oral literature from the early colonial period

The general term for the literary forms above is *simi*, which originally refers to the body parts mouth and tongue and is used metaphorically for the semantic field of language and speaking. Poetry is defined as a type of text which exhibits rhythmic patterns in the form of repetition and parallelism and is typically performed at festive events; first and second person are used linguistically and emotional elements are included (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2007:103). Prose texts, on the other hand, consist of sequences of actions and events reported in third person which explain certain rites and ceremonies; they also exhibit rhythmic patterns, but to a lesser degree than poetry. The following example of a *haylli*, collected by the Quechua chronicler Guaman Poma (cited in Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (2007:110), orthography adapted, my translation), features an agricultural theme and shows typical poetic elements. There are two syntactic patterns being repeated: ‘Does your field bear...’ and ‘I’ll come to my... for a little while’. The singer personifies *haylli* ‘victory’ in that he addresses it as the second person.

- (49)      *ayaw haylli yaw haylli*  
             ‘Hurrah victory, hurrah victory!’  
             *uchuyquchu chakrayki*  
             ‘Does your field bear pepper fruits?’  
             *uchuy tunpalla samusaq*  
             ‘I’ll come to my pepper fruits for a little while.’  
             *tikayquchu chakrayki*  
             ‘Does your field bear flowers?’  
             *tikay tunpalla samusaq*  
             ‘I’ll come to my flowers for a little while.’

Steele (2004:41) reports that Inca poets or court storytellers, called *amawta* and *harawiku*<sup>36</sup> (orthography adapted), used to perform a kind of narrative prose on the Inca myth-history resembling the Spanish medieval epic poetry *cantares*.<sup>37</sup> The myth-histories are said to be recounted with music and dance during initiation rites, military celebrations and the like. While these ancient Quechua narratives were probably a mixed form of poetry and prose, the chronicles, including those written by authors of (completely or partially) Andean origin, are based on the European form of historiography. Some chroniclers like Guaman Poma and Garcilaso claim to have incorporated orally transmitted information in their writings (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2007:117f.). The Huarochirí manuscript from the beginning of the 17th century is the only known text on Andean culture written in Quechua from the early colonial period. It is a collection of two main text genres: mythic narratives and reports on contemporary rites and ceremonies (or ‘oral history’) (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2007:6).

By means of modern ethnographic fieldwork, a considerable number of Andean oral narratives have been documented from the beginning of the 20th century onward, the main category of which is called *kwintu* (Spanish *cuento*). According to Allen, who conducted fieldwork in Sonqo (a Quechua-speaking community near Cuzco) in the 1970s and 80s, *kwintus* recount events which are considered to be not true (*chiquaq*) or “pertain to another *timpu* (world-age)” (1993:91).<sup>38</sup> Narratives featuring anthropomorphic animals like those in the present corpus are typical *kwintus*. The non-*kwintus* are also described as *sut’i-pi* (clear/obvious-LOC) ‘in clarity’, which was also explained to the author as *kunan* ‘now, in present time’. Stories about encounters with supernatural beings also exist; they are similar to what Sydow (1948a:73) calls *memorates*, i.e. local legends based on personal experience. One prominent figure in the Andean oral tradition is the notorious *kukuchi* or *condenado* – a condemned soul who lingers after death because of the sins he committed in his previous life (Allen 1993:92). The story *Phiru sitiopi rikhuriy* ‘Apparition at a dangerous place’ in Payne’s collection (2000:257ff.) tells of a girl’s encounter with a good spirit who helps her bundle up her corn; the story uses the simple past

<sup>36</sup> Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (2007:111) also mentions *harawi* as a form of song expressing praise and feelings, which she does not include in her summarization of the literary forms (along with *wawku* and *qach(i)wa*) (see Table 8).

<sup>37</sup> One of the Spanish chroniclers, Cieza, compares the history prose to *cantares* and *romances* (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2007:116). The latter typically uses archaic language and elements from the epic tradition. The similarities between the Quechua and Spanish genres lie in the poetic form, the courtly and religious context of its performance, and its association with music.

<sup>38</sup> Itier (2007:132) also mentions the distinction between *cuento* and *willakuy* (‘true story’), although the latter is sometimes used in the same sense as the former, cf. the beginning of the story ‘Child Jesus, yarn spinner’ from Payne’s collection: “I’m going to tell you a story [*cuentu*] about something that happened in the town of Ollantaytambo. This story [*willakuy*] is from the days of the Child Jesus.” (2000:264). Note that the narrator also categorizes the narrative by using a concrete temporal phrase.

tense instead of the narrative past, indicating its status as an anecdote that has relevance in the present world. The *condenado* theme occurs frequently in *kwintus*; for instance, the episode where the boy-bear fights with a *condenado* appears in many versions of the son-of-bear story.

Allen (1993:92–94) further reports that narratives about ancestors including the Incas are often ambiguous in terms of their status of being a *kwintu* or a true story. One story is about twelve Incas who allegedly had fled from the Spaniards and are now waiting in the hidden city of Paititi for the so-called *pachakuti* ‘world-reversal’. According to the story, the contemporary world order will be destroyed when these escaped Incas return; only those who speak Quechua and wear traditional clothing will be recognized by them as *runakuna* ‘the real people’. Some Sonqueños’ belief in this story, as Allen (*ibid.*: 93) states, shows their “need to stress their social and moral continuity with the Incas”. Another example is stories about sacred places. One consultant of Allen’s calls the story of the Lake Qesqay a true *kwintu*, arguing that because it happened in a different time than ours, it has the status of a *kwintu*; at the same time, the lake and the rocks that appear in the story are still existent, therefore it is also true. Howard-Malverde’s work on Pariarca Quechua narratives (1989:56–62) also shows the significant role spatial terms play in the emic classification of tales; according to her consultants, when the place names in a narrative are not specified, it is a *cuento*, otherwise it is a *leyenda*.

Several Native American oral traditions such as those of the Mayan and Andean peoples developed etiological themes featuring Jesus to explain the origin of cultivated plants, animal behavior, and Christianization (Itier 2007:125–128). In Quechua narratives, Jesus is often pursued by Jews, gentiles, or demons and receives help from various animals who are later rewarded by him. Itier (*ibid.*) points out that the pursuit of Jesus is neither of Spanish origin nor of Christian origin since Jesus is said not to have resisted his arrest in the Bible; other biblical themes such as the crucifixion do occur. Interestingly, these hybrid narratives also show mixed linguistic features pertaining to the biblical and Andean oral tradition. Following the former genre, the grammatical tense employed in the beginning of these stories is the simple past, which marks a narrative as a kind of religious legend; the narrative past *-sqa* and the reportative *-s(i)*, which are genre markers of *kwintus*, appear when an Andean theme starts.

Quechua speakers also tell jocular stories; for instance, the three stories from Payne’s collection (2000), ‘The clever priest’, ‘The stupid gringo’, and ‘The idiot’ are told to mock clerics, outsiders, and foolish people respectively. Animal *kwintus*, especially the ones with the stupid fox, are very popular in the Andes. Payne (2000:173) points out that these narratives are reminiscent of animal stories in Europe, Africa, and the United States; they are the most entertaining

stories in the Andean oral tradition. These fable-like stories are single- or multi-episodic, as in *Hoq kontormanta atoqmantawan* ‘About a Condor and a Fox’ from Uhle’s collection (1968) and *Atoqmanta lluthumantawan* ‘About a Fox and a Partridge’ recorded by Gutmann (1994) respectively; the latter includes several episodes where the fox is tricked by the partridge in different ways. Three modern poems are also included in Uhle’s collection (1968).

### 3.2.2 Andean mythical themes and concepts

In the previous section, we have touched upon several narrative themes of the Andean oral tradition such as (anthropomorphized) animals, supernatural beings, myths of origins, and sacred places. In his *Handbook of Inca Mythology*, Steele (2004) gives an exhaustive list of Andean mythical themes which includes further categories such as deities and cultural heroes, foodstuffs, natural environment and phenomena. This section will explore some of the mythical themes and the fundamental concepts of the Inca belief system to show their connection with the modern narratives.

The second chapter of the Huarochirí manuscript features the earthly and celestial creator of the Incas: Viracocha,<sup>39</sup> who travels in the disguise of a poor beggar tricking local deities, the so-called *huacas*; in this story, he secretly impregnates a female *huaca* named Caui Llaca and then pursues her (Salomon & Urioste 1991:46–50). The narrative shows its etiological nature in several places. The route of his pursuit, which follows the course of the Lurín river from its headwaters in the highland to the Pacific coast, possibly alludes to “the river’s life-giving effect on its valley” (ibid.: footnote 53). On his way, he encounters various animals: a condor, a skunk, a puma, a fox, a falcon, and some parakeets,<sup>40</sup> and rewards or curses them depending on whether they bring good or bad news about the goodness. Viracocha’s interactions with the animals are linked to the non-mythical world in two ways. First, the order of the animals’ appearance corresponds roughly to the geographic locations of their natural habitats along Viracocha’s route. Second, many of the motifs are etiological. For instance, the condor is blessed by Viracocha with the trait of being a scavenger because it tells him that he will soon find Caui Llaca, whereas the curse of being despised as a thief is laid on the fox because it tells him that

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<sup>39</sup> More on Viracocha by Steele (2004:18): “This deity was believed to have emerged from Lake Titicaca and fashioned a generation of people who were giants that lived in a world lit only by moonlight. Viracocha destroyed this first people and created the sun and a second generation of humans who were the ancestors of the Incas and all people who now populate the earth. He also created the animals and birds.” His later movement over Cuzco to the Pacific coast at places which became part of the Inca Empire could allude to the expansion of the Incas.

<sup>40</sup> Almost the same set of animals appears in mythic narratives in the Colca Valley where the Fox is the youngest of God’s sons, the rest of whom are the Condor, Puma, Falcon, and Parrot (Allen 2011:46).

he will never find the woman.<sup>41</sup> At the end of the story, Viracocha tosses the fish which Pacha Camac's<sup>42</sup> wife keeps in a pond into the ocean; it is said that since then the ocean is filled with fish. Regarding mythical references in the present narratives, Payne (2000:41) points out that the Boy's pursuit of the She-calf in JP is reminiscent of Viracocha's relationship with Caui Llaca (further discussion in section 3.3.2.4). Another common element is the girl-dove-metamorphosis, which occurs in SIS and JP in the present corpus; when Viracocha tries to seduce Pacha Camac's younger daughter, she also turns into a dove.

Steele (2004:23–27) mentions the following general concepts which structure the Andean worldview: a basic duality of the cosmos, a gendered cosmos, and an animate cosmos. The concept of duality “pervades all aspects of the Andean world from systems of government to belief systems represented in myth-history” (ibid.: 156). The Andean cosmology divides the world into *Hanan Pacha* ‘upper time/space’ and *Ukhu/Hurin Pacha* ‘inner/lower time/space’; the world in between is called *Kay Pacha* ‘this world’, which is inhabited by humans and other living beings. Moreover, Hurin is associated with what is lower, female, wild, unstructured, and chaotic, whereas Hanan represents the opposite notions (ibid.: 158). The sketch of a golden altar in the Incas' Temple of the Sun shows the oppositions of Sun and Moon, Morning and Evening, Male and Female, and Dry season and Rainy Season. The multiethnic region round Lake Titicaca was divided into two parts before the Inca Empire: Umasuyu, associated with people inhabiting the lower lands near water and representing femininity and the left-hand side, and Urcosuyu, the mountainous region, identified with maleness and the right-hand side (ibid.: 157). Andean myth-history as well as folk tales are often structured by antagonistic forces such as the conqueror and the conquered, insider and outsider, wild and domestic. The stories in the present corpus are no exceptions: it is almost always the encounter between a male and a female or a human and an animal that sparks some conflict which moves the plot forward. For instance, if we interpret the son-of-bear stories symbolically, more dual notions with sociocultural implications can be found: e.g. the domestic conflict between father and son, the ethnic tension

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<sup>41</sup> This is reminiscent of the stories of Jesus rewarding his animal helpers, as mentioned in the previous section. In one story recorded by Itier (2007:126), the fox distracts Jesus's persecutors and is rewarded by him with people calling it don Antonio and their sheep for it to eat. It is interesting how such narratives describe an animal's behavior either as positive or negative according to its role in the story.

<sup>42</sup> Or Pacha Camaq, which means ‘the creator of the earth’. He is a famous deity on the central coast and was worshipped during the Early Intermediate Period (ca. 200 B.C.-A.D. 550) long before the Incas' arrival (Steele 2004:221ff.). The cult of Pachacamac was periodically influenced by other cultures such as those of the Waris and Incas. The Sun cult of the Incas may have brought about the idea of Pachacamac being the son of the Sun. In the Huarochirí manuscript, he is thought to be either the cause of natural disasters or the protector from them; there is also a detailed narrative about his acts of creation and his relationship with his father, the Sun.

between mestizos and Indians, and the religious and cultural fission between the Spanish Catholics and Incas (cf. Allen (1983:46); for a detailed discussion on duality in the present corpus see section 3.3.2.2).

Andean people further believe in an animate cosmos. Artifacts like textiles, natural landscapes such as mountains, and bones of the dead are thought to have a vital force. In the story SIS, the primary actor makes a flute from the bones of the dead dove-girl which laments her fate when he plays it (note that the motif resembles ‘The singing bone’ by the Grimms). The cosmos is divided into gender-based categories in the Andean belief system. The male sun has the moon as its female counterpart; the high peaks and the mountain gods, Apus, are associated with the male gender, while the earth (Pachamama as the Mother earth) and the high puna are thought to be female.

### 3.3 Corpus analysis

#### 3.3.1 The origin and narrative context of the texts

The present study examines six stories told in Cuzco Quechua which were recorded in different periods over a time span of almost 100 years (see Table 9 below). The two stories MU and SIS<sup>43</sup> are taken from Max Uhle’s collection (1968), which represents one of the most important sources of Quechua oral tradition from the beginning of the 20th century. The collector of the next two stories JL and SN, Jorge Lira (1990), “devoted much of his life to the study and recording of Quechua language and literature” and is said to have collected more than sixty narratives (Hornberger 1992:443). There is not much direct information about how these stories were told and recorded; the reasons why they have been selected for the present study will be discussed below. The last two stories JP and CI were recorded in the 1980s and 2000 by the literary scholar Johnny Payne and the anthropologist César Itier respectively. Payne’s collection (2000) was first published as a Spanish-Quechua edition *Cuentos Cusqueños* in 1984; the text JP represents a mostly unedited transcription of the oral recording (personal communication, November 2013), which is noticeable in the high frequency of interjections, the filler word *riki* ‘all right’, and *na-* as a place holder for lexical stems that the speaker did not come up with, as well as repetitions.<sup>44</sup> The original transcription of CI, which Mr. Itier kindly sent to me (personal communication, November 2013), also includes occurrences of *na-*, speech pauses, and some short dialogs with the hearers. Francisca Palomino, the narrator of CI, is bilingual in

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<sup>43</sup> The abbreviations for the names of the stories are based either on the name of the author, e.g. MU for Max Uhle, or on the name of the story, e.g. SIS for *Siskucha*.

<sup>44</sup> All the texts in the present corpus are trimmed of *riki* and tokens based on *na-*.

Quechua and Spanish; she hosted Itier during his visits to Cachora since 1995, who recorded ca. 20 stories from her and her partner (Itier 2007:22). With regard to the layout of the texts, only Uhle's stories are divided up into groups of lines (or verses, see section 5.7.1); the other narratives are presented in paragraphs. The translations of the texts collected by Uhle and Itier seem to be the more faithful to the original. Both Lira's<sup>45</sup> and Payne's translations include obvious paraphrases (and sometimes inaccuracy). While additional information appears in the translation of JL, at least one dialog passage from the original text is left out in the translation of JP.<sup>46</sup> For the summaries of the stories and an example of glossed text (MU) see the appendices.

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<sup>45</sup> Pantigozo Montes (1990:XII) mentions in the introduction that he and other co-authors have given the texts a more literal translation than Lira while keeping some of his Quechua-influenced expressions and comments which are put in brackets.

<sup>46</sup> It is indeed a complicated issue how literal the translation of a tale in a different language and narrative style should be. However, for purposes of linguistic inquiries, a publication should include interlinear glossing and perhaps two versions of the translation – one of them a more literal one and the other more adjusted to the style of the target language. Some structures in Quechua such as the construction of predicative possessive cannot be directly translated into languages which use the verb 'have' such as English, German, and Spanish – in these cases, interlinear glosses have proved very helpful. Problems like whether clause-initial conjunctions should be translated or not can be solved when there are two versions of the translation, as discussed above. Another example is the absence of indirect speech in Quechua. For instance, in CI, the Boy-bear says to his mother at some point: "When my father comes, you'll say (to him): "Sit down!" [70-72]; a smoother translation into English but a less literal one would be "When my father comes, tell him to sit down." The translation in the interlinear examples in the present study tends to be literal.

	<b>MU</b>	<b>SIS</b>	<b>JL</b>	<b>SN</b>	<b>JP</b>	<b>CI</b>
<b>Name of the story</b>	<i>Ovejera p'asñamanta ukukumantawan</i> 'A shepherdess and a bear'	<i>Siskuchamanta</i> 'Siskucha'	<i>Ukuku kimsa wawayuqmanta</i> 'The she-bear who has three sons'	<i>Mach'aqway qhariyuqmanta</i> 'The girl who has a snake husband'	<i>Wakacha</i> 'The she-calf'	<i>Ukukumanta</i> 'About a bear'
<b>Collector</b>	Max Uhle	Max Uhle	Jorge Lira	Jorge Lira	Johnny Payne	César Itier
<b>Token number</b>	1226 <sup>47</sup>	905	1966	1221	1463	813
<b>Time of recording</b>	~1905	~1905	1930s/40s	1930s/40s	~1984	2000, July
<b>Place of recording</b>	Cuzco region	Cuzco region	Marangani, department of Cuzco	Marangani, department of Cuzco	Cuzco	Cachora, department of Cuzco
<b>Story-teller</b>	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Teodora Paliza	Francisca Palomino, bilingual in Quechua and Spanish

Table 9 General information on the six stories

The compilation of the current corpus started with a pilot study on the two son-of-bear stories MU and CI, representing text samples from two different time periods. JL was subsequently chosen as a third variant of this popular Andean narrative. SIS, SN, and JP were added to the

<sup>47</sup> Note that MU is shortened for the pilot study comparing the two son-of-bear stories MU and CI. The original text has 1554 tokens in total. Like the other stories collected by Uhle, it includes long and elaborate dialog scenes, whereas CI does not. The beginning part of the narrative where the Bear tries to seduce the Girl is edited so that the abduction happens at their first encounter, whereas in the original version they meet up several times. The dialog scenes between the Bear and the Girl after the abduction and later between the Girl and the Boy-bear are shortened too. While I am well aware that in general stories should be studied in their original form, the main body of MU is nevertheless not affected by the editing.

corpus so that the three time periods of the 20th century and the four collections are each represented by one or two texts. Regarding the themes, SIS includes the well-known theme of fox as a trickster; SN relates another story of animal-human interaction; JP shows motifs with possible European influence, which makes the corpus more diverse (cf. section 3.3.2.4). The choice of these texts brings certain limitations to the analysis, which should be reflected upon in the following. As mentioned above, we do not know how the first four texts were told and whether the texts are transcriptions of oral narratives; they further lack direct information on the exact time and place of recording. The latter can nevertheless be guessed at based on the dated field trips of the two collectors during which they recorded the stories. There are also some secondary sources concerning the circumstances of the recordings. Kelm (1968:12) points out that it is likely that Uhle first wrote down the stories as they were told to him and then let someone who was familiar with writing in Quechua edit the texts; however, we cannot know for sure who the narrator and translator for Spanish was/were or if the stories were written in the first place. Hornberger (1992:444) mentions that Lira wrote down the stories himself and claimed to have gathered them “as a complete whole, word for word and phrase by phrase”. Moreover, both ethnographers knew the Quechua language. Uhle also had a native speaker as a consultant and Lira was “a fully integrated member of the community” at the time of recording (Hornberger 1992:444). These factors speak for the authenticity of the texts. The four texts further show linguistic features similar to JP and CI such as the pattern of the opening formula, clause-initial conjunctions, the use of grammatical tenses and so on.

Although JP and CI were told orally, the transcriptions do not capture all phonetic features including suprasegmentals. Paralinguistic elements such as laughter, facial expression, and gestures, which can have pragmatic implications, are also not documented, but some background information on the narrators’ storytelling styles can still be found. Pantigozo Montes (1990:XI), the editor of Lira’s collection, mentions that Carmen Taripha, one of Lira’s main consultants, was quite skillful at mimicking different animals. Payne (2000:15) describes Teodora Paliza as follows: “Teodora’s manner of storytelling was quite expressive, punctuated often by laughter, betraying her own clear enjoyment of her onomatopoeic animal noises and her imitations of different types of human voices.” The ability to imitate characters in tales seems to be crucial for Quechua storytellers, even when they read off written texts, as Pantigozo Montes (1990:XII) comments:

Narrar un cuento quechua exige pues el conocimiento de sus personajes. Sentir lo que el condor siente, hablar con la voz terrorífica, cavernosa y gangueante del condenado persiguiendo a su presa. Y cuando los relatos están escritos, (...)

deberían ser leídos en voz alta, imitando las voces, los gestos y movimientos de los **atuq** [‘fox’] o los **ukumaris** [‘bear’] o los **upas** [‘turkey vulture’] o las **qaraywas** [‘lizard’] o los **siwar q’intis** [‘hummingbird’] (...)

The last problem concerning the choice of the stories is that they were probably not told before an (entirely) native audience and the performances thus did not take place in their most natural setting. The question we have to ask is whether there are significant differences between recorded narratives told with and without a native audience. A native audience could for instance trigger coparticipant dialogic interaction, which is considered a widespread pattern in Native American narrative (Hornberger 1992:444). Mannheim and Van Vleet (1998) show a Bolivian Quechua narrative told conversationally between three people; the authors do not regard the monological text form as representative of Southern Quechua narrative in general. However, various (influential) ethnographers have collected Quechua narratives which are monological like the ones used in this study, to name just a few of them: the collection of son-of-bear stories by Weber (1987), various papers on Quechua narratives by Howard-Malverde (1988; 1989; 2014), and a comprehensive monograph on Quechua narrative style by Allen (2011). One should also consider the fact that the collectors of JP and CI both had a close relationship with the narrators, which may have made the narrative setting more natural.

In the introduction to his collection, Payne (2000:1–13) gives an elaborate account of his experience of living in the Quechua community of San Jerónimo near Cuzco and working with the storytellers. His report shows that the ethnographer often does not just walk in with his tape recorder and get his stories. In the first weeks of his stay, he only hung out and helped with some community work. Because of his lack of language skills in Quechua and social status as a *forastero*, ‘foreigner, outsider’, he and his wife had to endure hard living conditions and being laughed at or gossiped about, for instance that they were married but did not have any children. Payne also found himself caught in the “ongoing cultural negotiation” of the town in that he was more accepted by the mestizos, who had a higher socioeconomic social status, than by the campesinos (ibid.: 6). Interestingly, one of his most prolific storytellers, Miguel Wamán, happened to be a campesino who eventually got very close with him. Despite Miguel’s social status and traditionalism, he did not care much about what other campesinos thought about him, including his relationship with the author. He liked to tell dirty jokes about priests and nuns and malicious stories about gringos. In one story, a gringo dies after eating something from a street vendor – Miguel told him the story right after they had dinner together. Payne comments on the occasion as follows (ibid.: 12):

These were two stories that he had obviously held back, given their theme, until a moment when we knew one another very well, so that I wouldn't take offense at their content. (...) these jokes were at the same time a way of making fun of me, and a way of confiding in me.

Teodora Paliza, the narrator of JP, lived in the house where Payne rented a room in Cuzco toward the end of his stay. He describes her as “one of the most formidable storytellers” he ever met; they would spend long hours together speaking in Quechua (ibid.: 11). When she found out that Payne was collecting folk tales, she offered to tell him some stories and riddles, whereas she pretended to not know any stories when another linguist who was working on a Quechua dictionary asked her, because she did not want to tell them only for some words to be included in a dictionary (Payne 2000:15). The story shows that scholars have to respect the cultural and personal values the narrators attach to the stories.

The present stories were collected in the Southern Peruvian highlands, whose typical landscapes consist of high mountains, deep valleys, and barren punas (Kelm 1968:15). Quechua people traditionally live in small towns where houses made of adobe or stone are built around a plaza; shepherds also live in the low huts in the puna, covered with grass and without windows.<sup>48</sup> At an altitude of 2500 to 2800 meters, wheat, corn (up to 3500m, cf. Itier (2007:17)), and barley are cultivated, while only quinoa, potatoes, and other native plants can be grown at or above 4000 meters. In the high-altitude environment, livestock such as sheep, llamas, and cows are of vital importance due to scarcity of resources.

### **3.3.2 Themes and concepts in the stories**

#### **3.3.2.1 Time and space**

The narratives in the present corpus are *kwintus/cuentos*, that is, tales which are situated in a different place and time than here and now (see section 3.2.1). Teodora, the narrator of JP, likes to end her stories with a wedding and the joke that she went to the wedding herself where she switches to the simple past tense and thus makes a connection with the present time. Almost all landmarks in the present stories are of generic nature, which represent geographical and sociological entities such as mountains, ravines, rocks, villages, churches, people's homes etc. In SN, the girl's parents send her to the town of Sumaq Marka, which could be a real place name; other than this, no specified spatial terms are used.

Despite being generic, the spatial elements depict typical Andean landscapes and locations of Andean social life and are embedded in the local sociocultural frames. In MU, SIS, and SN,

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<sup>48</sup> For images of the town Pisac in the Urubamba Valley and puna landscape in the Santa Valley see Uhle (1968); Itier (2007) also captured some images of the community of Usi and the village of Cachora.

the primary actors' encounters with an animal all take place in the mountains while herding. Allen (2011:113) points out that the puna (or loma), high-altitude grassland in the Andes, often has "otherworldly qualities" in *kwintus*. Another prominent geographical item in both the real world and the narrative world of the Andes are boulders and rocks. They are used as landmarks for orientation and even street addresses and can also provide shelter in bad weather in everyday life, while in *kwintus*, the base of a boulder can be "a place of danger, miracle, and transformation" (Allen 2011:114).<sup>49</sup> In the son-of-bear stories, the Bear's home is often at a place with rocks; in JP, the Servant is asked to leave the baby She-calf at a specific boulder which is described as big, wide, and millstone-like, where the She-calf later begins to talk. Geographical boundaries can further mark the transition between different worlds in oral narratives (cf. Robin (1997:375)). In JP, when the Boy, who is chasing the She-calf, arrives at the jungle, his encounter with magical animals like the condor and eagle begins;<sup>50</sup> In SIS, the she-dove transforms herself into a girl at the border of the village. In CI, the Priest sends the Boy-bear to places with dangerous cows and lions (or pumas) to try to get him killed – places which stand for the wilderness or the uncivilized world.

Sociological landmarks can also have symbolic functions in the narrative world. As Robin (1997:379f.) points out, many son-of-bear stories include the episode where the priest sends people to push the son-of-bear(s) down from the church tower which symbolizes the expulsion of the son-of-bear(s) from the Christian world to the savage world, since the church and the plaza are the social and ceremonial center of a town. In CI, the Boy-bear carries the dead body of the Condenado in front of a church and rings the church bell to call back the people who escaped – here the church represents a place of salvation and social organization. In MU, the Priest digs a hole in a cemetery, which he hopes the Boy-bear will fall into – the grave is a symbol that separates the world of the living from that of the dead; the Priest also speaks of *otra vida* 'the other life/world' in the story.

In the present narratives, secret actions or magical events often take place at nighttime. In JL, the Mayor rides out to his Lover every night. In JP, the She-calf returns home only at night and slips out of her calfskin and turns into a girl in darkness. In CI, the Boy-bear fights with the Condenado all night long and defeats him at dawn – the temporal transition from night to day marks a turning point in the plot. In a son-of-bear story recorded by Robin (1997:384), the

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<sup>49</sup> A picture provided by Allen (2011:118) shows a boulder which is believed to be a girl who transformed in the Sonqo community.

<sup>50</sup> Salomon and Urioste (1991:footnote 64) points out that birds like the condor, swift, and falcon nest in the Andean heights but sometimes fly to the coast – this could explain the appearance of condors in the jungle.

son-of-bears defeat the *condenado* in a church, also at dawn. Daybreak symbolizes the mythical beginning of the Age of Human Beings and the arrival of Christianity in Andean culture. In Andean mythology, the so-called *Machukuna* ‘old ones’ lived in a moonlit world before they were destroyed when *Taytanchis* ‘Our father, God’ created the Sun; every community is said to have its own *Machukuna* who are believed to cultivate the same fields as those of the people except that they work during the night and the people in daylight (Allen 1993:92).

### 3.3.2.2 *Duality*

In section 3.2.2, we mentioned that the present narratives are all structured by at least two antagonistic forces. The fear of wild animals which would attack or harm young girls in particular in some way is well reflected in stories like MU, SN, and CI. Anecdotes about bear-rape in the Andes and adjacent regions have been documented since the 18th century where shepherdesses were reportedly violated by bears in the Piura region of Peru for instance (Morote Best 1987:11); ‘bears are believed to resemble humans in their sexual habits and preferences’ (Allen 1983:39). The Andean bear (*Tremarctos ornatus* or the spectacled bear), which lives in the forest region east of the Andes, is almost extinct nowadays; it is also a mythical animal associated with the night and pre-cultural times (Robin 1997:374f.). In SN, it is a snake which seduces a girl; the animal is reminiscent of the mythological figure *Yakumama* from the Andean-Amazonian region, who can appear as a male snake kidnapping women (Störl 2016). The motif of human-animal conflicts is embedded in the Andean social construction where undomesticated animals, celestial bodies,<sup>51</sup> and supernatural beings are located in a different sphere than human beings (Allen 1993:92).

The present stories further show that the human-animal distinction is made not only by physical differences, but also by sociocultural practices such as food, clothing, and religion. For instance, the animal characteristics of the Boy-bear(s) are reflected in the first place by his/their strength and enormous appetite. In MU and CI, he accidentally kills his schoolmates with one blow or one flip of a marble; he also pushes a group of people who are sent to kill him down from the church tower, referring to them as ‘worms’ and ‘flies’; in MU, he is said to devour a lamb every day. Only JL provides some direct descriptions of the Boy-bears’ appearance: they look human from the waist up but have the body of a bear from the waist down and the hooves of a donkey; their unusual strength is also shown by actions such as tossing a tree trunk and defeating their bear-mother, whom they describe as ‘very strong’. In SN, the picture

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<sup>51</sup> The love story between the Star-woman and a human is one of the most popular narratives in the Andes (cf. Itier (2007:63–77); Allen (2011:77ff.)).

of the young man who is actually a snake crawling on all fours is especially eerie (the hearer may also wonder why the fact that this young man can fit into the small broom closet does not bother the Girl, who is obviously blinded by love).

Food and clothing are depicted to indicate animality or humanity. In CI, when the Girl is living with the Bear, she asks him to bring her kitchen utensils so that she does not have to eat raw food. In MU, when the Bear disguises himself as a boy to seduce the Girl, they plan their dates talking about the provisions they will bring, which reflect typical Andean cuisine: e.g. *mut'i quesontin* 'boiled corn with cheese', *aicha kanka moraya phasintin* 'roasted meat with steamed potato', *cecina saqta ch'uñu phasintin* 'smoked meat with steamed chuño'.<sup>52</sup> In JL, the She-bear mocks the Mayor by calling him *misti q'ala* 'Mr. Naked' while he is waiting to be rescued without clothes in the ravine; she also brings him cooked food and clothes, the latter is literarily called *runa p'acha* 'human clothes'<sup>53</sup> – note that here an animal helps a human to regain part of his humanity (cf. the gender reversal between the bear and its victim). When the Boy-bears become members of their father's community, they cover their hooves to show only their human appearance. In SN, when the Snake meets up with the Girl at the beginning, he asks her to bring the 'flour soup', which they eat together; after he moves into the Girl's home, he first lives off the flour the Girl throws onto the floor while milling and later even sucks the Girl's blood – this change of 'diet' shows that his animal nature becomes more obvious and menacing as the story unfolds. Religious elements are best reflected in the son-of-bear stories. In many of the versions, the boy-bear is baptized after he goes back to where his mother lives, which symbolizes his integration into the human society. In JL, the Boy-bears are baptized or given names<sup>54</sup> by their father, the Mayor, directly after their birth.

The fate of the figure son-of-bear/boy-bear epitomizes the clash of two worlds and at the end the liberation from the socially undesirable side. As mentioned above, the hybrid characteristics of the Boy-bear(s) can be described in terms of their appearance, as in JL, or reflected in his/their actions, as in all three versions. Some stories also include a second figure. In MU, the Boy-bear encounters a companion in the last part of the story: the Schoolboy, whose actions and reactions – such as becoming scared when he sees how the Boy-bear eats or is informed of the Condenado – form a sharp contrast to the wildness and boldness of the Boy-bear. In CI, the

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<sup>52</sup> These terms do not appear in the shortened version used for the present study.

<sup>53</sup> Allen (2011:68–70) points out the importance of indigenous clothing (*runa p'acha*) in the cultural self-identification of the Andean people; mestizos who do not wear traditional clothes are called *qalakuna* 'the naked ones'. The Mayor's embarrassment in the story thus reflects the social perception of this cultural loss.

<sup>54</sup> The Quechua word used here is *unucha-* 'spray water; baptize'; it is translated by Pantigozo Montes (et al.) as 'give name to', which could be plausible since the Mayor is not a priest. In MU, *marq'achi-* is used for 'baptize', which literally means 'let someone carry or hold someone'; CI uses the Spanish loanword *bautisa-*.

Boy-bear has a human brother, whom he kills when he tries to hug him; his sibling can be interpreted as the human part of the protagonist. Both figures are reminiscent of the Jungian shadow archetype. In MU and CI, like many other versions of the story, the Boy-bear defeats the Condenado at the end of the story; not only does he set the condenado soul free, but he himself is also rewarded with the Condenado's property and (in CI) marries his daughter, which indicates that he becomes an integrated member of society.<sup>55</sup> In some versions he also loses his strength and excessive appetite (Itier 2007:151). The 'humanization' of the Boy-bear is thus accompanied by the Condenado's liberation from his penance.

The concept of duality is further reflected in paired entities, although they do not appear abundantly in the present corpus. In JL, the color terms 'green' and 'red' occur when the Mayor's Lover (and later the Mayor himself) bathes in green and red water as part of the ritual and flies away with a red blanket wrapped around her neck, while the Mayor later takes a green blanket. The Lover has made a pact with the Devil where the Devil defecates 'gold' and 'silver' when she kisses his buttocks and smells his wind.

### 3.3.2.3 *Magical and cultural objects*

There are only a limited number of magical elements in the present narratives. Body fluids can have a healing function, as in MU and CI where the Bear heals the Hummingbird's broken wing with his mucus and saliva, respectively. In JL, blood is involved in the ritual the Mayor's Lover performs in order to be able to fly to the Devil's place – she lets a snake lick her blood; note that in SN the Snake also feeds on the Girl's blood to grow bigger. Another example of gaining strength by the intake of fluids is that in MU the Boy-bear drinks wine and cognac before and while he fights with the Condenado to boost his strength and courage.<sup>56</sup> In JP, a drop of warm wax which falls onto the She-calf's face makes her disappear – the wax clearly symbolizes sperm and male sexuality since the Boy is holding a candle to observe the girl in that moment.<sup>57</sup> Candles also play a role in the ritual in JL: the Mayor's Lover puts four candles into her nostrils, mouth, and anus, respectively.

In the Andean folk dance *qhashwa*, performed by young men and women of marriageable age, the boys grab the girls by their belt and carry them on their back, simulating romantic

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<sup>55</sup> Allen (1983:43) recorded a version where the son-of-bear is buried alive despite the fact that he freed the village from the condenado; the storyteller is not happy with versions where the son-of-bear lives happily ever after as the new hacendado.

<sup>56</sup> Itier (2007:150) mentions that in the Andean oral tradition, the Boy-bear sometimes has a wooden doll which is animated by him and fights for him against the Condenado.

<sup>57</sup> Payne (2000:41) comments that the narrator first muttered the word *esperma* (Spanish for 'sperm') in the sentence '(...) dripped onto her face' and then corrected herself using *cera* (Spanish for 'wax'). However, the author left both words out in the printed transcription.

encounters (Robin 1997:376). In the present stories, the rope, an object similar to a belt, also occurs in the context of seducing the opposite sex. In JL, the She-bear pulls the Mayor up from the ravine with a rope tied to his waist – the genders in this action are clearly swapped. In CI, the Bear first breaks the rope which the Girl needs to bundle her firewood and then asks her to come to his home for some new rope. The action of riding piggy-back on someone of the opposite sex is also reflected in MU, where the Bear takes the Girl home by carrying her on his back.

Another cultural object which appears in the narratives is the coca leaf. Coca chewing has an ancient history in the Andes. On the one hand, coca leaf is consumed in everyday life by people inhabiting the high-altitude areas because of its energizing and alleviating effect for altitude sickness, stomach problems and so on; on the other hand, it is a key medium of social interaction and religious ritual (2004:134f.). For instance, coca leaf is masticated when something important is discussed in the communities or when people try to communicate with deities. Allen (1993:94) reports that her informant always offered coca leaves and alcohol to invoke Sacred Places before storytelling; this informant was also a diviner, since divining and storytelling are both forms of inspired speech. In SN, the Girl's Parents carry coca leaves with them when they go to the Seer; the Armed men chew coca leaves before they go to kill the Snake.

#### ***3.3.2.4 A discussion on the origin of the themes***

In this section we will first focus on the possible origins of the son-of-bear story and the story JP. Itier (2007:145–154) argues that the main plot of the Andean son-of-bear story is based on the European tales 'Three Stolen Princesses' (type 301B in the Aarne-Thompson system), 'Juan sin Miedo (Fearless John)' (type 326), and 'Strong John' (type 650A). The first tale includes the part where a girl is abducted by a bear and gives birth to a human-bear hybrid son with superhuman strength, John the Bear, who returns to his mother's village with her but kills some of his classmates by accident and consequently leaves the village. While its European counterpart continues the plot with the rescue of three princesses and the revelation of John the Bear as the true hero, the Andean son-of-bear story has inserted some episodes from the other two European tales between the murder of the classmates by the boy-bear and his departure. The Spanish version of 'Fearless John' features a boy who is not afraid of anything; the town priest then comes up with various plans to scare him, two of which are reminiscent of episodes occurring in the Andean narrative. In one episode, the priest sends the boy to a bell tower where he has put some figures which look like phantoms; in the other one, the priest sends him to a haunted house where he defeats the ghost and in some versions receives treasure from the ghost.

In MU and CI, the priest sends people to ambush the Boy-bear on the tower; the ghost in the haunted house is replaced by the Andean Condenado, whom the Boy-bear has to combat against. In the story ‘Strong John’, a young man with extraordinary strength is sent by his master to collect firewood in the forest; after some bears and wolves devour his pack animals, he makes the wild animals carry the firewood; when his master sees that, he tries to get rid of the young man in various ways, but in vain. In CI, the priest also sends the Boy-bear to collect firewood; after the lions (or pumas) eat up his mules, he uses them to transport the firewood and for riding. One theme in the son-of-bear story that seems to be Andean-specific is related to animal helpers. In MU and CI, the Hummingbird plays the role of a messenger for the Bear; in JL, the Parrot informs the She-bear to take the Mayor out of the ravine.

There are two main arguments which speak for the non-autochthon status of the son-of-bear story. First, as mentioned in section 3.1.4, complex narrative themes are more likely to be borrowed by one tradition from another than to have emerged independently. The Andean son-of-bear story shares a considerable number of complex themes with the three European tales mentioned above. Second, some scholars have made the observation that the bear only plays a minor role in pre-Columbian and Inca myths and iconography, and does not figure prominently in Andean folklore until after the Spanish conquest (Allen 1983:38; Steele 2004:105). Moreover, stories about a bear’s wife and her children are found from the south Andes through Mesamerica into the North American Southwest – areas where Spanish colonizers set foot.

Under the premise that the Andean son-of-bear story represents an adaptation or ecotype of the European tales mentioned above, we can further ask the question of what circumstances may have facilitated this process of ecotypification (cf. section 3.1.4). First, anecdotes about bear-rape have been documented in the Andes since the 18th century. If the Spaniards did bring the son-of-bear story with them, it should easily have fitted into local culture. It is also possible that since the Andean bear does not inhabit the highlands and is almost extinct, it became mystified by the people and hence lends itself well to a narrative figure. Second, the bear features in ritual dances performed during feasts in honor of Mary, Jesus Christ, and patron saints (Allen 1983:43f.; Itier 2007:151–154). The so-called *Ukuku* dancers (bear dancers) are mostly unmarried men in their teens or early twenties who wear robes covered with tassels and woolen face masks on which black circles are sometimes drawn around the eyes to mimic the spectacled bear (for images of *Ukuku* dancers see Itier (2007:155f.)). Allen describes the *Ukukus* as both comic and fearsome – they can be naughty disturbers during the celebrations, cracking their whips or yelling obscene jokes, but they also act as guardians of order at the Sanctuary of Qoyllur

Rit'i, to get to which they have to undergo a dangerous pilgrimage through the glaciers. While Itier ascribes the meaning of initiation into manhood to the narrative and the ritual dance, Allen sees in the figures of the *Ukuku* dancer and the son-of-bear a combination of two types of characteristics – the son-of-bear has enormous power but is uncivilized for society. She regards them as part of a bear metaphor that shows Andean people's (at least those in the Sonqo community) self-identification as being the offspring of the Incas, who were once great builders and powerful conquerors but bound for defeat. However, we cannot be completely sure about whether the ritual importance of the bear has facilitated or strengthened its appearance in folk tales or it is the other way around.

The story JP can be classified as the tale type 409A 'The girl as goat' in ATU, as mentioned in section 3.1.3. Its nature as an Andean adaptation is reflected in the Andean world-like setting of the story and cultural entities such as native animals. Furthermore, the Boy's journey in the second part of the story is reminiscent of Viracocha's pursuit of Caui Llaca as narrated in the Huarochirí manuscript (see section 3.2.2), although the Boy has to fulfill the Condors' task in order to get help from them, whereas Viracocha has power over his animal helpers. Payne (2000:41) also points out the reference to semen in both stories. Viracocha tricks Caui Llaca into swallowing a fruit where he has put his semen and she becomes pregnant; in JP, when the Boy is holding a candle to catch a glimpse of the She-calf, 'warm wax' drips onto her face. The theme where the Boy has to cut through a series of animals to find the enchanted girl shows similarity to the European type of the tale 'The Giant Without a Heart' (Sydow 1948b:56); in the latter, the heart of a giant (whom the hero wants to kill) is hidden in an egg in a bird enclosed in a series of beasts. Another element that is likely European inspired is the palace which magically appears at the end of story; it is a typical place for the final union between a prince and a princess. JP is not the only story where the narrator, Teodora Paliza, has likely incorporated European or international themes and motifs. In another story recorded by Payne (2000:16ff.), 'The Eagles Who Raised a Child', the motif that a prince falls in love with a girl who is imprisoned in a niche in a cliff can be compared to the tale type 310 'The Maiden in the Tower' in ATU; the constellation of a girl whose beauty is hidden and her evil competing sisters(-in-law) is also found in 'Cinderella'.

### **3.3.3 A Proppian function-based analysis**

Propp (2009[1928]:21) defines 'function' as "as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action". 31 functions are established along with seven dramatis personae based on 100 Russian fairy tales. Propp (2009[1928]:66ff.) argues that

the concept of motif is inconvenient for comparing tales because the same motif can lead to different results in different stories; different motifs in turn can have the same function, e.g. with different characters filling the same role. An example from Quechua narratives is the motif of the abduction of a human by an animal. The animal can be a bear or a condor; the sexes of the abductor and the abductee can also be switched. In the following section, Propp's method will be adopted to analyze the thematic structure of some parts of the present narratives; the dramatis personae of the present corpus will then be presented in a later section.

### ***3.3.3.1 Thematic structure based on 'functions' in Quechua narrative***

Table 10 presents the thematic structure based on 'functions' structure of the present narratives. Since most of the stories (except SN) consist of two sub-stories, only one part has been selected for each of them. The first column on the left contains 'functions' as termed by Propp. The numeration is significant since he considers the order to be consistent, while not all 'functions' have to be present in a certain tale (Propp 2009[1928]:22). The thematic units underlying the 'functions' from the stories are described briefly in the other columns. The asterisks before some of the descriptions indicate that they deviate from the original definition of the 'functions'.

	<b>MU (part I)</b>	<b>CI (part I)</b>	<b>JL (part II until bear's death)</b>	<b>SN</b>	<b>JP (part II)</b>	<b>SIS (part II)</b>
I. Absentation	girl goes to herd sheep	girls go to collect wood		girl goes to herd livestock		
III. Violation					boy drops wax on she-calf's face	
VI. Trickery	bear appears as a boy, interacts with the girl, and asks her to play piggy-back with closed eyes	bear breaks their rope and offers new ones at his home	bear takes mayor out of the ravine	snake appears as a young man, impregnates girl, and asks to live with her		fox persuades Siskucha to lend him the flute
VII. Complicity	girl agrees to play	girl follows bear home		girl takes snake home		Siskucha gives fox the flute
VIII. Villainy	bear kidnaps girl	bear holds girl captive	bear takes mayor home and holds him captive	snake stays and feeds on girl's blood	she-calf disappears	fox flees with the flute
IX. Mediation	girl tells boy-bear about her abduction	girl tells her children about abduction	mayor tells boy-bears about abduction	girl's parents know about her pregnancy	she-calf tells boy how to find her	
XI. Departure	boy-bear and girl leave bear's home	girl and children leave bear's home	boy-bears and mayor leave	girl's parents go to seer	boy sets out to find she-calf	

XII. The first function of the donor					condors ask boy to divide a cow	condor asks for sheep
XIII. The hero's action				*girl's parents bring coca leaves	boy fulfils the task	Siskucha makes a promise
XIV. Provision or receipt of a magical agent				*seer instructs girl's parents to gather armed men to kill snake	*condors tell boy how to find she-calf	*condor sets a trap
XV. Spatial transference					condor flies boy to a lake	
XXI. Pursuit	*bear goes after girl	*bear goes after girl	*bear goes after mayor			
XVI. Struggle	*girl tricks bear into a trap	*boy-bear and girl trick bear into a trap	boy-bears fight bear	*armed men beat snake		*condor tricks fox
XVIII. Victory	bear is killed	bear is killed	bear is killed	*armed men kill snake		Siskucha takes back the flute
XXV. Difficult task					boy has to free and catch the dove	
XXVI. Solution					boy frees the girl from the spell	

XXIX. Transfiguration					a palace appears	
XXXI. Wedding					boy and she-calf get married	

*Table 10 Thematic structures based on 'functions' in some parts of the six narratives*

As can be seen in the table, not only narratives that are different versions of the same story share a similar thematic structure (the first part of MU and CI and the second part of JL (until Bear's death)), there are also recurrent 'functions' in all six stories such as TRICKERY, VILLAINY, MEDIATION, DEPARTURE, STRUGGLE, and VICTORY. The 'functions' can be further grouped into sequences (cf. Holbek (1987:414)). All six stories have a sequence of VILLAINY. It can start with an initial event (e.g. a shepherdess leaves home), then the villain makes contact and sets a trap; the victim does what the villain asks and an undesired situation emerges for him. However, there does not have to be an explicit villain (cf. also Propp (2009[1928]:32)). In JP, the disappearance of the She-calf in JP is caused by the wax the Boy drops on her.

The next sequence consists of the 'functions' MEDIATION and DEPARTURE. In the former, the hero is informed of the undesired situation of the victim or receives a command from him; in the latter, the hero leaves. The 'function' DEPARTURE can have different forms. In the son-of-bear stories, the Boy-bear(s) escape(s) with his/their parent; in SN, the Girl's parents go to search for help for her; in JP, the Boy leaves to look for the She-calf.

The DONOR sequence is present in SN, JP, and SIS. JP exhibits the most typical DONOR sequence where the hero is first tested by the donor and then receives something from him. In SN, the first function of the donor can be considered implicit – the cultural practice requires people who need help from the seer or diviner to bring coca leaves with them. Regarding 'function' XIV, 'magical agents' do not appear in the present stories at all. The hero usually receives important information (as in SN and JP) or the promise to help (as in SIS) from the donor.

The part of the son-of-bear stories where the Bear is informed about the escape of his wife and son(s) (in MU and CI), chases after them, and is then killed cannot be adequately described by Propp's system. There is no 'function' which captures the role of the Hummingbird as the villain's donor. The Bear's pursuit of his family is reminiscent of the 'function' PURSUIT, but the latter appears after STRUGGLE in Propp's system. The function STRUGGLE does not necessarily include direct combat of the hero with the villain in the present stories. It can be motifs

of tricking the villain into a trap like in MU and CI. In SN, it is the helpers (Armed men) who fight the villain. Since JP does not have an explicit villain, the denouement is reached when the She-calf is freed from the spell. It is also the only story with the function SPATIAL TRANSFERENCE where the object of search is in a place the hero has to be taken to by a helper.<sup>58</sup>

### 3.3.3.2 *Dramatis personae in Quechua narrative*

Propp (2009[1928]:79f.) defines seven dramatis personae, among whom the ‘functions’ are distributed: villain, donor, helper, a princess and her father,<sup>59</sup> dispatcher, hero, and false hero. Each dramatis personae has his/her own sphere(s) of action. For instance, the villain appears in the function VILLAINY where he causes harm to someone; he also features the function STRUGGLE where the hero is confronted with him; in the function PURSUIT, he chases after the hero. Propp distinguishes between seeker-hero and victim-hero; the former type is present when a story revolves around the person who looks for a kidnapped person, whereas a story with a victim-hero is linked to the fate of the kidnapped person (2009[1928]:36). Table 11

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<sup>58</sup> Propp (2009[1928]:50) comments that “[g]enerally the object of search is located in “another” or “different” kingdom. This kingdom may lie far away horizontally, or else very high up or deep down vertically”.

<sup>59</sup> This is a category typical for the European style of tales. For instance, a king asks the hero to find his daughter, a princess.

presents the assignment of dramatis personae to the thematically most important characters of the present narratives (the characters are listed the order of their appearance in the stories):

MU/CI	Part I	Part II	JL	Part I	Part II	SN	
Girl	VICTIM	DISPATCHER	Lover	DIS-PATCHER		Girl	VICTIM
Bear	VIL-LAIN		Mayor	VICTIM	VICTIM	Snake	VILLAIN
Boy-bear	HELPER	HERO	Devil	VILLAIN		Girl's parents	HELPER/HERO
Boy-bear's brother (CI)		HERO'S COMPANION	Parrot		HELPER	Seer	DONOR
Hummingbird	DONOR		She-bear		VILLAIN	Armed men	HELPER
Priest		DISPATCHER	Boy-bears		HELPER/HERO		
Schoolboy (MU)		HERO'S COMPANION	Condendos		DONOR		
Condonado		DONOR					
JP	Part I	Part II		SIS	Part I	Part II	
She-calf's mother	HELPER/HERO			Siskucha	VICTIM	VICTIM	
She-calf	WANTED PERSON	WANTED PERSON		Siskucha's parents	VILLAIN		
Servant	HELPER			Fox		VILLAIN	
Boy		SEEKER		Condor		DONOR/HELPER	
Condors		DONOR/HELPER					

Table 11 Dramatis personae in the six narratives

Each story or each part of the stories shows a constellation of two to four *dramatis personae* (for their text-frequencies see Table 18). The fifth and sixth roles usually appear very briefly, such as the Girl in the second part of MU and CI and the Parrot in the second part of JL. Two antagonistic forces are mostly present: a villain causes harm to a victim or someone/something that matters to him. JP has the constellation of a wanted person and a seeker where no explicit villain is present. The dispatcher, the donor, and the helper give command to other characters, transfer something to them, and aid them respectively. The *Condenado(s)* in the son-of-bear stories can be considered hostile donors, because they (especially in MU and CI) challenge the hero like villains and at the same time give him something to resolve an undesirable situation. There are three instances of unconventional heroes, termed ‘helper/hero’ in the table above. Although their main function in the stories is helping the victim, their text-frequencies suggest their status as primary actors. They can further have their own helpers or donors. MU and CI show one role that is not defined by Propp, namely hero’s companion. It represents a human figure which forms a contrast to the animal side of the Boy-bear, or the shadow archetype.

A character can engage in different spheres of action and thus be different types of *dramatis personae* in the same story. For instance, the Condors in JP and the Condor in SIS are both donor(s) and helper(s). The Condors in JP give the Boy instructions on how to find the She-calf as a donor and at the same time fly him to the place as a helper; the Condor in SIS first asks the hero for a deal with reward (the test of the donor) and then helps him get back his flute. It is mentioned in the previous section that magical agents are usually not involved in the donor motifs of the present narratives.

Propp (2009[1928]:81) comments that the role of a character should be defined by its “meaning for the hero and for the course of the action” rather than the character’s intention or feelings. For instance, the helper is a character whose actions facilitate the hero’s success in some way. In JL, the Parrot gives the Mayor food supply and looks for a bear who can get him out of the ravine – it thus plays the role of a helper. However, the character is not depicted as a benevolent figure since it does not bear any other relationship to the Mayor; it is not even explained how it comes to the Mayor with the knowledge about what he has done in the first place.

Five of the six stories consist of two sub-narratives which are skillfully interwoven into one.<sup>60</sup> They all have a pivot role that connects the two storylines. The Mayor in JL, the She-

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<sup>60</sup> See also the discussion on the origin of the Andean son-of-bear story in section 3.3.2.4. Allen (2011:104) mentions that combining stories together is a common practice among Aymara and Quechua speakers: “the teller

calf in JP, and Siskucha in SIS have a continuous function as victim. In MU and CI, the Boy-bear becomes the more important character than the Girl in the second part of the story; the latter eventually fades out in the plot.

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may either string together many small tales or join up two relatively long stories as sections within a larger narrative”.

## **4 Theoretical framework of a narrative typology**

### **4.1 Cognitive approaches and theories of ‘text worlds’**

The term ‘text world’ was introduced into the context of cognitive discourse studies by Paul Werth. In line with the premises of cognitive linguistics, Werth’s Cognitive Discourse Grammar views language as a phenomenon embedded within human experience; to understand what language means is to find out how concepts are represented in the human mind (Werth 1999:36f., 50ff.). A text world is described as “a deictic space, defined initially by the discourse itself, and specifically by the deictic and referential elements in it.” Werth (1999:75ff.) also points out the conceptual similarity between ‘text world’ and ‘cognitive space’; the latter is reflected among other things in sign language and Fauconnier’s Mental Space Theory (1994). Werth further emphasizes the nature of discourse as being the combination of a text and its context, while criticizing the method of using decontextualized or even fabricated sentences practiced by some cognitive linguists (cf. also Gavins (2007:8f.)). The process of conceptualizing and understanding discourse is thus text-driven; at the same time, it takes place within our existing knowledge frames. The basic building blocks which are used to construct our mental representations of discourse, or text worlds, are called ‘world-building elements’. Such elements set the spatial boundaries and the temporal parameters of the text worlds; they include referential information regarding objects, enactors and the social relationships between them with further “experiential and cultural knowledge frames attached” (Gavins 2007:36f.). The narrative-semantic categories established in the present study correspond partly to world-building elements.

Schwarz-Friesel and Consten (2014:63f.) distinguish between bottom-up and top-down processes in their text world model. In the former, which can be also regarded as text-driven processes, three levels are established: words are combined into phrases and clauses based on text grammar; on the text-semantic level, meanings of clauses are termed ‘propositions’; on the basis of these propositions, mental representations of ‘objects and states of affairs’ can be formed on the text-referential level. Text-driven processes are always determined by top-down processes where our knowledge stored in long-term memory is activated and thus influences our understanding of discourse. It seems that there is little dissent among cognitive text-linguists regarding the basic deictic and referential components of text worlds and the role of our experience and knowledge systems in processing discourse. However, Schulze (2019[ms.]:173) criticizes the text-driven view in the modelling of text worlds, saying that the text-semantic components are not ‘world-builders’ but rather reflect features of text worlds. His Text World

Model (TWM) is defined as “the conceptual basis of an inventory of action patterns (*genre*) that are framed (among others) by experience and social learning”. When a speaker gets involved in a linguistic situation, for instance encounters a certain genre, a corresponding TWM is activated as soon as possible and is maintained as long as the situation is compatible. In other words, the meanings of linguistic elements cannot be isolated from context, top-down processes, or TWMs. On the other hand, TWMs as mental models have to be constructed by analyzing linguistic material – this method can in turn be considered ‘text-driven’, or usage-based.

The present study further follows Schulze’s definition of genre “as a semiotic unit established by convention that shows up in terms of structured sequences of perceivable actions and (if given) perceivable ‘linkers’ that again activate corresponding conceptual knowledge” (2019[ms.]:170). Schulze (2019[ms.]:169) uses a wall metaphor to illustrate the structural coupling of the linguistic substance and the texture of a rhetoric act, with lexical units as the “bricks” of a wall, morphology as “grout”, and syntax and pragmatics as “design”; the three dimensions are said to never be processed independently. In line with this view, the narrative-semantic categories described in this study – text referents, space, time, and events – are analyzed on both lexical and grammatical levels; design-related aspects such as clause linking, topic types (related to narrative discourse knowledge), the marking of mirativity and inferred knowledge, verse structure etc. are dealt with separately. The interdependence of the three levels can be seen in cases like the use of lexical NPs in referential tracking where the choice of lexical units is co-determined by discourse (dis-)continuity. Another example is the role of verb tense morphology including subordinate devices in structuring the salience scheme, or foreground/background segregation; the narrator has a certain degree of freedom to decide what can be placed in the narrative foreground and what should be backgrounded. A special tool that Schulze has developed to depict the texture of a narrative is the *Partitur* (German for ‘musical score’) (2019[ms.]:176ff.). A *Partitur* represents a two-dimensional coordinate system with the simple clauses of a text on the x-axis and the values of a certain linguistic category on the y-axis (see Figure 10, Figure 18, and Figure 20). According to Schulze, only certain *Partituren* of a rhetorical genre are relevant for describing its TWM; *Partituren* of texts from the same genre show prototypical patterns. The construction of a text world model in terms of narrative knowledge frames and their linguistic expressions is an essential part of the description of a narrative typology of Quechua folk tales (see Section 6.1).

## 4.2 Narratological theories

Narratology is the study of narration and narrative structures in terms of typological models (Fludernik 2013:17ff.). The earliest narratological work is Aristotle’s *Poetics*. Modern narratological studies emerged at the beginning of the 20th century. Since then structuralism has played a significant role in the study of narratives. The Russian formalist tradition, represented among others by Vladimir Propp’s ‘function’-based analysis and Mikhail Bakhtin’s theories of heteroglossia and dialogicity, heavily influenced the development of ‘narratology’, a term translated from French, under French structuralists such as Claude Bremond, Algirdas Julien Greimas, Tzvetan Todorov, Roland Barthes, and Gérard Genette. Fludernik (ibid.) also mentions a number of works by German narratologists during the 1950s: Günter Müller’s *Morphologische Poetik*, Eberhard Lämmert’s *Bauformen des Erzählens*, Franz Karl Stanzel’s *Die typischen Erzählsituationen im Roman*, and Käte Hamburgers’s *Die Logik der Dichtung*. Structuralism later reached literary studies in North America, with Gerald Prince, Seymour Chatman, Dorrit Cohn, and Susan Lanser as the most prominent exponents.

Narratological theories and methods are partly inspired by modern linguistics (cf. Fludernik ibid.). Chatman (1980:22–25) proposes the following semiotic structure for narratives based on Saussure’s structuralist model of linguistic signs:

	<b>Expression</b>	<b>Content</b>
<b>Substance</b>	<i>histoire</i>	set of possible objects, events, abstractions, and so on in the whole universe
<b>Form</b>	<i>discours</i>	narrative story components: events, existents, and their connections

Table 12 The semiotic structure of narratives according to Chatman

The substance of narrative expression, *histoire* ‘story’, refers to the narrative content with a storyline, while the form, *discours* ‘discourse’, stands for the material manifestation of a ‘story’, i.e. an individual narrative performance of it. The distinction between *histoire* ‘story’ and *discours* ‘discourse’ can also be related to that between *langue* and *parole* à la Saussure. As for Quechua oral tradition, the son-of-bear story can be regarded as an *histoire*, with MU, JL, and CI from the present corpus representing three versions of it.<sup>61</sup> Chatman argues that narratives convey meanings in that events, characters, and settings are organized in a meaningful way.

<sup>61</sup> Howard-Malverde (1989:8) distinguishes between ‘variant’ and ‘version’: the former refers to “an account which distinguishes itself from another on grounds of fundamental differences of narrative structure and/or elements of content”; the latter stands for “an individual telling of a variant”. In line of this definition, JL can be regarded as representing a different variant than MU and CI due to its first sub-story and the gender swap between the bear and his victim, while MU and CI are two versions of the same variant.

The substance of narrative ‘content’, as defined in Table 12, constitutes the signifiés of narratives, while the narrative story components are the signifiants.

Binary oppositions and triads are commonly used in narratological theories. In Fludernik’s (2013:48) model of narrative points of view, she distinguishes between (authorial) teller,<sup>62</sup> first-person teller, and reflector based on the oppositions ‘neutral perspective vs. subjective perspective’ and ‘extradiegetic level vs. intradiegetic level’. The authorial teller tells the story from a neutral perspective, also called the ‘camera-eye’ perspective; he is absent from the story, but he is omniscient and has access to the consciousness of the characters. The reflector represents a character from the narrative world, which automatically places him in the story; he tells the story from a subjective perspective without direct access to the mental states of other characters. The first-person teller, on the other hand, can be on the extradiegetic or the intradiegetic level. In Quechua folk tales, the narrator can be described as an authorial teller: he usually does not appear as a character in the story and knows about the narrative world and how the characters in it think and act. However, the narrator does not remain ‘covert’ all the time (cf. Chatman (1980:197)).<sup>63</sup> Some stories begin with the first person where the narrator makes a comment on the meta-level, as in ‘I’m going to tell you a story about...’. The ending of JP shows an example of what Genette (1980:234) calls ‘metalepsis’, that is, the transition from one narrative level to another; the narrator claims that she was invited to the protagonist’s wedding; linguistically, the first person is used and the grammatical tense is changed to the simple past. Section 5.7.3.1 discusses discourse meanings of the mirative *-sqa* in the present corpus: character-based mirativity brings characters’ point of view into the story; audience-based mirativity in turn shows the narrator’s hypothesis about audience expectations. The narrator’s voice is further reflected in extradiegetic comments like ‘Now what does the priest do?’ [MU189], for the purpose of building tension. The inferential *-chá* marks parts of the narratives which the narrator has to infer based on narrative and cultural knowledge; it also occurs in places with lack of certain details on the part of the narrator (see section 5.7.3.3). The integration of characters’ point of view can also be observed in a form of hypodiegetic narration in SIS where the protagonist Siskucha tells the Fox and the Condor in detail in direct speech what has happened in the story before (cf. section 5.5.2.2).

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<sup>62</sup> The terminology comes from Stanzel’s ‘authorial narrative situation’ (1995), which involves a narrator who does not appear as a character in the story.

<sup>63</sup> “In covert narration we hear a voice speaking of events, characters, and setting, but its owner remains hidden in the discursive shadows.”

Genette (1980:31) uses terms borrowed from the grammar of verbs in the analysis of narrative structures: the category ‘tense’ deals with “temporal relations between narrative and story”; ‘mood’ is concerned with “modalities (forms and degrees) of narrative “representation” ”; ‘voice’ regards the narrative point of view. Genette’s category of ‘tense’ is adopted in the present study, see section 5.6.3.

### **4.3 Theories of discourse grammar and functional grammar**

The present study draws mainly on the theories and methods of the text linguist Robert Longacre and the functional typologist Talmy Givón. Longacre’s central work *Grammar of Discourse* (1996) aims at describing forms of discourse such as plot progression, dialog relations, temporal relations, role relations etc., and grammatical structures which mark these forms, both from a typological perspective. One key concept underpinning Longacre’s work is the ‘salience scheme’ (1996:21ff.). It refers to the distinction between the mainline of development and other supportive material in discourse. The concept is based on Grimes’s (1975) work on types of information (‘backbone’ or ‘events’ vs. ‘non-events’) and the work of Hopper and Thompson (1980) with regards to parameters of transitivity. The notion of salience, or foregrounding in discourse, is studied in various academic fields and can have different meanings. In literary studies for instance, salient information is unexpected material that deviates from ordinary language (Dry 1992:439). The foreground/background division in discourse has been linked to the figure/ground segregation in visual perception (Dry 1992:445ff.). One of the parallels between visual figurehood and textual importance lies for instance in the tendency of bounded and small objects to be the figure and that of completed and punctual events to appear in textual foreground.

Table 13 shows Longacre’s salience scheme for English narrative (1996:24). It can be observed that the division into different bands is based on criteria similar to Hopper and Thompson’s parameters of transitivity, such as kinesis (cf. action vs. cognitive events/states in the table), punctuality (cf. punctiliar verbs vs. durative verbs), volitionality (cf. agent vs. patient), affirmation (cf. affirmative mood vs. negatives/modals) and so on. Although Longacre’s definition of salience has to do with the extent of impact events have on plot development, the linguistic elements in Table 13 do not always correspond to the positions of the bands in the hierarchy. For instance, some negative clauses denote more central events than others (cf. also Fleischman (2009)). In CI from the present corpus, the event that the two Girls cannot bundle up their firewood leads to the key event of the Bear approaching them. Later in the story, when the Bear learns about the escape of his wife and sons, it is reported that he does not take the

cow he has found with him and starts the pursuit; this event involving negation does not contribute much to the plot development. In the present study, the salience scheme will become relevant in the analysis of grammatical time (see section 5.6.2). A series of typological studies have been conducted based on the theory of salience scheme. Longacre (1989) first adopted it in the analysis of synthetic and polysynthetic languages; it was later applied to discourse studies on several Asian languages (Burusphat 1991; Block 1996; Chu 1998; McLaughlin 2013).

Band 1: Storyline	- Past (Agent) Action, (Agent/Patient) Motion - Past (Experiencer) Cognitive events (punctiliar verbs)
Band 2: Background	- Past Progressive (Agent) background activities - Past (Experiencer) Cognitive states (durative verbs)
Band 3: Flashback	- Pluperfects (events, activities, which are out of sequence) - Pluperfects (Cognitive events/states that are out of sequence)
Band 4: Setting	- Stative verbs/adjectival predicates/verbs with inanimate subjects (descriptive) - “Be” verbs/verbless clauses (equative) - “Be”/“Have” (existential, relational)
Band 5: Irrealis	- Negatives - Modals/futures
Band 6: Evaluation (author intrusion)	-Past tense - Gnomic present
Band 7: Cohesive band	- Script determined - Repetitive - Back reference

*Table 13 A salience scheme for English narrative*

Givón’s discourse-related studies focus on (textual and cognitive) coherence and topic continuity (1983a; 1995; 2017). His work is primarily based on linguistic data from spontaneous oral communication. What is also relevant for the present study is his investigation of the interface between semantics/mental processes and morphosyntax on a typological scale. One influential contribution made by Givón to discourse studies is the discourse measurements he has developed to quantify the notion of topicality. Countering the structuralist division of clausal arguments into rheme and theme, he defines topic continuity as a matter of continuum, linked to thematic continuity to a certain extent (Givón 1983b:5, 8). Three discourse measurements are introduced to quantify the degree of topic continuity: referential distance, potential inter-

ference, and persistence. The first measurement is adopted in section 5.3.2.4 to show the correlation between topic continuity and referential coding devices in Quechua. The factor of referential interference or complexity is examined later in section 5.3.2.5. The measurement of topic persistence or decay refers to the number of clauses to the right of an occurrence of a topic where it is mentioned without interruption (Givón 1983b:15); it is not conducted in this study because it is less relevant. Within a thematic paragraph, as Givón's model (*ibid.*) predicts, the referential distance of a (new or reinstated) topic is high at the beginning; as the topic gains continuity along the paragraph (assuming there are no competing referents), the referential distance decreases. On the other hand, the persistence of the topic is high at the beginning of a paragraph and decreases towards its middle and its end. Givón's method has led to the accumulation of typological data regarding topic continuity. For instance, the values of referential distance of various coding devices which are partly shared cross-linguistically can be compared (see also section 5.3.2.4).

## 5 A linguistic investigation of Quechua narrative

### 5.1 Data processing

The present corpus has been deposited and annotated in the relational database MySQL via a phpMyAdmin user interface provided by the *IT-Gruppe Geisteswissenschaft der LMU*.<sup>64</sup> Although such a database is not originally designed as a text annotation tool, it is easy to become acquainted with, especially when it is accessed via the frontend tool HeidiSQL. It allows intuitive organization of data in the form of tables where categories of analysis can be set up. Moreover, complex queries can be conducted. Semi-automated annotation is possible based on recurring patterns; one also has to consider the fact that algorithms like POS (part-of-speech) tagging tools for Quechua are still underdeveloped.<sup>65</sup> MySQL further has the advantage over programs like Excel that the character encoding system is kept consistent in the import and export of data.

The Quechua texts were first digitalized and converted into .txt files. They were then divided into simple clauses of three categories: non-dialogic main clauses, non-dialogic subordinate clauses, and simple clauses in direct speech. By using a Perl script, the texts were broken down into tokens and imported into the database. Figure 1 shows the beginning of the table containing the tokenized text of MU from the current database. The first column from the left includes the numeration of the tokens. The column ‘id\_es’ refers to the numbers of the simple clauses. The next three columns to the right correspond to the three categories of simple clauses mentioned above respectively. Each token of the original text occupies one row in the table; segmented tokens and their glosses are put in the columns ‘Subtoken’ and ‘Morph’ respectively, based on which a glossed version of text can be put together. The table further includes clausal elements such as grammatical relations and the corresponding text referents. For instance, simple clauses (2) to (4) represents two subordinate clauses and one main clause, which are all non-dialogic. The first subordinate clause has four overt clausal components: a conjunction, a locative, an objective, and a verb; the locational NP refers to ‘mountain’ and the NP in objective refers to ‘her (the Girl’s) sheep’. Covert clausal elements are listed in six separate columns, two of which can be seen in the screenshot. ‘NA1’ stands for the category of clausal components of the first covert element in the clause; ‘NARef1’ refers to the corresponding text referent if the covert

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<sup>64</sup> <http://www.itg.uni-muenchen.de/>

<sup>65</sup> The annotation tool TreeTagger developed at the Institute for Computational Linguistics of the University of Stuttgart includes a considerable number of languages, but Quechua is not one of them, cf. <https://www.cis.uni-muenchen.de/~schmid/tools/TreeTagger/>.

element is an NP.<sup>66</sup> Overt NPs with more than one token occupy more than one row such as the text referent Girl, expressed by the NP *huq oveja michiq p'asñas* in the first simple clause. The table further includes columns which show the semantic class of the main verbs, the topic type of referential units, Spanish loans and so on. The numeration of the functional units, listed in the column 'ID\_Funcunit', not only shows the number of phrases in each simple clause, but also serves to put together phrase orders.

id	Quelle	id_es	HSatz	TSatz	QSatz	Token	Subtoken	Morph	ID_Func...	FuncUnit	TextRef	NA1	NAREf1
1	MU	1	1	0	0	huq	huq	one	1	S	girl		
2	MU	1	1	0	0	oveja	oveja	sheep	1	S	girl		
3	MU	1	1	0	0	michiq	michi=q	graze;na	1	S	girl		
4	MU	1	1	0	0	p'asñas	p'asña=s	girl;hs	1	S	girl		
5	MU	1	1	0	0	kasqa	ka=sqa	be;narr	2	V			
6	MU	2	2	1	0	hinaspaspa	hina=spsa	so;ss	1	Conj			
7	MU	2	2	1	0	urqupi	urqu=pi	mountain;ess	2	LOC	mountain		
8	MU	2	2	1	0	ovejata	oveja=ta	sheep;acc	3	O	her sheep		
9	MU	2	2	1	0	michikuskaqtin	michi=ku=ska=qti=n	graze;refl;prog;ds;3	4	V		A	girl
10	MU	3	2	2	0	ukukuqa	ukuku=qa	bear;top	1	S	bear		
11	MU	3	2	2	0	maqtaman	maqta=man	young.man;al	2	LOC	Gen		
12	MU	3	2	2	0	tukuspa	tuku=spsa	transform;ss	3	V			
13	MU	4	2	0	0	riqhurin	riqhuri=n	appear;3	1	V		S	bear
14	MU	4	2	0	0	p'asñamanqa	p'asña=man=qa	girl;al;top	2	LOC	girl		
15	MU	5	3	0	0	paipas	pai=pas	3sg;add	1	S	bear		
16	MU	5	3	0	0	ovejallantintaq	oveja=lla=ntin=taq	sheep;del;soc;con	2	Postd	his sheep	V	
17	MU	6	4	0	0	hinaspaspa	hina=spsa	so;ss	1	Conj			
18	MU	6	4	0	0	ukukuqa	ukuku=qa	bear;top	2	A	bear		
19	MU	6	4	0	0	nin	ni=n	say;3	3	V		O	Quot
20	MU	6	4	0	0	p'asñata	p'asña=ta	girl;dat	4	IO	girl		
21	MU	7	4	0	1	yao	yao	interj	1	Disc			
22	MU	7	4	0	1	sipas	sipas	girl	2	Addr			
23	MU	7	4	0	1	michikusiasunchu	michi=ku=sia=sun=chu	graze;refl;prog;fut:1incl;...	3	V		A	bear and girl
24	MU	7	4	0	1	ovejata	oveja=ta	sheep;acc	4	O	their sheep		
25	MU	7	4	0	1	nispa	ni=spsa	say;ss	5	Quot			

Figure 1 Screenshot of the table of the tokenized text of MU in MySQL database

Figure 2 shows the query results of the mirative *-sqa* in MU. In the query, the table of the tokenized text is combined with another one which contains the simple clauses of MU so that the context where the verbs marked by *-sqa* occur can be seen. The use of *-sqa* can also be cross-referenced with the semantic classes of the main verbs based on the query results, as presented in the column 'event'. Potential correlations between linguistic categories can be found by the same method.

id_es	hsatz	tsatz	qsatz	Token	Subtoken	Morph	event	text
45	25	0	0	kasqa	ka=sqa	be;sd	cop	chaiqa wawanqa qharicha kasqa uña ukukuqa
93	44	0	0	atisqañña	ati=sqa=ña	can;sd;already	mod	ña atisqañña tanqaikurqita
95	45	0	1	atisqañña	ati=sqa=ni=ña	can;sd;1;already	mod	mamai kunanqa ña atisqañña nispa
108	52	0	0	kutipusiasqa	kuti=pu=sia=sqa	return;it;prog;sd	mot	taitanqa kutipusiasqa
116	55	0	0	pakirqapusqa	paki=rqa=pu=sqa	break;exh;it;sd	act	rprachanta pakirqapusqa
192	100	0	1	qunqarkakampusqani	qunqa=rka=ka=m=pu=sqa=ni	forget;aug;refl;trsl;mal;sd;1	cog	librochaitan qunqarkakampusqani
212	109	0	0	munasqanku	muna=sqa=nku	want;sd;3pl	mod	runakuna chanqaikamuita munasqanku llipinku
213	110	0	0	chanqaikampusqa	chanqa=ika=m=pu=sqa	throw.down;aug;ve;stat;sd	act	hinaspas pai aswan llipinkuta runakunata chanqaikampusqa
217	112	0	1	suyapakuwasqa	suyapa=ku=wa=sqa	ambush;refl;1o;sd	act	ima kuruchakuna suyapakuwasqa
219	112	0	3	munasqanku	muna=sqa=nku	want;sd;3pl	mod	torre patamantañataq tanqaikamuwaita munasqanku
259	126	0	9	hamusqani	hamu=sqa=ni	come;sd;1	mot	chaimi hamusqani
300	141	2	0	kasiasqa	ka=sia=sqa	be;prog;sd	cop	puñunapas qimpisqallaraqsi kasiasqa
302	142	0	0	purikusiasqa	puri=ku=sia=sqa	wander;refl;prog;sd	mot	wakan ovejan cabrankunapas caballonkunapas urqun q'asantas purikusiasqa
320	151	0	0	kasqa	ka=sqa	be;sd	cop	chaiqa imaimana licorwan hunt'asqa kasqa

Figure 2 Screenshot of the occurrences of mirative *-sqa* with context in MU in MySQL database

<sup>66</sup> The abbreviation NA is based on the German term *Nullanapher* for 'zero-anaphora'. The four other columns are named NA2, NAREf2, NA3, and NAREf3 respectively.

## 5.2 General layout of the texts

The following table presents data with respect to the general layout and morphological and lexical elaboration in the six Quechua texts. The parameters are based on those used by Schulze (2019[ms.]:185); the data from one Udi text and one German text are cited for comparison.

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI	Mean value	Grateful Dead (Udi)	Frog King (German)
<b>Tokens</b>	1223	904	1980	1221	1475	793		1193	2528
<b>Types</b>	716	500	1128	695	867	471		593	592
<b>Tokens per type</b>	1.71	1.81	1.76	1.76	1.70	1.68	1.74	2.01	4.27
<b>Lexical bases (LB)</b>	343	214	384	266	370	238		270	334
<b>Tokens per LB</b>	3.57	4.22	5.16	4.59	3.99	3.33	4.14	4.42	7.57
<b>Types per LB</b>	2.09	2.34	2.94	2.61	2.34	1.98	2.38	2.20	1.77
<b>Simple clauses (SC)</b>	372	258	620	390	497	240		298	214
<b>Tokens per SC</b>	3.29	3.50	3.19	3.13	2.97	3.30	3.23	4.00	11.81
<b>LBs per <math>\sqrt{SC}</math></b>	17.78	13.32	15.42	13.47	16.60	15.36	15.33	15.64	22.83
<b>Direct speech (%)</b>	35.22	51.16	26.13	42.56	39.64	22.08			

Table 14 General layout of the six narratives (compared to Udi and German)

The token-type ratio describes the morphological richness of a language if we do not take other factors into account such as text genre, means of language production (written or spoken), sociolinguistic aspects etc. The higher the token-type ratio of a language is, the more frequently each type is employed, which further means that the less morphological variation it exhibits. The data in Table 14 show that Quechua, with 1.73 as the mean value of the corpus, has the

lowest token-type ratio and thus the highest morphological richness compared to Udi (2.01) and German (4.27) within the narrative genre.

Lexical bases (LB) are lemmas, i.e. the least marked form of a lexeme. In the present analysis, verbalizing and nominalizing morphemes are considered part of an LB, for instance *unu-cha-* (water-FACT-) ‘sprinkle, baptize’ and *mikhu-na-* (eat-NMLZ- ‘food’). The causative and assistive markers are also included in the LBs since they change the core meaning of a verb. Morphemes that appear between a verb stem and one of the two markers are excluded: e.g. the LB of *wañu-rqa-chi-* (die-EXH-CAUS) ‘kill in a sudden or unexpected way’ is *wañuchi-* ‘kill’. Following Schulze (2019[ms.]), less lexical elements such as conjunctions and discourse particles are included as well since they influence the textual organization to some extent. Different pronunciations or spellings of the same lexeme are subsumed under one LB, e.g. *iskay/ishkay* ‘two’, *condenado/kondenado/condenaw/kondenaw* (CI).

LBs thus represent among other things core referential (nominal) and relational (verbal) semantics in a text. The token-LB ratio shows how many tokens are uttered around each conceptual unit. The value exhibited by the German text (7.57) is noticeably higher than that of the Quechua texts (mean value: 4.14) and the Udi text (4.42). While the discrepancies can be caused by several factors, one of them has to do with LBs in German that are not prototypically lexical, e.g. auxiliary and light verbs from analytic structures, articles, and anaphors. These lexemes are not common in Quechua. The type-LB ratio shows the degree of morphological variation of each LB. Since Quechua incorporates more grammatical categories into its verb morphology than German, it is to be expected that the type-LB ratio is also higher in the Quechua texts (2.38 vs. 1.77). For instance, the LB *apa-* ‘carry’ in CI has the following five types: *apa-mu-n* (carry-CIS-3) ‘he brings (it)’, *apa-mu-y* (carry-CIS-IMP) ‘bring (it)!’, *apa-rpari-n* (carry-INTL-3) ‘he deliberately/suddenly carries (it)’, *apa-mu-wanki* (carry-CIS-2>1) ‘you will bring me (it)’, *apa-mu-sha-sqa-ña* (carry-CIS-PROG-NARR-ALREADY) ‘he was bringing (it)’.

Within the corpus, the token-type ratios of the six texts do not show any significant difference.<sup>67</sup> It stands out that the values of the two shortest texts, SIS and CI, are the highest and the lowest in the corpus respectively. This can be explained by the large number of LBs in CI,

<sup>67</sup> The Chi-square test of the values renders a p-value of over 0.97. It is not only considerably above the significance level of 0.05, but is also higher than the p-value of 0.12, when Quechua is compared to the following languages (Schulze 2019[ms.]:186):

	Quechua (mean)	Swahili	German	Malagasy	Vietnamese	Maori
Tokens per type	1.73	2.29	3.98	4.21	6.12	8.63

which has led to more types of words. The token-LB ratio of CI is thus also the lowest among the six texts. Regarding the other four longer texts, JL and SN show higher token-LB ratios than MU and JP due to smaller numbers of LBs. When we exclude SN and CI, which have below-average and above-average numbers of LBs respectively, the four other texts show that with increasing token numbers, the growth rate of LBs becomes lower.<sup>68</sup> First, this can be partly explained by the fact that the number of less lexical LBs such as those of demonstratives, conjunctions, and discourse particles does not necessarily increase when a text is longer. Second, as will be shown in the next sections, the present narratives share a core set of nominal and verbal concepts despite partly different storylines; a longer text may include more motifs, scenes, or descriptive details, but they do not necessarily affect the main conceptual units considerably. The number of types per LB varies from two to three across the six texts. MU and CI have the lowest type-LB ratios, whereas JL and SN, the two texts from Lira’s collection, show the highest degrees of morphological variation regarding each LB.

Simple clauses (SC) are utterances which encode one single event image. The average length of SCs in the current corpus consists of 3.24 tokens, which is a relatively low value comparing to the Udi and the German data. JP shows the lowest token-SC ratio among the six texts, which can be linked to its lower-than-average referential density value (see section 5.3.1.1) and its high percentage of verbless clauses. The LB- $\sqrt{\text{SC}}$ -ratio calculates the average number of LBs processed in the simple clauses of a text, or the degree of lexical elaboration of the clauses.<sup>69</sup> Again, the German text has a much higher value than the Quechua und Udi texts. This can be explained by the analytic morphology of German and the more descriptive narrative style of the Grimms’ tales; the latter is also reflected in their average clause length. Among the six texts, SIS and SN show the lowest degrees of lexical elaboration of the simple clauses.

<sup>68</sup> The  $\Delta\text{LB}/\Delta\text{To}$ -ratio drops while the text length increases:

	SIS	MU	JP	JL
Token number	904	1223	1475	1980
Difference in token number	/	319	252	505
LB number	214	343	370	384
Difference in LB number	/	129	27	14
$\Delta\text{LB}/\Delta\text{To}$	/	40.44%	10.71%	2.77%

<sup>69</sup> The formula LB/ $\sqrt{\text{SC}}$  is an adaptation of the Guiraud index (type/ $\sqrt{\text{token}}$ , in terms of ‘strong words’ such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) (Wolfgang Schulze, personal communication, May 2018). Taking the square root of the number of SCs can neutralize the factor that the recurrence of existing patterns (types of words or lemmas) becomes more likely with the increase in text length. Moreover, if the total clause number is used in the formula, then the quotient will be under 1.00 for each text, which is difficult to interpret since a simple clause has at least one LB.

Direct speech is very prominent in SIS, making up half of the simple clauses; about 40% of the simple clauses in SN and JP are dialogic lines.

### 5.3 Text referents

#### 5.3.1 General features

##### 5.3.1.1 Referential density

Referential density (RD or RD1 in the following) is “the average ratio of overt argument NPs (nouns or pronouns) to available argument positions in the clause” (Bickel 2003:708). Noonan (2003) introduces another three measurements: for RD1+, covert NPs encoded by verb agreement markers are added to the overt NPs; RD2 measures the average number of overt NPs per verb phrase (VP); RD2+ again takes into account covert NPs encoded by verb agreement markers in the counting of NPs. Table 15 shows the values of the four RD ratios of the six narratives, which exhibit a more or less consistent picture within the corpus; only the RD1 and RD1+ ratios of CI deviate a little more strongly from the mean scores.

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI	Mean
<b>RD1</b>	0.42	0.43	0.43	0.38	0.35	0.56	0.43
<b>RD1+</b>	0.72	0.70	0.73	0.71	0.71	0.93	0.75
<b>RD2</b>	0.94	1.04	0.91	0.86	0.83	1.00	0.93
<b>RD2+</b>	1.62	1.70	1.55	1.58	1.68	1.67	1.63

Table 15 Referential density ratios of the six narratives

Table 16 compares the results of the present study to other cross-linguistic data from Noonan (2003:11). The two sets of Quechua data have similar values. Typologically, Quechua is a language showing a low RD as defined by Noonan (2003:6), with its RD1 ratio under 0.5; the RD1 ratios of Japanese and Spanish are within the moderate range between 0.5 and 0.7; German shows the highest RD among these languages. The results can be interpreted as reflecting morphosyntactic differences in the first place: Quechua, Japanese, and Spanish are pro-drop languages while German is not. Within the pro-drop languages, the RD values differ too.<sup>70</sup> As will be shown in the next section, the present Quechua texts have a high percentage of covert objectives, which also contributes to the low RD value.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, due to the polypersonal agreement system for SAP in Quechua, there is a greater increase in the RD values when covert NPs encoded by verb agreement markers are added to the calculation. For instance, the RD1

<sup>70</sup> Bickel (2003:708) also mentions that Chinese, another pro-drop language, is more inclined to covert referents than Spanish.

<sup>71</sup> Lexicality of O: Quechua – 35.88% (mean value of the present texts) vs. Spanish – 60% (Haig & Schnell 2016:599).

value rises about 69% in the calculation of RD1+ for both Quechua variants, while the increase is under 30% for the other three languages without polypersonal agreement. Note that typological features alone cannot adequately explain the difference in the RD values. Other factors that can affect the RD value mentioned by Noonan (2003:3) are individual preferences and goals, rhetorical styles, and genre-type. The present Quechua narratives also show overspecified NPs, that is, full lexical NPs referring to activated referents in discourse, which are usually encoded by zero-anaphora (the phenomenon is discussed in section 2.3.2.1).

	<b>Quechua (present study)</b>	<b>Quechua (Huallaga)<sup>72</sup></b>	<b>Japanese (Frog story)<sup>73</sup></b>	<b>Spanish</b>	<b>German (Frog story)</b>
<b>RD1</b>	0.43	0.43	0.60	0.74/0.65	0.80
<b>RD1+</b>	0.75	0.70		0.82	0.92
<b>RD2</b>	0.93	1.04	1.15	1.44/1.31	1.59
<b>RD2+</b>	1.63	1.70		1.55	1.84

Table 16 Referential density ratios in a typological comparison

Figure 3 shows the number of overt NPs as opposed to that of all NPs per simple clause in the present texts. The total number of NPs refers to the number of available argument positions in the clause as mentioned in Bickel's definition of RD above. The data show that when only overt NPs are counted, there is slightly less than one NP per simple clause in most of the texts; when covert NPs are included, the ratio of the number of NPs in relation to that of simple clauses rises to more than two for most of the texts.

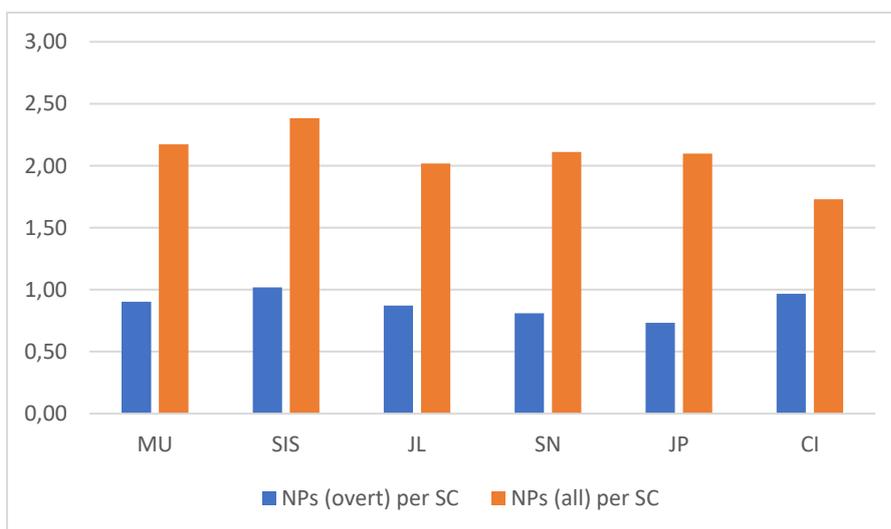


Figure 3 Numbers of (overt) NPs per simple clause in the six narratives

<sup>72</sup> Noonan (2003:9) mentions Weber (1989) as the source of the Quechua data.

<sup>73</sup> The Frog Story research method uses Mercer Mayer's wordless picture book 'Frog, where are you?' as a tool for eliciting narratives. Noonan gives several different results from Frog Story data in Japanese; the median RD values are chosen here.

Subordinate structures in Quechua are an essential factor which causes covert NPs (see section 2.6.2). Coordinated NPs are treated as NPs of separate clauses if they are both or all marked by a case suffix. In (50), the second instrumental phrase *p'achawan* ‘with clothes’ is treated as part of an underlying clause with two covert NPs and one covert VP, since it is marked in the instrumental case like the preceding phrase *iskai q'aspillawan* ‘with two sticks’ and also separated from it by the adverb *hawamantaq* ‘and on top of that’.

(50)i.      ... *uno-ta-qa*                      *t'impu-sia-q-ta*                      *tapa-iku-nku*                      [MU141-2]  
                  water-ACC-TOP                      boil-PROG-AG-ACC                      cover-AUG-3PL

*iskai q'aspi-lla-wan*  
 two      stick-LIM-INSTR

ii.      *hawan-man-taq*                      *p'acha-wan*  
                  top-AL-CON                      clothes-INSTR  
                  ‘(i) They covered the boiling water with two sticks (ii) (and they covered it) on top of that with clothes.’

Potential argument slots for locative NPs are assigned to motion verbs and path-conflating transitive verbs. In (51ii), the VP implies three covert NPs in the syntactic roles of A (encoded by verb agreement), O, and LOC.

(51)i.      *hina-qti-n-qa*                      *chay-pi*                      *tiya-sha-qti-n-qa*                      [CI105-6]  
                  like-DS-3P-TOP                      there-LOC                      sit-PROG-DS-3P-TOP

ii.      *tanqa-ya-rpari-nku*  
                  push-AUG-INTL-3PL  
                  ‘(i) When (the bear) was sitting there, (ii) they pushed him (into the pot).’

Clauses introducing direct speech, with or without a speech act verb, have three potential argument slots: the speaker, the addressee, and the message. When the message is expressed in the form of direct speech, it is annotated as a covert NP of the matrix clause. A stretch of direct speech can be introduced by a conjunction like *hinaspa* ‘then’ alone. The matrix clause can also be completely absent, where the message is only marked by the quotative *nispa*. In the latter case, the covert elements of the underlying matrix clause are included in the calculation above, but the clause itself is not added to the simple clauses.

### 5.3.1.2 Grammatical relations

The lexical percentages of the grammatical relations in the present narratives are displayed in Figure 4. At first sight the results show that S and O are more alike than S and A in that A has

lower lexicality than S and O on average, which seems to accord with Du Bois's (1987) constraint “avoid lexical A's” and the ergative pattern in spoken discourse proposed by him. The present study follows Haig and Schnell's (2016) argument that the semantic feature ‘human-ness’ is the more direct cause of the low lexicality of A, since human referents typically appear in the role of agentive and tend to be lexically omitted due to their high discourse salience. Figure 5 shows that the lexicality of S decreases noticeably (and hence is closer to that of A) when only agonists are included. Needless to say, in this particular text genre, a semantic agent does not have to be human – animals or supernatural beings can also act as agonists. The effect of discourse salience of agentive referents is also reflected in the low lexicality of IO, since semantic roles such as the recipient and the addressee typically occur in this argument slot. On the other hand, locative NPs show high lexicality because locative referents are mostly non-agentive (see also section 5.4.2).

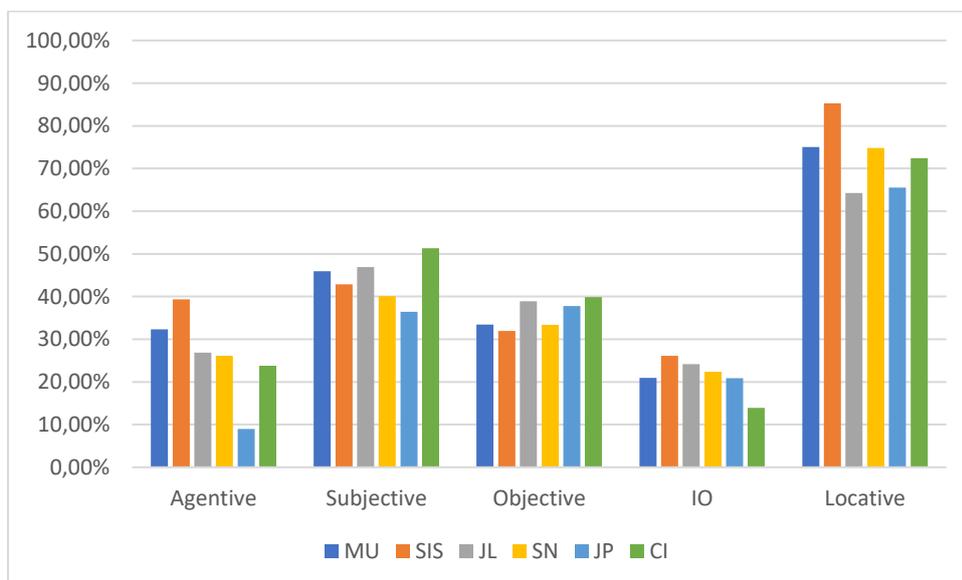


Figure 4 Lexicality of grammatical relations

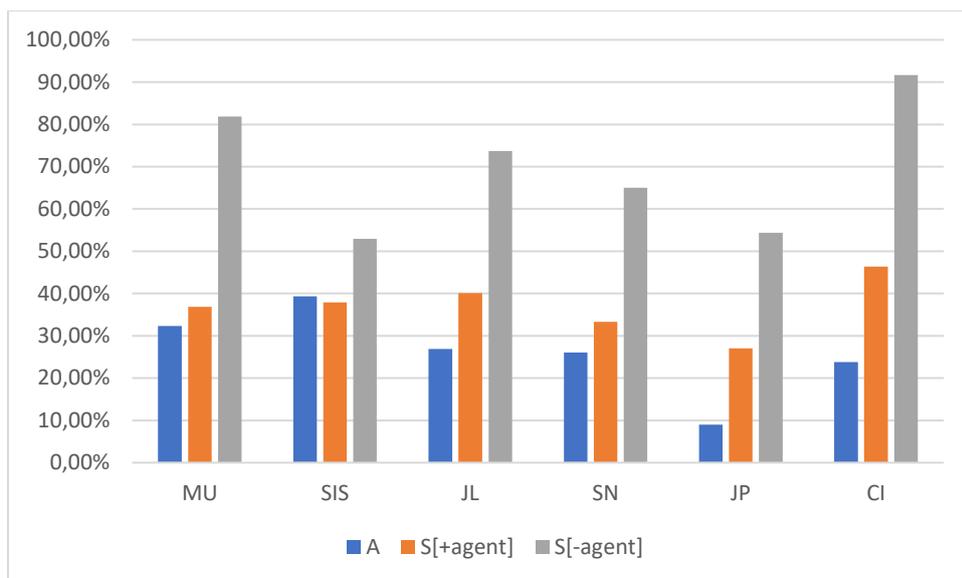


Figure 5 Lexicality of agentive and non-agentive S's as opposed to A's

The high lexicality of A in SIS can be traced back to a high degree of overspecification of the agonists. 69 out of 73 lexical A's refer to the main characters, two of which are frequently encoded lexically in the role of A: Fox – 40.91%, Condor – 60.71%. In accord with the overall low lexicality of A in JP, the main agonists are not often encoded by lexical A's: She-calf's mother – 5.56%, She-calf – 18.92%, Servant – 5.26%, Boy – 12.66%.

Haig and Schnell's (2016:599f.) typological data from 19 corpora in 15 languages show that S tends to occupy an intermediate position between A and O in terms of lexicality. In the present corpus, the lexicality of A is mostly above 20% except in JP, while the mean value in Haig and Schnell's study is under 20%. Moreover, the lexical percentages of O in the present texts are below the lowest value among Haig and Schnell's samples, which is 40%. The discrepancies the present data show can be partly explained by differences between the annotation systems. Haig and Schnell (2014:26, 48) treat clauses with speech verbs which introduce direct speech as intransitive and assign the grammatical relation S to the speaker. In the present study, however, speech verbs are regarded as having three argument slots: A, IO, and O; O refers to the speech itself and is usually annotated as covert. This increases the lexicality of A and decreases the lexicality of O (if the covert O's in such clauses are not counted, the lexicality of O rises 38% on average).

Figure 6 shows the lexicality of A and IO in clauses with speech verbs. It stands out that the speaker of a speech act is quite often encoded lexically in MU and SIS. In JL, SN, and CI, the lexicality of A is still above 30%, while lexical A's remain in low frequency in JP like in the rest of the text. On the other hand, IOs encoding addressees do not appear so frequently in lexical forms, since once the speaker is mentioned, the addressee can be identified more easily.

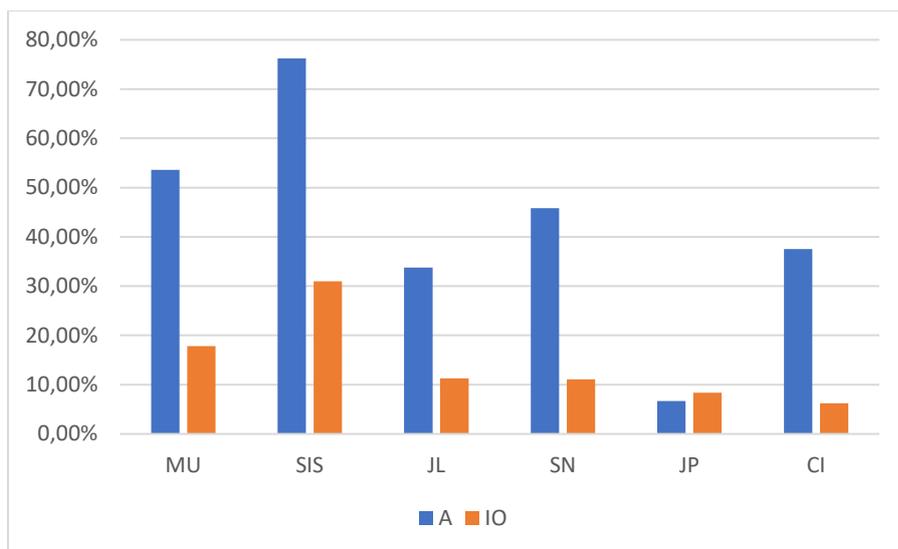


Figure 6 Lexicality of A and IO in clauses with speech verbs

### 5.3.1.3 Semantic categorization

The text referents in the six narratives are divided into the following categories: primary actors, secondary actors, background and décor actors, localization, and objects (non-agentive living things, abstract entities etc.). Primary actors and secondary actors have the highest number of occurrences and the greatest thematic relevance (see next section); they are the dramatis personae of the stories, as discussed in section 3.3.3.2. Background and décor actors only play a minor role in the plot, with limited occurrences. Background actors are typically family members or a group of people who are not identifiable individually; the Eagle in JP is regarded as a background actor because of its brief appearance, although it functions as the hero's helper. Décor actors are potentially agentive referents who do not act upon other agonists. The She-dove in SIS is for instance a décor actor, while the flute made of its bones, although categorized as a magical object, appears as the semantic agent when it speaks on behalf of the She-dove. When plural referents, i.e. referents including more than one individual, are split up, the categorial status of the single referents depends on the role they play in the story. For instance, the Boy-bear and his brother in CI are first referred to as one character 'two babies', but only the Boy-bear is later established as the protagonist. In JL, the three 'Boy-bears' are treated as one referent most of the time; only at the end of story are references made to them singly when they take different political positions (these instances are included under primary actors).

Localizing referents include not only places which form the backdrop for the agonists' actions but also other objects and agonists that have a localizing function. The same referent can belong to more than one semantic category. For instance, the referent 'horse' has a localizing

function in (52a), whereas in (52b) it represents a non-agentive referent which is manipulated by an agonist.

- (52) a. *uywa-pi wicha-yu-rqu-spa* [JL39]  
 horse-LOC climb-AUG-EXH-SS  
 ‘Climbing on his horse, (off he went).’
- b. *hina-s sipas-pa wasi qhipa-n-pi* [JL41]  
 like-HS girl-GEN home back-3P-LOC
- uywa-n-ta wata-yku-n*  
 horse-3P-ACC tie-AUG-3  
 ‘Then he tied up his horse at the back of the girl’s home.’

Agonists appear occasionally as locative NPs. In (53a), the event of the Bear’s appearance is described in his spatial relation with the Girl; the allative case is used probably because the verb denotes a change, which is conceptually linked to motion. It has been mentioned in section 2.3.1 that locational cases can be used in non-spatial contexts. In (53b), the allative construction ‘stand to someone’ conveys the meaning of ‘support someone’; the referent ‘their father’ is not considered a localizing referent due to the absence of spatial meaning.

- (53) a. *riqhuri-n p’asña-man-qa* [MU4]  
 appear-3 girl-AL-TOP  
 ‘(The bear) appeared in front of the girl.’ (literally: ‘to the girl’)
- b. *manchay tayta-nku-man saya-sqa-s* [JL381]  
 very.much father-3P:PL-AL stand-NARR-HS
- wawa-n-kuna-qa*  
 child-3P-PL-TOP  
 ‘The children stood by their father.’

The category of objects further contains non-agentive living things, abstract entities such as ‘strength’, ‘the form of a boy’, ‘eight o’clock’ etc., as well as complex anaphors (referring to states, events, and other propositional units, cf. Consten et al. (2007)); places can also be described as objects where they do not have localizing functions. All categories include referents which appear in direct speech and in non-dialogic modal clauses for the sake of a holistic calculation, despite the fact that they are of a different nature than referents of the text-world (cf. section 5.7.2.1). Indefinite, negative, and interrogative NPs are not included.

Table 17 shows the token-LB ratios of the first four referential categories. The higher the value is, the less conceptual diversity or lexical elaboration the category has. Primary actors exhibit the highest token-LB ratio in every text, since they usually represent a small set of

referents with relatively fixed lexical designations. The values of spatial referents are sometimes between those of secondary and background actors and sometimes above those of secondary actors (for further discussion see section 5.4.1). However, each text has significantly more types of spatial referents than those of agonists.

		<b>MU</b>	<b>SIS</b>	<b>JL</b>	<b>SN</b>	<b>JP</b>	<b>CI</b>
<b>Tokens per LB</b>	Primary actors	7.47	6.75	6.15	5.48	5.68	2.83
	Secondary actors	4.40	4.75	3.29	2.67	1.80	2.79
	Background and décor actors	1.67	1.00	1.33	2.60	2.15	1.54
	Spatial referents	1.77	2.25	3.44	3.89	2.80	2.86
<b>Referential types</b>	Primary actors	3	3	4	3	4	3
	Secondary actors	4	1	4	2	1	5
	Background and décor actors	11	2	8	4	12	9
	Total agonists	19	6	17	10	18	19
	Spatial referents	30	18	50	23	46	27

Table 17 Token-LB ratios of four referential categories and their referential types in the six texts

## 5.3.2 Agonists

### 5.3.2.1 Lexical coding of the agonists

The division of the non-background agonists into primary actors and secondary actors is determined by their overall text-frequency and their thematic relevance. Their frequency percentages in relation to all referential units in each of the six texts are presented in Table 18. The calculation of referential units includes all (overt and covert) clausal arguments, possessor NPs, and possessive suffixes (without overt possessor NPs). When an agonist occurs as part of a plural referent, either as a clausal argument or in a possessive NP, the instance is added to its text-frequency. After taking into account the factor of thematic relevance, all primary actors show a frequency value above 7%.<sup>74</sup> An exception is the She-dove in SIS, which plays the role of a décor actor despite its frequency value of 7%.

<sup>74</sup> Interestingly, some of the stories are given a title which does not include the main protagonist (see Table 9 in section 3.3.1). For instance, the Boy-bear is not addressed in the titles of MU and CI, which are based rather on the first sub-story where the Bear kidnaps the Girl. The title of JL includes the She-bear and the three Boy-bears, who do not appear until the second part of the story, possibly showing that the corresponding motif is more prominent than the first part of story, where the protagonist with the most occurrences, the Mayor, is introduced. In JP, the She-calf is certainly the central figure that defines the fantastic nature of the story, but the seeker-hero, the Boy, exceeds its salience in terms of text-frequency.

MU		SIS		JL		SN		JP		CI	
Boy-bear	24%	Siskucha	32%	Mayor	22%	Girl	30%	Boy	17%	Boy-bear	30%
Girl	12%	Fox	14%	Boy-bears	13%	Girl's parents	17%	She-calf	15%	Bear	14%
Bear	7%	Condor	7%	She-bear	9%	Snake	14%	She-calf's mother	11%	Girl	11%
Condenado	4%	(She-dove)	7%	Lover	8%	Armed men	5%	Servant	8%	Priest	6%
Priest	4%	Siskucha's parents	4%	Villagers	3%	Seer	2%	Condors	3%	Condenado	6%
Schoolboy	4%			Devil	2%					Boy-bear's brother	6%
Humming-bird	2%			Condendos	2%					Humming-bird	4%
				Parrot	2%					Villagers	3%

Table 18 Frequency of primary actors and secondary actors (in relation to all referential units) in the six texts

Table 17 in the previous section includes the token-LB ratios and the referential types of the three agonist categories in the six texts. As the data show, the low token-LB ratios of the less important agonists cannot always be traced back to higher conceptual diversity caused by more referential types. SIS and SN have a small set of agonists in all three categories. The high token-

LB ratios of the primary actors thus have to be explained by the factor that they are mentioned lexically more frequently. In the other four texts, the visible numerical gaps between the token-LB ratios of primary actors and those of background and décor actors can be partly linked to higher conceptual diversity in the latter category. The data of JP show that a category with a small number of referential types does not necessarily show a high token-LB ratio and vice versa. Although JP only has one secondary actor, its token-LB ratio is relatively low. This is due to the high lexical elaboration caused by forms of address and quantitative pronouns like *llipi-* ‘all’ and *sapa-* ‘every’. On the other hand, the relatively high token-LB ratio of the background actors has to do with its high token number and lexical diversity-decreasing factors like repeated occurrences of forms of address such as *aguilitáy* ‘my little eagle’ and *señoráy* ‘my lady’. CI stands out with the lowest token-LB ratio of the primary actors due to their small number of tokens and large number of LBs. The Udi data from Schulze (2019[ms.]:202) show much higher values for the three categories: 43.5, 8.25, and 6.75, as opposed to the mean values of the present corpus: 5.73, 3.28, 1.72. First, the Quechua texts have more complex constellations of characters, thus producing a higher conceptual diversity. Second, the agonists in Quechua show more types of lexical designations, judging from the frequency list of all nouns in Udi given by Schulze.

Table 19 lists the lexical bases (including derived nouns and compounds) of agonists with a frequency above two. Their total occurrences make up ca. 86% of all NP bases referring to agonists on average. Non-derived nouns are the most common type. They denote sex-/age-based and generic human terms, (spiritual) kinship terms, and animal names. Kinship terms are always marked by a possessive suffix and can also be used as forms of address for non-relatives (for a detailed discussion see the next section). Anaphors and pronouns also occur in the list, most often in JL. Derived nouns are usually at the bottom of the frequency list of each text. They can be nominalized verbs, such as *muna-sqa* (love-NMLZ) ‘the beloved one’ [SIS] (not included in the table), and headless relative clauses based on the agentive *-q*, as in *ukuku ka-q* (bear be-AG) ‘the one who is a bear’ [CI] and *chay ñawpaq haiku-q-kuna* (that first enter-AG-PL) ‘those who first came in’ [JL]. Adjectives can be converted into nouns without morphological marking: e.g. *suit'u* ‘(long-snouted >) the long-snouted one’, *ususi-yuq* daughter-HAVING ‘(having a daughter >) the one who has a daughter’ [SN] (not included in the table). The corpus only includes two proper names: *Siskucha* (< Sp. Francisco + *-cha* DIM) [SIS] and *Marianitu* (< Sp. Mariano + Sp. *-ito* DIM) [JP].

MU			SIS		JL			
<i>mama</i>	mother	21	<i>Siskacha</i>	proper name	31	<i>misti</i>	mayor (< mestizo)	28
<i>pasña</i>	girl	17	<i>tio</i>	name for the Fox (< uncle)	23	<i>pay</i>	he, she	24
<i>wawa</i>	baby, child	16	<i>kontor</i>	condor	19	<i>tayta</i>	father, sir, God	22
<i>churi</i>	son	15	<i>wrpi</i>	dove	18	<i>wawa</i>	baby, child	20
<i>ukuku</i>	bear	11	<i>mama taita</i>	parents	8	<i>sipas</i>	girl	18
<i>ñuqa</i>	I	10	<i>ñuqa</i>	I	7	<i>mama</i>	mother	18
<i>maqta</i>	boy	9	<i>atuq</i>	fox	6	<i>ukuku</i>	bear	16
<i>colegial</i>	schoolboy	9	<i>mama</i>	mother	6	<i>runa</i>	person	15
<i>cura</i>	priest	9	<i>qan</i>	you	5	<i>chay</i>	that	12
<i>taita</i>	father, sir	7	<i>taita</i>	father	4	<i>supay</i>	devil	9
<i>condenado</i>	condemned	7	<i>maqta</i>	young man	3	<i>kukuchi</i>	condemned	9
<i>compadre</i>	godfather	7	<i>sui'u</i>	the long-snouted one	3	<i>ukhumari</i>	bear	8
<i>k'inti</i>	hummingbird	5	<i>waiqi</i>	brother (address of a male person by another male person)	3	<i>k'alla</i>	parrot	7
<i>runa</i>	person	4				<i>miichi</i>	cat	6
<i>ahijado</i>	godchild	3				<i>qan</i>	you	6
<i>señor</i>	sir	3				<i>ñuqa</i>	I	6
						<i>wiraguacha</i>	gentleman	6
						<i>warni</i>	woman	4
						<i>qhari</i>	man	3
						<i>kaq</i>	one who is...	3



A frequent type of compound are paired kinship terms such as *tayta mama* ‘father and mother’ (sometimes in the order of *mama tayta*) and the Spanish loan *abuelo abuela* ‘grandfather and grandmother’. Another kind of compound is based on headless relative clauses marked by the agentive *-na*; the process of lexicalization can be seen in the loss of the accusative marker on the original objective: e.g. *runa pusa-na* (person guide-AG) ‘leader (of people)’ [JL]. Nouns which indicate age or sex can be combined with a head noun denoting an agonist: e.g. *uña ukuku-cha* (baby bear-DIM) ‘the little baby bear’ [MU], *warmi yana-yki* (woman partner-2P) ‘your wife’ [CI].

Figure 7 shows the distribution of adnominal forms in four texts.<sup>75</sup> While the percentage of NPs with adnominals in MU, SN, and CI is about 20% on average, more than 30% of the NPs in JL have adnominals. Modifiers in phrases like *ukuku-q churi-n* (bear-GEN son-3P) ‘son of bear’ are not counted because the NP is used as a name for the protagonist. Determiners are the most common adnominal type, including demonstratives, the indefinite article, and lexemes like ‘one (of a known group)’ and ‘other’. Modifiers refer to adjectives, nominalized structures, and attributive nouns (the last type in the previous paragraph). Some NPs have more than one type of adnominal. JL shows NPs with up to three types of adnominals: e.g. *chay huq allin sunqu chanin misti runa* ‘that kind and righteous mestizo person’, which includes a demonstrative, two adjectives *huq allin sunqu* ‘(with) one good heart’<sup>76</sup> and *chanin* ‘righteous’, and an attributive noun. Among the total NPs that refer to agonists, the adnominal forms make up 13.71% in MU, 33.49% in JL, 12.35% in SN, and 18.35% in CI. Agonist-related characteristics described by the modifiers include the following categories: age or sex (see examples above), personality, physical appearance, social or family status, profession, and color (only animals). CI is the only text that has no such modifiers for the agonists.

<sup>75</sup> Some analyses are based on sample texts selected from different collections and times.

<sup>76</sup> The suffix *-yuq* HAVING is possibly missing here.

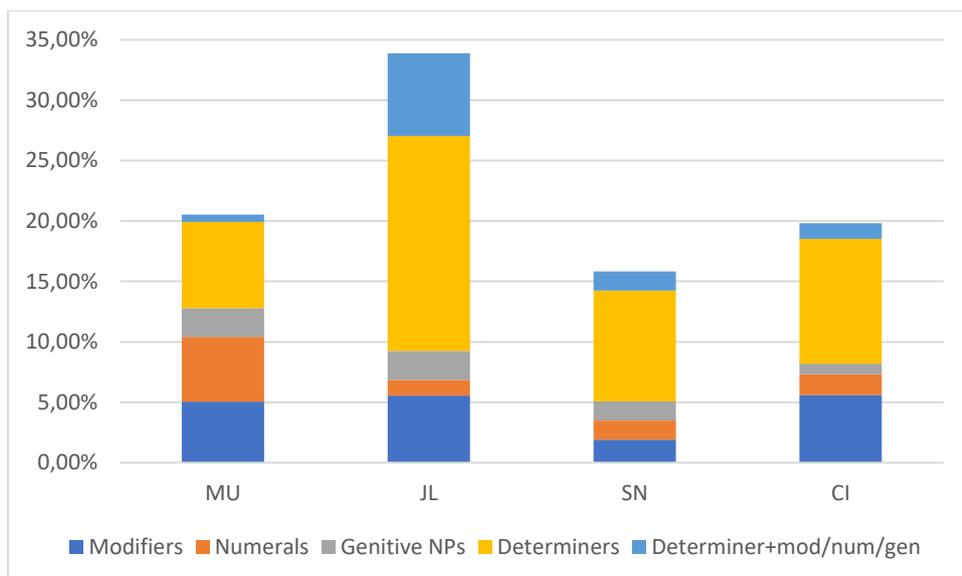


Figure 7 Distribution of adnominal forms (in relation to total NPs) in MU, JL, SN, and CI

### 5.3.2.2 Lexical designation in discourse context

In the following, the lexical coding of agonists will be examined in discourse context. (55) shows a translated passage from SIS and a Western newspaper report, with the full lexical NPs of the main referents underlined. The Quechua text uses three lexical bases in total over a long stretch of discourse: *wawa* ‘child’, *maqta* ‘young man’, and *Siskucha* proper name, whereas four more complex and completely different NPs occur in the short journalistic text.

- (55) a. ‘Once a couple had a child, who was their only child. His name was Francisco. This child of theirs was a shepherd. One day when he went to herd sheep, he found a baby dove. (...) The young man raised the little dove that he found with a lot of attention. (...) Siskucha looked after his little dove with a lot of attention and care. (...) One morning when he took out the sheep, he forgot his little dove. (...) When he arrived home, his parents had already eaten it. Then Siskucha asked: “Where is my little dove?” His mother said: “Oh lazy boy, every day you played with that little dove. (...) Then we fried and ate it.” Then Siskucha bursted into tears (...)’ [SIS]
- b. ‘A burning tyre has been treacherous for a drunken car driver. The 37-year-old woman noticed smoke and stopped to check the car. A man who had observed this called the police....The mother of 3 children had a lot of blood alcohol. The traffic offender had to submit her drivers’ licence.’ (author’s comments have been removed; underlining mine) (Schwarz-Friesel 2007:12)

Schwarz-Friesel (2007:12) terms the three definite NPs referring to the female driver ‘progressive anaphors’, which “do not only reactivate old files in text-world model constellations, but activate at the same time new information about the referent in focus”. For instance, the NP ‘the 37-year-old woman’ refers to the newly introduced drunken car driver and gives additional information about her age and sex. From the lexical NPs within this short passage of text, we

have learned that the referent is a 37-year-old woman who has three children and was drunk driving a car, thus having broken traffic rules. It has been pointed out in the previous section that adnominals do not appear very often in agonist-related NPs in the present corpus and only a few of them contain descriptive modifiers. The excerpt from SIS also shows less lexical elaboration of the main referent. After the character is introduced as the only child in his family, he is referred to by a generic term, *maqta* ‘young man’, which only adds the information about the referent’s sex. His name is then introduced in a copular clause and later used several times to refer to the character. A form of address also occurs when the referent’s mother calls him ‘lazy boy’.

There are two main factors which can trigger a change in the lexical coding of primary actors. First, when a character changes his appearance, he can be referred to in a different way. For instance, in MU, after the Bear enters the stage and transforms itself into a young man approaching the Girl, the lexical expression sometimes switches from *ukuku* ‘bear’ to *maqta* ‘young man’. In SN, the Snake is referred to as *wayna* ‘young man’ at the beginning when the Girl sees it as a handsome young man; after she takes it home, it shows more and more of its animal nature and is eventually mentioned as *mach’aqway* ‘snake’. The storyteller also comments at some point that the young man as the Girl perceives him to be is actually crawling on the ground. The appearance of a character can thus be linked to the perception of another character or other characters.

The second factor affecting the lexical coding has to do with the social relationships between the characters. In MU, the Boy-bear is introduced into the story as *ukukuq churin* ‘son of bear’ at the moment of his birth; then the lexical reference switches to *wawan* ‘her child’ when he interacts with his mother, the Girl, whose lexical coding is changed from *p’asña* ‘girl’ to *maman* ‘his mother’ at the same time. (56) shows the translation of an excerpt with the lexical mentions of the Boy-bear and the Girl underlined. For English speakers, the use of the possessive NPs seems repetitive and even misleading – the second underlined phrase ‘his mother’ makes it sound like a newly introduced referent and so do the next two NPs. Possessive suffixes may not have the prototypical anaphoric function in Quechua, but they must appear on kinship terms. The same applies to religious kinship terms. In MU, the Priest and the Boy-bear are partly referred to as *compadren* ‘his godfather’ and *ahijadon* ‘his godson’ respectively when they co-occur.

- (56) ‘Then her little child became bigger. He was four or five years old. His mother cried every day. So (once) her child asked: “Mother, why do you cry every day?” His mother told him: ...’ [MU48-53]

The salience of social and family relationships in the denomination of characters has to do with their functions in the story. The Boy-bears in JL are referred to as the Mayor’s or the She-bear’s children in most parts of the story, since they play the role of their father’s helpers who protect him from their mother and help rebuild his village. It is not until the end of the story where they become integrated members of the village that their nature of being half-animal is addressed again: ‘The Mayor told the villagers about the bears: “They took me out of the devil’s place. So I call them my children.”’ [604-606]; ‘The bears didn’t let other people see their furred donkey-like legs.’ [608].

Forms of address are lexical codings of agonists embedded in the characters’ world; they further reflect social norms of the Andean world. Kinship terms are not only used to address relatives. Words for ‘father’ for instance can be used as honorific forms for a male person. In SN, the Girl’s parents call the Seer and the Armed men hired by them *taytáy* ‘my father’ (note that the vocative-like forms bear an accent on the last syllable). The use of the form of address goes beyond human interaction in the narratives: the Lover in JL addresses the Devil with *taytáy*; the Boy in JP calls the Condors *papáy*. In SIS, the Fox speaks to Siskucha with *waiqi-chai* ‘my dear little brother’;<sup>77</sup> the diminutive *-cha* is probably used due to both the young age of Siskucha and courtesy.<sup>78</sup> The Fox is referred to in the non-dialogic part of the story as *tio* ‘uncle’ and addressed by the Condor in the same way.<sup>79</sup> There are two jocular terms similar to nicknames – *suit’u* ‘the long-snouted one’, *misti q’ala* ‘Mister Naked’ – referring to the Fox in SIS and the Mayor in JL respectively. When animals are not addressed with honorific or jocular terms, generic terms marked in diminutive are used, as in *k’allacha* ‘little parrot’ [JL] and *aguilita* ‘little eagle’ [JP].

### 5.3.2.3 *The introduction of agonists*

A story typically begins with an existential clause introducing one of the main characters, as in SN:

(57) *huq sapan warmi wawa-lla-s ka-sqa* [SN1]  
 one single female child-LIM-HS be-NARR  
 ‘Once there was a child who was the only daughter (of her parents).’

<sup>77</sup> Cuzco Quechua distinguishes between brothers/sisters of a male and a female person. If the related person is a woman, *tura-* is used instead of *wayqi-/wawqi-*.

<sup>78</sup> Diminutive is widely used in Quechua and Andean Spanish to indicate courtesy and modesty (Escobar 2012:80). It also appears in proper names such as Siskucha and Marianitu from the present corpus.

<sup>79</sup> In another fox-condor story collected by Uhle (1968:36), *tio* also appears as a form of address for the fox, which Uhle translates as *Gevatter*, an obsolete term for ‘godfather’ or a jocular term for an acquaintance in German.

The main character can also be singled out from a plural referent which has been introduced previously. In CI, the ‘two sisters’ enter the stage at the beginning of the story, as shown in (58a). The protagonist who is later abducted by the Bear, namely the Girl, is referred to as *hukkaqnin* ‘one of them (the two sisters)’ in a descriptive clause later in the discourse, as in (58b).

(58) a. *iskay sipas-kuna-s ka-sqa* [CI1]  
 two girl-PL-HS be-NARR  
 ‘Once there were two girls.’

b. *hina-spa hukkaqnin ka-sqa buenamoza* [CI15]  
 like-SS one.of.them be-NARR good-looking  
 ‘One of them was good-looking.’

In the son-of-bear stories, the Boy-bear(s) is/are introduced in the syntactic role of the objective in a clause describing his/their mother giving birth to him/them. In JL, the Boy-bears are encoded in the indefinite NPs marked in the accusative *kimsatas* ‘three (babies)’ and *qharitakama* ‘all boys’ in their first mention, as in (59a). In the two subsequent clauses, (59b) and (59c), the verb *wachaku-* ‘give birth to’ is repeated and the character is again referred to twice by indefinite NPs, which are lexically elaborate and serve descriptive purposes.

(59) a. *kimsa-ta-s wacha-ku-n qhari-ta-kama* [JL335]  
 three-ACC-HS give.birth-REFL-3 boy-ACC-DISTR  
 ‘She gave birth to three (babies), all boys.’

b. *uraynin-man ukuku-ta-s asnu* [JL336]  
 downwards-AL bear-ACC-HS donkey

*chaki-yuq-ta-s wacha-ku-n*  
 hoof-HAVING-ACC-HS give.birth-REFL-3  
 ‘She gave birth to (three boys) who had the body of a bear (from the waist) down and the hooves of a donkey.’

c. *wichaynin-man-taq-si runa-ta wacha-ku-n* [JL337]  
 upwards-AL-CON-HS human-ACC give.birth-REFL-3  
 ‘She gave birth to (three boys) who looked like humans (from the waist) up.’

Some of the characters are introduced into the discourse by definite NPs without an explicit antecedent, i.e. in the form of indirect anaphors. They are often animal characters representing established roles in Quechua narratives. For instance, in MU, the first lexical mention of the Bear is marked by the topic marker: ‘One day when the girl was grazing her sheep, **the bear** (*ukuku-qa* bear-TOP), disguised as a young man, appeared in front of the girl’. Further instances of such animal characters are the Hummingbird in MU, the Fox in SIS, the Condors and Eagle

in JP, and the Bear in CI. In Quechua oral tradition, the bear is typically the kidnapper, bird characters are helpers, and the Fox is the trickster.

In the transcription of JL, religious terms such as God and Devil are treated as proper nouns, written with the first letter capitalized; accordingly, they are introduced in the form of indirect anaphors. In cases of zero-marked NPs, definiteness is obscure. For instance, in MU, the character Priest is introduced by the instrumental phrase *señor curawan* without any marking of definiteness, as in (60). Since *señor* is the honorific attribute for *cura*, the phrase can be interpreted either as ‘a priest’ or ‘the (town) priest’. The present study adopts the definite reading of the phrase based on Uhle’s translation (1968:100). For further discussion on newly introduced referents encoded in definite NPs see section 5.7.2.1.

- (60) *hina-spa*      *wawa-n-ta-qa*      *marq'a-chi-nku*      [MU161]  
 like-SS      child-3P-ACC-TOP      carry.with.arms-CAUS-3PL
- señor*      *cura-wan*  
 mister      priest-INSTR  
 ‘She let the town priest baptize her child.’

Minor characters can be introduced in an existential clause in a specific kind of context. (61) is part of the scene where the Mayor arrives at the Devil’s place. The mirative marker *-sqa* indicates that the clause depicts what the character sees rather than being a neutral description. The progressive *-sha* also signals immediate perception in the mirative context (for further discussion on mirativity see section 5.7.3.1).

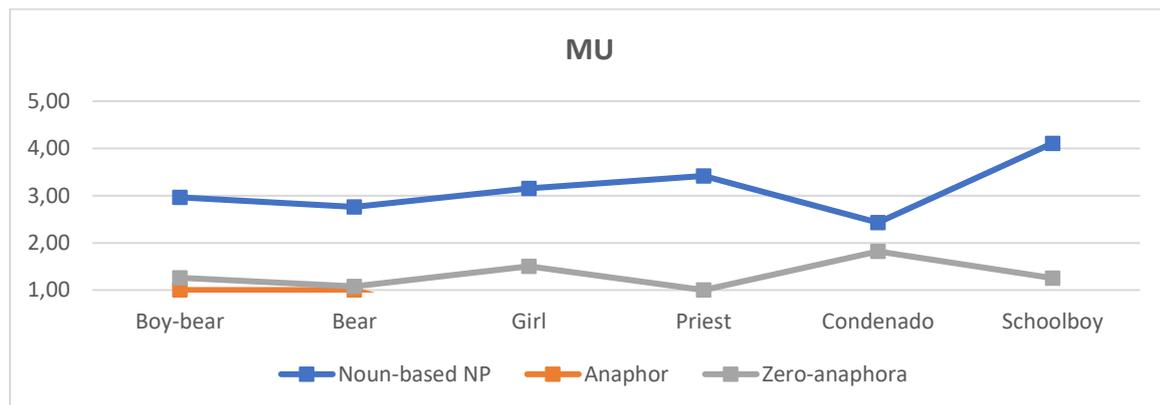
- (61) *runa-kuna-s*    *ka-sha-sqa*    *askha*    *chay-pi*      [JL128]  
 person-PL-HS    be-PROG-SD    many    there-LOC  
 ‘There were people, many of them.’

#### 5.3.2.4 Referential distance and coding devices

In this section, we will look at referential tracking of the main characters in terms of referential distance and coding devices. Referential coding devices are divided into three categories: definite noun-based or full NP, anaphor, and zero-anaphora. Zero-anaphors are counted as long as referents are not encoded by overt NPs; verb agreement marker is not taken into account as a coding device in this analysis. The measurement of the referential distance (RD) shows “the gap between the previous occurrence in the discourse of a referent/topic and its current occurrence in a clause” (Givón 1983b:13f.). For a simplified calculation, referential occurrences in direct speech and possessive references are excluded; dialogic lines are not counted as gaps. Following Givón’s method of measurement, the smallest gap between two occurrences of a referent is set as one, that is, when the referent occurs in two consecutive clauses; an upper

limit of 20 clauses is assigned to referential gaps above this value. The first occurrence of a referent has the RD value zero and is excluded from the calculation. MU, JL, JP, and CI have been selected as sample texts.

Figure 8 presents the relation between RD values and coding devices with respect to the main agonists in the four texts. In general, noun-based NPs are used to encode occurrences of referents with an average RD value not less than three, whereas referents encoded by zero-anaphora show an average RD value under two. This ties in with the principle of syntactic coding of topic accessibility observed by Givón (1983b:17): a cognitively more accessible referent is encoded by less linguistic material, under the premise that the accessibility of a referent tends to decrease when its RD value becomes higher. The third coding device ‘anaphor’ includes the third-person pronoun *pay* and the anaphoric demonstrative *chay* ‘that’. It can be clearly seen in the charts that they do not occupy an intermediate position between noun-based NPs and zero-anaphora. As mentioned in section 2.3.2.1, *pay* is mainly used as an emphatic pronoun except for JL. In JL, it occurs 17 times referring to the protagonist, which are half of its total occurrences in the corpus. The demonstrative *chay* is only used sporadically as an anaphor for main agonists (it is used more frequently for objects and locations, see section 5.7.2.2). Table 21 below shows that pronouns have lower RD values than most of the full NP types. What also stands out from the charts in Figure 8 is that some agonists with a high local topic continuity show low RD values regardless of the coding device, such as the Condonado in MU, the Hummingbird in CI, the Villagers in JL, and the Servant and the Condors in JP; their appearance is limited to one or two scenes.



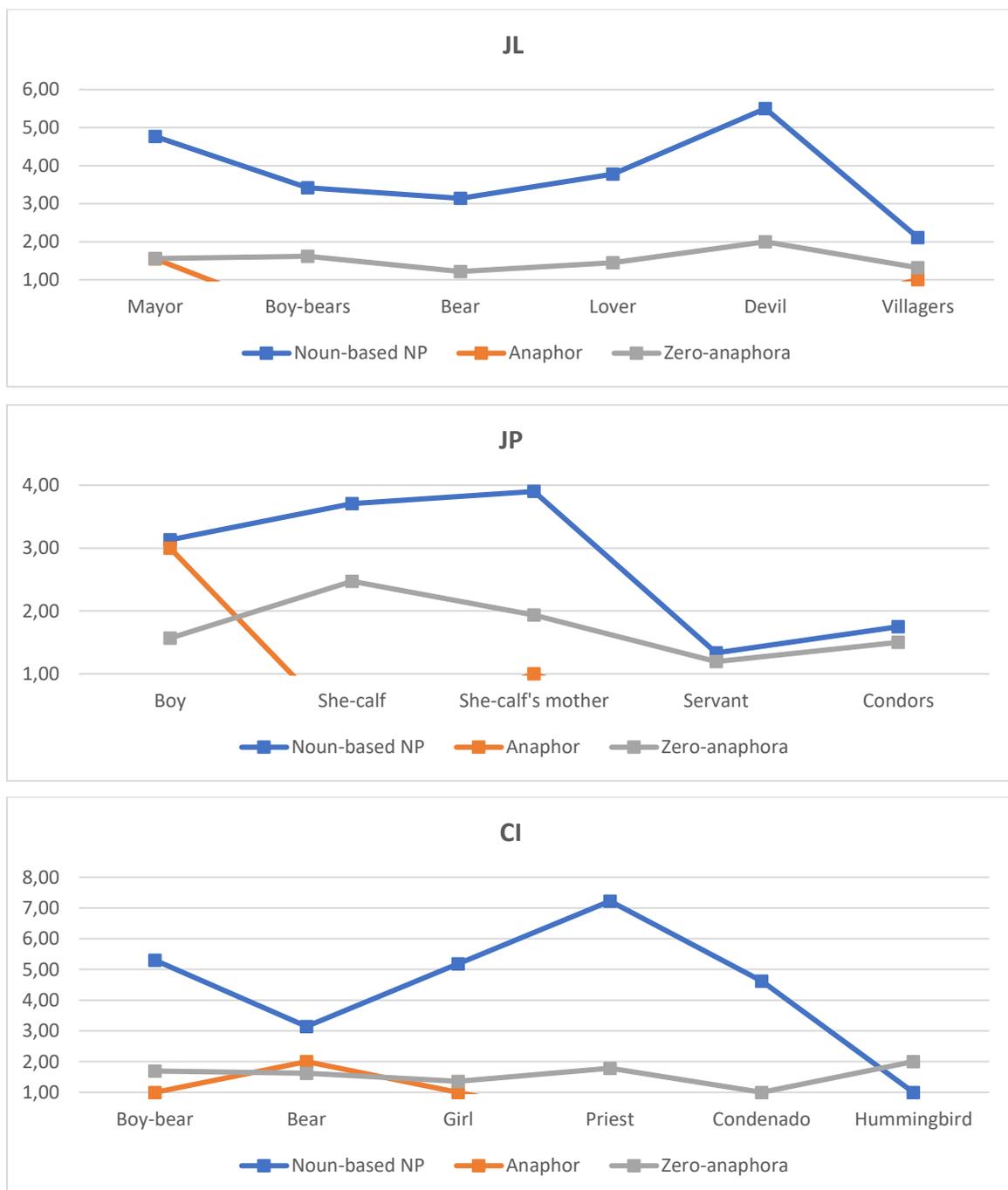


Figure 8 Average referential distances of the main agonists in different coding devices in MU, JL, JP, and CI

For a typological comparison, the RD values of the most discontinuous device (definite NP) and the most continuous device (zero-anaphora) from texts in different languages are presented in Table 20. The Quechua data represent mean values of the four texts above; the data of the other languages are extracted from studies published in the volume edited by Givón (1983a).

Although the results are partly based on different narrative genres and include all text referents,<sup>80</sup> they show that the RD value of definite NPs referring to main agonists in the Quechua texts is very low.

	Quechua	Japanese	Amharic	Ute	Spanish	English
<b>Definite NP</b>	3.23	6.33	10.55	7.63	11.29	14.09
<b>Zero-anaphora</b>	1.54	1.1	1.1	1.38	1.4	1.01

Table 20 Referential distances of two coding devices in a typological comparison

In Table 21, full NPs are divided into subcategories and the RDs of the main agonists from each text are calculated together. ‘NP’ stands for unmarked definite NP, ‘TOP’ for topicalized NP marked by *-qa*, ‘DEM’ for NP with an adnominal demonstrative (*kay* or *chay*, mostly *chay*), ‘FOC’ for focalized NP marked by the additive *-pas/-pis* or the contrastive *-taq*. The position of the NPs in relation to the verb is also taken into account; pre- and postverbal focalized NPs are thrown together because the number of the latter is small. The data show that postverbal NPs tend to have lower RD values than preverbal ones, especially in the case of unmarked NPs. This ties in with the observation that the main function of postverbal NPs encoding agonists is referential disambiguation if we interpret their low RD values as an indication of high topicality (see section 5.7.5). The preverbal topicalized NPs show smaller referential gaps than the unmarked ones, while there is no such tendency for postverbal NPs. Regarding the category DEM-V, CI and MU only include one and two instances respectively; JL is the only text which uses NPs with the adnominal *chay* regularly.

	MU	JL	JP	CI
<b>NP-V</b>	5.70	5.50	4.50	4.91
<b>TOP-V</b>	2.89	2.54	3.38	2.80
<b>DEM-V</b>	7.50	4.57		9.00
<b>FOC-V/V-FOC</b>	4.09	7.00	5.00	13.00
<b>V-NP</b>	1.69	1.58		1.00
<b>V-TOP</b>	1.45	3.18	3.00	5.67
<b>V-DEM</b>		4.06		
<b>PRO-V/V-PRO</b>	1.00	1.65	1.67	1.20

Table 21 Referential distances of different types of full NPs (and pronouns) referring to main agonists in MU, JL, JP, and CI

<sup>80</sup> The Japanese data are based on a stylized retelling of a folk tale (Hinds 1983); material of written narrative is used for Amharic (Gasser 1983); the Spanish data are based on spoken Spanish from South America; Givón used oral narratives in Ute (1983c) and a personal narrative told in Texas English (1983d).

Like in the case of DEM-V, the table above does not directly show individual cases with low frequency which have affected the results greatly. The high RD values of V-DEM in JL and V-TOP in CI have to do with NPs encoding referents whose referential gaps will be smaller if direct speech is taken into account. (62) shows parts of a sequence including a dialogic line from CI. The Girl (the Boy-bear’s mother) occurs in all three clauses. In (i), she is encoded by zero-anaphora. When direct speech is excluded in the calculation of RD, the postverbal reference of the Girl in (iii) has a referential gap of 19 clauses. However, clause (iii) is not semantically independent of the dialogic line (ii). The lexical coding of the Girl in (ii) shares the lexeme *warmi/warma* ‘woman’ with the reference in (iii); it also explains the postverbal position of the NP *warmintaqa* in (iii) since the Girl has been activated in the previous dialog.

- (62) i. *hina-spa-qa chay-pi ni-n ukuku-qa* [CI67, 95, 98]  
 like-SS-TOP that-LOC say-3 bear-TOP  
 (...)
- ii. ***warma yana-yki-qa ña-n wasi-n-pi-ña ni-spa***  
 woman partner-2P-TOP already-AFF home-3P-LOC-ALREADY say-SS  
 (...)
- iii. *hina-spa qati-n **warmi-n-ta-qa***  
 like-SS follow-3 woman-3P-ACC-TOP  
 ‘(i) Then the boy-bear said there (to his mother) (...) (ii) (The hummingbird told the bear:) “Your wife is already at her home.” (...) (iii) Then (the bear) went after his wife.’

(63ii) shows an interesting case in that the Mayor is referred to by an anaphor and a full NP in the same clause. The previous mention of the referent is 13 clauses away, namely in clause (i). The lines between (i) and (ii) tell about how the Bear provides for the family and gives birth to three Boy-bears. It seems that when the narrator started clause (ii) with the anaphor *pay* referring to the Mayor, he realized that he had to re-activate the referent with a full NP since the Bear had been the topical referent for a while. In the analysis, *chay mistilla* is considered the actual reference. The pattern is close to what Givón (1987) categorizes as ‘topics involving repetition’, which are typically discontinuous ones.

- (63) i. *chay qaqa wasi-n-man wisq'a-yku-q* [JL327, 340]  
 that rock home-3P-AL lock-AUG-HAB
- chay misti-n-ta-qa***  
 that mestizo-EU-ACC-TOP  
 (...)
- ii. ***pay-lla chay wawa-kuna-ta chay misti-lla unucha-yku-n***  
 3-LIM that child-PL-ACC that mestizo-LIM baptize-AUG-3  
 ‘(i) (the bear) would lock the mayor in her cave. (...) (ii) He, the mayor, baptized the babies.’



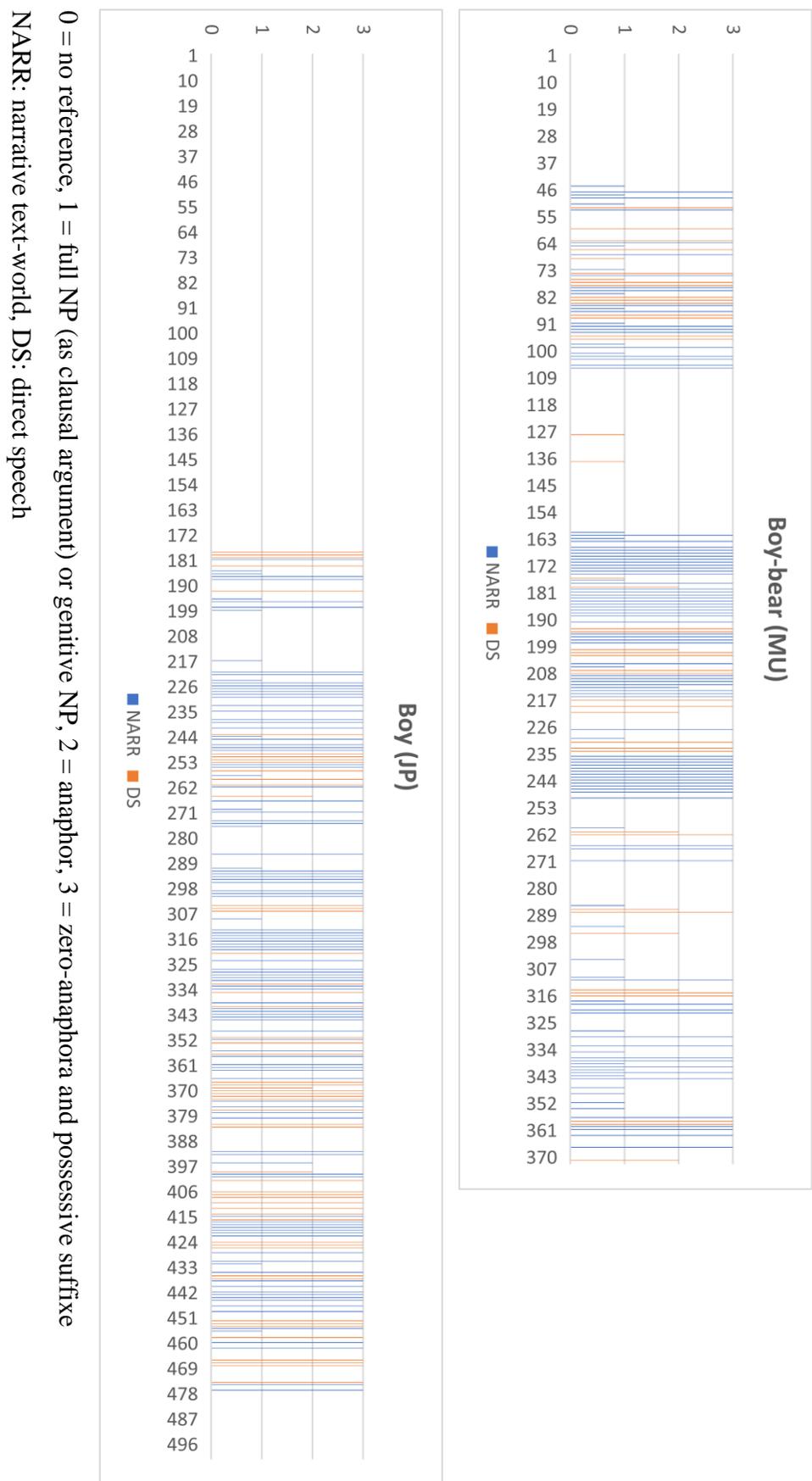


Figure 9 Total referential distribution of the protagonists in MU and JP

### 5.3.2.5 *Lexical coding of topical referents*

The previous section has shown that main agonists in the present corpus tend to have small referential gaps. This section will discuss two main factors which can trigger overt coding of main agonists even though they seem highly continuous topics in general, namely referential complexity and thematic discontinuity. The first factor has to do with contexts where more than one agonist is activated. The graphs in Figure 10 show the referential distribution of the primary actors and (some of) the secondary actors in MU, JL, and JP. Note that dialogic lines are excluded from the simple clauses so that the illustration can focus on referential interaction in the narrative world; references via possessive NPs and suffixes are also not included since referential occurrences on the level of clausal arguments are more relevant. The occurrences are depicted by dots and crosses of different colors in the graphs; two consecutive occurrences are connected by a line. Note that not all agonists and none of the other referents that the agonists interact with are depicted in the graphs. For instance, the beginning of JP describes the relationship of the She-calf's mother with her pets; she is thus the only referent represented in the graph for this part of the story.

It can be observed from the *Partituren* that when an agonist is encoded by a full NP within a stretch of discourse where it has high topic continuity in terms of small referential gaps, there is often another co-activated agonist, i.e. the symbols overlap or are close to one another. Another statistical survey of the protagonists in MU, JL, and JP shows that in about 68.18%, 66.67%, and 44.44% of the cases respectively where a full NP has a RD value of one or two, another agonist co-occurs in the same clause. These percentages can be contrasted with those of zero-anaphora in cases of co-occurring referents, which are 43.21% for the Boy-bear in MU, 32.41% for the Mayor in JL, and 29.17% for the Boy in JP.

0 = no reference, 1 = noun-based NP, 2 = anaphor, 3 = zero-anaphora

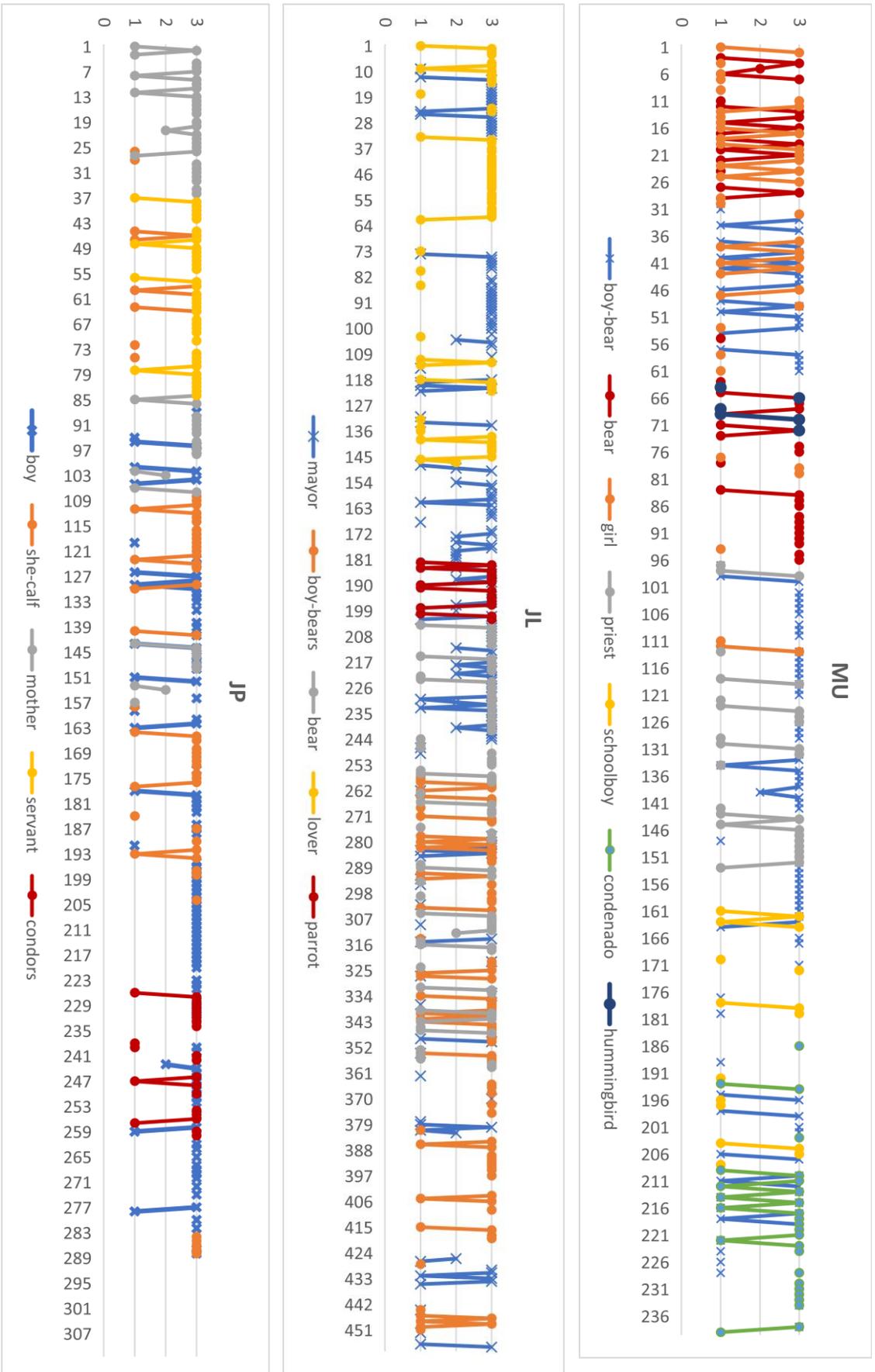


Figure 10 Referential distribution of the main agonists in MU, JL, and JP (without direct speech)

Referential continuity and disruption in general are reflected in co- and switch-reference.<sup>81</sup> In the former case, the subjective or agentive of a clause is the same as that of the previous one; in the latter case, the subjective or agentive changes. Table 22 shows that NPs, including full NPs and anaphors, are used much more frequently in the case of switch-reference than co-reference in non-dialogic clauses. The below-average percentage of NPs in the case of switch-reference in JP has to do with its low referential lexicality in general.

	<b>MU</b>	<b>JL</b>	<b>SN</b>	<b>JP</b>	<b>CI</b>
<b>NPs in case of switch-reference</b>	58.90%	60.95%	57.26%	36.57%	60.71%
<b>NPs in case of co-reference</b>	11.83%	16.25%	16.98%	10.56%	9.46%

Table 22 Percentages of NPs in non-dialogic clauses with switch- and co-reference

With regard to agonists, switch-reference typically occurs when two characters are having verbal exchange. Section 5.3.1.2 has shown that the lexicality of A in clauses with speech verbs introducing direct speech is higher than its average lexicality in a story (except for JP). Section 5.7.5 will also show that arguments of speech verbs tend to appear postverbally because the function of the NPs is to specify referents. Local patterns in the coding of arguments of speech verbs seem rather heterogeneous, compare the following excerpts from three texts: in MU, both characters can be encoded overtly or covertly: ‘then the bear said to the girl (...) then the girl said (...) then the bear said to the girl (...) said (the girl)’; in SN, the Girl tends to be mentioned lexically as the speaker: ‘the girl said (...) then (the snake) said to the girl (...) said the girl. then (the snake) said (...) then the girl asked (...) said (the snake)’; in JL, both characters can be zero: ‘(the bear) called to (the mayor) from the rock (...) (the bear) said (...) (the mayor) said (...) (the bear) said’.

The sequence from MU in (65) consists of highly transitive verbs and a chain of co- and switch-reference. In this fighting scene, the two characters Boy-boy and Condenado occupy the syntactic fore- and background by turns. The agentives appear in zero-anaphora when the topic is continued in clauses (ii), (iv), (vi), and (viii); in the rest of the clauses where the topic changes, they are encoded in NPs. Objectives always occur after the verb when they are mentioned overtly. The coding patterns in the current example partly tie in with Levinsohn’s (1978:113–5) observations for Inga Quechua where the sentence subject is claimed to be made explicit when two characters of equal status are involved in a clause with potential ambiguity; when a character switches from the agent to the patient, it is encoded overtly when the agent

<sup>81</sup> Note that the terms ‘co-reference’ and ‘switch-reference’ are ambiguous in the present study. They also refer to the constructions marked by the subordinators *-spa* (same subject) and *-qti* (different subject) (see section 5.7.4).

of the second clause is of equal status. The coding pattern of the syntactic foreground in the sequence in (65) consists of repeated alternations between NP and zero-anaphora, which are reflected in the zig-zag form of the connecting lines in the *Partitur* above (towards the end of the story). Similar patterns can also be observed elsewhere in the graph and in the other ones.

- (65)i. *chaiqa condenados huqta saqman* [MU337-344]  
 ii. *pirkataanraqsi topachin*  
 iii. *huqtan ukukuq churinga saqman condenadota*  
 iv. *pirkamanraqsi yaqa clavurqun*  
 v. *huqtas hait'an condenado ukukuq churinta*  
 vi. *pampamansi wiqchun*  
 vii. *huqtas ukukuq churin hait'an*  
 viii. *iskaiman q'iwirqun*

‘(i) The condenado punched him and (ii) thrust him against the wall. (iii) Then the boy-bear suddenly punched the condenado and (iv) almost nailed him onto the wall. (v) Then the condenado suddenly kicked the boy-bear and (vi) threw him onto the floor. (vii) Then the boy-bear suddenly kicked him and (viii) made him double up.’

It can be seen in the *Partituren* above that interacting characters are sometimes both encoded in zero-anaphora. In these cases, if the switch-reference construction with *-qti* is not employed, other co-textual or/and contextual clues have to be drawn on for referential disambiguation. (66) shows an excerpt from CI with two activated agonists: the Boy-bear and the Priest. There is no single lexical mention of the two referents in this stretch of discourse. The conjunctions *chayqa* and *hinaqtinga* tend to indicate topic shift (see section 5.7.1); in clauses (ii) and (v) they do so. Some of the verbs correlate strongly with a certain character. *kacha-* ‘send’ has appeared in the previous episode of the Priest’s murder attempts. Motion verbs such as *hamu-* ‘come’ and *pasa-* ‘leave’ are in turn associated with the Boy-bear.

- (66)i. *hinaspa kargayukusqa **hamun*** [CI151-9]  
 ii. ***chayqa** nin imatan ruwasaq*  
 iii. *chayqa leonkunaq kasqanman **kacharparisqa** llant'aman riy kay tal sitiota nispa ashkha mulakunantin*  
 iv. *hinaqtinga leonkuna chaypi mihumuchun nispa kaq planeashan*  
 v. ***hinaqtinga pasan** chayman*

‘(i) (The boy-bear) came back, loaded with (cow legs). (ii) (The priest) said: “What am I going to do?” (iii) Then (the priest) sent (the boy-bear) to a place with pumas, along with many mules, (saying:) “Go to this place to fetch some firewood.” (iv) But (the priest) was thinking: “Hopefully the pumas there would eat him.” (v) Then (the boy-bear) went there.’

As Givón (1983c:192) has shown for Ute narrative, referential and syntactic devices encoding discontinuous topics tend to occur “at junctures in discourse which change radically *action-*

*sequentiality, time and theme*”. The line in (67) denotes a change of state which implies lapse of time. The topical referent ‘the little baby’ (the Boy-bear) is mentioned in an NP.

- (67) *chaiqa wawachanqa hatunchaña* [MU48]  
 ‘Then the little baby grew bigger.’

Sometimes a temporal transition itself is expressed by a clause, like in (68i). The subsequent clause includes two NPs denoting the topical referents. Their postverbal position also suggests the function of referential disambiguation (see also section 5.7.5 on phrase order).

- (68) i. *hinaspa ña achikyarimushanña* [CI202-203]  
 ii. *chaypi bensirparisqa ukukuchaqa kondenadotaqa*  
 ‘(i) Then it was already dawn. (ii) At that moment the bear defeated the conde-  
 nado.’

However, thematic discontinuity does not necessarily trigger lexical coding of topical referents. As can be seen in (66) above, neither the Priest nor the Boy-bear is mentioned explicitly at the scenic transition in clauses (ii) and (iii).

### 5.3.3 Summary

This chapter has dealt with semantic categories, coding devices, and grammatical relations of text referents, as well as linguistic coding of agonists in discourse, especially in relation to topicality. Regarding referential density, the present narratives are event-prominent (cf. Noonan (2003:4)) – there is slightly less than one overt NP per simple clause on average. On the conceptual level, that is, when potential argument slots are included, the number of NPs per clause increases to two. The tendency towards zero-anaphora in Quechua discourse can be partly explained by its morphosyntactic features such as the pro-drop structure, infrequent use of anaphors, and subordinate clauses which suppress overt coding of arguments. The current corpus further shows a narrative style of using covert O’s – the lexicality of O’s is lower than the typological average given by Haig and Schnell (2016). However, agentives in most of the present narratives have a higher lexicality than the typological average. The relatively high percentage of lexical A’s has partly to do with speech verbs. In MU and SIS, more than half the A’s in clauses with speech verbs are mentioned lexically. JP is the text with the lowest lexicality of A’s and agentive S’s (see also section 6.4).

Agonists include (agentive) referents with various degrees of relevance: primary actors, secondary actors, and background and décor actors. The main agonists (the first two types) are the dramatis personae of the stories (see section 3.3.3.2) and at same time make up ca. 64% of total

referential units. They have in general smaller sets of referential types and lower lexical elaboration than the other text referents. The most common lexical bases of the agonists are non-derived nouns denoting sex-/age-based and generic human terms, (spiritual) kinship terms, and animal names. Adnominal forms are not very common in general (between 20% and 30% of total NPs). Determiners including demonstratives and the indefinite article are the most frequent adnominal type. JL sticks out with its high percentage of modified NPs and elaborate adnominal forms.

Main agonists in the narratives are often referred to by more than one type of lexical NP. Physical transformation is a recurring theme in the corpus; characters like the Bear in MU and the Snake in SN are referred to as humans when they appear so to other characters. Interacting characters are often encoded in their kinship terms; for instance, the Girl and the Boy-bear in MU are referred to as ‘his mother’ and ‘her child’ when they co-occur in a scene. Forms of address in direct speech reflect social norms of the Andean world. Kinship terms are used as honorific forms; the diminutive suffix *-cha* (or Spanish *-ito/-ita*) can be used to indicate courtesy; nicknames which characters use to ridicule each other also occur.

The stories typically begin with an existential clause introducing one of the main characters. Established narrative figures such as animal archetypes and culturally known figures such as religious ones can be introduced in definite NPs, or as SubTops (see also section 5.7.2.1). A special construction based on the existential clause marked by the mirative *-sqa* can introduce minor characters as part of a main character’s perception (see also section 5.7.3.1).

Regarding referential tracking, the relation between referential distance (RD) and coding devices of the main agonists is examined. If we take RD as an indicator for topicality, then the data from the corpus show that the more topical a main agonist is (or the lower the RD value), the more likely it will be encoded in zero-anaphora instead of a full NP. Some secondary actors have a high local topic continuity (or low RD values) regardless of the coding device. Typologically, the main agonists show a low mean value of RD (slightly above three clauses). Anaphors do not occupy an intermediate position between full definite NPs and zero-anaphora in their correlations with RD values. The third-person pronoun *pay* functions only in JL anaphorically; it serves mainly as an emphatic pronoun in the other texts. The anaphoric demonstrative *chay* is rarely used to refer to main agonists. A closer examination of the various types of definite NPs shows that the postverbal ones have generally lower RD values, or are more topical, than the preverbal ones. There is evidence that referential tracking in direct speech and that in the non-dialogic part of a narrative influence one another.

Contrary to the general tendency towards zero-anaphora in the present narratives, main agonists are sometimes encoded lexically over small referential gaps. This can be triggered by competing referents or thematic transitions. For instance, when two interacting agonists exchange syntactic roles, lexical mentions of the agonists can help identify who acts upon whom; as mentioned above, dialog scenes can be repetitive in terms of lexical mentions of the speech participants. Thematic discontinuity can (but not necessarily) trigger lexical coding of topical referents.

## 5.4 Space

### 5.4.1 Lexical coding of spatial referents

Spatial referents are NPs marked in locational cases with spatial meanings. As mentioned in section 5.3.1.3, the token-LB ratios of spatial referents are between those of secondary and background actors and sometimes also higher than those of secondary actors (even that of the primary actors in CI). The high values in JL and SN can be traced back to the high percentages of lexical bases with more than two occurrences: 76% and 77% respectively (see also the frequency list below). Note that the anaphoric demonstratives *kay* ‘here’ and *chay* ‘there’ are used more frequently to refer to spatial referents than agonists – a factor which lowers the degree of lexical elaboration and raises the token-LB ratio. *chay* is among the most common LBs in JL, SN, JP, and CI; JP also shows more occurrences of *kay* than the other texts. JL and JP have the largest sets of spatial referent types (see Table 17). In JL, a large number of the protagonist’s body parts occur as localizing referents, such as ‘the mayor’s nostrils’, ‘his anus’, ‘his mouth’, ‘his body’, ‘his neck’, ‘his leg’, and ‘his waist’. In JP, both large landmarks and body parts are common referent types of space (see also the next section).

Table 23 shows the lexical bases with a frequency above two in the six texts. The semantic fields encoded by the LBs include places inhabited by humans such as *wasi* ‘home, room’ and *llaqta* ‘village’, geographic locations like *urqu* ‘mountain’ and *waiq'u* ‘gorge’, places which are part of a larger landmark such as *t'uqu* ‘hole’ and *esquina* ‘corner’, as well as body parts and other objects. There is one derived noun in the list of SIS: *kasqa*; it can be used with a possessive NP: e.g. *Siskucha-q ka-sqa-n* (Siskucha-GEN be-NMLZ-3P) ‘Siskucha’s whereabouts’. Places and institutions associated with colonial culture are expressed by Spanish loans: e.g. *escuela*, *hacienda*, *carcel*, and *torre* (not all included in the table). Spanish terms are also used for concepts that are prominent in Quechua culture such as *montaña* (Quechua: *urqu*), *bajada/quebrada* (Quechua: *wayq'u*), and *esquina* (Quechua: *k'uchu*). Relational nouns are

borrowed from Spanish: e.g. *punta* ‘top’, *kantu* (< *canto*) ‘border; bank (of a river/lake)’ (originally ‘edge’), and *lado* ‘side’. JP contains a series of Spanish loans denoting household-related places and objects: *cuartu* (< *cuarto*) ‘room’, *cama* ‘bed’, *mesa* ‘table’, *almadun* (< *almohadón*) ‘pillow’, and *frazada* ‘blanket’.

<b>MU</b>			<b>SIS</b>			<b>JL</b>		
<i>wasi</i>	home	8	<i>wasi</i>	home	6	<i>wasi</i>	home, room	25
<i>llaqta</i>	village	4	<i>waiq'u</i>	gorge	5	<i>chay</i>	there	19
<i>chai</i>	there	3	<i>kantu</i>	border	4	<i>llaqta</i>	village	14
<i>escuela</i>	school	3	<i>simi</i>	mouth	4	<i>kay</i>	here	4
<i>kai</i>	here	3	<i>kasqa</i>	whereabouts	3	<i>siki</i>	buttocks	4
<i>torre</i>	tower	3	<i>urqu</i>	mountain	3	<i>urqu</i>	mountain	4
						<i>ayllu</i>	community	3
						<i>k'uchu</i>	corner	3
						<i>kunka</i>	neck	3
						<i>manka</i>	pot	3
						<i>panpa</i>	earth	3
						<i>simi</i>	mouth	3
						<i>ukhu</i>	body	3
						<i>waskha</i>	rope	3
<b>SN</b>			<b>JP</b>			<b>CI</b>		
<i>wasi</i>	home; room	17	<i>chay</i>	there	23	<i>chay</i>	there	22
<i>chay</i>	there	12	<i>kay</i>	here	9	<i>wasi</i>	home	5
<i>t'uqu</i>	hole	8	<i>esquina</i>	corner	6	<i>sitio</i>	place	4
<i>panpa</i>	floor	6	<i>ladu</i>	side	6	<i>t'uqu</i>	cave	4
<i>maran</i>	millstone	4	<i>llaqta</i>	village	5	<i>kay</i>	here	3
<i>tayta mama</i>	parents	4	<i>wiksa</i>	belly	4			
<i>urqu</i>	mountain	3	<i>uya</i>	face, cheek	3			

Table 23 Lexical bases of spatial referents with a frequency above two in the six texts

#### 5.4.2 Semantic and grammatical categorization of spatial reference

Spatial referents are divided into the following semantic categories: main landmarks, secondary landmarks, agonists, and objects. Main landmarks are the central elements of the analysis, especially when it comes to the description of narrative space in the next section. They represent the conceptual units which the hearer will most probably resort to in order to navigate in the narrative world. In the present narratives main landmarks fall into the categories of human

world and nature. The secondary landmarks are less important to the plot development and thus less likely to be remembered by the hearer. For instance, the following scene from MU is not on the main storyline and is narrated to depict the insatiable appetite of the Boy-bear: ‘Whenever (the boy-bear) saw a sheep or a cow, he would catch it and roast it by making a fire on the ground’ [MU266-269]; the spatial referent ‘ground’ does not represent a relevant landmark along the Boy-bear’s journey. In another scene from the same story where the Condenado is about to enter the room, it is said that ‘the boy-bear was lying on the Condenado’s bed, while the schoolboy was hiding under it’ [MU330-331]. In the present analysis, the referent ‘bed’ is regarded as a secondary landmark since the scene includes durative verbs, which depict backgrounded events. However, the ‘bed’ is a concrete place within a main landmark, the Condenado’s home; it can be salient for some hearers. The boundary between main and secondary landmarks is thus fluid.

The distribution of the four types of spatial referents in the six texts is summarized in Table 24. The numbers of the types of main landmarks show a median value of 18.50. SIS has the smallest set of spatial referents. In SN, more than half of the spatial referents occur in direct speech; a number of spatial cues appear for instance in the long dialog scene at the beginning of the story where the Girl and the Snake talk about where the Snake should live. As mentioned in the previous section, JL and JP include a large number of localizing objects because of their ritual(-like) scenes. Localizing objects like body parts are mostly irrelevant for the construction of narrative space because they do not function as orientation systems; the same referents appear as direct objectives when they are affected by agonists. For instance, the body parts in the following sequence occur as both semantic patients and spatial referents: ‘(The boy) cut open its (the goat’s) belly. There was indeed a cat in it. He then cut open the cat’s belly. There was a guinea pig in it. He then cut open the guinea pig’s belly carefully with the little knife. There was indeed a white dove in it.’ [JP444-450]. Agonists with a localizing function are generally limited in numbers (see example (53a)).

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI
<b>Types of main landmarks</b>	18	12	19	15	25	20
<b>Number of main landmarks</b>	35	28	79	52	54	53
<b>Types of secondary landmarks</b>	7	1	3	3	6	3
<b>Number of secondary landmarks</b>	7	1	3	8	7	3
<b>Types of agonists</b>	2	2	3	3	5	1
<b>Number of agonists</b>	2	2	5	7	10	1
<b>Types of objects</b>	4	3	26	2	10	3
<b>Number of objects</b>	4	5	35	3	13	3
<b>Total number</b>	48	36	122	70	84	60

Table 24 Distribution of four types of spatial referents in the six texts

Table 25 shows the distribution of the five locational cases in the six texts: locative *-pi*, allative *-ta/-man*, ablative *-manta*, terminative *-kama*, and perlative *-ta*. Most of the spatial referents are marked in the locative and allative cases, which denote positions and motion towards other locations respectively. The terminative and perlative cases are semantically close to the allative case. Ablative phrases do not occur so often, which means it is more common to talk about where the characters are or are going than where they came from in the present narratives (further discussion in section 5.5.2.3).

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI
<b>Locative</b>	17	14	52	34	48	27
<b>Allative</b>	18	15	55	31	21	28
<b>Ablative</b>	8	7	14	5	10	5
<b>Terminative</b>	1		1		1	
<b>Perlative</b>	4		1		3	

Table 25 Distribution of grammatical categories of spatial reference in the six texts

The corpus only includes a limited number of relational nouns (see Table 26). The most common lexical base is *pata*; the most common conceptual units are the spatial relations of ‘top’ and ‘(river-)side’/‘border’. Two lexemes show polysemy: *pata* refers to either the top or the side of a landmark; *ukhu/uqhu* can indicate the inside or the bottom part. Most of the relational nouns function as postpositions while marked in locational cases. The double-marked possessive NP construction almost only appears with Spanish loanwords: e.g. *catre-p esquina-lla-n-pi* (bed-GEN side-LIM-3P-LOC) ‘beside the bed’, *llaqta-p esquina-n-man* (village-GEN boundary-3P-AL) ‘to the outskirts of the village’ [JP]. Note that the original meaning of *esquina* ‘corner’ is also retained in the Quechua language, but it has slightly changed in the grammaticalized

form of *esquina* as a relational noun. Relational nouns of Quechuan origin have retained meanings of their source domains. Some of them are embodied metaphors: e.g. *ukhu/uqhu* originally refers to the body and *siki* means ‘buttocks’. As nouns they can be pluralized: e.g. *urqu pata-kuna-man* (hill top-PL-AL) ‘to the hill tops’ [JL]. In (69), *ukhu* refers to the place under the millstone and is marked in the accusative case as the semantic patient.

- (69) *hina-s maran ukhu-ta-ña-taq t'uku-sqa* [SN161]  
 like-HS millstone bottom-ACC-ALREADY-CON hollow.out-NARR  
 ‘(The snake) hollowed out the place under the millstone.’

Relational nouns		Frequency
<i>pata-</i>	top	15
<i>ukhu-/uqhu-</i>	inside	6
<i>kantu-</i>	border; bank (of a river/lake)	5
<i>qhipa-</i>	backside	5
<i>esquina-</i>	side; border	4
<i>ladu-</i>	side	4
<i>pata-</i>	side; bank (of a river/lake)	3
<i>ukhu-/uqhu-</i>	bottom	2
<i>siki-</i>	bottom	2
<i>uray-(ta)</i>	downwards	1
<i>cerca-</i>	vicinity	1
<i>punta-</i>	top	1
<b>Total</b>		49

Table 26 Relational nouns in the present corpus

### 5.4.3 Narrative space

#### 5.4.3.1 ‘Cognitive map’ as an analytic tool

The concept of the ‘cognitive map’ was originally introduced in psychology to describe navigational skills of animals (Ryan 2003:214f.). More recently the term has been used to refer to people’s mental representations of various kinds of spatial entities as a means to structure and store information. From the 1980s onwards, it has also been extended to the cognitive processing of literature. In her study on how readers form mental images of the textual world, Ryan (2003) distinguishes between ‘master-maps’ and maps drawn by regular readers. Although both types of cognitive maps are schematic, master-maps are constructed with the focus on spatial cues in a text and with the goal of the exact representation of space; they are thus

more detailed and precise than maps produced by regular readers, who are usually more interested in the characters than the temporal and spatial settings of a fictional story.<sup>82</sup> The cognitive maps which will be drawn based on the present narratives will resemble the master map, since my research goal is not to examine individual differences in forming mental images but rather to construct a cognitive model for Quechua narrative in general.

Ryan (2003:222f.) further discusses ‘zones’ of different resolution. In the novel she studied, the most central place is described in detail via narrative action; other important landmarks are specified in their relations to the viewer or other objects, or in terms of coordinates. In the less specified zones, the exact locations of places and objects are unclear. The last zone is described by Ryan as “the liminal area from which characters emerge or into which they disappear”. In the present narratives, the spatial resolution is in general not very high. Locations do not bear names of real-world places (except for the town of ‘Sumaq Marka’ in SN). Spatial relations are usually not specified in terms of direction and distance. Someone’s home often serves as a main landmark, but its exact location in a certain village is not relevant; only JL gives us some hints as to what a house looks like inside (for further discussion see section 5.4.3.3).

Regarding the nature of the mental process in the construction of narrative space, Ryan (2003:235f.) argues for an interplay of bottom-up and top-down processes. According to her, readers tend to “construct [a] story scene by scene, as a series of camera shots”; at the same time, they also try to establish a global but very schematic spatial model of the story as quickly as possible in the reading process. As for folk tales, we can assume that the mental model constructed by a native speaker at the beginning of the story-telling is likely to be more detailed than one constructed by someone who reads a novel about a fictional world for the first time, because folk tales typically contain simple spatial relations and the audience is usually familiar with the stories. The bottom-up process is more dominant when textual spatial cues are transformed into cartographic symbols to create master maps (by a trained linguist in our case).

#### **5.4.3.2 *Design of cognitive maps and spatial cues***

Figure 11 shows a cognitive map of MU based on the routes of five agonists. In order to prevent the map from being overloaded, only the itinerary of the protagonist Boy-bear is depicted completely (without his movements in the hacienda). Most of the locations on the map, symbolized

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<sup>82</sup> When comparing Ryan’s master map to the ‘map of character movement’ drawn by one of the students who took part in her experiment (2003:221, 228), it can be clearly seen that although both maps are based on the characters’ routes, the map of the student has much fewer landmarks, almost no visual details, and simpler itineraries. The maps are renderings of the same novel, but while the student only read it several times for discussions in a literature course and was then asked to draw a map without the chance to check the text for details, the author was allowed to complete the master map with repeated corrections.

by squares and ellipses, correspond to the main landmarks described in section 5.4.2. Spatial cues in discourse can cover more referents than those marked in locational cases (also called ‘spatial referents’). They can be inferred from the context, like the ‘herding place’ on the map of MU; they can also occur in an existential clause such as (72) below. Natural landscapes are visualized by oval forms and thus differentiated from places built by humans or anthropomorphic animals. Squares without fill color contain information on spatial distance or the temporal duration of a journey. Only the Boy-bear’s itinerary is numbered (note that a new line starts at number 6 for reasons of space). The arrows show the direction of movement; the double-ended arrow indicates that a character goes to a location and then returns.

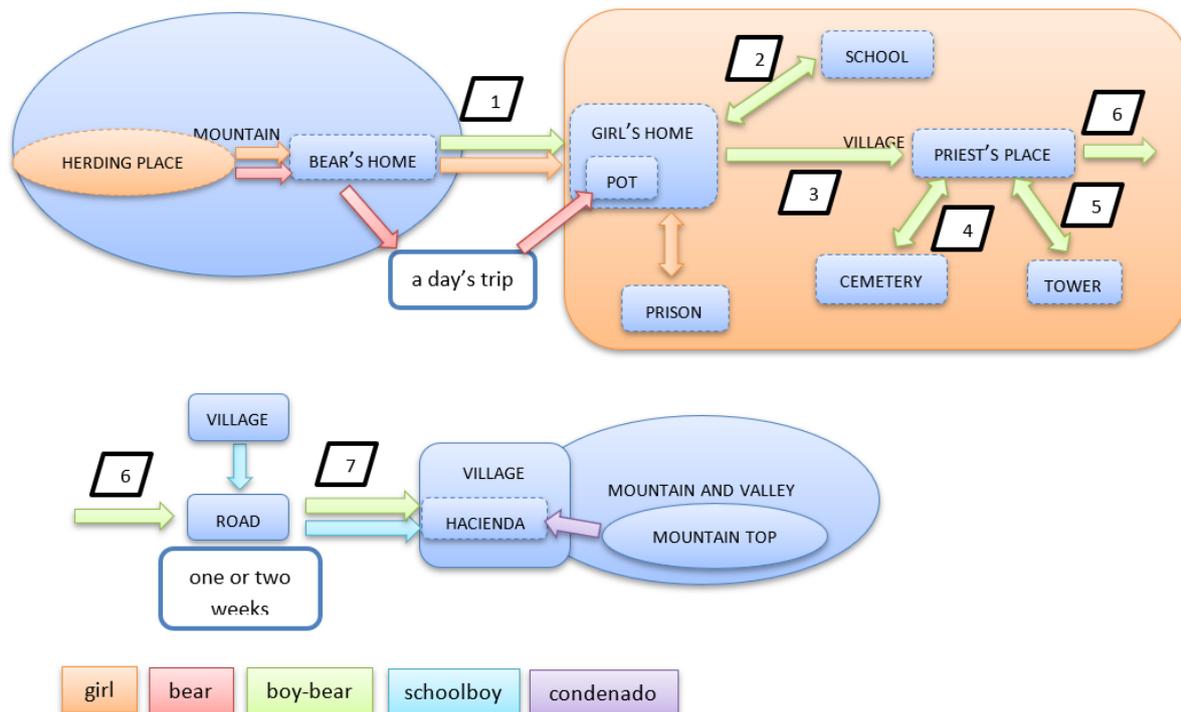


Figure 11 A cognitive map of MU with itineraries of five agonists

The map is divided into four main locations: the mountain where the Bear lives, the village where the Girl comes from, the road(s) which connect(s) the Girl’s village and the Condenado’s village, and the village where the hacienda is located. The orange-colored places are not mentioned directly in the text but are inferred. The picture of the Girl’s village is mostly brought together by the Boy-bear’s actions and interactions with other characters which have introduced the various places. The dotted outline encircling some of the forms indicates that the exact location of a place within a certain area is unclear. Note that the map only represents one possible visualization; one could for instance draw the mountains as an entire landscape with the villages scattered in it since the story takes place in a fictional version of the Andean world.

In the following, the types of textual clues on which the construction of cognitive maps is based are presented (cf. Ryan (2003:219–221)). A common type of clue in the current corpus is character movement. In (70a), the location ‘the Bear’s home’ is introduced into the discourse by the action verb *q’ipi-* ‘carry’, which implies motion. (70b) includes a motion verb; a relational noun, *pata-*, is used to specify the character’s location to the ground ‘hill’ (for a summary of relational nouns see section 5.4.2).

- (70) a. *chaiqa maqtaqa wasinkama q’ipirqapun qaqa lajaman* [MU38]  
 ‘Then the young man carried her to his home, a rocky cliff.’
- b. *huq muqu pataman wichaspas* [JL527-528]  
*arariwakamushan chay kimsa ukukuchakuna*  
 ‘The three boy-bears went up to the top of a hill and started calling out.’

Another type of spatial cue is the explicit specification of character position, when a character’s action takes place in a certain location, as in (71a). However, spatial relations between locations are rarely made explicit. (71b) shows one of a few cases where a vague spatial relation is indicated. In the example, the position of the characters is described in relation to two places; it can be inferred that the village is far away from the Bear’s cave.

- (71) a. *hinaspa huq muqu patapi tocaskaqta tarin tiota* [SIS209]  
 ‘Then (the condor) found the fox playing (the flute) on a hill top.’
- b. *ña kharupiña kashallarqankutaq* [JL464-465]  
*llaqta chay chaypiña*  
 ‘(The boy-bears and their father) were already far away (from the bear’s cave) and the village was right there.’

Direct descriptions are scarce in the non-dialogic parts of the narratives. The following example presents one of the few instances:

- (72) *chaypis huq hatun allin wasi kasqa* [JL482-484]  
*runakuna chaskinan sumaq allichasqa wasi*  
 ‘There (in the mansion) was a nice big hall, a beautiful room to receive guests.’

Characters can talk about the whereabouts and the itineraries of other characters and give spatial information which is not included in the non-dialogic lines. In (73), the location of the millstone is mentioned for the first time in the story, namely by the character Girl.

- (73) a. *hinas maranniykiri maypitaq nispas tapun* [SN61-64]  
*hina mikhuy taqinayku wasiykupin maranniykuqa nispas nin*  
 ‘(The snake) asked: “Where is your millstone?”. (The girl) said: “Our millstone is in our barn.”’

Movements of non-agonists occasionally serve as spatial cues, as in the following example:

- (74) *wakan ovejan cabrankunapas caballonkunapas* [MU302]  
*urqun q'asantas purikusiasqa*  
'His cows, sheep, goats, as well as horses were roaming across the mountain and valley.' (2004)

### 5.4.3.3 *Narrative space in Quechua*

This section will present the cognitive maps of four other stories (CI is not included due to its thematic similarity to MU). For the sake of clarity, the maps are again constructed only around the routes of some main agonists. At the end of the section, general features of narrative space in Quechua will be put forward.

Figure 12 shows a cognitive map of JL based on the itineraries of the Boy-bears after their escape from the Bear's home with their father. Similar to the map of MU in the previous section, it contains natural areas and human social spaces. While the spatial relations between the places outside the village are vague, locations within the village show certain structures. It is for instance mentioned in the story that the Condénados are burned in the middle of the village; since a typical Andean village has a plaza in the middle, an orange-colored symbol has been put on the map. Through character movement and direct description, the interior of the Mayor's mansion is revealed to a certain degree. The double-ended arrows numbered as 7 indicate here recurring events where the Boy-bears walk through the village, passing by all the empty houses, and go to a hill top to summon the escaped villagers. The exact locations of the Mayor's mansion and the other houses are unclear, as shown by the dotted outlines. Spatial distance is indicated three times, in vague terms such as 'far' and 'right there'.

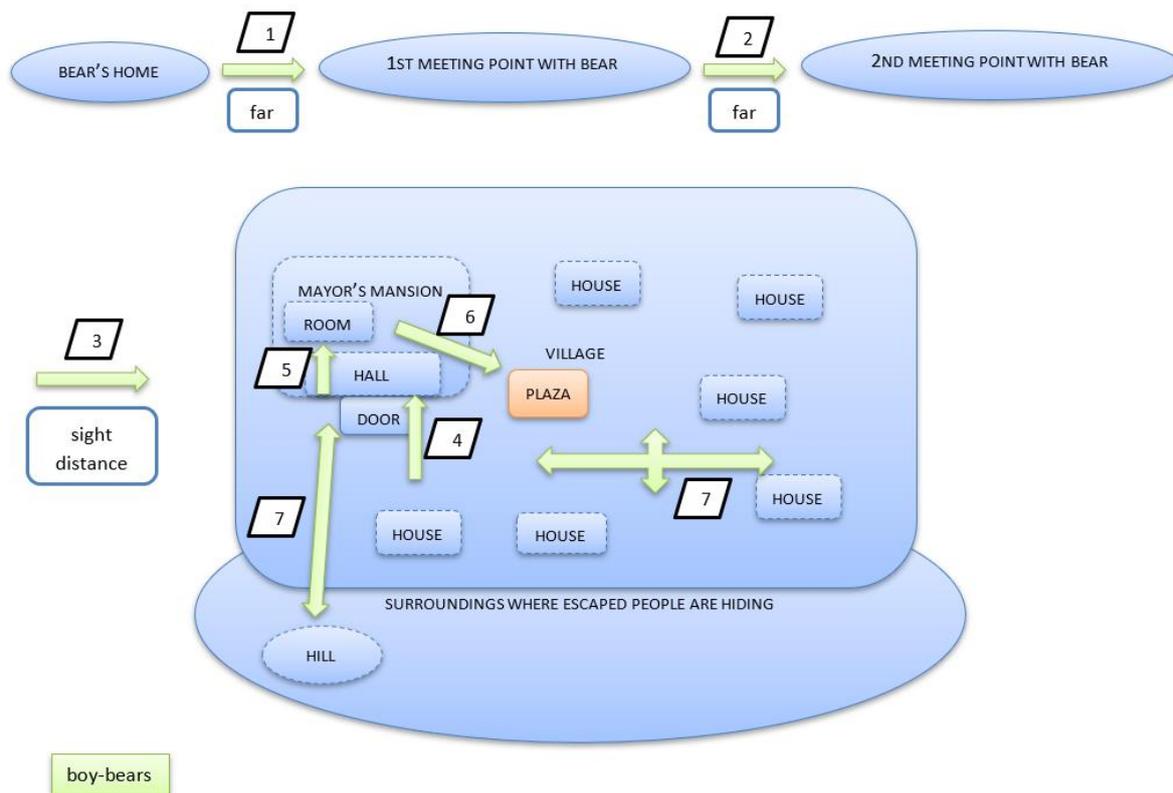


Figure 12 A cognitive map of the second part of JL with the Boy-bears' itineraries

The cognitive map of SN, as shown in Figure 13 below, is based on the main itineraries of two primary actors: the Girl and the Snake. A large part of the spatial information concerns the central location of the story – the Girl's home. The positions of the rooms and the corral in the house are not indicated in the story, although a Quechua speaker would be able to picture the interior of a typical Andean house. More spatial cues can be found regarding the interior of the barn. The storage niche is inside a wall; the Quechua term, *maran pichana tuq'u*, a compound meaning 'millstone broom hole', has *tuq'u* as the head noun, which refers to various kinds of openings such as caves and windows. When the Snake grows bigger, it digs a hole in the floor under the millstone as its new nest; on the map, the position of the hole in relation to the millstone is therefore marked as clear (with a continuous outline). The story also mentions that the Girl puts her bedclothes right next to the millstone. The non-domestic places (the mountain and the town of Sumaq Marka), on the other hand, are depicted on the map as being located at a distance from the Girl's home. At the end of the story, the dead snakes are buried in the earth and the (stained) millstone is carried to a waterfall. While these actions represent the resolution of the central conflict in the story, namely the invasion of wilderness into the domestic sphere, the locations in them also bear symbolic meanings. The space under the earth is associated with

*Ukhu/Hurin Pacha* (see section 3.2.2); the waterfall is not only a place in nature, the flow of water probably also stands for the process of cleansing.

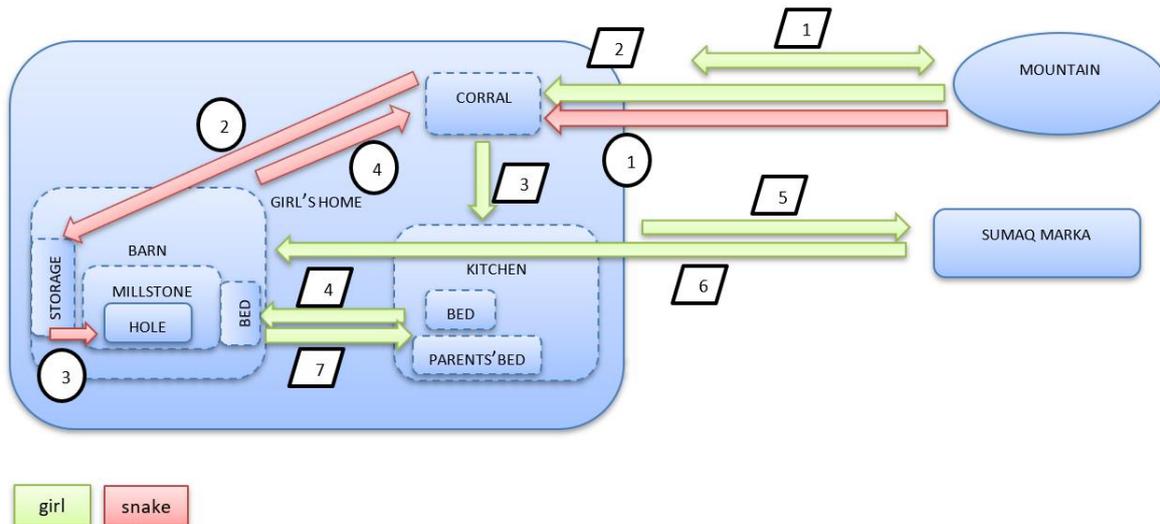


Figure 13 A cognitive map of SN with itineraries of two primary actors

The cognitive map of JP in Figure 14, based on the Boy's journey in the second part of the story, is a highly schematic one. His pursuit of the enchanted She-calf leads him through different villages and then to the jungle where many of the fantastic elements of the story take place. The Boy is flown by the Condors to a lake where he frees the She-calf from the spell. Their return to the village from the lake is like teleportation, which also completes the circle of the Boy's journey. Interestingly, the different stages of his journey are marked by the number of the sandals he has left. The cycle of the journey can be interpreted as the maturing process of a young boy (cf. Lüthi's interpretation of 'Rapunzel' (1998[1962]:80ff.)).

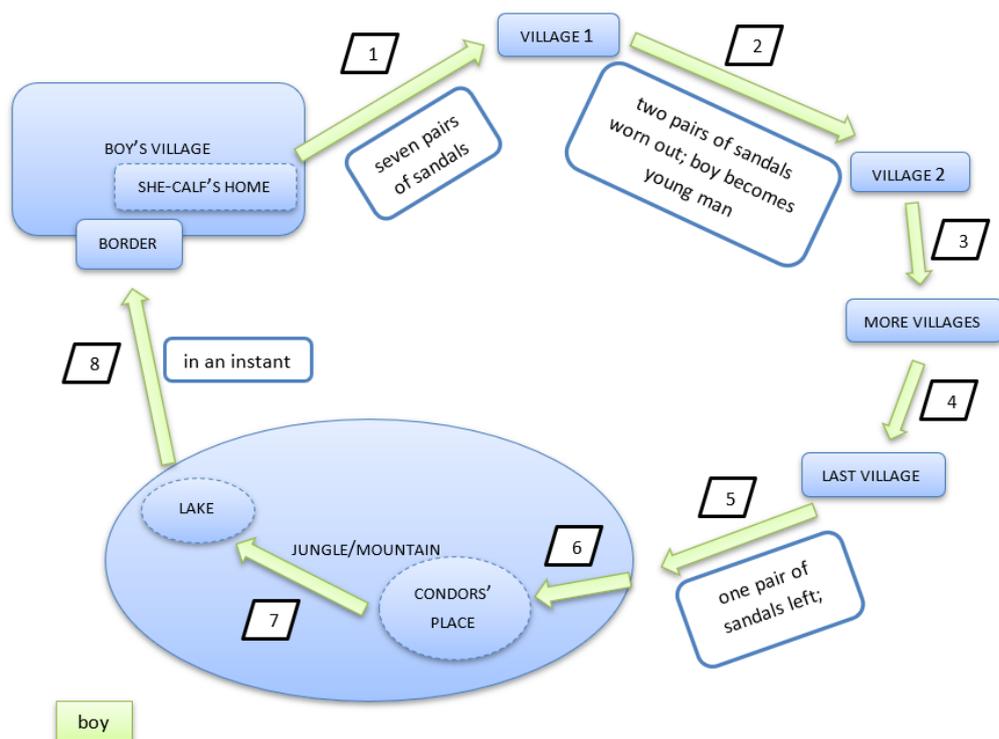


Figure 14 A cognitive map of JP based on the Boy's journey

The narrative space in SIS is the simplest among the six texts, as indicated by its limited number of types of spatial referents. Figure 15 shows that the cognitive map includes again two spheres: a village and the mountain. The border of the village is relevant in that the She-dove only takes on her human form on the other side of it. The second part of the story, which is based on the trickster motif featuring the fox, also takes place in the uninhabited world. The routes included in the map show Siskucha's movements in the whole story. On route 1, Siskucha finds the She-dove. Route 2 indicates habitual itineraries of Siskucha taking the She-dove with him to the mountain and the trip where he forgets to bring her along. On route 3 he goes to the backyard to collect the She-dove's bones, out of which he makes a flute. It is said that he then plays the flute from the 'mountain tops', for which some symbols are depicted on the map. Route 4 includes the itinerary where Siskucha loses his flute to the Fox and his subsequent trips to the mountain; the latter are inferred from the textual clue that he has been listening to the Fox playing the flute from inaccessible gorges for a week. The places where Siskucha meets the Fox and later the Condor are referred to as *Siskuchaq kasqan* 'the place where Siskucha is', which reflects the tendency towards spatial vagueness in the story. Route 5 leads to his encounter with the helper, the Condor, who tells him to pretend to be dead in a gorge and trick the Fox into giving him the flute back. The gorge where Siskucha gets his flute back on route 6 is the last place that is explicitly mentioned in the story.

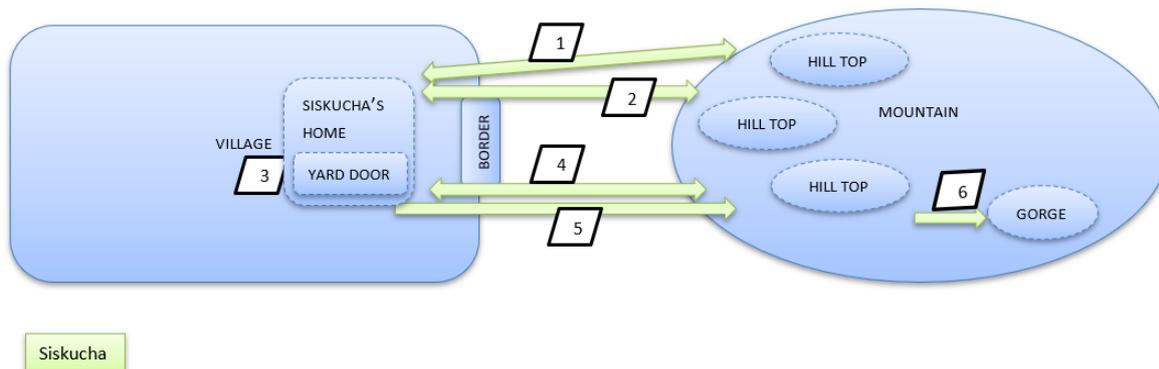


Figure 15 A cognitive map of SIS with the protagonist's itinerary

In summary, it can be said that Quechua narrative space, as shown in the present corpus, typically consists of the human world and the nature. On the cognitive maps above, blank spaces are left between villages/homes and mountains to show the separation of the two spheres even though Andean villages are usually located in the mountains in the real world. Locations are often revealed along characters' routes. Stories like MU, JL, and SN include more spatial cues regarding the interior of a village or a house. Locations in JP are more isolated from each other, rendering a very schematic map. SIS has the lowest degree of detail regarding space. It is assumed that the cognitive maps from above present certain features and qualities of the mental images of a Quechua speaker. First, the main landmarks which appear on the maps are very likely to be remembered because of their thematic importance. Second, a hearer who is familiar with the sociocultural settings reflected in the stories is more likely to construct prototypical images than to leave spatial structures in a linear form as spatial cues based on character movement would suggest. His map could look different or be more detailed than mine; he may even associate certain locations with places in the real world, depending on his experience with a story. It will be interesting to test the present narratives with native speakers and compare their maps with the ones presented in this section.

#### 5.4.4 Summary

This chapter has looked at spatial referents, expressed by NPs marked in locational cases, and spatial cues, which can go beyond spatial referents and on which cognitive maps are based. Spatial referents in the six texts show relatively high token-LB-ratios despite their large numbers of referential types. One reason for this is that anaphoric demonstratives, which are used more frequently to refer to spatial referents than agonists, are among the most common LBs encoding spatial referents. Common full lexical bases include those referring to places in the human world such as *wasi* 'home, room' and *llaqta* 'village', geographic locations such as *urqu*

‘mountain’ and *waiq'u* ‘gorge’, and those which are part of a larger landmark such as *t'uqu* ‘hole’ and *esquina* ‘corner’. Some of these spatial referents are considered main landmarks, which are important to the plot development and thus likely to be remembered by the hearer. The number of main landmark types in each text varies from 12 to 25 with a median value of 18.50. The boundary between the main landmarks and the secondary landmarks can be fluid since people do not pay attention to the same details. Body parts and objects with a localizing function which can be manipulated by agonists are regarded as secondary landmarks since the hearer usually does not resort to them to navigate in the narrative world. With regard to grammatical case marking, most of the spatial referents occur in the locative and allative cases. The corpus contains 49 relational nouns, with *pata* ‘top, side’ as the most common lexical base.

The method of cognitive maps, which represent mental images of spatial relations in discourse, is inspired by Ryan’s study (2003). The maps are constructed based on spatial cues in the Quechua texts. The most common textual clues in the present narratives are character movement and specification of character position (mostly during an action). They can also be mentioned in direct speech. In SN, some relevant spatial cues concerning the central location of the story are revealed in dialogs before the characters have moved there. There are only a few direct spatial descriptions; spatial relations including distance between locations are often left vague. The locations on the maps presented in this chapter are partly organized based on my personal knowledge about the Andean world. The numbered arrows (or routes) in turn reflect the spatial linearity linked to character movement. On the one hand, a Quechua speaker who is not familiar with the stories, especially long ones containing a large number of landmarks like JL, would possibly include fewer details in the map if he is asked to draw one after listening to a story once. On the other hand, a native speaker who knows the stories could have drawn different or more detailed maps, especially when considering Ryan’s claim that “[s]ince the reader’s imagination needs a mental model of space to simulate the narrative action, it is important to achieve a holistic representation of the narrative world as quickly as possible” (2003:237).

## 5.5 Events

### 5.5.1 Lexical coding of events

This section looks at verbal lexemes that occur as the main verb of simple clauses. In analytic constructions such as V-NMLZ-ACC + *ati-/muna-* ‘be able/want to do something’ and V-*q* + MOTION VERB ‘go/come/... to do something’, both the finite verb and the nominalized verb denoting the core event are included. The lexemes are divided into six semantic categories:

action, speech, motion, states and non-agentive events, copula, and modal verbs (*ati-* ‘can’ and *muna-* ‘want to’). As can be seen in Figure 16, action verb is the most common type in all six texts. They are followed by verbs of speech, motion, and those denoting states and non-agentive events (predicate nouns are not included). The last two verb categories have the lowest percentages. The six texts show a relatively homogeneous picture regarding the distribution of the semantic classes despite some differences. JL and SN have fewer action verbs than the other texts but more motion verbs and speech verbs respectively. Speech events are underrepresented in CI and so are motion events in SIS.

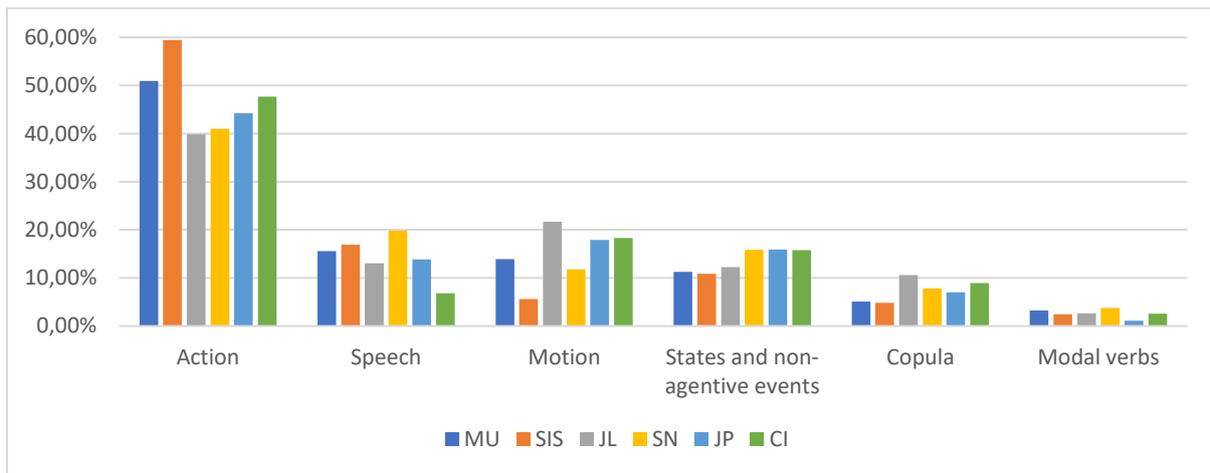


Figure 16 Distribution of verb classes in the six texts

Table 27 shows that action verbs and verbs denoting states and non-agentive events have the lowest token-LB-ratios among the five verb classes (copulas, auxiliary and modal verbs are thrown together). Since folk tales are action-centered, the high conceptual diversity of action verbs, reflected their large number of LBs, is not surprising. While motion verbs include those denoting manner (see below), verbs of speech are those related to the introduction of direct speech, therefore showing a very small set of LBs. Copular and auxiliary verbs include the Spanish loans *estar* and *ser*. One instance of the Quechua root *qu-* ‘give’ is regarded as an auxiliary verb because it occurs in the calque of the Spanish expression *darse cuenta* ‘realize’ (Quechua: *cuentata qukuy*).

Verb classes	Tokens	LB	Tokens per LB
States and non-agentive events	309	102	3.03
Action	1039	278	3.74
Motion	363	35	10.37
Copular, auxiliary and modal verbs	249	6	41.50
Speech	330	5	66.00

Table 27 Token-LB-ratios of five verb classes in the six texts

In Table 28, the twenty most frequent verb stems of the corpus are listed. In order to show the frequencies of the stems on their full semantic spectrum, instances of polysemous roots are thrown together independent of derivational suffixes. For instance, *ati-* alone stands for the modal verb ‘can’; meanings like ‘defeat’ and ‘insist’ are derived by the suffixes *-pa* (repetitive) and *-paku* (repetitive and reflexive) respectively. Non-causative and causative cases are also added together under the verb stems in question: e.g. instances of *wañu-* ‘die’ and *wañuchi-* ‘kill’ are subsumed under *wañu-*. Some stems in turn have meanings that fall into different verb classes. For instance, the verb of perception *qhawa-* can either be resultative (‘see’) or describe the action of looking; the Spanish loan *pasa-* has retained the meaning of ‘happen’, which is regarded as a non-agentive verb, besides the motion-related semantics. As the data show, the speech verb *ni-* ‘say’ and the copula *ka-* are by far the two most common stems. The list further includes an array of motion verbs which are all path-conflating: *ri-*, *pasa-*, *puri-*, *hamu-*, *chaya-*, and *kuti-*. *pasay* as a motion verb seems to be widely quechuanized – it occurs in five of the present narratives including SN which has it as the only Spanish loan. Although action verbs have a low token-LB-ratio, several of them stick out with their high frequencies: *apa-* is related to transportation of goods or people; *hap'i-* is highly polysemous, with ‘catch’ as the basic meaning; *mikhu-* (or *miqhu-/mihu-*) denotes one of the most basic needs of humans (like the non-agentive stem *puñu-*); *tuku-* is also highly polysemous and reflects one recurrent motif in the corpus – transformation.

Verb stem		Frequency
<i>ni-</i>	say	262
<i>ka-</i>	be	187
<i>ri-</i>	go	73
<i>pasa-</i>	leave (for), cross, fall (into), happen	52
<i>apa-</i>	carry	45
<i>ati-</i>	can, try, defeat, insist	44
<i>wañu-</i>	die, kill (with causative)	42
<i>hap'i-</i>	catch, hold on to, light (e.g. a candle), overpower, have labor	41
<i>mikhu-</i>	eat	41
<i>puñu-</i>	sleep	39
<i>puri-</i>	go, set out, wander	36
<i>hamu-</i>	come	32
<i>willa-</i>	tell, chat	29
<i>chaya-</i>	arrive, bring (with causative)	29
<i>qhawa-</i>	see, look at	28
<i>kuti-</i>	return, turn	28
<i>tiya-</i>	live, sit (down)	27
<i>tuku-</i>	finish, transform, pretend (to do)	27
<i>tapu-</i>	ask	27
<i>muna-</i>	want, love	26

Table 28 The twenty most frequent verb stems in the six texts

In Figure 17, action verbs in three sample texts (MU, JL, and JP) are divided into six semantic categories. Note that this is not a fine-grained classification, but the graph gives a general picture of the distribution of action event images in Quechua narratives. A large group of action verbs imply path, denoting among other things events that cause change in space such as *kacha-/chura-* ‘send (someone or something somewhere)’, *apa-/q’ipi-* ‘carry’, and *(h)urqu-* ‘take out’. They can also indicate the direction of force as in *aysa-/chuta-* ‘pull’ and *tanqa-* ‘push’. Verbs like *qati-* ‘follow’ and *achhu-* (or *ach’u-*) ‘approach (someone)’ are similar to path-conflating motion verbs but usually have agonists as objectives. Verbs denoting force and manner make up another one fifth of all action verbs. Verbs of force occur in scenes where violence is involved: e.g. *hait’a-* ‘kick’, *ch’aqlla-* ‘slap’, *saqma-* ‘punch’ etc. Other manner-conflating actions have to do with body parts or are sensor-related, such as *llami-/mullkhu-/tupa-* ‘touch’, *llaqwa-* ‘lick’, *ch’unqa-* ‘suck’, *achu-* ‘hold (something) in the mouth’ etc. Some manner-conflating verbs are derived from nominal stems which refer to an instrument used in an action: e.g. *p’anpa-* ‘bury’ is very likely based on the noun *pampa* ‘earth; soil’. The third group of action verbs includes those denoting social interactions (in a broad sense), for instance *agradece-* ‘express thanks’ (as well as other speech verbs which are not used for the introduction of direct speech), *castiga-* ‘punish’, *uywa-* ‘take care’, *vence-/atipa-* ‘defeat’ etc. Life-

related verbs are very limited in number, including *wacha-* ‘give birth’, *wañuchi-* ‘kill’, and *kawsapa-* ‘revive’. Body- and mind-related action verbs mainly have to do with grooming, posture-related movement, and dynamic cognitive and emotive events. Foodstuff-related verbs can be about food production and consumption; some of the food- and herding-related verbs have a more general meaning: e.g. *masa-* ‘spread out, stretch’ refers to the kneading of bread dough in MU, but it can also be used with other kinds of objects like textiles; *huñu-* ‘gather’ can refer to the gathering of people or a group of animals. Generic action verbs do not fit into a specific category, such as *rura-/ruwa-* ‘do; make’, *qu-* ‘give’, *maskha-* ‘look for’ etc.; some of them are semantically richer, such as *kicha-* ‘open’, *parti-* ‘divide’, *paka-* ‘hide’ etc.

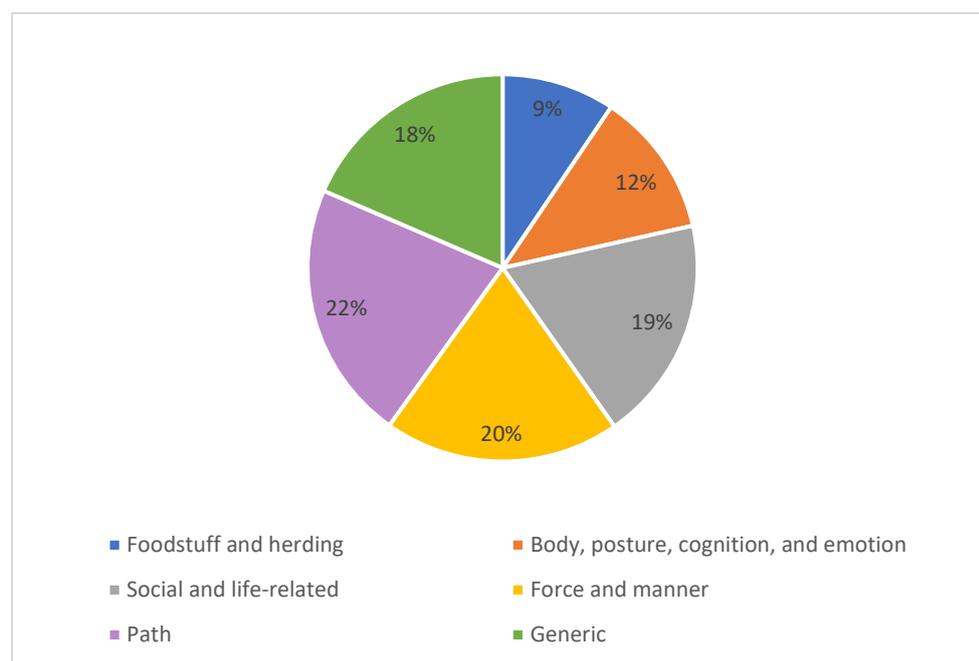


Figure 17 Distribution of semantic fields of action verbs in MU, JL, and JP

Motion verbs in the six texts are either path- or manner-conflating. The former type makes up about 90% of the total occurrences including 19 LBs; the latter type shows 11 LBs. Path-conflating verbs form semantic pairs such as *ri-* ‘go’ and *hamu-* ‘come’, *hayku-/yayku-* ‘enter’ and *lluqsi-* ‘leave; go out’, *wicha-* ‘ascend’ and *ura-* ‘descend’. Two verbs denote the notion of ‘around’: *puri-* ‘wander, walk around’ and *muyu-* ‘circle around, hang around’. The Spanish loanword *pasa-* is used very frequently (see also Table 28). The most common manner-conflating verbs are *phala-* ‘fly’ and *phawa-* ‘fly, run’.

## 5.5.2 Event structure

### 5.5.2.1 Event types in non-dialogic parts of the narratives

Figure 18 shows the textual distribution of event types, as represented by the verbal lexemes, in non-dialogic parts of MU, SN, and JP. Actions, speech acts, and motion events are indicated

by the values 4, 3, and 2 respectively. Events with the value 1 include states, non-agentive events, and cognitive and emotional states; they can be regarded as representing (part of) the narrative background. Clauses without a positive value are either direct speech or verbless. The long gaps in the *Partituren* are long stretches of direct speech, which typically begin or/and end with a speech verb.

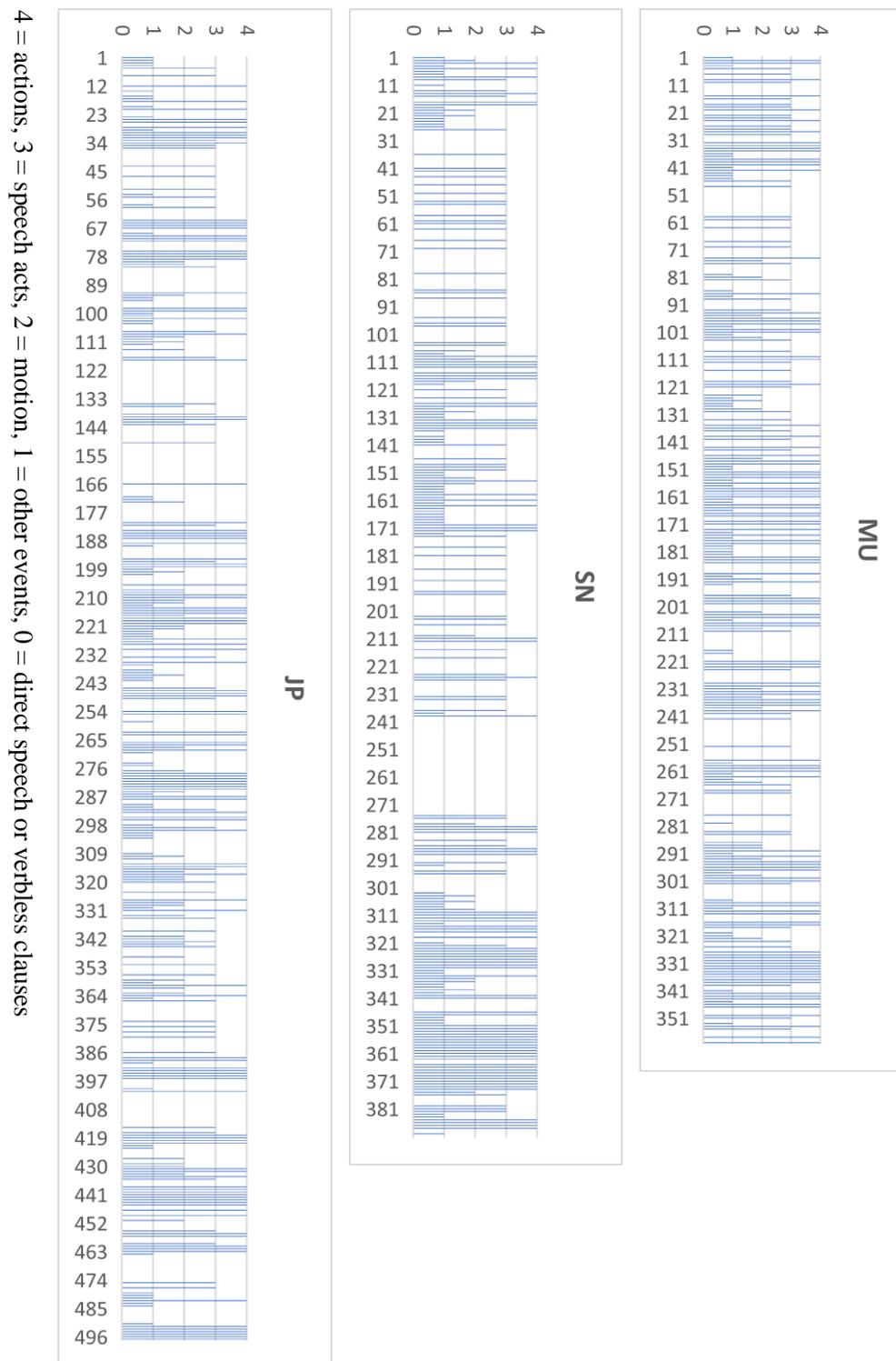


Figure 18 The textual distribution of event types in non-dialogic parts of MU, SN, and JP

The graphs show some general features shared by the sample texts. A story typically begins with the introduction of a primary actor with a copular clause, which has the value 1. Speech

acts start early in the stories. Both actions and speech acts tend to cluster. A chain of actions can be carried out by the same agonist or contain interactions between different agonists. For instance, the fighting scene between the Boy-bear and the Condorado towards the end of MU shows a cluster of action verbs (see also (65)). The co-occurrence of different event types can form short rhythmic sequences. The beginning part of MU for instance contains the pattern ‘speech act(→speech act→speech act)→action’, occurring six times. Departure scenes where a character sets out on a quest can have groupings of motion and action verbs. In (75), the following sequence of event types can be identified: ‘action→motion→action→motion→motion→speech act’ (the subordinate clause in (ii) not included).

- (75) i. *husut'ata ruwayukun cuchilluwan* [JP314-320]  
 ii. *husut'achata nisqa hina qanchis parta*  
 iii. *hinaspas tutamantaqa cohete qipanta siqayun*  
 iv. *taputapurikuspas taputapuriyukuspas*  
 v. *puriyuchkan*  
 vi. *ay llaqtap esquinanmansi chayarun*  
 vii. *chaypis tapuyukun...*  
 ‘(i) (The boy) began to make sandals with a knife, (ii) seven pairs, just as she told him to. (iii) In the morning, he went after her with a torch. (v) He walked around, (iv) asking people. (vi) Then he arrived at the outskirts of a village. (vii) There he asked (one woman) ...’

Descriptive sequences involving static or non-agentive events are less common, but they exist. (76) shows a long sequence of background information from SN. The verb stems are in bold. Clause (iii) has the predicate noun *mach'aqway* ‘snake’.

- (76) i. *chaypis tiyasqa mach'aqway* [SN164-169]  
 ii. *rakhullañasyá wirayaykusqa*  
 iii. *manas p'asñaq ñawinpaqqa mach'aqwaychu*  
 iv. *maqt'asyá kakushan*  
 v. *maqt'as wirayaykushan ñawinpaqqa*  
 vi. *maran t'uqutaqa maran pachapi t'uquta manas imawanpis wisq'ayta atiqkuchu*  
 ‘(i) The snake lived there. (ii) It had fattened a lot. (iii) It was not a snake in the girl’s eyes. (iv) (For her) he was a young man. (v) The young man had been putting on weight in her eyes. (vi) They couldn’t cover up the hole under the millstone.’

The passage in (77) includes one predicative adjective (*munay* in (ii)), two non-agentive verb stems and one instance of *ka-* as an auxiliary verb in a modal construction. It deviates from the general narrative style of the present corpus in that it zooms in on the moment where the Boy is observing the She-calf. The distance between the audience and the characters thus becomes smaller.

- (77)i. *hinata uyachantayá lliwta qhawayuchkasqa* [JP296-302]  
 ii. *ay munaychallañas señorachaqa*  
 iii. *hinas chukchachanpas brillachkaq*  
 iv. *ay ñañaw nispansi*  
 v. *qhawayuchkan*  
 vi. *phukuyurunan kachkaqtin*  
 vii. *uyanman sut'u yurusqa*  
 ‘(i) Then (the boy) looked at her little face. (ii) Oh the little lady was so beautiful!  
 (iii) Her hair was shining. (v) He looked at her, (iv) saying: “Oh how beautiful!”.  
 (vi) When he was about to blow out (the candle he was holding), (vii) (the wax)  
 dripped onto her face.’

### 5.5.2.2 Events in direct speech

Figure 19 shows the percentages of different verb classes in direct speech. In comparison to the distribution of verb classes in all simple clauses (see Figure 16), the percentage of speech verbs has clearly decreased. They appear in dialogs partly due to the lack of indirect speech in Quechua, as the corpus shows (see below). Action verbs are still the most dominant. In SIS, motion verbs still play a minor role. The percentage of verbs denoting states and non-agentive events has increased considerably in SIS but lowered in CI. Modal verbs become more relevant in MU, SIS, JL, and SN, expressing ability, possibility, wishes, and requests.

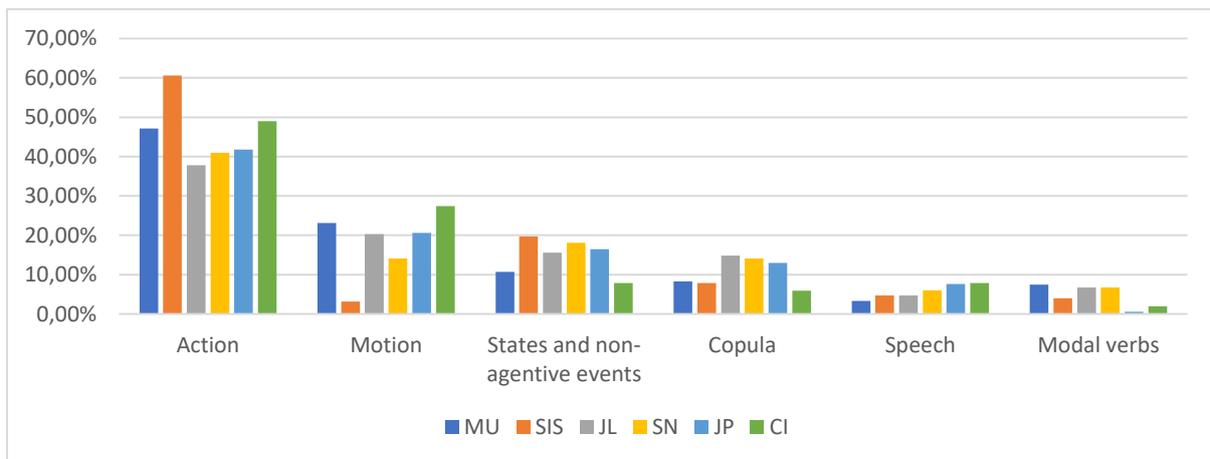


Figure 19 Distribution of verb classes in direct speech in the six texts

There is semantic coherence between the non-dialogic parts and direct speech in the present narratives. Future events including requests marked in the imperative mood mentioned in direct speech mostly will take place later in a story (except when a character lies or makes false predictions, which does not occur often in the present stories). When characters talk about past or on-going events, they can be telling uninformed characters about what has happened, or giving background information on what will happen next, or explaining other characters' motivation. Sometimes the audience learns about a piece of information only through a character's words;

for instance, in JP, the event that the She-calf has been enchanted is not mentioned until the character talks about it herself after being freed from the spell.

Linguistically, this semantic coherence can be reflected in lexical isomorphism. In (78), the verb root *michi-* ‘herd’ appears in two lines of direct speech and one non-dialogic clause. In clause (ii), the Bear makes a suggestion, the Girl agrees to it in clause (iv), then the action is carried out in clause (v). This kind of repetition fits the abstract style of folk tales; it also shows the Girl’s gullibility. In the original version of the story, there is another slightly different pattern which consists of a question, an answer, and a plan following the answer: ‘Then the bear asked the girl: “Where will you take your sheep tomorrow?” The girl answered: “I’ll bring them here again.” Then the bear said: “I’ll bring them here too.”’ (Uhle 1968:92); the verb stem *qati-* ‘herd out’ is used in all three dialogic clauses.

- (78)i. *hinaspa ukukuqa nin p'asñata* [MU6-10]  
 ii. *yao sipas **michikusiasunchu** ovejata nispa*  
 iii. *hinaspa p'asñaqa nin*  
 iv. *chai taitai **michikusunyá** nispa*  
 v. *chaiqa **michikusianku***  
 ‘(i) The bear said to the girl: (ii) “Hey girl, shall we herd sheep together?” (iii) The girl said: (iv) “All right, let’s herd together.” (v) Then they herded together.’

(79) shows a long stretch of direct speech where Siskucha, the protagonist in SIS, tells the fox about how he met the She-dove and where the flute comes from. The verb stems in bold all appear earlier in the text. Instead of using a summary like ‘Siskucha told the fox about what had happened’, the narrator chose to retell the previous storyline through a character’s voice. This can be considered a form of hypodiegetic narration (i.e. lower than the narrative level), termed by Mieke Bal (Fludernik 2013:39) (see also the tense analysis in section 5.6.2). Note that the lines ‘your/my father killed it (the she-dove) and your/my mother plucked it’ occur four times in the story, with (79x) and (79xi) being one of the instances; the kind of repetition is more stylistic than functional in terms of plot-advancing.

- (79) i. *huq urpichatan **wiwakurqani*** [SIS85-99]  
 ii. *manchai munasqata*  
 iii. *hinaspa wasillaipi o llaqta uqhupi kaq urpicha*  
 iv. *llaqtaq kantuman chayaspaga*  
 v. *p'asñaman **tukurqapuqmi***  
 vi. *hinaspa huq p'unchai **qunqarqapusqani***  
 vii. *urpichai aparikapuita*  
 viii. *hinaspa **yuyarispa***  
 ix. *urqumantaña **kuti**ykuni*  
 x. *chaiqa taitai **sipirqusqaña***  
 xi. *mamaitaq **pelaspa***

- xii. *kankarusqaña*
- xiii. *hinaspa ña miqhurqusqankuña*
- xiv. *chaiqa chaki tulluchanta tarispa*
- xv. *pinkulluchata rurakuni*

‘(Siskucha said to the fox:) “(i) I raised a little dove, (ii) one I loved very much. (iii) At my home or in the village, it was a little dove. (iv) Once it arrived at the boundary of the village, (v) it would turn into a girl. (vi) One day I forgot to (vii) take my little dove with me. (viii) When I remembered, (ix) I went back from the mountains. (x) (I found out) my father had already killed it and (xi) my mother had plucked and (xii) roasted it. (xiii) They had already eaten it. (xiv) When I found its little bones, (xv) I made a little flute (out of them).”’

When instructions are passed on from one character to another, lexical isomorphism occurs across passages of direct speech. (80b) shows a message which is based on the one quoted in (80a). The two passages only share one verb root: *suyachi*- ‘make someone wait’. For the first task, two synonyms are used: *t’antata ruwa*- ‘make bread’ and *t’antata masa*- ‘knead bread’. Otherwise the coherence is mainly established by nominal phrases marked in the accusative and the locational cases. The two excerpts reflect the narrator’s style of omitting verbs. In (80c), the instructions given in the dialogs are summarized in one clause in the non-dialogic part of the story.

- (80) a. i. *hornadanpin t’antata ruwachinqa* [JP125-130]<sup>83</sup>  
 ii. *hinaspa chaymanta ñawinllanta*  
 iii-v. *vinuta ñawinninta, chaymanta t’ikata, agua benditata*  
 vi. *huk inocente chicuchatawan suyachiwanqa ...*  
 ‘(The she-calf said to the servant:) “(i) ... She’ll have an ovenload of bread made (ii) and (take) the first loaves from it. (iii) (She’ll leave for me) the first cup of wine, (iv) then flowers, (v) and holy water. (iv) She’ll (also) let an innocent boy wait for me ...”’
- b. i. ... *chhaynata hornadanpis t’antata masanki* [JP152-4]  
 ii. *hinaspas chaymanta ñawillanta urquspayki mesapi*  
 iii. *sumaqa t’ikantinta, agua benditantinta, vinuntinta ima hunt’aqata*  
 iv. *mama suyachinki huk inucinti chicuchatawan ...*  
 ‘(The servant said to the she-calf’s mother:) “(i) You’ll bake an ovenload of bread, (ii) then you’ll take the first loaves (leaving them) on the table, (iii) along with some beautiful flowers, holy water, and a full (cup of) wine. (iv) You’ll (also) let an innocent boy wait (for her), ma’am ...”’
- c. *mamitanqa sumaqtas preparayun* [JP166]  
 ‘Her mother prepared (everything) with care.’

<sup>83</sup> There is some inconsistency in the segmentation of clauses. In (80a) NPs which are not related to a lexical VP are treated as incomplete clauses, whereas in (80b) they are not. In (80b\_ii), the locative case marker *-pi* in the phrase *mesapi* ‘on the table’ does not match with the verb *urqu*- ‘take out’, which implies motion; the narrator must have mentally switched to another verb such as ‘leave something’.

Judging from the present narratives, Quechua does not use indirect speech. In (81a), the Seer tells the Parents what to say to their daughter when she refuses to go to buy the medicine; the content is expressed in the form of direct speech in clauses (i) to (iv). Later when the Parents talk to their daughter, the same conditional construction marked by *chayqa* is used. Two synonymous verb stems are used in the protasises: *apa-* ‘carry’ and *chayachi-* ‘make arrive’. The verb root *sipi-* ‘kill’ is repeated in the main clause in (81b\_ii); the adverbial based on *p'ana-* ‘beat’ is marked by the limitative *-lla* (here as an adverbializer) instead of the same-subject marker *-spa* in (81a\_iii).

- (81) a.i. *mana chayta apamuwanki chayqa* [SN253-7]  
 ii. *p'anaykusqaykin*  
 iii. *p'anaspa*  
 iv. *sipisqayki nispa*  
 v. *ninki*  
 ‘(The seer said to the parents:) “(v) You’ll say (this to your daughter): “(i) If you don’t bring us that (the medicine), (ii) we’ll beat you. (iii) We’ll beat you (iv) until we kill you.”’
- b.i. *mana chayta chayachimuwanki chayqa* [SN299-300]  
 ii. *p'anayllan sipisqayki*  
 ‘(The parents said to their daughter:) “(i) If you don’t bring us that, (ii) we’ll beat you to death.”’

### 5.5.2.3 *Event types and locative constructions*

In this section, we will look at the correlation between verb classes and locational phrases which denote spatial referents as discussed in section 5.4.2. Table 29 summarizes the patterns of co-occurrence and their frequency in the six narratives. Speech verbs and dynamic verbs of cognition and perception are subsumed under action verbs; terminative (*-kama*) and perlative (*-ta*) phrases are grouped together under allative phrases.

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI
ACT_LOC <sup>84</sup>	10	8	24	14	24	18
ACT_AL	7	5	20	13	5	14
ACT_ABL	6	6	12	3	8	3
MOT_LOC	0	0	4	0	3	0
MOT_AL	14	9	31	16	19	13
MOT_ABL	2	1	0	2	0	2
NON-AG_LOC	6	6	25	12	10	8
NON-AG_AL	1	1	2	1	1	0
NON-AG_ABL	0	0	2	0	1	0

Table 29 Co-occurrence of event types and locational phrases in the six texts

First, we will take a closer look at constructions marked in the locative case *-pi*. When the locative phrase denotes a main landmark, then the construction denotes that an event, be it an action or a non-agentive event, takes place at a certain place, or a state is situated at a certain place (e.g. existential clauses). The location marked by *-pi* can also be affected by the action: e.g. ‘(the servant) kissed (the she-calf) on her cheeks’ [JP99]. There are a few cases in JL and JP where a motion verb co-occurs with a locative phrase. In these cases, the locative phrase denotes a location within which or in whose vicinity a motion event takes place: for instance, ‘they were walking around in the village by themselves’ [JL526].

Allative phrases co-occur mainly with action and motion verbs. Motion verbs also take most frequently allative phrases. Action verbs with allative phrases constitute caused-motion constructions as described by Goldberg (1995:152ff.). In JL and CI, this type of construction is fairly frequent. In the former text, the ritual scenes include an array of event images where an object is moved to or from a certain place; the latter text has a number of clauses describing the dispatch of the Boy-bear to different places. There are a few non-agentive verbs that co-occur with allative phrases: the subjective can be a non-agonist, as in ‘(the wax) dripped onto her face’ [JP302]; it can also be an agonist with a non-action telic verb denoting a change, as in ‘(The bear) appeared in front of the girl.’ (literally: ‘to the girl’) [MU4].

Section 5.4.2 has mentioned that spatial referents do not occur so often in ablative phrases as in the other two locational phrases. Most of the ablative phrases appear in clauses with action verbs. When the verb is transitive, then a caused-motion construction with the semantic source encoded in the ablative phrase is present: e.g. ‘steal (from a place)’, ‘collect something (from

<sup>84</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the table: ACT action verb, MOT motion verb, NON-AG non-agentive verb, LOC locative phrase, AL allative phrase, ABL ablative phrase.

a place)', 'take someone (from a place)' etc. The source can also be a kind of anchor, as in 'he (the mayor) grabbed the rope' (literally: 'from the rope') [JL291] and '(the devil) caught him by one leg.' (literally: 'from one leg') [JL192]. The less transitive verbs which co-occur with ablative phrases are typically verbs of perception and those involving sound transmission. Such constructions can denote a metaphorical movement like that of sight, as in '(the mayor) watched from the window of the girl's home' [JL42], or the movement of sound waves '(the boy-bears) called out (to the escaped people) from a hill top repeatedly' [JL546]. There are several instances in the present corpus where the character in focus is at the goal of the movement. In MU, the Boy-bear is in the Condenado's house when '(someone) yelled from a mountain top' [MU323]; in JL, the Mayor is trapped in a ravine when the Parrot 'was laughing (at him), making the noise of "k'aq k'aq k'aq", from the top of a rock' [JL219]; in JP, She-calf's mother is waiting for her to come at midnight when '(a voice) crying out "ahhh" came from the corner' [JP205]. All three cases involve the transmission of sound. In the examples from MU and JP, the character at the source is invisible and encoded covertly as indefinite subjectives, which creates a thrilling atmosphere. As for the example from JL, the hearer can imagine how the Mayor sits desperately in the ravine, letting the Parrot ridicule him from an unreachable place.

In Figure 20 below, the co-occurrences of main landmarks and different event types in non-dialogic parts of SIS, JL, and CI are visualized as *Partituren*. It can be seen that at the beginning of the stories (approximately the first 20 to 30 simple clauses), a certain number of landmarks occur because of the initial spatial setting. During the course of the stories, landmarks appear at intervals of different lengths, depending on the plot structure. Locations where the stories end are usually pointed out (except for CI). As Table 29 above has shown, SIS has the lowest density of landmarks; JL has the highest percentage of non-agentive verbs co-occurring with landmarks. At the end of JL, the location 'village' is mentioned several times in a sequence of descriptive clauses and one with the non-agentive telic verb *wañu-* 'die', as shown in (82).

- (82) i. *hinas chaypi wiñay allin kapusqaku* [JL615-618]  
 ii. *paykunallas ichaqa chay llaqtapi manchakuna*  
 iii. *kamachikuq chay llaqtapi*  
 iv. *chay llaqtallapis chay misti wiraqucha wañupusqa*  
 '(i) (The boy-bears) were fine there. (ii) They were really respected in the village, (iii) (they were respectable) rulers in the village. (iv) The mayor also died in the very same village.'

The verb-landmark types do not seem to form clusters in the graphs partly because landmarks are not necessarily mentioned explicitly once the spatial setting has been introduced. (83)

shows a short sequence describing a character's itinerary with overt locational phrases; the structure is present: 'motion-LM→non-agentive event-LM→motion-LM'.

- (83) i/ii. *chayqa rinsi tuta uywanpi sillayukuspa chay sipaspa wasinta* [JL18-21]  
iii. *chaypis puñumuqku chay sipaswan*  
iv. *pacha paqariqllantañas **kuti**yapuq llaqta wasinmanqa*  
'(i/ii) (The mayor) went to the girl's home every night on his horse. (iii) There he would sleep together with the girl. (iv) In the morning, he would return to his home in the village.'

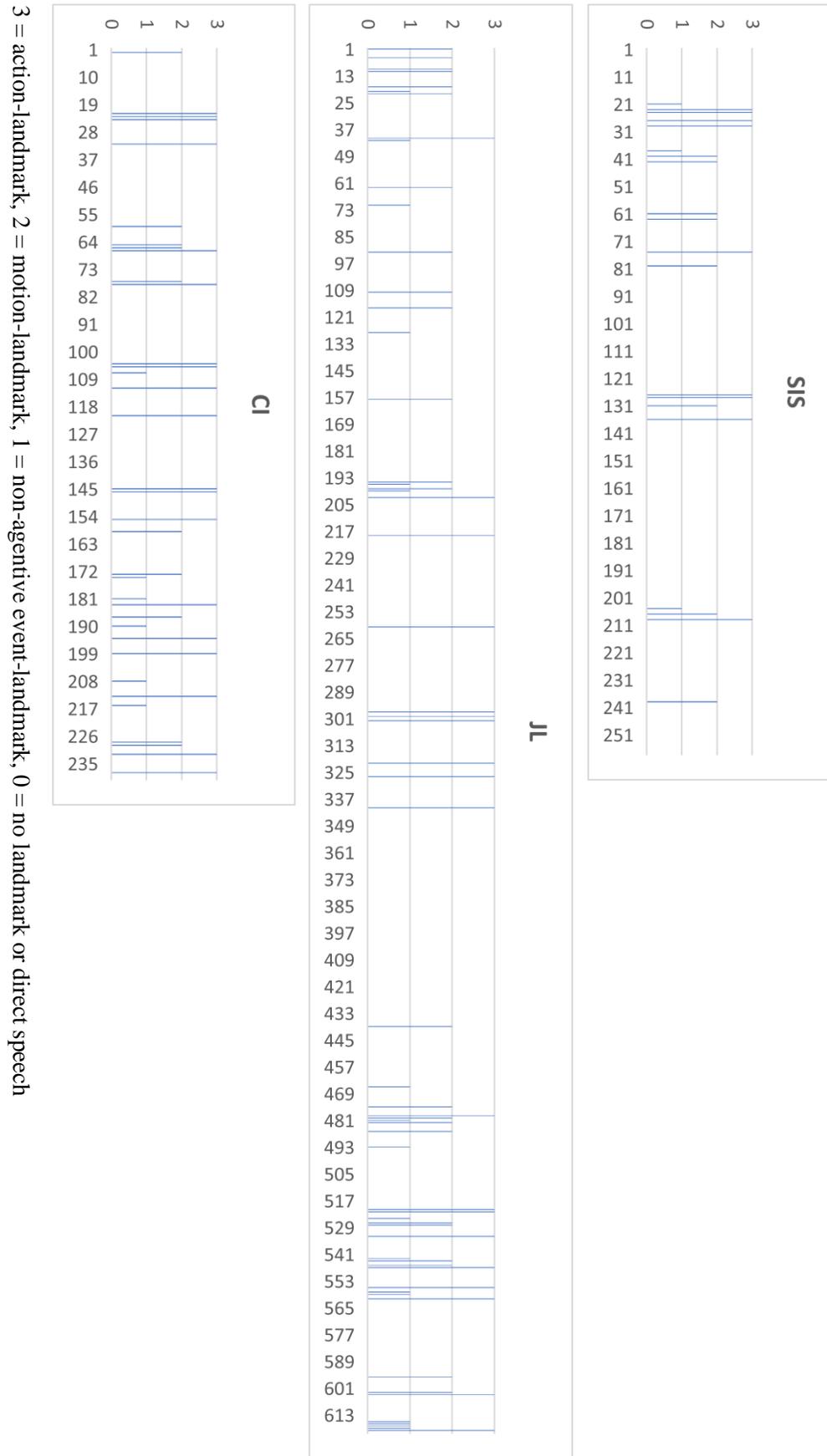


Figure 20 Co-occurrence of non-dialogic events and landmarks in SIS, JL, and CI

### 5.5.3 Summary

This chapter has explored event types as encoded by the main verbs of the simple clauses in the present corpus. Action verbs represent the most frequent type in all six narratives, making up almost half of the verb classes on average. Speech verbs and motion verbs are the next two most common categories with an average percentage of about 15% each; they are less common in texts where character movement (like in SIS) or direct speech (like in CI) only plays a minor role. Action verbs have a much lower token-LB-ratio than motion verbs and speech verbs due to their large number of conceptual units. The speech verb *ni-* ‘say’ and the copula *ka-* are the two by far most frequent verb stems; six of the twenty most frequent verb stems are motion verbs. Although the semantics of the action verbs is diverse and often dependent on the story, they can nevertheless be divided into six categories: path-denoting, manner-denoting, social and life-related, body- and mind-related, foodstuff- and herding-related, and generic; note that this categorization only gives a rough picture of the semantic fields encoded in the action verbs and represents only one of many possibilities. Motion verbs are either path- or manner-conflating.

In the non-dialogic parts of the narratives, action verbs and speech verbs tend to cluster respectively. Sequences of clauses with non-action/motion verbs are less common. Different event types sometimes co-occur, forming short rhythmic sequences based on patterns like ‘speech act→action’ and ‘action→motion’. They are embedded in specific types of scenes: when for instance a character agrees verbally to a suggestion, the addressed action will be carried out in the next clause; in scenes where a character embarks on a journey, action and motion verbs can cluster.

In direct speech, action verbs are still the dominant verb type. Speech verbs are used inside dialogs due to the lack of indirect speech, but their percentage is much lower than in the non-dialogic parts of the narratives. Semantic coherence exists between the non-dialogic parts of the narratives and direct speech and between passages of direct speech. When events addressed in direct speech are carried out by the characters, or when characters tell about events that have taken place or pass on messages given by other characters, the same verb stems can be repeated, or synonymous verbs are used. The repetition of event images can become formulaic in a story, which reflects the abstract style of folk tales. All six stories contain certain hypodiegetic narration, that is, narration by characters. SIS shows dialog passages with detailed hypodiegetic narration, which brings about a high degree of lexical isomorphism in terms of verb stems

between the non-dialogic parts and the dialogic lines. Nominal phrases and syntactic constructions also play a role in establishing semantic coherence, especially in a text like JP where verbless clauses occur more often than usual.

Finally, the chapter examined the correlation between event types and locational phrases. Action verbs tend to attract all three types of locational phrases. They typically form caused-motion constructions with allative and ablative phrases, with characters or objects as semantic patients. Motion verbs are strongly associated with allative phrases – this shows that the present stories focus more on where the characters are going than where they came from. Locative phrases co-occur mainly with action and non-agentive verbs, denoting locations of events or states. Ablative phrases occur in a construction with manner-denoting speech verbs where the source of sound transmission is either invisible to or unreachable for a character. Such constructions can add thrilling effects to the stories. The *Partituren* of SIS, JL, and CI show that landmarks usually appear at the beginning of a story to set the spatial frame and are not always present in the closing frame. There is no clear clustering of event-landmark types. A short sequence with the pattern ‘motion-LM→non-agentive event-LM→motion-LM’ is found in JL where a character’s itinerary is described.

## 5.6 Time

### 5.6.1 Lexical coding of time

Temporal phrases occur 159 times in the present corpus. The average token-LB ratio of the temporal expressions is 4.42, which is between the values of the agonists (5.06) and the spatial referents (2.84). Table 30 shows the temporal lexical bases of the whole corpus and their frequency. The most frequent LB, the demonstrative *chay*, appears in three types of anaphoric phrases: *chayman/chaymanta* ‘after that’ and *chaykama* ‘meanwhile’. *tuta* ‘night’ and *p'unchay* ‘day’ are by far the two most common full LBs. There will be even more occurrences of *tuta* if phrases like *dumingu tuta* ‘Sunday night’ are broken down to the head noun. There are several ways of expressing the concept of midnight: *kuska tuta* ‘middle of the night’, *allin tuta* ‘good part of the night’, *doce tuta* ‘night at twelve’, and *tutap sunqu* ‘heart of the night’. The lexeme *p'unchay* mostly refers to the period of 24 hours in the present narratives, but it can also indicate the interval between sunrise and sunset as in *tuta p'unchay* ‘day and night’ and *pacha p'unchay* ‘daytime’. About half of the LBs have to do with the concept of day, indicating different parts of a day including clock time and reference to weekdays. 14 LBs are based on the notion of week. Some days in the week have certain functions in the stories: in JL, the Mayor is told not to visit his Lover on Tuesdays and Fridays because she secretly visits the

Devil on those days; in JP, the Servant is asked to visit the She-calf on Sundays. *killa* ‘month’ occurs seven times and *wata* ‘year’ only once. 21 LBs are temporal indexicals such as *kasqa* ‘(at that) moment’, *paqarin* ‘the next day, tomorrow’, *recién* ‘not long ago (before the reference time)’ etc. The rest of the LBs indicate either a span of time or a point in time. Generic terms like *puñuy* and *hora* usually have an attribute: e.g. *kimsa tawa p'unchay puñuymanta* ‘after three or four days’ (literally: ‘after three or four days of sleep’) [JL347], *qatikamuipa horasllata* ‘time for livestock to go home’ [MU303]<sup>85</sup>. Note that *kasqa* and *pacha* refer to both space and time (see also section 5.4.1). Spanish loanwords are consistently adopted in cases of weekdays and clock time. For the concept of evening, both Quechua and Spanish words are used: *ch'isi* and *tarde*.

<i>chay</i>	that	35	<i>puñuy</i>	time (duration)	2
<i>tuta</i>	night	21	<i>hora</i>	time (point, duration)	2
<i>p'unchay</i>	day	18	<i>Martis</i>	Tuesday	2
<i>kasqa</i>	(at that) moment	8	<i>semana</i>	week	2
<i>unay</i>	a long time	8	<i>tuta p'unchay</i>	day and night	1
<i>pacha</i>	moment, time (generic)	7	<i>qaynin punchaw</i>	day before yesterday	1
<i>killa</i>	month	7	<i>ch'isiyaq</i>	all day	1
<i>rato/ratu</i>	a little while	6	<i>allin tuta</i>	midnight	1
<i>dumingu</i>	Sunday	6	<i>tutap sunqu</i>	midnight	1
<i>paqari</i> <sup>86</sup>	dawn, the next day, tomorrow	5	<i>doce tuta</i>	midnight	1
<i>tutamanta</i>	morning	4	<i>sábado tuta</i>	Saturday night	1
<i>tarde/tardi</i>	afternoon, evening	3	<i>dumingu tuta</i>	Sunday night	1
<i>ocho</i>	eight o'clock	3	<i>inti watay</i>	sunset	1
<i>ch'isi</i>	evening	3	<i>wata</i>	year	1
<i>Biyirnis</i>	Friday	2	<i>qayna</i>	yesterday	1
<i>kuska tuta</i>	midnight	2			
<i>recién</i>	not long ago	2			
<i>kuti</i>	time (point)	2			

Table 30 Frequency list of lexical bases of temporal expressions in the corpus

Temporal phrases can denote duration, which can be a vague interval such as *unay* ‘a long time’ or more specific time spans like *semana o iskay semana* ‘one or two weeks’ and *kay kimsa*

<sup>85</sup> The Spanish loan *hora* only appears in plural in the present corpus. In another example from SIS, *wiñai horas* ‘a long time’, it refers to a time span.

<sup>86</sup> The meanings of ‘the next day’ and ‘tomorrow’ (lexeme: *paqarin*) are probably based on that of ‘dawn’ (lexeme: *paqariq*, the verb *paqariy* ‘get light’ also exists). There is another expression for ‘the next day’ with the relational noun *qhipa-* ‘backside’: *qhipantin p'unchay*.

*killapi* ‘in the next three months’. The lengths of the intervals vary from one to five in terms of day, week, month, or year. In JL, intervals of three or four days or months are typical, which corresponds to the prominence of the number three in the story (cf. the three Boy-bears and three Condenados). Temporal phrases can further indicate certain points in time: e.g. *huq p'unchay* ‘one day’, *chay ch'isinta* ‘on that evening’. When modified by *sapa* ‘every’, they express frequency: e.g. *sapa p'unchay* ‘every day’, *sapa Biyirnis Martis* ‘every Friday and Tuesday’. Note that these semantic categories are related to the events they specify. For instance, although the concept of *ch'isi* ‘evening’ describes a time span, in (84) the temporal phrase rather implies a certain point in the evening because of the telic event.

- (84) *chay ch'isi-n-ta hayku-pu-sqa p'asña-qa* [SN107]  
 that evening-EU-ADV enter-REG-NARR girl-TOP
- wasi-n-ta sapallan-raq*  
 home-3P-AL alone-STILL  
 ‘On that evening, the girl came home, still only by herself.’

Frequency can also be inferred from the context without being explicitly denoted by the temporal phrase. In the following two examples from JL, the repetition of the events is signaled by the habitual past tense, while the temporal phrases *pacha paqariqllantañas* and *kimsa tawa p'unchay* indicate a point of time and a time span respectively.

- (85)a. *pacha paqariq-lla-n-ta-ña-s kuti-ya-pu-q* [JL21]  
 time dawn-LIM-EU-ADV-ALREADY-HS return-AUG-REG-HAB
- llaqta wasi-n-man-qa*  
 village home-3P-AL-TOP  
 ‘He would go back home to his village early in the morning.’
- b. *hina-spa-s kimsa tawa p'unchay pasa-q* [JL328]  
 like-SS-HS three four day leave-HAB  
 ‘(Every time) she would leave for three or four days.’

Figure 21 shows the frequency of the three semantic categories of temporal expressions in the six texts. Only the phrases which explicitly denote frequency are subsumed under the category of frequency. JL, SN, and JP have more occurrences of temporal expressions than the other texts. The average percentage of temporal phrases per simple clause is only 4.53%; the percentages in SIS and CI are below-average. Phrases denoting point in time and duration are equally common in MU, SIS, and JL. While a large part of temporal phrases in JP indicate point in time, frequency-denoting phrases are prominent in SN.

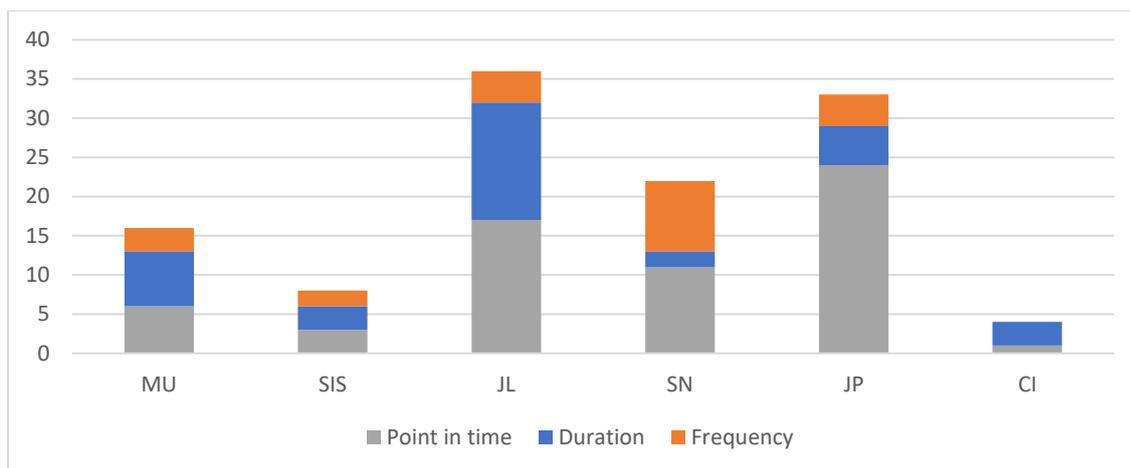


Figure 21 Distribution of semantic categories of temporal expressions in the six texts

Regarding the grammatical marking of temporal phrases, they can appear unmarked as adverbials like *kimsa tawa p'unchay* in (85b). Otherwise they are marked in locational cases or by the adverbializer *-ta*. The general locative marker *-pi* is polysemous when used temporally. In (86a), the temporal phrase *qanchis killapi* refers to a point in time, while in (86b) and (86c), *-pi* indicates time spans. In (86b), the proximal demonstrative *kay* is used to refer to the future in direct speech; the temporal phrase in (86c), a non-dialogic clause from the same text passage, refers back to the time span mentioned in (86b) and is thus marked by the adnominal *chay*.

- (86) a. *ña qanchis killa-pi-ña...* [JP19]  
 already seven month-LOC-ALREADY  
 ‘She was already in the seventh month (of pregnancy).’
- b. *kay kimsa killa-pi-n hatun-ya-rqu-saqku...* [JL364]  
 this three month-LOC-AFF big-TRANS-EXH-FUT:1PL  
 “‘We’ll become bigger in the next three months...’”
- c. *chay kimsa killa-pi-s ña* [JL386]  
 that three month-LOC-HS already
- q'aqu q'aqu-ña ka-rqa-ri-sqaku*  
 young.man young.man-ALREADY be-EXH-INCH-SD:3PL  
 ‘They became real young men in those three months.’

In the Spanish-based construction in the following example, a temporal concept is encoded as the objective:



Salience scheme		Tense forms
Story-line	Primary story-line	Present -Ø, narrative past <i>-sqa</i> (the beginning of a story or a scene), mirative <i>-sqa</i>
	Foregrounded events	Sudden discovery <i>-sqa</i>
Durative/iterative activities		Present -Ø (+ progressive <i>-sha</i> )
Routine		Habitual past <i>-q</i>
Setting/flashback		Present -Ø, narrative past <i>-sqa</i>
Irrealis		Negative mood: present -Ø, narrative past <i>-sqa</i>
		Modals: tenseless or analytic constructions (potential <i>-man (+ ka-)</i> , nominalizer for unrealized events <i>-na (+ ka-)</i> )
Cohesive		Tenseless: nominalized and co- and switch-reference constructions

Table 31 Tense marking of the salience scheme in the corpus

The narrative foreground is mainly marked by the historical present. The suffix *-sqa* has a series of functions which can be divided into the category of the narrative past and that of mirativity. As a genre marker for folk tales, *-sqa* typically marks the beginning of a story which can include the first few lines of the primary storyline, as in clause (2) in CI and clauses (8) and (9) in SN (see Table 32 below); this function is also extended to the marking of new scenes in the middle of a story (see section 5.7.3.1). The other function of *-sqa* as the narrative past is related to the marking of the narrative background. The mirative *-sqa* not only marks telic agentive events in the foreground, it can also be used with events or states that are discovered by a character with surprise; in this way, non-dynamic events can be promoted to the narrative foreground (see section 5.7.3.1). The narrative background is further marked by the habitual past *-q*, modal constructions, and subordinate (tenseless) structures. Settings and flashbacks can both be marked in the present tense. For instance, clause (4) in CI represents a flashback in terms of chronological order (see Table 32 below), while the use of the present tense alludes to an explanation or a comment by the narrator. A similar case can be found towards the end of the same story. The narrator points out that the Boy-bear did not realize until during the fight with the Condonado that the Priest had been trying to kill him, using the present tense. This

can be regarded as an explanation for the Boy-bear’s decision to stay at the Condonado’s property. (88) shows a flashback described by two clauses marked by the narrative past *-sqa*. In the scene, the Bear is about to sit down on the pot filled with boiling water; the narrator repeats here the event where the Boy-bear and his mother set the trap, which was mentioned earlier in story (before the Bear’s arrival).

- (88) i. *perol law-pi-ña sumaq-ta disimula-ku-sqa-ku* [CI102-103]  
 pot side-LOC-ALREADY nice-ADV disguise-REFL-NARR-3PL
- ii. *tapa-rpari-sqa-ku*  
 cover-INTL-NARR-3PL  
 ‘(i) (The boy-bear and his mother) had disguised the pot carefully. (ii) They had covered it up.’

The simple past *-r(q)a* is only used in a few instances in the non-dialogic parts. In (89a), the first clause is marked in the simple past, which denotes the temporal anteriority of the event in relation to the one encoded by the main clause. According to Hintz (2007:29–36), in South Conchucos Quechua, the cognate form is also used to denote events that happened before a certain sequence of other events or those the speaker has forgotten to include. The clause in (89b) is marked in the potential mood and the simple past tense and denotes a possible past event.

- (89) a.i. *maynin-ta-n chay sipas chinkari-rqa-n* [JL116-7]  
 wherever-AL-EU that girl disappear-PAST-3
- ii. *hina-s chaynillan-ta-taq pay-pis phalari-rqu-n*  
 like-HS there-AL-CON 3-ADD fly-EXH-3  
 ‘(i) Wherever the girl had disappeared, (ii) he also flew there.’
- b. *chaylla-raq-pas hatari-rqu-n-man ka-rqa-n hina* [MU301]  
 just.now-STILL-ADD get.up-EXH-3-POT be-PAST-3 like  
 ‘(It looked as if) someone had just got up.’

Table 32 shows the tense marking in the beginning parts of MU, CI, and SN with descriptions of the salience scheme:

MU		
1	<i>huq oveja michiq p'asñas ka-sqa</i> 'Once there was a shepherd girl.'	Setting
2	<i>hinaspa urqupi ovejata michiku-ska-qtin</i> '(One day) when she was herding her sheep,	Cohesive
3	<i>ukukuqa maqtaman tuku-spa</i> the bear, disguised as a young man,	Cohesive
4	<i>riqhuri-Ø-n p'asñamanqa</i> appeared before the girl.'	Primary storyline
5	<i>paipas ovejallantintaq-Ø</i> (nominal predicate) 'He also had sheep with him.'	Setting
6	<i>hinaspa ukukuqa ni-Ø-n p'asñata</i> 'Then the bear said to the girl ...'	Primary storyline

CI		
1	<i>iskay sipaskunas ka-sqa</i> 'Once there were two girls.'	Setting
2	<i>hinaspansi llant'akuq ri-sqa-ku karu quebrada urayta</i> '(One day) they went down a gorge far away to collect firewood.'	Primary storyline
3	<i>hinaspa llant'atapis llant'aruku-Ø-nku</i> 'They collected firewood.'	Primary storyline
4	<i>llant'arachimu-Ø-nkuña</i> 'They were sent to collect firewood.'	Flashback
5	<i>hinaqtinqa reatankus durullaña ka-sqa</i> 'Their rope was too hard,	Setting
6	<i>mana mat'iyta ati-sqa-kuchu</i> they couldn't fasten it.'	Setting
7	<i>manas mat'iyta atiyusha-qtin-nku</i> 'Just as they couldn't fasten it,	Cohesive
8	<i>justo chayman ukukuqa rikhurirparimu-Ø-n</i> the bear showed up.'	Primary storyline

SN		
1	<i>huq sapan warmi wawallas ka-sqa</i> 'Once there was a child who was the only daughter (of her parents).'	Setting
2/3	<i>sapa p'unchaysi urquta uywa michiq puri-q</i> 'Every day she would go to the mountains to herd livestock.'	Routine
4	<i>tayta mamanqa chay sapan ususillayuksi ka-sqa</i> 'Her parents only had this one daughter.'	Setting
5	<i>chaysi chayllata sapa p'unchay kacha-q michinawan</i> 'They sent her to the grazing land every day.'	Routine
6/7	<i>ña qhariyuq kanan patapiña ka-sqa chay warmi, allin sipasña</i> 'The girl was already of marriageable age, (she was) a beautiful girl.'	Setting
8	<i>urqupi huq p'unchay sikllay sikllay waynas taripa-sqa</i> 'One day in the mountains, a very slim young man approached her.'	Primary storyline
9/10	<i>hinaspas "yanay kapuwanki sipas nispa" rimapaya-sqa sipastaqa</i> 'He said to the girl: "Girl, be my lover."'	Primary storyline

Table 32 Tense marking of the salience scheme at the beginning of MU, CI, and SN

Figure 22 shows the distribution of tense and mood categories in direct speech in the four texts with the highest percentages of dialogic lines in the corpus. Negative and interrogative moods are not taken into account, neither are subordinate structures (which are considered tenseless). Present and future tenses are the two most common categories. The future tense not only marks events which are about to happen, but it also implies modality at the same time, such as cohortative (with first-person plural inclusive), making requests or conjectures, assuring someone, expressing urgency and so on. In SN and JP, instructions and demands are marked in the imperative mood or the second-person future tense; in JP, the third-person future tense also occurs frequently because instructions are partly passed on via a third party. SIS shows higher percentages of past tense forms because of frequent hypodiegetic narration, i.e. narration through characters (further discussion below). The potential mood marked by *-man* is mostly used to indicate possibility; it also denotes deontic modality and marks counterfactual utterances (see also section 2.4.3.2). In SN, the Girl and Snake had a long conversation about where the Snake could live, which causes the frequent use of *-man*. Other modal constructions include conditional clauses like (39a), the construction of obligation marked by *-na* like in (44b), and clauses marked by the dubitative *-chu(s)*.

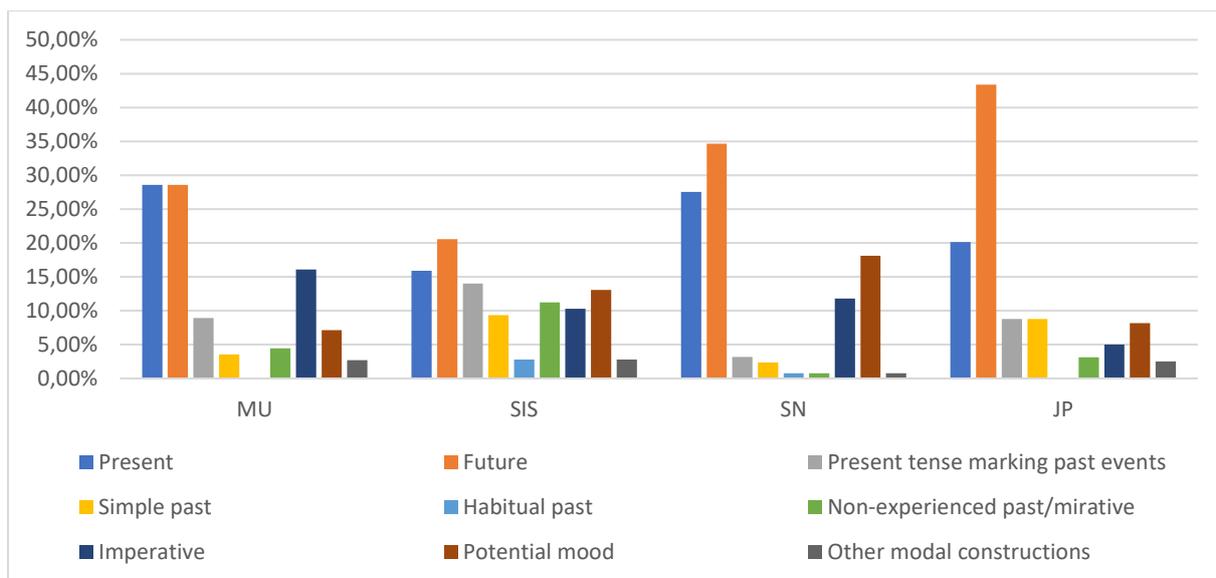


Figure 22 Tense-mood marking in direct speech in MU, SIS, SN, and JP

The marking of past events in direct speech seems to occur in two types of contexts; in both of them, the present tense can be used. The first one is conversational. In (90a\_i), the question about a past event is marked in the simple past tense. In the next clause, which is an answer to the previous question, the same verb stem is used, marked by the exhortative *-ru* in the present tense. The suffix *-r(q)u* has an array of meanings including the indication of the completion of an event (see section 2.4.2); the clause can thus be regarded as marked in aspect. In (90b), the use of the past tense marker is not necessary probably because the context makes it clear that the event has happened (not long ago); the proximal *kay* indicates that Siskucha is showing the dove to his parents at the moment of speech.

(90) a.i. *pasa-ra-n-chu* [JP325-326]  
 pass.by-PAST-3-INTERR

ii. *arí pasa-ru-n-mi*  
 yes pass.by-EXH-3-AFF  
 ‘(i) (The boy asked one woman:) “Did she pass by?” (ii) (She said:) “Yes, she did.”’

b. *kai urpi-cha-ta-n tari-ka-mu-ni ni-spa* [SIS12]  
 this dove-DIM-ACC-AFF find-REFL-TRSL-1 say-SS  
 ‘(Siskucha said to his parents:) “I found this little dove.”’

The second type of context is narrative. When a character tells about what has happened in the previous discourse in the form of a short personal narrative, like in the example (79), the use of tense forms is similar to that in a folk tale. The tense marking in the passage is shown below. The character begins the narrative with the simple past tense, then he switches to the historical present in the main clauses except when the habitual past *-q* or the mirative *-sqa* is used.

‘(Siskucha said to the fox:) “(i) I raised (-*r(q)a*) a little dove, (ii) one I loved (nominalized) very much. (iii) At my home or in the village, it was (-*q*) a little dove. (iv) Once it arrived (same-subject marker) at the boundary of the village, (v) it would turn (-*q*) into a girl. (vi) One day I forgot (-*sqa*) to (vii) take (nominalized) my little dove with me. (viii) When I remembered (same-subject marker), (ix) I went back (-Ø) from the mountains. (x) (I found out) my father had already killed (-*sqa*) it and (xi) my mother had plucked (same-subject marker) and (xii) roasted (-*sqa*) it. (xiii) They had already eaten (-*sqa*) it. (xiv) When I found (same-subject marker) its little bones, (xv) I made (-Ø) a little flute (out of them).”

### 5.6.3 Narrative time

In the study of narrative time, an important distinction has been made since Günther Müller (1974[1948]), namely between *erzählte Zeit* (story time) and *Erzählzeit* (narrative time). The former refers to temporal relations in the underlying plot, while the latter is concerned with how a story is narrated temporally. In the following sections, the present narratives will be examined in terms of the three temporal categories established by Genette (1980): order, duration, and frequency.

#### 5.6.3.1 Order

As Genette (1980:36) has noted: “Folklore narrative habitually conforms, at least in its major articulations, to chronological order”, the same applies to the stories in the current corpus, that is, their narrative time corresponds by and large to the story time. There are only a few instances of analepses, or flashbacks. They all belong to the subcategory which Genette calls ‘internal homodiegetic analepses’ with the temporal gap of ‘paralipsis’ (1980:48ff.). Internal analepses fall under the so-called ‘first narrative’ line, since the flashbacks do not exceed the temporal frame given at the beginning of a story. Paralipsis is a type of temporal gap where it is not an entire time span that is omitted but rather an element of a situation. For instance, in JL, after the scene where the Mayor observes how his Lover flies away, the narrator gives the background information that the Lover has made a pact with the Devil and has been visiting him regularly. These flashbacks belong chronologically to the earlier scene where the Lover told the Mayor to not visit her on certain days.

If we consider both dialogic and non-dialogic parts of the stories, the corpus shows one instance which is similar to predictive discourse (Genette deals with this aspect under the category of voice (1980:216)). In SN, the Seer does not just give the Girl’s Parents instructions about what to do, he also predicts what will happen: ‘Your daughter won’t let you kill (the snake). She’ll say: “Don’t kill my man, kill me instead!” Send her on a day trip to some place far away. Your daughter probably doesn’t want to go. Say the following to her (...)’. Later in the story, the events occur in the way foretold by the Seer. Characters themselves can also

reveal what has happened earlier in the story, thus filling out gaps in the storyline. For instance, in JL, the Mayor is told after the Condenados' death by the returned Villagers that they captured his Lover, who was then devoured by the Condenados.

### **5.6.3.2 Duration**

Genette (1980:87–8) defines the speed of a narrative as “the relationship between a duration (that of the story, measured in seconds, minutes, hours, days, months, and years) and a length (that of the text, measured in lines and in pages)”. With orally told stories, the narrative duration is the time in which the narration is performed; the discourse production and reception take place at the same time. Since only transcriptions of the oral narratives are available for the present study, the narrative duration is measured by the number of simple clauses, which is seen as an approximation of the speed of speaking. Note that the duration of the events is not always made explicitly in the present narratives.

Table 33 and Table 34 below show the temporal structure of the story in relation to the simple clauses in MU and JP respectively. Clauses at the beginning of the stories which set the general frame are not included. The temporal vagueness in the narratives is reflected in the descriptions marked by the symbols ~ and §. The tilde means that there is some textual clue hinting at a possible duration. For instance, in section 8 in MU, the Boy-bear is sent to the cemetery to get a book by the Priest at midnight and then returns without being killed by the trap the Priest has set. The story does not tell us the time of his return, but considering that the cemetery should be in the same village and the quest is not a complex one, the duration of the scene can be one night. The time spans marked by the symbol § have even fewer textual indications (the corresponding scenes are given in the brackets). Moreover, they do not seem to be relevant for the story (at least not in the way the narrator tells them); what is important is the event itself. For instance, there are several scenes concerning physical change and development: section 2 in MU and sections 7 and 11 in JP. Since these narratives contain fantastic elements, it is left to the hearer's imagination how long it takes for a human-animal hybrid like the She-calf to be able to speak. In other cases, the duration of the events can be at most guessed at. In MU section 7, the Boy-bear's family tries to integrate him into society and he ends up killing people and squandering resources. The process must take at least several weeks for all the events included in that scene to take place and probably less than a year because a community can hardly bear a member like the Boy-bear for such a long time.

<b>MU</b>	<b>Clause number</b>	<b>Story time</b>
1	2-42 (41)	one day <sup>87</sup>
2	43-45 (3)	§nine months (from pregnancy to birth)
3	46-49 (4)	four or five years
4	50-90 (41)	one moment
5	91 (1)	four or five years
6	92-160 (69)	§one or a few days
7	161-188 (28)	§several weeks or months (failed social integration of the boy-bear)
8	189-203 (15)	~one night
Ellipsis		
9	204-226 (23)	~one morning
10	227-229 (3)	§several days or weeks (imprisonment of the priest)
11	230-242 (13)	~one day
12	243-245 (3)	~several days
13	246-265 (20)	one moment
14	266-273 (8)	one or two weeks
15	274-296 (23)	one moment
Ellipsis		
16	297-372 (76)	§one day (defeating the condenado)

*Table 33 Textual length and story time in MU*

<sup>87</sup> In the original version of the story, the beginning part where the Bear succeeds in abducting the Girl on the third day includes 133 simple clauses, which yields a similar speed (44.33 clauses per day) to the shortened version (42 clauses per day).

JP	Clause number	Story time
1	5-11 (17)	one moment
2	12-17 (6)	§several days or weeks (girl gets pregnant while playing with her pets)
Ellipsis of seven months		
3	18-23 (6)	~two months
4	24-90 (67)	§one or two days (she-calf is born and abandoned)
5	91-92 (1)	one week
6	93-109 (17)	one day
7	110-113 (4)	§several months (she-calf grows and can speak)
8	114-165 (52)	§one day
Ellipsis of one week		
9	166-315 (150)	two days
10	316-318 (3)	§several days, weeks, or months (arrival at the first village)
11	319-328 (10)	§months or years (boy becomes young man)
12	329-340 (12)	one moment
13	341-343 (3)	§months or years (boy passes through many villages)
14	344-357 (13)	one moment
15	358-363 (6)	§several days, weeks, or months (boy goes to the jungle that is far away)
16	364-491 (128)	§one or two days (boy gets help from condors and frees she-calf)
Ellipsis		
17	492-494 (3)	§one day (boy marries she-calf)

Table 34 Textual length and story time in JP

The data from the two tables above are processed into four categories of narrative speed with terms from classical music: *lento* (slow), *andante* (at a walking pace), *allegro* (fast), and *presto* (very fast). The speed is categorized as *lento* when the number of clauses per day is above twenty. The tempo of *andante* has twenty to five clauses per day. *Allegro* refers to a speed of under ten clauses per week or month. At the speed of *presto*, less than ten clauses cover the time span of a year. Figure 23 shows the graphic displays of the narrative speed in the two texts. It is striking that most parts of the two narratives are told at a low narrative speed. Especially when a scene only consists of direct speech, the narrative time is relatively close to the story time; the speed can hardly be manipulated when we are dealing with verbatim quotes of monologs or dialogs.<sup>88</sup> The story time of dialogic scenes is described as ‘one moment’ in the tables

<sup>88</sup> We also have to acknowledge the point Genette (1980:87) has made that direct speech still “does not restore the speed with which those words were pronounced or the possible dead spaces in the conversation”.

above, covering more than ten clauses on average. The stories are told at a fast tempo when it comes to periods of physical change such as pregnancy or journeys the characters have to undertake. The range of speed variations goes from more than 100 clauses per day to a few clauses per year. Although the two narratives tell two different stories, the narrative speed changes twelve times in both of them if we contrast *lento* and *andante* (low tempos) with *allegro* and *presto* (fast tempos).

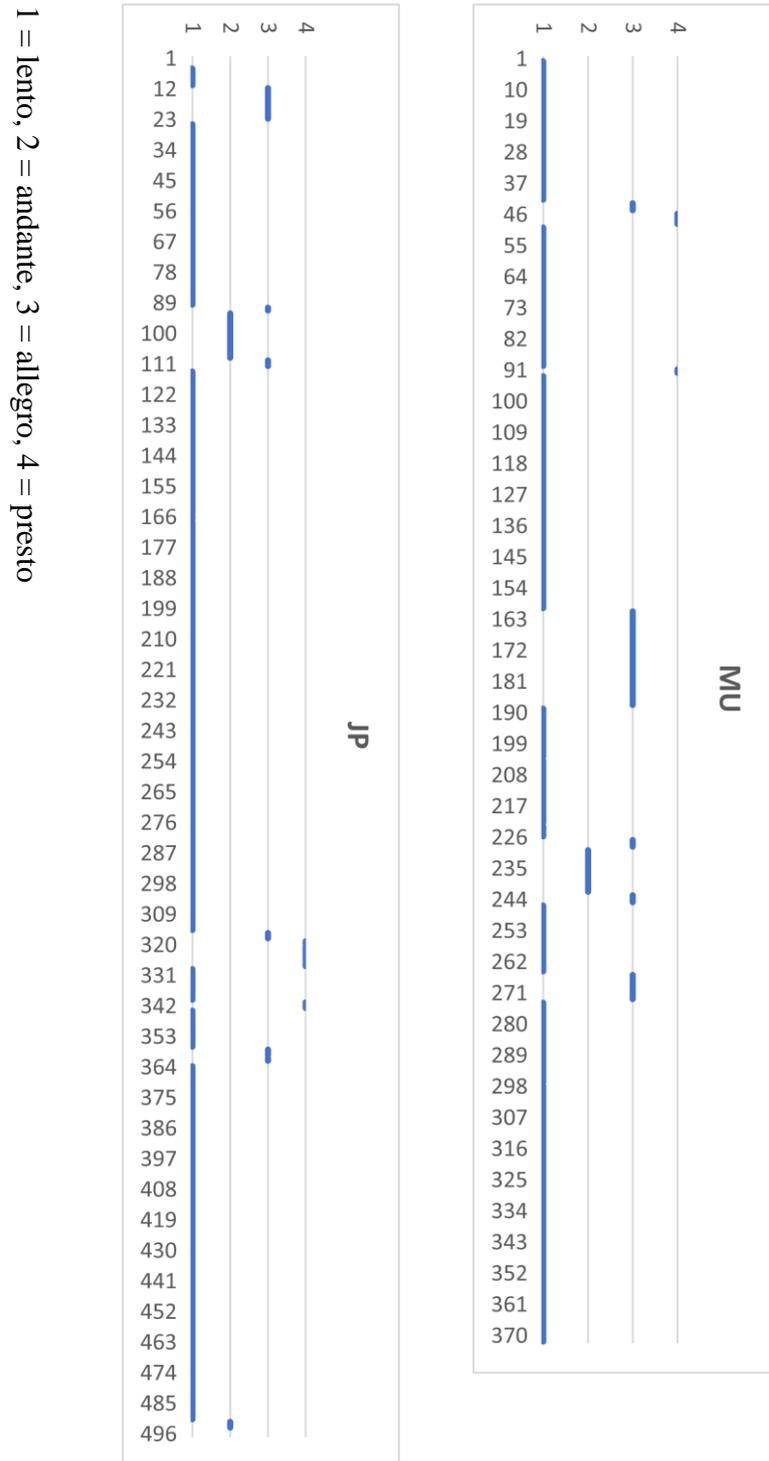


Figure 23 Narrative speed in MU and JP

Note that there are also variations within the parts narrated in a slow tempo. Actions are not always depicted with the same degree of detail. In JP section 9, there is one clause summarizing that the She-calf's mother has prepared everything as told, because the concrete actions (baking bread, preparing wine and so on) have been mentioned in direct speech before (see (80)). Genette (1980:95f.) defines this kind of narrative discourse as 'summary'. Descriptions are not

singled out in the analysis of narrative time, since folk tales do not have many of them; Genette (1980:99) terms them ‘pauses’. Interestingly, the present narratives also use the technique of embedding descriptions within the actions of a character as modern Western literature does (Genette 1980:100f.). The following excerpt from MU in (91) contains five descriptive clauses, from (ii) to (vi); the last two describe actions of non-agonists. The scene starts with the action of the characters entering the Condonado’s property in (i); we can thus assume that the descriptions that follow accompany what the characters perceive in the new space (see also the function of the mirative *-sqa* in marking characters’ discovery in section 5.7.3.1).

- (91) i. *chaiqa haikuqtinkuqa* [MU298-303]  
 ii. *cuarton punkupas kicharayasiallasqaraqsi*  
 iii. *puñunanpas qimpisqallaraqsi kasiasqa*  
 iv. *chailaraqpas hatarirqunman karqan hina*  
 v. *wakan ovejan cabrankunapas caballonkunapas urqun q'asantas purikusiasqa*  
 vi. *qatikamuipa horasllatan kikillanku huñuikakamunku lliu animalkuna*  
 ‘(i) When (the boy-bear and the schoolboy) entered (the condenado’s house), (ii) the bedroom door was still open and (iii) the blanket was still turned over. (iv) It looked as if someone had just got up. (v) His cows, sheep, goats, and horses were roaming across the mountain and valley. (vi) All these animals gathered by themselves when it was time to go home.’

Genette (1980:106ff.) further distinguishes between explicit and implicit ellipses. Explicit ellipses are indicated by direct description of the lapse of time, as in ‘the little bear grew another four or five years’ from MU section 5. Because the clause also describes the event of the Boy-bear’s growth, it is not considered an ellipsis in the analysis above. Implicit ellipses are shown in Table 33 and Table 34 above. The length of the gaps can sometimes be inferred from the context. In JP, the Girl gets pregnant at the end of section 2; at the beginning of section 3, it is said that she is pregnant in the seventh month, which points to a temporal gap of seven months between these two sections.

### 5.6.3.3 Frequency

Genette (1980:113ff.) defines frequency in a broad sense – it refers to events which take place more than once as well as to repeated narration. Four patterns are established: to tell ‘singulative’ or ‘iterative’ events once, and to tell ‘singulative’ or ‘iterative’ events repeatedly. In the current corpus, the most common pattern is to tell singulative events once. Iterative events occur occasionally, either with verbs marked in the habitual past tense or in the present. JL has the most grammatically marked iterative events. Repeated narration can occur for different reasons. In tail-head linkage patterns, a preceding event is repeated before the next event is introduced (see section 5.7.4). Other cases of repeated narration are related to specification on



only Spanish loanwords are used. All temporal phrases can be divided into three semantic categories: point in time, duration, and frequency. More phrases are used to encode the first two categories. SN has the highest percentage of frequency-denoting temporal phrases in the corpus. Grammatically, temporal phrases are either unmarked or marked in locational cases or by the adverbializer *-ta*.

Tense marking in narratives is not only dependent on temporal structures such as order and frequency of the events, it also reflects discourse structure in terms of foregrounding and backgrounding. For Quechua narratives, it can be said that the narrative foreground including the primary storyline is mainly marked in the historical present, which is zero-marked. The narrative background has different modes of marking: routinized activities are marked by the habitual past *-q*; settings and flashbacks can be marked by the narrative past *-sqa*; subordinate structures are tenseless and can denote modal meanings or mark the cohesive band in the salience scheme. However, atelic events such as iterative ones and states can also occur in the present tense, thus being more foregrounded than those marked by *-sqa*. Apart from being the narrative past marker, *-sqa* can also foreground events when used as a mirative marker.

Tense-mood marking in direct speech is embedded in conversational contexts in characters' worlds. The present and future tenses occur most frequently. The future tense implies an array of modal meanings such as cohortative, request-related, conjectural etc. Past events are marked by the simple past *-r(q)a* or the non-experienced past/mirative *-sqa*; they can also be zero-marked when a marker denoting perfectivity like the exhortative *-r(q)u* is present or when it is an immediate past. In hypodiegetic narration, the tense marking shows similarities to that in the non-dialogic parts. The beginning of a personal narrative is marked in the simple past tense, then it switches to the historical present; other past tenses like the habitual past and the non-experienced past (which also marks mirativity) also occur. SN has the highest percentage of clauses marked in the imperative and the potential moods due to long dialog scenes involving discussion of possibilities and giving instructions.

The relationship between narrative time and story time is described in three categories defined by Genette: order, duration, and frequency. The present narratives are told mainly in the order in which the events take place in the story except for a couple of flashbacks. Dialogs involving instructions and predicative discourse 'give away' information about what happens next in the story, thus causing anticipatory effects (prolepsis as opposed to analepsis in Genette's terms). The speed of a narrative is defined as the ratio of a duration in story time to the number of clauses referring to the corresponding event(s). The results from MU and JP, which

have two completely different storylines, show that the tempo in a Quechua folk tale tends to be ‘lento’, that is, twenty or more clauses are uttered to describe events with the duration of a day. Furthermore, the number of switches between slow and fast tempos is the same in the two texts. Note that temporal durations are not always made explicit so that the results regarding narrative speed are partly based on inference; ‘descriptive pauses’ are not separated from the events because of their low frequency. The most common frequency-related pattern in the corpus is singulative events being told once. Repeated narration of the same events is a natural feature of orally told stories; the narrator can rephrase the same utterance for stylistic reasons or extend it with additional information.

## **5.7 Macro-structures and further syntactic-pragmatic patterns**

### **5.7.1 Verse analysis**

Hymes (1981; 1985; 1987) has noted that American Indian narratives are typically told in groups of lines which are termed ‘verses’, instead of being organized in sentences and paragraphs. Hornberger (1992) shows that this narrative patterning also applies to Quechua stories. Before we look at verse structures in the current corpus, I will briefly deal with the higher levels in the macro-structure – defined by Hymes as ‘stanzas’, ‘scenes’, and ‘acts’. Table 35 shows the acts and scenes in MU and CI – two versions of the son-of-bear story. The basic outlines of the two narratives are very similar. The first three of the five acts constitute the sub-story of the abduction of a girl by a bear and the bear’s death; in the last two acts, the son-of-bear takes over the role of the primary actor. The two versions also show variations in terms of themes, order and length of the themes. For instance, the Bear uses different tricks to get the Girl home. In act 3, the first two scenes are told in different orders. The theme where the Boy-bear fights the Condenado is depicted with different degrees of detail (cf. the numbers of simple clauses in MU5.3 and CI5.1).

Act (MU)	Scene	SC	Act (CI)	Scene	SC
1. Abduction	1.0 Frame	1	1. Abduction	1.0 Frame	1
	1.1 Acquaintance	15		1.1 Encounter and abduction	22
	1.2 Trick and abduction	26		1.2 Living with bear	12
	1.3 Birth of boy-bear	5		1.3 Birth of boy-bear	5
2. Escape	2.1 Informing and planning	43	2. Escape	2.1 Informing and instructing	18
	2.2 Breakout	16		2.2 Breakout	8
3. Pursuit	3.1 Hummingbird	27	3. Pursuit	3.1 The trap	10
	3.2 The trap	9		3.2 Hummingbird	21
	3.3 Bear's death	18		3.3 Bear's death	10
4. Boy-bear	4.1 Harming society	16	4. Boy-bear	4.1 Harming society	9
	4.2 In priest's custody	12		4.2 In priest's custody	11
	4.3 Cemetery	15		4.3 Tower	17
	4.4 Tower	26		4.4 Cow place	10
	4.5 Expulsion	16		4.5 Puma place	25
				4.6 Expulsion	8
5. Settlement	5.1 Schoolboy	28	5. Settlement	5.1 Fight	16
	5.2 Arrival at hacienda	49		5.2 Freeing condenado	11
	5.3 Fight	32		5.3 Return of people	15
	5.4 Transfer	18		5.4 Marriage	11

Table 35 Acts, scenes, and their lengths measured by number of simple clauses (SC) in MU and CI

Hymes (1985:954) speaks of three and five as the common sizes of sets in many American Indian texts and some English ones, which Hornberger (1992:450f.) also confirms for her Quechua texts. The structures of these sets are said to be 'onset→ongoing→outcome' and 'onset→ongoing→outcome/onset→ongoing→outcome'. The numbers of acts and scenes in the table above vary from two to six. I argue that the sets of three and five represent basic types of thematic development rather than rigid rules for narrative organization. First, the deep semantic structure does not necessarily correspond to the thematic structure completely. For instance, the second act of the two stories can be regarded as having the following underlying structure: 'informing→planning→breakout', but the first two parts are connected by the same dialog scene, while the 'breakout' represents a separate thematic unit (in MU, there is also a major

temporal gap between the planning and the breakout). Second, some organizational levels do not follow the structures described by the sets of three and five. In the son-of-bear stories, the scenes where the Priest tries to kill the Boy-bear by various methods are interchangeable; their number and order are partly determined by the narrator. Finally, the pattern of ‘action→reaction’ is also applicable for depicting thematic structures, like in the following breakdown of the Hummingbird scene from MU and CI (the action-reaction pairs can be seen as stanzas):

[MU]	ACTION	Hummingbird approaches Bear
	REACTION	Bear breaks its wing
	ACTION	Hummingbird explains intention
	REACTION	Bear fixes its wing
[CI]	ACTION	Hummingbird informs Bear
	REACTION	Bear goes home
	ACTION	Bear finds out the escape
	REACTION	Bear goes after Girl
[CI]	SETTING	Bear catches a cow
	ACTION	Hummingbird appears
	REACTION	Bear breaks its leg
	ACTION	Hummingbird explains intention
	REACTION	Bear fixes its leg
	ACTION	Hummingbird informs Bear
	REACTION	Bear discards cow (and goes home)

Verse structure in Quechua narratives can be clearly seen in the layout of Uhle’s texts, which are broken down into groups of lines, often starting with a conjunction like *hinaspá* or *chayqa*. A verse can be a complex sentence or include more than one sentence. Table 36 shows that among the four selected texts, verse boundaries in SN and JP are less often marked by conjunctions; instead, the reportative *-s(i)* is used (note that conjunctions that do not end in *-qa* are often also marked by *-s(i)*). The average verse length amounts to 2.57 simple clauses.

	<b>MU</b>	<b>CI</b>	<b>SN</b>	<b>JP</b>
<b>Simple clauses</b>	372	240	390	497
<b>Verses</b>	133	112	136	202
<b>Average verse length</b>	2.80	2.14	2.87	2.46
<b>Verse boundaries (VBs) marked by conjunctions</b>	90.23%	86.61%	47.79%	40.10%
<b>VBs marked by the reportative -s(i)</b>	6.02%	22.32%	79.41%	68.81%

Table 36 Verse structure and marking of verse boundaries in MU, CI, SN, and JP

While Hymes (1985:953) takes semantic features such as change of actor, turn at talk, and words of time and location as criteria of verse marking, I do not think they can be adduced as evidence of a language-specific narrative pattern above the simple clause because of their universality; instead, these semantic features can be tested after formal evidence of verse structure is observed. As can be seen in Table 37, verse boundaries in the four Quechua narratives do not always show a higher frequency of switch reference (change of the sentence subject) or temporal and locational transitions (including non-anaphoric lexical phrases and verbs marked by the habitual past *-q* or the narrative past *-sqa*) than the rest of the non-dialogic parts. The hypothesis of verse structure for the present narratives is still tenable in that in each text there is at least one semantic feature of change which correlates more strongly with verse boundaries than the rest of the non-dialogic lines.

	<b>MU</b>	<b>CI</b>	<b>SN</b>	<b>JP</b>
<b>VBs marked by switch reference</b>	68.42%	66.96%	41.18%	39.11%
<b>Non-dialogic SCs with switch reference</b>	59.75%	59.36%	49.11%	46.67%
<b>VBs marked by temporal or locational transition</b>	12.78%	33.04%	47.06%	32.67%
<b>Non-dialogic SCs with temporal or locational transition</b>	21.58%	31.55%	36.61%	26.67%

Table 37 Semantic features at verse boundaries as apposed to non-dialogic lines in MU, CI, SN, and JP

The verse structure is demonstrated in the excerpt from MU in (93), representing the scene of ‘Bear’s death’. The whole passage includes eighteen simple clauses and nine verses (indicated by Roman and Arabic numbers respectively). Each verse begins with a conjunction (boldfaced). The alternation between *hinaspa* and *chaiqa* seems to be mainly motivated by the avoidance of repetition (for more discussion on the differences between the conjunctions see below). The conjunctions are termed ‘interclausal conjunctions’ in this study because they can be followed by an anaphoric temporal phrase like *chailaman* ‘just after that’ in (93i), which indicates that the clause-initial conjunctions bear a more general meaning than temporal succession. Cohesion within the verses is partly produced by subordinate structures such as the one marked by

the different-subject marker *-qti* in (93iv) and the temporal clause with the nominalizer *-na* and the marker for simultaneity *-kama* in (93xiii). Emphatic and contrastive clitics like *-raq* ‘still, in addition’ and *-taq* ‘on the contrary’ are also used, as in verse (9).

- (93) 1. i. ***hinaspa*** *chailaman haikun ukukuqa wiraqucha figurapi* [MU143-160]  
 ‘Then the bear came in disguised as a young man.’
2. ii/iii. ***hinaspa*** *ninku “señor kaipi tiyaikui” nispa*  
 ‘(ii) Then (the girl and boy-bear) said: “(iii) Sir, please sit down here.”’
3. iv. ***chaiqa*** *hina tiyaikusiaqtin*  
 v-vii. *ninku “señor dispensaikuwai huqratochalla hatariykurqui” nispa*  
 viii. *iskainin q’aspita hurqurqunku*  
 ‘(iv) When he was about to sit down, (v) they said: “(vi) Excuse us sir, (vii) please stand up just for a moment.” (viii) They took out the two sticks.’
4. ix/x. ***chaiqa*** *ninku “señor tiyaikakapullai” nispa*  
 ‘So they said: “Sir, please sit down.”’
5. xi. ***hinaspa*** *tiyaikuspanqa*  
 xii. *uno t’impuqman pasaikapun*  
 ‘(xi) Then when he was sitting down, (xii) he fell into the boiling water.’
6. xiii. ***hinaspa*** *qhuspaskanankamaqa*  
 xiv. *q’aspikunawan q’asuita qallarinku*  
 ‘(xiii) While he was rolling around (in the water), (xiv) they began to hit him with sticks.’
7. xv. ***chaiqa*** *wañurqachipunku*  
 ‘So they killed him.’
8. xvi. ***chaiqa*** *p’asñaqa contenta*  
 ‘So the girl was glad.’
9. xvii. ***hinaspa*** *naq’aspanku*  
 xviii. *miqhuikapunkuraq-taq*  
 ‘(xvii) Then they butchered him (xviii) and ate him as well.’

The following excerpt shows a sequence of verses from JP with only one interclausal conjunction, namely *hinaspas* in (94i). The other verses are marked by the reportative *-s(i)* on the first element of their first simple clause. The fourth verse includes several turns at talk which are mostly not introduced by a matrix clause with a speech verb. This style typical of JP makes the conversation appear more immediate to the audience. The verb stem *pasa-* establishes semantic coherence among the dialogic lines.

- (94) 1. i. *hinaspas tutamantaqa cohete qipanta siqayun* [JP316-328]  
 ‘In the morning, (the boy) went after (the she-calf) with a torch.’
2. ii/iii. *taputapurikuspas taputapuriyukuspas  
 puriyuchkan*  
 ‘(iii) He walked along, (ii) asking and asking (everyone he met about her).’
3. iv. *ay llaqtap esquinanmansí chayarun*  
 ‘He arrived at the outskirts of a village.’
4. v-vii. *chaypis tapuyukun señoráy paqta huk señorachata rikuwaq karan,  
 kaynin pasaruqta nispa*  
 viii/ix. *arí tutamantaraqmi pasachkaran nispas nin*  
 x. *pasaranchu*  
 xi. *arí pasarunmi*  
 ‘(v) There he asked: “(vi) Ma’am, did you perhaps see a young lady (vii) who passed through here?” “(viii) Yes, she came through this morning,” (ix) she said. “(x) She already came through?” “(xi) Yes, already.”’
5. xii. *yapamantas qatiyuchkallantaq*  
 xiii. *caminutaqa puriyuchkan puriyuchkan*  
 ‘(xii) Again he went after her. (xiii) He walked and walked along the path.’

(95) shows a sequence of verses from SN which includes various tense markings. It can be observed that interclausal conjunctions only occur in lines marked in the present tense (indicated by -Ø). Verse boundaries which depict more backgrounded parts of the narrative are not introduced by interclausal conjunctions, including descriptive clauses like those in verses (3) and (6) and those marked in backgrounding tenses like (95iv) (the habitual past -*q*) and (95v) (the narrative past -*sqa*). The last two verses represent a typical structure of scene boundaries in SN: the first one introduces a change of state or a new setting (note that -*sqa* functions as the mirative marker) and is followed by an event on the main storyline. Because the reportative -*s(i)* occurs frequently in SN (e.g. in every main clause in the example sequence), some clauses are grouped together because of their thematic coherence like in verse (6).

- (95) 1. i. *chayqa apa-Ø-nsi sapa p'unchay hak'u phirita* [SN17-27]  
 ‘Then (the girl) brought (the snake) flour soup every day.’
2. ii. *hinas hak'u phirillata mikhuchinaku-Ø-nku*  
 ‘Then they fed each other soup.’
3. iii. *ñas unayña kanku chay waynawan*  
 ‘They were together for a long time, (the girl) and the young man.’

4. iv. *chay waynaqa tawa chakillamantas puriq phawaylla*  
‘The young man crawled on all fours, (moving) fast.’
5. v/vi. *mach'aqwaysiyá kasqa chay tawa chakimanta puriq waynaqa*  
‘(v) The young man (vi) who crawled on all fours was a snake.’
6. vii. *manas runachu*  
viii/ix. *p'asñaq rikunallanpaqsi runa*  
‘(vii) He was not human. (ix) He appeared as a human (viii) for the girl to see.’
7. x. *wiksayuqsi p'asñaqa rikukapusqa*  
‘The girl became pregnant.’
8. xi. *hinas ni-Ø-n p'asñaqa ...*  
‘Then the girl said: ...’

At last, this section will examine whether the interclausal conjunctions have functional differences. As can be seen in Table 38, the conjunctions are categorized into three main types: the ones based on the demonstrative *chay*, the ones based on *hina* ‘like so’ (without the different-subject marker *-qti*), and *hinaqtin*. All the conjunctions (except the *hina*-based ones in JP) are used more often to mark change in the syntactic foreground (different subject) than topic continuity (same subject). However, the *chay*-based conjunctions and *hinaqtin*, if they occur in a text, tend to be used less often to mark topic continuity than the (other) *hina*-based ones. A functional contrast between *hinaspa* and *hinaqtin* can be observed in CI: although more than half of the occurrences of *hinaspa* appear in clauses where the subject changes, only a very small number of *hinaqtin* occur in cases of topic continuity. An additional survey shows that these two conjunctions contrast with the *chay*-based ones in terms of salience in CI, i.e. the fore- and backgroundedness of an utterance in relation to the main storyline. About 39% of the *chay*-based conjunctions mark salience continuity, while ca. 53% of the occurrences of *hinaspa* and *hinaqtin* do so.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Nuckolls et al. (2015:83) comment that in Pastaza Quicha, a variant of Amazonian Quichua, the conjunction *chiga*, the counterpart of *chayqa*, typically marks a shift in narrative topic or events.

<b>MU</b>	<b>Same subject</b>	<b>Different subject</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>chai(-qa)</i>	8	46	54
<i>hina(-spa)</i>	29	42	71
<b>CI</b>			
<i>chay(-qa/-si)</i>	10	25	35
<i>hinaspa</i>	17	22	39
<i>hinaqtin</i>	3	24	27
<b>SN</b>			
<i>chay(-ña/-qa/-si)</i>	8	11	19
<i>hina(-qa/-s/-spa)</i>	18	29	47
<b>JP</b>			
<i>chay(-ña/-qa/-si)</i>	12	23	35
<i>hina(-s/-spa)</i>	23	16	39
<i>hinaqtin</i>	3	0	3

Table 38 Functional distribution of interclausal conjunctions in MU, CI, SN, and JP

## 5.7.2 Definiteness and deictic strategies

### 5.7.2.1 Topic types and marking devices

Dik (1997:314f.) classifies discourse topics into New Topic (NewTop), a referent first introduced in an indefinite NP, Given Topic (GivTop), when a NewTop is continued, Sub-Topic (SubTop), a referent whose first occurrence is marked as a GivTop, and Resumed Topic (ResTop), a re-established GivTop after a certain time in a stretch of discourse. The coding strategies of NewTops, GivTops, and ResTops regarding the (main) agonist in the present narratives are discussed in section 5.3.2. According to Dik (1997:324), a SubTop refers to an entity that is in a relationship of inference with another activated entity; the notion is similar to what Schwarz-Friesel terms ‘indirect anaphor’: “a definite NP which has no explicit antecedent in text and is linked via a cognitive process to some element in prior text which functions as some kind of anchor for the interpretation of IA” (2007:3). Schulze (2004:567) defines a further type of topic: No Topic ( $\alpha$ Top), a referent “that is not ‘tracked’ at all in the ongoing event cluster”. Both NewTops and SubTops can be  $\alpha$ Tops. In this section, we will look at semantic and syntactic features and marking options of NewTops and SubTops in general, as well as the distribution of  $\alpha$ Tops.

Figure 24 shows the numbers of NewTops and all referent types in four selected texts from the present corpus. The percentage of referents introduced as NewTops is higher in JP and CI than in the other two texts; the average value of the four texts amounts to 35.55%. Note that

the calculation includes two types of NewTops. One of them is embedded in the text world; the other occurs in characters' worlds, textually reflected in dialogs.  $\alpha$ Tops among the NewTops are mostly objects and spatial referents; JL has the lowest percentag of  $\alpha$ Tops.

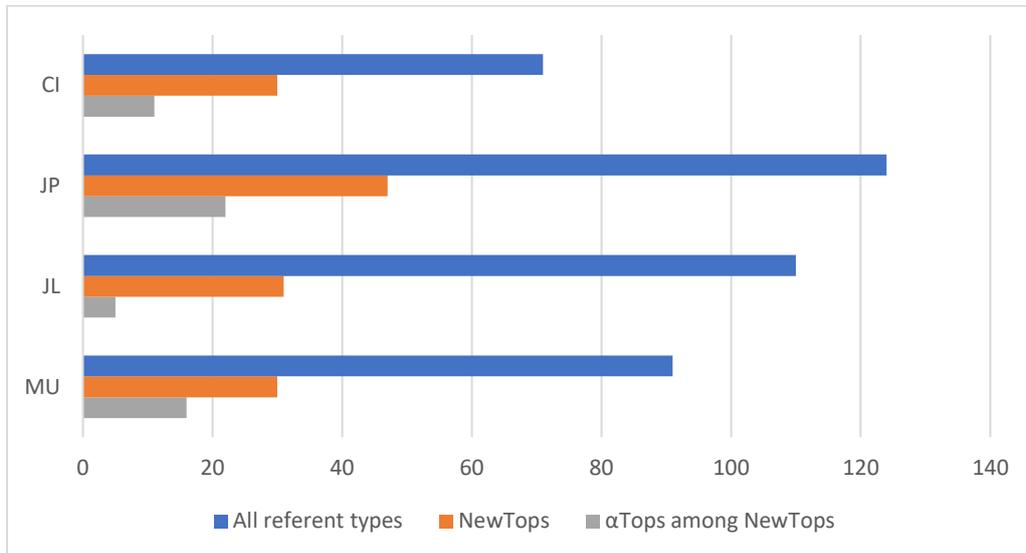


Figure 24 Distribution of New Topics in MU, JL, JP, and CI

The high frequency of NewTops in JP is partly due to those introduced in direct speech. In the sequence shown in (96), almost all the newly introduced referents – ‘an ovenload of bread’, ‘flowers’, ‘holy water’, and ‘innocent boy’ – are unspecific and do not refer to entities that exist in the characters' world. However, they can still be tracked in the same conversational context. The referent ‘an ovenload of bread’ is regarded as a NewTop because the referent in the subsequent clause ‘the first loaves of bread’ refers back to it. The referent ‘innocent boy’ is also mentioned for the second time in clause (vii) as a repetition of (vi). The referents ‘the first loaves of bread’ and ‘the first cup of wine’ are considered SubTops; ‘flowers’ and ‘holy water’ are  $\alpha$ Tops since they are only mentioned once in this dialog scene.

- (96) i. *hornada-n-pi-n*      *t'anta-ta*      *ruwa-chi-nqa*      [JP125-131]  
oven-EU-LOC-AFF      bread-ACC      make-CAUS-FUT:3
- ii. *hina-spa*      *chay-manta*      *ñawin-lla-n-ta*  
like-SS      that-ABL      first-LIM-3P-ACC
- iii. *vinu-ta*      *ñawinnin-ta*  
wine-ACC      first-ACC
- iv. *chay-manta*      *t'ika-ta*  
that-ABL      flower-ACC
- v. *agua bendita-ta*  
water      holy-ACC
- vi. *huk*      *inocente*      *chicu-cha-ta-wan*      *suya-chi-wanqa*  
one      innocent      boy-DIM-ACC-ADD      wait-CAUS-FUT:3>1
- vii. *suya-chi-wanqa*  
wait-CAUS-FUT:3>1  
‘(The she-calf said to the servant:) “... (i) She’ll have an ovenload of bread made (ii) and (take) the first loaves from it. (iii) (She’ll leave for me) the first cup of wine, (iv) then flowers, (v) and holy water. (vi) She’ll also let an innocent boy wait for me. (vii) She’ll let him wait for me.” ...’

The same referent can be introduced as a NewTop more than once when characters’ worlds are included. (97) shows a passage of direct speech where the referent ‘the Lover’s community’, which has been introduced at the very beginning of the story, is mentioned in a marked indefinite NP, *huq ayllupi*, because characters do not necessarily have the same information as the hearer does. The referent ‘the Lover’s home’ is also introduced as a SubTop for the second time in the whole text.

- (97) *chay huq ayllu-pi huq sipas-pa wasi-n-pi-ta*      [JL575]  
that      one      community-LOC      one      girl-GEN      house-3P-LOC-CON
- rikhuri-n uywa-yki p'acha-yki ni-spa-s*  
appear-3      horse-2P      clothes-2P      say-SS-HS  
‘(The escaped villagers said to the mayor:) “... Then your horse and clothes showed up at some girl’s home in a community.”’

As discussed in section 5.3.2.3, not all agonists are introduced in the form of a NewTop. Some of them are part of a plural referent which has been introduced into the discourse; others are considered culturally known entities. On average less than one third of all agonists are introduced as NewTops in the four texts. Table 39 shows that NewTops are more likely to be encoded in the syntactic background than in the foreground, which can be partly traced back to

the fact that existential clauses, where the NewTop is encoded as the subjective, are only used to introduce a limited number of referents (see section 5.3.2.3). Moreover, NewTops are rarely introduced in the syntactic role of the agentive. Nevertheless, JL, JP, and CI show noticeable numbers of NewTops encoded in S. In JL, several objects are introduced in existential clauses. In JP, the dialog scene where the Condors explain to the Boy how to get to the She-calf contains a group of animals introduced as NewTops in existential clauses. The choice of the verb can further affect the syntactic coding of NewTops: in CI, the Boy-bears are introduced in the clause ‘then two little babies were born’ with the Spanish loanword *nacer* ‘be born’; its Quechua counterpart *wachay* ‘give birth’ would have the same referent introduced in the role of O instead of S.

	MU	JL	JP	CI
<b>S;A</b>	4;0	14;0	11;1	9;1
<b>O/IO/OS/OA</b>	18	8	20	11
<b>LOC/IA</b>	8	9	14	9

Table 39 Grammatical relations of New Topics in MU, JL, JP, and CI

NewTops encoded in NPs based on singular count nouns are optionally marked by the indefinite article *huq/huk* ‘one’. The present corpus shows that singular characters introduced at the very beginning of a story are always marked by *huq/huk*; primary and secondary actors introduced later in the narratives are optionally marked by the article. Objects and locations which are only relevant in a short stretch of discourse or even  $\alpha$ Tops can also bear the article. In (98a), the  $\alpha$ Top ‘storage niche’ and the NewTop ‘clay pot’, which is only tracked twice later in the discourse, are introduced in a marked indefinite NP. The use of the indefinite article seems to have less to do with the thematic importance of the referents than the nature of the scene, which depicts a moment of discovery by the Mayor who is secretly watching his Lover. (98b) describes the scene where the vicious Condenado enters the stage. Again, a marked indefinite NP introduces an  $\alpha$ Top, ‘mountain top’, probably for drama-related reasons. The suspense is also built by the zero-marking of the subjective; the same strategy is described for the introduction of supernatural characters in Mambila folk tales (Perrin 1978:113).

- (98) a. *huq t'uqu-manta hurqu-rqa-mu-n* [JL48]  
 one hole-ABL take.out-EXH-CIS-3
- huq musuq allpa manka-cha-ta*  
 one new clay pot-DIM-ACC  
 ‘(The lover) took a small new clay pot out of a storage niche.’

- b. *chai-qa*      *chai-lla-man-si*      *huq*      *urqu-q*      [MU323]  
 that-TOP      that-LIM-AL-HS      one      mountain-GEN
- punta-manta*      *qapari-mu-n*  
 top-ABL      yell-CIS-3  
 ‘Then (a voice) yelled from a mountain top (...)’

The corpus shows that the more recent texts do not use the indefinite article more often than the earlier ones as one would expect in case of Spanish influence. Instead, the bilingual narrator of JP prefers not to use *huq/huk*; singular objects introduced in scenes of discovery are for instance not marked by the indefinite article.

Figure 25 shows the numbers of SubTops in the four texts. Every text has more SubTops than NewTops. SubTops mainly include background actors and non-agonists, i.e. non-agentive living beings, objects, and locations. They are more often introduced in the syntactic background than in the foreground (see Table 40). JL has the highest percentage of  $\alpha$ Tops among the SubTops; the ritual scenes introduce a considerable number of objects and body parts as  $\alpha$ Tops. In general,  $\alpha$ Tops add descriptive details to a story. CI represents a less elaborate narrative than the other texts in terms of the overall percentage of  $\alpha$ Tops (see also Figure 24).

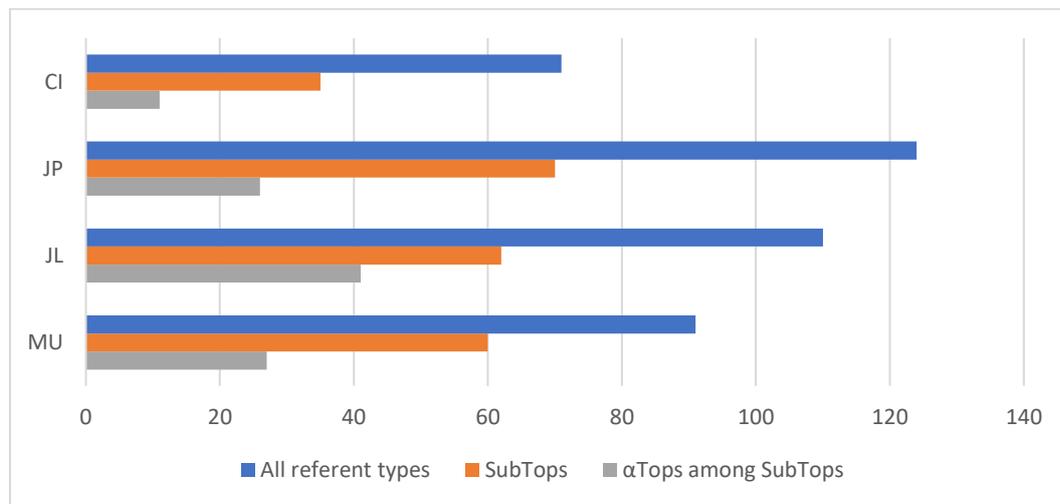


Figure 25 Distribution of Sub-Topics in MU, JL, JP, and CI

	MU	JL	JP	CI
<b>S/A</b>	13/6	4/2	13/1	7/2
<b>O/IO/OS/OA</b>	20	22	25	6
<b>LOC/IA/S#</b>	21	34	31	20

Table 40 Grammatical relations of Sub-Topics in MU, JL, JP, and CI

SubTops can be zero-marked or marked for definiteness. (99) shows three examples with zero-marked SubTops. While the referent ‘cook’ in (a) represents a frame-evoked SubTop, (b) and (c) include referents which are in a part-whole-relationship with a previous anchor element (cf.

Schwarz-Friesel (2007:9f.)). In the previous discourse of (99a), the Boy-bear is sent to the parish house, which serves as the semantic frame for the referent ‘cook’. Social institutions like family, school, and village are the typical frames in the present narratives, with frame participants such as family members, schoolmates, and villagers encoded as SubTops. In (99b), the referent ‘church door’ is semantically linked to the previous referent ‘church’ via meronymic relation. Body parts are typical SubTops that are in a part-whole-relationship with another known referent, but they are usually marked by a possessive suffix like *raprachan* in (99c). Family members and personal properties also tend to be introduced as this kind of SubTop.

(99) a. *hina-lla-taq chai-pi-pas cocinera miqhu-na-ta* [MU180]  
 like-LIM-CON there-LOC-ADD cook eat-NMLZ-ACC

*pisi-lla-ta qu-qti-n*  
 little-DIM-ACC give-DS-3P

‘When the cook there gave (the boy-bear) too little food, (he killed him with one slap).’

b. *hina-qti-n-si iglesia punku-pi chuta-rpari-n* [CI213]  
 like-DS-3P-HS church door-LOC put.down-INTL-3

*condenado-ta-qa*  
 condenado-ACC-TOP

‘(There was a church.) Then he put down the condenado at the church door.’

c. *rapracha-n-ta paki-rqa-pu-sqa* [MU116]  
 wing-3P-ACC break-EXH-STAT-SD

‘(The bear slapped the hummingbird) and broke one of its little wings.’

Section 5.3.2.3 has mentioned that SubTops such as culturally known referents can be marked by the topic marker *-qa*. (100) shows two SubTops marked for definiteness by demonstratives. (a) includes an exophoric demonstrative; the NP *kai wankataq* refers to an entity in the speech situation of the characters. This is an example of the cases where the first mention of a referent occurs in direct speech. The interpretation of this SubTop is based on the general knowledge about the son-of-bear story; in many versions of the story, the boy-bear has to push away a rock which blocks the bear’s cave in order to escape. In (b), the referent ‘two candles’ is a subset of a known referent, ‘four candles’; the NP is marked by an endophoric demonstrative.

(100) a. *kai wanka-taq tapa-wa-sia-nchis* [MU70]  
 this rock-CON block-1O-PROG-1INCL

‘(The boy-bear’s mother said to him:) “This rock is blocking us.”’

b. *chay k’anchay-kuna-ta-s sinqa-n-kuna-man sat’i-rqa-ri-n* [JL64]  
 that candle-PL-ACC-HS nostril-3P-PL-AL insert-EXH-INCH-3

*iskay-ta*  
 two-ACC  
 ‘(The lover) put two of those candles into her nostrils.’

### 5.7.2.2 *Functional distribution of demonstratives*

The main functions of the three demonstratives – the proximal *kay*, the distal *chay*, and the obvial *chhaqay* – have been described in section 2.3.2.2. Figure 26 shows the percentages of the occurrences of *kay* and *chay* against the total number of NPs in the six narratives (three occurrences of the prefixed forms *ankay* and *anchay* are included; *chhaqay* is left out because it only occurs once in the corpus).<sup>91</sup> The frequency of the demonstratives is the lowest in the two texts from Uhle’s collection, MU and SIS. As can be seen in Figure 27, both demonstratives rarely occur in the non-dialogic parts of the two stories. While the proximal *kay* is mainly used exophorically in direct speech in general, the use of the distal *chay* varies more greatly from text to text. In the two texts from Lira’s collection, JL and SN, and in the most recent text CI, more than half of the occurrences of *chay* are found in non-dialogic parts where it is used anaphorically. While JP has a relatively high frequency of *chay*, it is more often used in direct speech, as an anaphoric element.

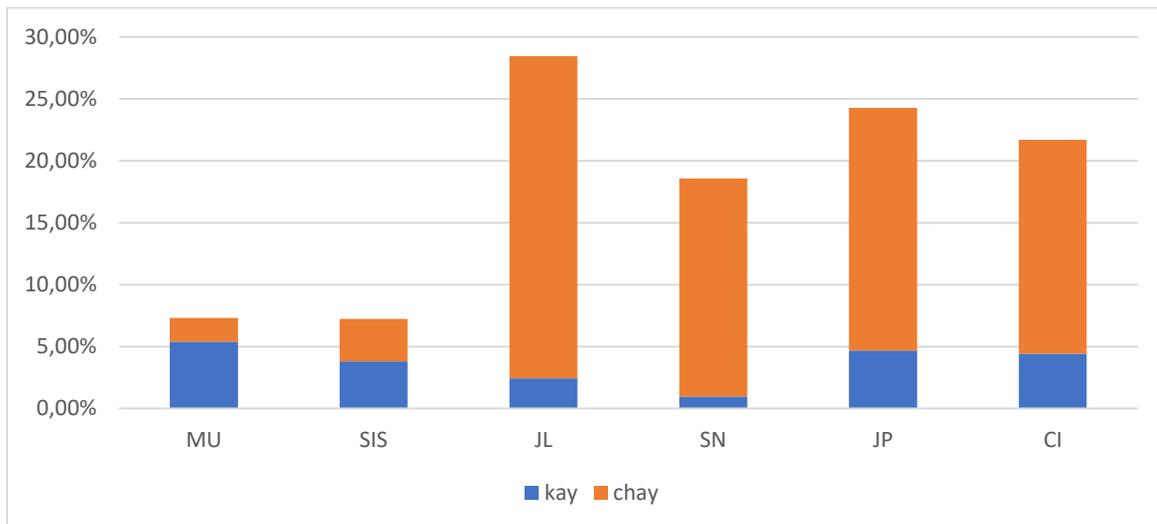


Figure 26 Occurrences of *kay* and *chay* in relation to all NPs in the six texts

<sup>91</sup> The percentage of all occurrences of *kay* and *chay* including those of temporal deixis and those in non-deictic uses in relation to total words (7,596) in the present corpus amounts to 6.75%, which is slightly lower than but fairly close to the values Nuckolls et. al (2015) found out for the Pastaza and Tena dialects: 7.97% and 7.20% (with a corpus size of over 5,720 tokens) respectively. Non-deictic uses of the demonstratives include inter-clausal conjunctions such as *chayqa* ‘(and) then’ and the discourse particle *chay* ‘all right’.

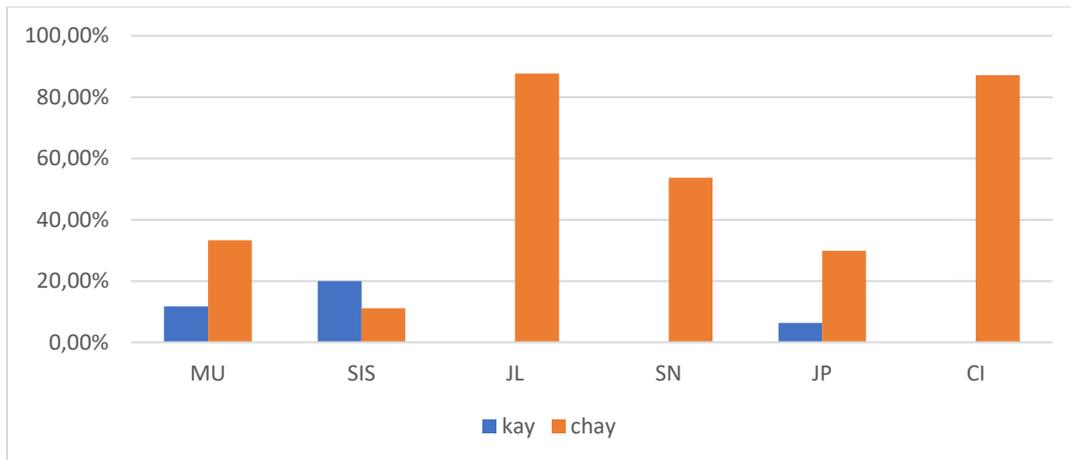


Figure 27 Frequency of *kay* and *chay* in the non-dialogic parts of the six texts against their total occurrences

In the two more recent texts, JP and CI, *chay* is more often used referentially than adnominally, as shown in Figure 28. *chay* frequently refers to locations in these two texts, which could be a feature of orality (see below).

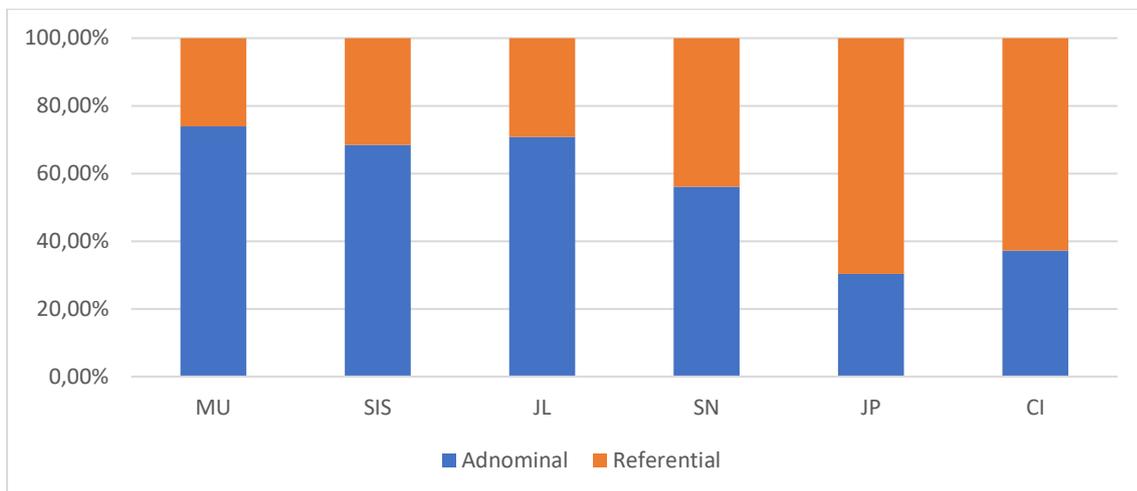


Figure 28 Distribution of adnominal and referential uses of *kay* and *chay* in the six texts

The adnominal and referential uses of *chay* in the non-dialogic parts are further divided into two semantic categories in Figure 29 (MU and SIS are left out in the analysis due to the low frequency of the element in question). The results show that agonists are rarely encoded by *chay* used as a noun (see also 5.3.2.4). In JP, almost only objects and locations are referred to by NPs with *chay*; in the other three texts, NPs with the adnominal *chay* are used more often to encode agonists. In JL and SN, primary actors are the common type of agonists marked by the adnominal *chay*, such as *chay sipas* ‘that girl’ and *chay wayna* ‘that young man’. It seems that the choice of using the adnominal *chay* has to do with the semantic nature of the NP itself. Anthropomorphic animal figures are usually encoded in unmarked NPs (apart from topicalization) in general, probably because of their archetypal status. In SN for instance, when the Snake is referred to as a snake, the noun *mach'aqway* is rarely marked by *chay* (the only instance

includes a modified NP: *chay machu mach'aqway* ‘that old snake’); when the character is mentioned as a young man, the NP *chay wayna* is often used. However, *chay* is not necessarily used when the NP is a generic term; in MU, the Girl is mainly referred to as *p'asña*, without any modifiers. Future research is needed on the investigation of the adnominal use of demonstratives in coding agonists. *kay* is used four times adnominally to refer to the protagonists (and the decór actor She-dove) in the non-dialogic parts of MU and SIS.

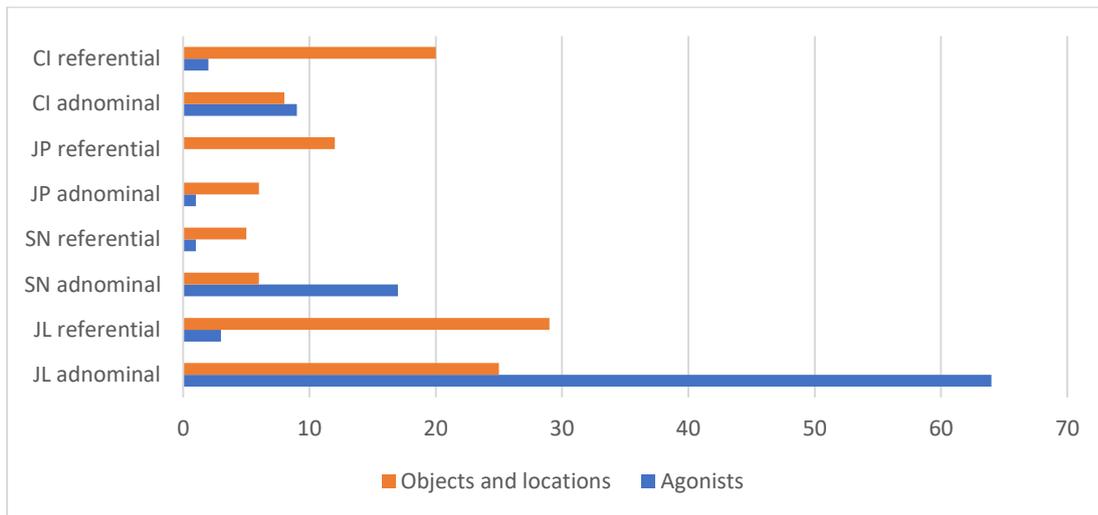


Figure 29 Distribution of *chay* regarding two linguistic uses and two semantic categories in the non-dialogic parts of JL, SN, JP, and CI

It has been mentioned above that *chay* is used frequently as the referential base for locations in JP and CI. (101a) shows a sequence from CI where the anaphoric NP *chaypi* occurs in clauses (i), (ii), and (iv); they all refer to the pot with the boiling water which is disguised as a seat. There are also instances of *chaypi* which do not have a locational antecedent. For instance, in (101b), *chaypi* can at best be interpreted as ‘with the she-calf’s mother’; nevertheless, the focus of the clause lies in the Parents’ presence. In cases like this, most of which are clauses with the copula or posture verbs, *chay* is analyzed as a place holder.

- (101) a.i. *chay-qa*      *chay-pi*      *tiya-n*      [CI104-7]  
 that-TOP      that-LOC      sit-3
- ii. *hina-qti-n-qa*      *chay-pi*      *tiya-sha-qti-n-qa*  
 like-DS-3P-TOP      that-LOC      sit-PROG-DS-3P-TOP
- iii. *tanqa-ya-rpari-nku*  
 push-AUG-INTL-3PL
- iv. *chay-qa*      *chay-pi*      *wañu-ka-pu-n*  
 that-TOP      that-LOC      die-REFL-STAT-3  
 ‘(i) Then (the bear) sat down there (on the pot with boiling water). (ii) When he was sitting there, (iii) they pushed him (into the pot). (iv) Then he died there.’
- b.i. *dolur hap'i-qti-n-qa*      [JP26-7]  
 labor catch-DS-3P-TOP
- ii. *ña*      *mamita-n*      *papa-n-qa*      *chay-pi*  
 already      mother-3P      father-3P-TOP      there-LOC  
 ‘(i) When (the she-calf’s mother) was in labor, (ii) her parents (were) there.’

It seems to be a thematic matter whether the demonstratives are used exophorically or anaphorically in direct speech. In MU, *kay* occurs frequently in the exophoric use because the characters tend to talk about referents present in their speech situation. In SN, however, the topics in the characters’ dialogs are often located somewhere else, thus *chay* is used frequently as an anaphoric element. For instance, in the opening scene where the Girl meets the Snake in the mountains, after the Snake asks her to take him to the storage niche in the barn at her home, she asks him: “What could you possibly do in that niche (*chay t’uqupiri*)?”.

### 5.7.3 The evidential-modal markers in narrative discourse

#### 5.7.3.1 The narrative past and mirative *-sqa*

In his study on different discourse types in South Conchucos Quechua (SCQ), Hintz (2007:155) concludes that in legendary narratives, the historical present (zero-marked like in Cuzco Quechua) is used to express positive affects such as excitement and happiness, whereas the narrative past *-na*: (the counterpart of *-sqa* in Cuzco Quechua) indicates negative affects such as shame and anger. It is further noted that the reportative and the narrative past are used together at the beginning and sometimes also at the end of a folk tale in SCQ in order to mark the narrative frame; for the middle part of a story, the use of the narrative past shows different patterns depending on the narrator (2007:36, 87). The following analysis will show that the present narratives exhibit similar marking patterns. However, *-sqa* does not correlate often with

negative affects and rather denotes mirativity with different deitic centers. The affect of surprise is also described for *-na*: (along with several other past tense forms) in SCQ by Hintz (2007:169). I will further argue that based on the current corpus, *-sqa* seems to be a highly pragmatic marker apart from being a genre marker in Cuzco Quechua, which means that its usage varies across narrators.

Table 41 shows that the texts from Lira’s collection, JL and SN, and the most recent text CI have higher percentages of non-dialogic clauses marked by *-sqa* than the other texts. Although all the texts have some instances where a mirative reading is plausible, in JL this usage is much more common.

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI
<b>-sqa as the narrative past marker</b>	2	6	48	26	12	24
<b>-sqa as the mirative marker</b>	9	3	72	10	14	6
<b>Percentages of marked non-dialogic clauses</b>	4.98%	7.14%	26.20%	16.07%	8.67%	16.04%

Table 41 Distribution of *-sqa* in the non-dialogic parts of the six texts

As mention in section 5.6.2, *-sqa* is used to mark the beginning of a story which can include the first few lines on the storyline as well as narrative settings and flashbacks off the main storyline. It can also occur in the ending of a story, such as in JL. The existential copula *ka*-always attracts *-sqa*, either as the narrative past marker or the mirative marker. Regarding the marking of the salience scheme, some of the present narratives show their own usages of *-sqa*. In CI, it is used to mark events which can be construed as part of a secondary storyline. In the following sequence, the grammatical tense changes from the historical present in clauses (i) and (ii) to the narrative past in (iii) and (iv). Clause (iv) depicts an action event which is unlikely marked as a surprise; it is thus demoted from the primary storyline by *-sqa*. In clause (v), the tense is switched back to the zero-marked present because a new character emerges.

- (102) i/ii. *chayqa chaypi wakata maskashaqtin wakata hap'i-Ø-n* [CI78-82]  
 iii. *ña wakaqa chaypiña kasqa*  
 iv. *apamushasqaña*  
 v. *hinaqtin huk q'inticha muyupaya-Ø-n*  
 ‘(i) After (the bear) looked for a cow, (ii) he found one. (iii) The cow was there. (iv) He was carrying it. (v) Then a hummingbird flew around (him).’

In SN, the narrator marks the initial lines of a new scene in the middle of the story. An example sequence is shown in (103). *-sqa* is used exclusively as the tense marker in the main clauses, whereas the lines before and after the sequence are marked in the historical present. The temporal and locational phrases (underlined) indicate transitions. It is unlikely that the sequence

represents a secondary storyline: the event where the Girl goes home and enlarges the storage niche so that the Snake can live there is central to the plot; the rendezvous between the two characters is also a continuation of the main storyline. The event after this sequence is then marked in the present tense, probably because *-sqa* is no longer needed to mark the thematic transition.

- (103) i. *chay ch'isinta haykupasqa p'asñaqa wasinta sapallanraq* [SN107-113]  
 ii/iii. *hinaspá mana tayta mampá rikusqallan t'uquta hatunyarqachisqa hatunta*  
 iv/v. *hinaqa qhipantin p'unchayqa risqa michiq*  
 vi. *taripanakullasqakutaq*  
 vii. *hinaspá willanakusqaku*  
 '(i) The girl came home alone that night. (ii) Without her parents seeing it, (iii) she made the storage niche bigger. (iv/v) The next day she went to herd (animals). (vi) They met again. (vii) Then she told (the snake) ...'

In order to answer the question whether *-sqa* conveys emotional affects or tension and climax, some of the themes with tension-building or climactic potential from the son-of-bear stories (MU, JL, and CI) are examined and listed in Table 42. The selected passages include one or several clauses; they are considered marked when *-sqa* (as the mirative marker) occurs at least once. As the results show, the appearance of *-sqa* does not correlate strongly with these themes, especially in MU and CI. Its use within the same theme can also vary. For instance, in the scene 'Pregnancy and birth of boy-bear(s)', the only marked clause in MU describes that the newborn is a bear cub; in JL, it is the lines announcing the Bear's pregnancy that are marked by *-sqa*; in CI, the whole sequence is in the present tense. Furthermore, *-sqa* does not seem to be used to express negative affects in a consistent manner like its counterpart SCQ. While the narrator's disapproval or fear can be implied by *-sqa* in a scene like the one in CI where the Boy-bear kills his brother, scenes that are associated with positive emotions like those where villains like the Bear and the Condenado(s) die can also be marked by *-sqa*.

	MU	JL	CI
Bear's appearance			
Abduction			
Pregnancy and birth of boy-bear(s)	✓	✓	
Spouse and boy-bear(s)'s escape	✓		✓
Bear finds out the escape		✓	
Bear's death		✓	
Boy-bear harms society		/	✓
Condenado(s)'s appearance		✓	
Condenado(s)'s death		✓	✓

Table 42 Markedness of similar themes by the mirative *-sqa* in MU, JL, and CI

Another method of investigating the meaning of *-sqa* is to see if it correlates with other devices which express or mark affects, tension, and climax. Such devices include the emotive *-yá*, onomatopoeic elements, adverbial phrases, and questions.<sup>92</sup> (104a) below shows a descriptive clause with the copula marked by *-sqa* and the first element marked by *-yá* (*-siyá* is also a common combination). The previous clause in the text has described how the Boy-bear and his brother break free from the cave. *-yá* seems to express the narrator's sympathy with the characters, for whom the rocks are an unpleasant obstacle.<sup>93</sup> However, *-yá* and *-sqa* do not co-occur often: only seven out of 24 clauses in the corpus which include the emotive suffix are also marked by *-sqa*. The next example (104b) involves an onomatopoeic element. The clause is part of the scene in JL where the Mayor has to smell the Devil's fart. Every main clause in this dramatic scene is marked by the mirative *-sqa*, including the current example where the suddenness of the action is also conveyed by the description of the sound. However, the other 18 clauses with an onomatopoeic element in the corpus are in the present tense. In JP, the adverbial phrase of Spanish origin *por fin* 'finally' co-occurs with *-sqa* regularly. While a mirative reading of *-sqa* is usually plausible in such contexts, the adverbial also implies that the event that has taken place is desirable for a character. In (104c), She-calf's mother, who is hosting the Boy, has been waiting for him to fall asleep so that she can go to check if her daughter has returned. The last rhetorical device is questions asked by the narrator himself about the story development as a form of tension-building. The present corpus has one instance of this kind, which is presented in (104d). However, both the question and the answer are marked in the

<sup>92</sup> Some of the categories are inspired by the cross-linguistic peak-marking devices described by Longacre (1985).

<sup>93</sup> Cusihamán (1976:242) only mentions the semantics of *-yá* in conversational discourse. It can express positive and negative emotions; in the latter case, *-yá* is supposed to indicate annoyance and apathy towards a situation.

present tense. In summary, only the text JP shows a consistent use of *-sqa* in combination with the adverbial phrase *por fin* to express positive emotions; the other sporadically co-occurring rhetorical devices cannot establish *-sqa* as a regular marker for affects, tension, and climax.

- (104) a. *qaqa-si-yá ka-sqa chay cueva-n-man* [CI60]  
 rock-HS-EMO be-NARR that cave-3P-AL

*hayku-na-n-qa*  
 enter-NMLZ-EU-TOP  
 ‘The entrance to the cave was (blocked by) rocks.’

- b. *phuph ni-rqu-sqa* [JL190]  
 ONOM say-EXH-SD  
 ‘(Then the mayor turned to one side and) made the sound *phuph*.’

- c. *chay-qa por fin puñu-ra-pu-sqa* [JP199]  
 that-TOP finally fall.asleep-EXH-STAT-SD

*chicu-qa*  
 boy-TOP  
 ‘Finally, the boy fell asleep.’

- d. i. *chaiqa imatataq rura-Ø-n compadrenqa* [MU189-190]  
 ii. *panteón uqhupis huq zanjonta rurachimu-Ø-n*  
 ‘(i) What did his godfather do? (ii) He dug a hole in the graveyard.’

The mirative meaning of *-sqa* has mainly been investigated with regard to the speaker’s stance in conversational discourse (Cusihuamán 1976; Faller 2004; Manley 2015). Hintz (2012) has put forward a typology of mirativity for SCQ; the parameters can also be adopted for the analysis of different types of mirativity expressed by *-sqa* in the present narratives. Regarding *-sqa* as a mirative marker in the non-dialogic parts, it can express a character’s surprise while discovering something; the new information often has a surprising effect on the audience too. Such scenes of discovery typically begin with a character arriving at a new location. In the following sequence from JL in (105), the first three clauses describe how the Mayor sees the Devil’s mansion from a distance; the fourth clause describes his arrival (in the present tense) and in the next one he sees his Lover. The verbs in all the clauses except for (iv) are marked by the mirative *-sqa* and the progressive *-sha*; the latter makes the descriptions more immediate and thus supports the mirative reading of *-sqa*. In these scenes, the audience is making a joint discovery with the character. The exhortative *-r(q)u* also co-occurs with the mirative *-sqa*, indicating suddenness and unexpectedness (see (104b) and (104c)); the semantics of suddenness can be made explicit by lexical elements such as *huqllata* ‘suddenly’. About half

the verbs marked by the mirative *-sqa* in the corpus are also marked by the exhortative or the progressive.

- (105) i. *hinas kharumanta rikhuriku-sha-sqa huq hatun hatun wasis* [JL120-124]  
 ii. *kicharayamu-sha-sqa ima hinaraqsi*  
 iii. *anqas k'anchaykunayusqi kamu-sha-sqa*  
 iv. *chaymansí chaskisqa hina chayarqu-Ø-n payllamanta*  
 v. *hinas chaypi chay sipas tiyapu-sha-sqa*  
 ‘(i) Then a big mansion appeared afar. (ii) (Its gate) was open. (iii) There were blue lights. (iv) (The mayor) landed softly. (v) The girl was sitting there.’

There are further cases where the event of surprise is not new information for the audience or the surprise is only audience-based. In (106a), both clauses are marked by *-sqa*, but it expresses two types of mirativity. In the first clause, the Boy-bear finds out that the people try to push him down from the tower, while the audience already knows about the ambush. In the second clause, the element of surprise is meant to affect the audience. In (106b), the main clause (ii) is marked in mirativity. The narrator is only informing the audience at this point; it is not until the next few lines that the character Siskucha finds out the dove’s death.

- (106) a.i. *runakuna chanqaikamuita munasqanku llipinku* [MU212-213]  
 ii. *hinaspa pai aswan llipinkuta runakunata chanqaikampusqa*  
 ‘(i) The people, all of them, wanted to push (the boy-bear) down. (ii) But it was he who pushed all the people down.’
- b.i. *chaiqa wasinta chayaqtinga* [SIS42-43]  
 ii. *urpichantaqa mama taitan ña miqhurqapusqankuña*  
 ‘(i) At the time (Siskucha) came home, (ii) his parents had already eaten the little dove.’

The next example is particularly interesting because the mirative mood in clause (ii) forms a contrast to the present tense in clause (i). While the two clauses share the same verb, the referents have switched their roles of the agentive and the objective in (ii). The fact that Boy-bears can grab the Bear despite its strength is marked as surprising.

- (107) i. *hina-s*                      *wawa-n-kuna-ta*                      *hap'i-n*                                      [JL452, 456]  
 like-SS                      child-3P-PL-ACC                      catch-3  
 (...)
 ii. *hina-s*                      *wawa-n-kuna-qa*                      *mama-n-ta*                      *hap'i-sqa-ku*  
 like-SS                      child-3P-PL-TOP                      mother-3P-ACC                      catch-SD-3PL  
 ‘(i) The (the bear) grabbed her children. (...) (ii) Then (surprisingly) the boy-bears grabbed their mother.’

### 5.7.3.2 The reportative *-s(i)*

As mentioned in section 2.4.3.3, evidential markers, especially the affirmative *-mi/-n*, are studied in terms of their semantic extensions and focus-marking function in Quechua studies. The

reportative suffix *-s(i)* functions among other things as a genre marker for traditional narratives, but its distribution in narrative discourse has not been examined in detail so far. The present narratives differ greatly in the usage of *-s(i)*, as the following data shows:

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI
<b>Non-dialogic SCs marked by <i>-s(i)</i></b>	20	2	293	133	130	28
<b>Percentage of total non-dialogic SCs</b>	8%	2%	64%	59%	43%	15%

Table 43 Frequency of *-s(i)* in the non-dialogic parts of the six texts

In the following, the occurrences of *-s(i)* in the three texts JL, SN, and JP are analyzed due to their high frequencies. Figure 30 below shows that the reportative suffix appears mostly on phrases in clause-initial position. Note that nominalized and adverbial clauses are treated as elements of the matrix clauses in this analysis. (108) includes an adverbial clause marked by *-spa*. *-s(i)* is usually attached to the verb marked by the same-subject or different-subject (*-qti*) suffix in such constructions, which makes the adverbial clause in question similar to a clause-initial element. (108i) begins with an interclausal conjunction which is also marked by *-s(i)* so that the adverbial clause *uyachanmanta hap'iruspansi* is regarded as the second element in the complex clause consisting of (i) and (ii). (109) presents an example involving a nominalized VP in clause (ii). In the database of the corpus, the whole sentence is broken down into three simple clauses. In the present analysis, *kallpachakusqanwantaqsi* is treated as the second element of the sentence, on which *-s(i)* occurs; note that the first adverbial clause is not marked by it.

- (108) i. *hina-spa-s uya-cha-n-manta hap'i-ru-spa-n-si* [JP71-72]  
 like-SS-HS face-DIM-3P-ABL catch-EXH-SS-EU-HS
- ii. *uña-cha-ta-qa much'a-paya-n*  
 face-DIM-ACC-TOP kiss-REP-3  
 '(i) (The servant) held her little face (ii) and kissed it over and over.'
- (109) i. *chay qapari-ku-spa* [SN351-353]  
 that shout-REFL-SS
- ii. *kallpacha-ku-sqa-n-wan-taq-si*  
 use.force-NMLZ-3P-INSTR-CON-HS
- iii. *chay-lla-pi sullu-ra-pu-sqa*  
 that-DIM-LOC have.a.misconception-EXH-STAT-SD  
 '(i) When she was shouting, (ii) using all her force, (iii) she had a miscarriage.'

When *-s(i)* is attached to the second element of a sentence, the first element is often a conjunction, an NP marked by the topic marker *-qa* (see (111) below) or the additive suffix *-pas/-pis*,

sometimes also an unmarked NP or a verb. Although new information tends to be fronted in Cuzco Quechua, JL contains one example where the new topic, marked by *-s(i)*, appears right to the verb, as shown in (110). As will be discussed in section 5.7.5, suspensful information can appear in postverbal position.

- (110) *hina-s*            *kharu-manta*            *rikhuri-ku-sha-sqa*            [JL120]  
 like-SS            far-ABL            appear-REFL-PROG-SD
- huq*            *hatun*            *hatun*            *wasi-s*  
 one            big            big            house-HS
- ‘Then a huge house appeared afar.’

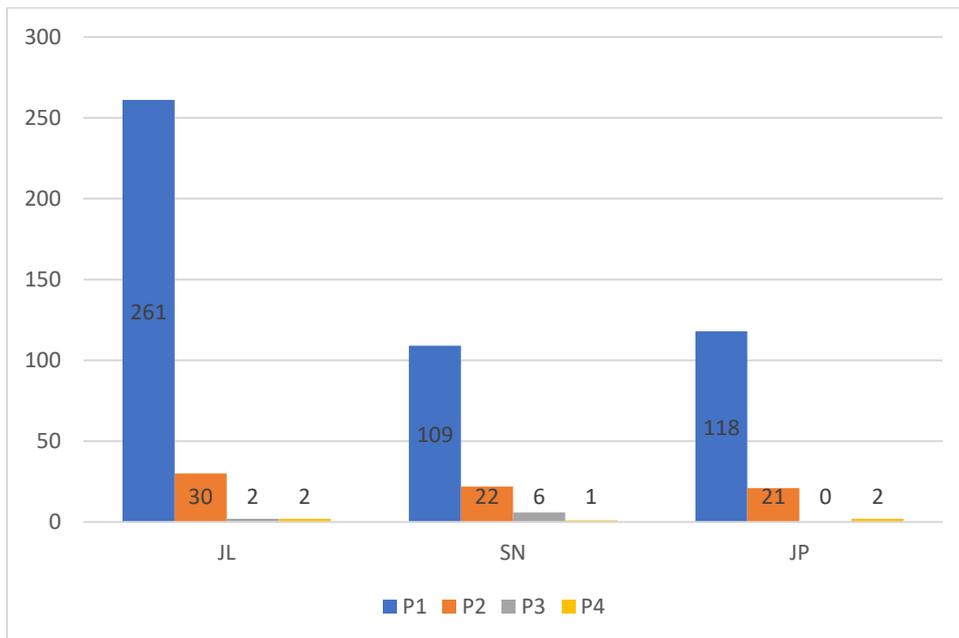


Figure 30 Positions of phrases marked by the reportative *-s(i)* in JL, SN, and JP

In Figure 31, the clausal elements marked by *-s(i)* are further divided into different types. Conjunctions, or interclausal conjunctions, make up the largest group in all three texts. As discussed in section 5.7.1, they correlate strongly with verse boundaries. There is evidence that they may have become lexicalized in texts where the reportative suffix is used with a considerable frequency. First, most of the interclausal conjunctions (about 70%) in the three texts are marked by *-s(i)*; second, a further element in the same clause or sentence can still be marked by *-s(i)* as in (108) and (110) above. The second most frequent marked clausal elements are NPs (including temporal ones), verbs (except for JP), and adverbials (including adverbs, nominalized and adverbial clauses).

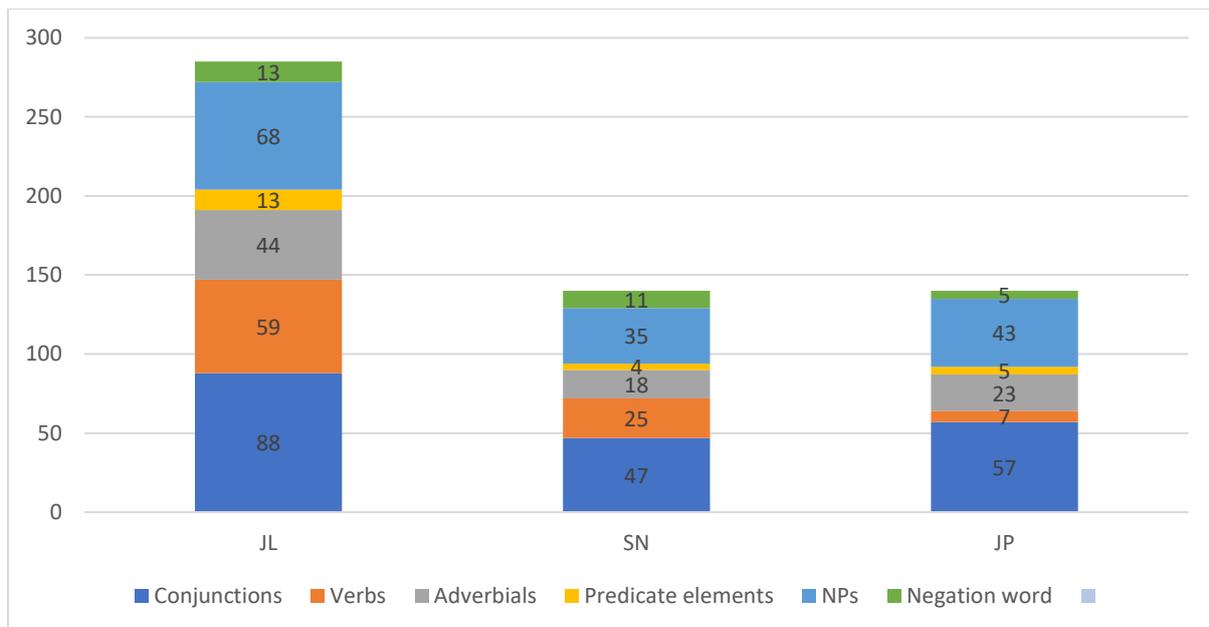


Figure 31 Frequencies of clausal elements marked by *-s(i)* in non-dialogic parts of JL, SN, and JP

Clauses with marked conjunctions and verbs tend to encode events on the storyline, while those with marked predicate elements are descriptive. *-s(i)* further marks phrases expressing spatial and temporal settings. An important function of *-s(i)* has to do with focus marking. The negation word *mana* tends to attract *-s(i)*. In (111), the marked negation word is in the second position of the clause, while the scope of negation is determined by the position of the second negation marker *-chu*. We have here a case of constituent negation: the snake does not live in the storage niche anymore and has to go somewhere else.

- (111) *mach'aqway-qa*      *mana-s*      *chay*    *t'uku-n-pi-ña-chu*      [SN156]  
snake-TOP                      NEG-HS              that    hole-3P-LOC-ALREADY-NEG
- tiya-sqa*  
live-NARR  
‘The snake didn’t live in *that niche* any more.’

*-s(i)* also marks focused elements in situ, like in (109ii) above (when the subordinate clauses are treated as clausal elements). The example also shows the co-occurrence of the contrastive suffix *-taq* and *-s(i)*. In fact, more than 60% of the clausal elements marked by *-taq*, the limitative *-lla*, or the adverbial *-raq* ‘still, in addition’ end in *-si* or *-siyá* in JL and SN. (112) shows an example where *-s(i)* marks an appositional NP and co-occurs with the emotive *-yá*. The quantifying noun ‘all’, which can be expressed by three lexemes in Quechua: *lliw/lluy*, *q'ala*, and *tukuy*, also attracts *-s(i)*.



*yacha-chi-n*                      *mamita-n-ta*  
 know-CAUS-3                      mother:DIM-3P-ACC  
 ‘Then the little bear-man, (it must have been) the one who was a bear, instructed his mother: ...’

- c.i. *chay-qa*            *huk*    *asendado*            *chay-pi*            *ka-sqa*            [CI190-192]  
       that-TOP            one    landowner            there-LOC            be-NARR
- ii. *hina-spa*            *millay-chá*            *ka-ra-n*  
       like-SS            bad-INFER            be-PAST-3
- iii. *hina-spa*            *kondena-ka-mu-sqa*  
       like-SS            condemn-REFL-CIS-NARR  
       ‘(i) There used to be a landowner. (ii) He must have been a bad person (iii) and then became a condenado.’

Coler (2014:250f.) has pointed out that a similar pattern where an utterance is marked in the simple past tense and by the conjectural suffix exists in Aymara folk tales; events marked in this way are based on knowledge of other narratives or outside a certain narrative, whereas events marked in the remote past (similar to the narrative past in Quechua) represent stable parts of a narrative. In the Quechua examples above, *-chá* (which can occur in present and in the simple past) also denotes two types of knowledge inference – narrative-related or cultural, although they can be interwoven with each other. The similar grammatical marking of the stable and the inferred parts of a narrative in Quechua and Aymara can be regarded as an areal feature.

The present corpus further includes an example where *-chá* co-occurs with the mirative *-sqa*, as shown in (114). The narrative context of the clause is that the Boy-bears are trying to call out to the escaped villagers from a hill top. *-sqa* probably indicates that it is surprising that the villagers can hear the Boy-bears from a long distance. The phrase *imaynapichá* can thus be read as ‘I don’t know how, but somehow they must have noticed’. Here *-chá* occurs in the stable part of a narrative denoting a logical inference; the utterance implies that the narrator lacks certain details of the story or that certain details are not relevant.

(114) *runa-kuna* *kharu-man* *ayqi-pu-q-kuna-s* [JL530-531]  
 person-PL far-AL escape-STAT-AG-PL-HS

*imayna-pi-chá* *yacha-sqa-ku*  
 somehow-LOC-INFER know-SD-3PL  
 ‘The people who had escaped noticed, in whatever way, (that others were calling from the village).’

#### 5.7.4 Subordinate structures

Figure 32 shows the distribution of various subordinate structures in the present corpus which have been discussed in section 2.6.2. In all six narratives, the co- and switch-reference constructions constitute the most frequent subordinate structures, followed by nominalized clauses marked by *-na* and *-sqa*. The two most recent texts, JP and CI, show lower percentages of subordinate structures than the other texts. This could be explained by the fact that the narrators are less eloquent in Quechua (both used Spanish in everyday life) than those from earlier times; it is also possible that the two stories were told in more spontaneous settings.

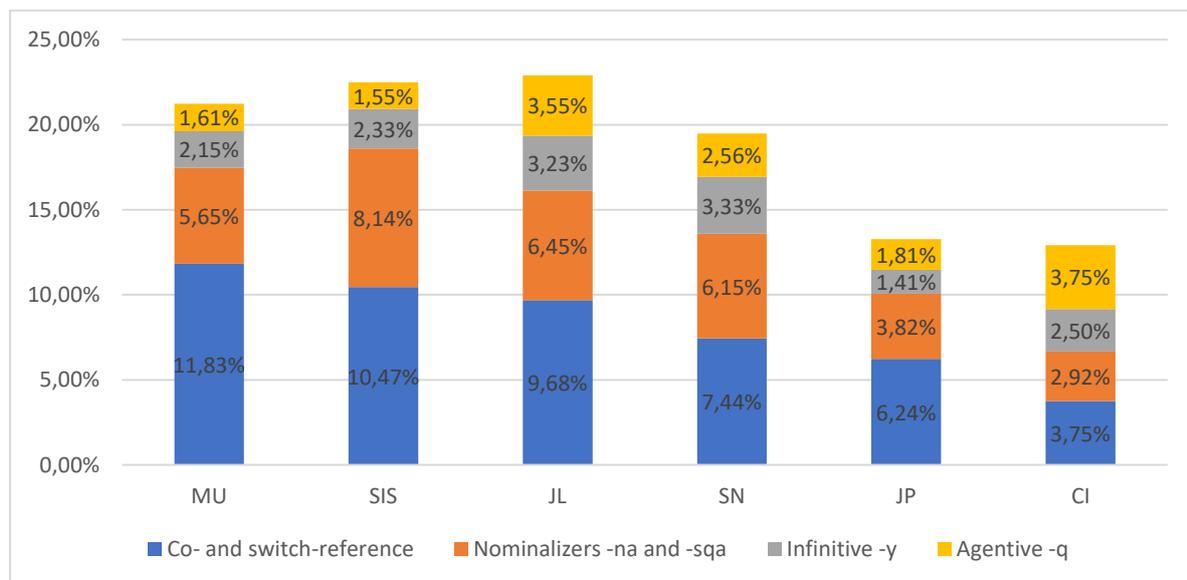


Figure 32 Distribution of subordinate structures in relation to total simple clauses in the six texts

Figure 33 shows the distribution of various clause types marked by the nominalizers *-na* and *-sqa*. While *-na* is heavily associated with modal clauses, state-denoting adverbial clauses are exclusively marked by *-sqa*. Most of the complement clauses and relative clauses are based on realized events or passivized clauses and thus marked by *-sqa*. *-na* and *-sqa* show equal frequency regarding nominalized temporal clauses.

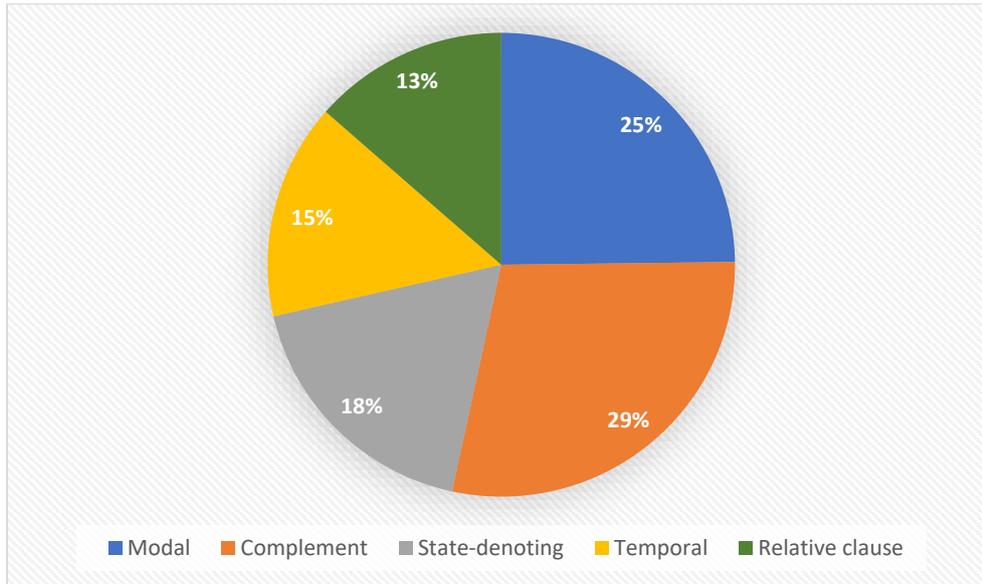


Figure 33 Functional distribution of nominalized clauses marked by *-na* and *-sqa* in the six texts

The co- and switch-reference constructions, marked by *-spa* and *-qti* respectively, can denote temporal posteriority and simultaneity and occasionally also modal relations. A survey of the two constructions in MU and JL shows the following results:

	MU	JL
<b>Posteriority</b>	21	37
<b>Simultaneity</b>	21	20
<b>Modal</b>	2	3

Table 44 Functional distribution of co- and switch-reference constructions in MU and JL

(115) shows a complex sequence of three co- and switch-reference constructions from MU. While clause (i) depicts an (ongoing) background event, the second telic event triggers the last two. *-spa* in (i) thus implies simultaneity; *-qti* in (ii) and *-spa* in (iii) denote posteriority. Clause (ii) can also be read causally: ‘because the other schoolchildren won’; there are other instances in the corpus where both a temporal and a causal reading are plausible. Line (iii) can in turn be regarded as a manner-denoting adverbial: ‘by slapping them’.

- (115) i. *hina-spa*      *chuwi-spa-nku*      [MU165-8]  
 like-SS      play.marbles-SS-3PL
- ii. *gana-rqu-qti-n*  
 win-EXH-DS-3P
- iii. *ima*      *ch'aqlla-spa*  
 CONJ      slap-SS
- iv. *ima-lla*      *wañu-rqa-chi-pu-n*      *masi-n*      *warma-cha-ta-qa*  
 CONJ-LIM      die-EXH-CAUS-STAT-3      fellow-EU      child-DIM-ACC-TOP

‘(i) When they were playing marbles (ii) and the other schoolchildren won, (iii) (the boy-bear) slapped them (iv) and killed them.’

(116) shows one of a few instances from JL where a co-reference construction can only be interpreted modally:

- (116) i. *hina-s*            *pay-qa#*            *#mana*            *ri-pu-n-chu*            [JL318-320]  
 like-HS            3-TOP            NEG            go-STAT-3-NEG
- ii. *mikhu-ru-na-n-ta*  
 eat-EXH-NMLZ-3P-ACC
- iii. *mancha-ku-spa-s*  
 fear-REFL-SS-HS  
 ‘(i) He didn’t leave (iii) because he feared (ii) being eaten.’

In JL, clauses marked by *-spa* and *-qti* sometimes follow the main clause, which does not occur in MU; the dislocation could be seen as a kind of afterthought in oral narratives. Furthermore, JL includes more cases of tail-head linkage based on the co- and switch-reference constructions than MU. In this cohesive device, which is also found in many other narrative traditions (cf. e.g. Vries (2005), Guillaume (2011), and Grenoble (2012)), the main verb of the preceding sentence is repeated at the beginning of a new sentence. In the present Quechua narratives, it is often a whole clause that is repeated, with only the tense marker being replaced by *-spa* or *-qti*. (117) shows a typical example from JL where in a chain of actions, the previous action, as in (i), is recapitulated by a co-reference construction, as in (ii), before the next action is depicted in the main clause, as in (iii).

- (117) i. *hawa-ta-s*            *lluqsi-rqu-n*            [JL58-60]  
 outside-AL-HS            leave-EXH-3
- ii. *hawa-ta*            *lluqsi-ru-spa-taq-si*  
 outside-AL            leave-EXH-SS-CON-HS
- iii. *saq'a-ku-n*  
 shake-REFL-3  
 ‘(i) She went outside. (ii) After she went outside, (iii) she shook (her body).’

(118) shows two depictions of a scene from the son-of-bear story. While MU uses a subordinate clause marked by *-spa* within a main clause, CI employs two independent clauses introduced by interclausal conjunctions. This exemplifies the stronger tendency towards co- and switch-reference constructions in MU than in CI, as shown in Figure 32 above.

- (118) a.i. *ch'aqlla-spa*            [MU115-6]  
 slap-SS

- ii. *rapra-cha-n-ta*      *paki-rqa-pu-sqa*  
 wing-DIM-3P-ACC      break-EXH-STAT-SD  
 ‘(i) (The bear) slapped (the hummingbird) (ii) and broke its little wings.’

- b.i. *hina-qti-n-qa*      *renega-sqa*      *ukuku-qa*      [CI84-6]  
 like-DS-3P-TOP      get.angry-NMLZ      bear-TOP

*laq'iya-rpari-n*  
 kick-INTL-3

- ii. *hina-spa*      *ataka-cha-n-ta*      *p'aki-rpari-n*  
 like-SS      wing-DIM-3P-ACC      break-INTL-3

*q'inti-cha-ta*  
 hummingbird-DIM-ACC

‘(i) The bear kicked (the hummingbird) in anger. (ii) And he broke its little wings.’

### 5.7.5 Phrase order

This section will deal with two issues: first, it will establish the main phrase order types in the present corpus; second, it will examine the syntactic and discourse status of ‘right dislocated constituents’ (RDCs). Since simple clauses are broken down into VPs and NPs in this study, the term ‘phrase order’ is more appropriate than ‘word order’. Regarding the main phrase order types, only the grammatical relations functioning as core arguments are considered: subjectives, agentives, and (direct) objectives; other grammatical relations such as indirect objectives and locatives as well as adverbial phrases and discourse particles are not included. Following the two-way typology suggested by Dryer (1997), the distribution of phrase order types in four selected texts is presented in Figure 34. The verb-second orders (S/AV and OV) are more than twice as frequent as the verb-first ones (VS/A and VO) and hence represent the basic phrase order types in the current corpus according to Dryer’s 2:1 ratio criterion (1997:74). The mean percentages of the occurrences of S/AV and OV are 77.14% and 73.87% respectively; the data of South Conchucos Quechua (SCQ) provided by Hintz (2003:46) also show a higher frequency of preverbal S/A’s than O’s: 82% vs. 70%. MU has a higher percentage of preverbal S/A’s than the other texts and a slightly above-average percentage of preverbal O’s.

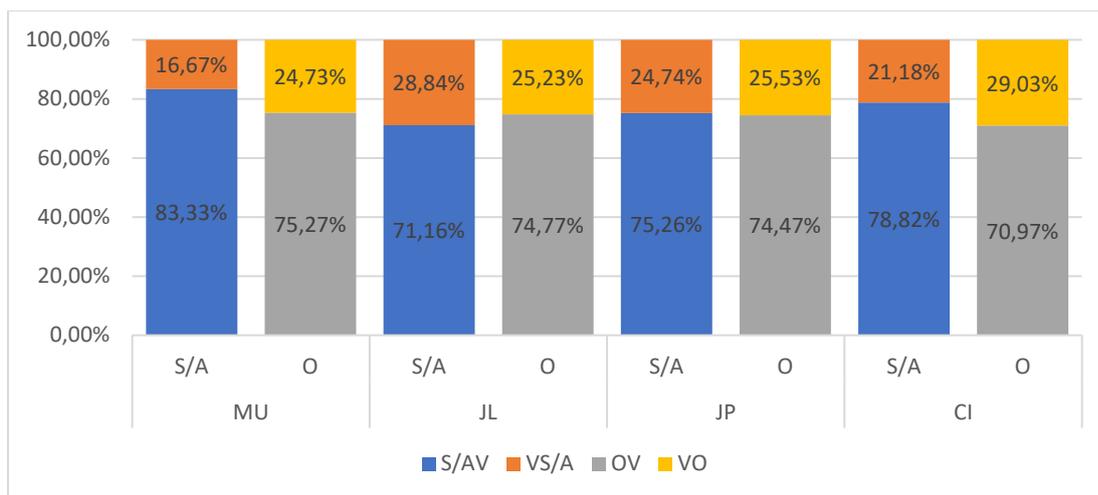


Figure 34 Phrase order types in MU, JL, JP, and CI

Regarding clauses with more than one overt NP, the present data supports one of Dryer's objections to the traditional six-way typology of word order (consisting of orders among subject, object, and verb) in that only 3% of all simple clauses in each text contain an overt A and O.<sup>94</sup> Despite the overall low frequency, the type AOV occurs more than twice as often as the other types in most of the texts, which makes it the main order type. In JL and JP, the type AVO does not differ so greatly from AOV in frequency (postverbal objectives will be later discussed under RDCs).

Table 45 shows the distribution of postverbal elements (or RDCs) and simple clauses containing such phrases in the four texts. The argumental NPs include not only core arguments of a clause but also NPs in grammatical relations like IA (indirect agentive), LOC, and S# (comitative NP). The non-argumental elements are mainly temporal and other adverbial phrases. Coordinate NPs are counted separately; ca. 12% of the clauses with postverbal elements have more than one RDC. Complement clauses which follow the verb of the main clause are not included.<sup>95</sup> The more recent texts show higher frequencies of simple clauses with RDCs; JP is an exception because of its high percentage of verbless clauses (over 10%). The argumental NPs are divided into a marked and an unmarked category; the former makes up over 30% of all RDCs on average, which speaks against Sánchez's (2010; 2015) claim that RDCs in Southern Quechua are usually not morphologically marked. Authors like Sánchez and Muysken (1995) also comment that the topicalizer *-qa* is the only marker allowed for RDCs; according

<sup>94</sup> Studies on other Quechua variants show a higher frequency of clauses with an overt A and an overt O: 99, or 7.56%, out of 1309 clauses in Huallaga Quechua (Weber 1989:15f.) and 6.6% out of 998 clauses in SCQ (Hintz 2003:44).

<sup>95</sup> For instance in the following sentence: 'The girl already knew **that the bear would come disguised as a human**' [MU134-135].

to the present data, although *-qa* is the most common marker, other topic-related and focal elements also occur in postverbal positions.

	MU		JL		JP		CI	
<b>Marked argumental NPs</b>	28	34.57%	40	37.74%	42	39.62%	21	31.34%
<b>Unmarked argumental NPs</b>	30	37.04%	36	33.96%	34	32.08%	41	61.19%
<b>Non-argumental phrases</b>	23	28.40%	46	24.86%	30	28.30%	5	7.46%
<b>Percentage of SCs with RDCs</b>	19.09%		26.45%		18.31%		24.58%	

Table 45 Frequency of different types of RDCs and simple clauses with RDCs in MU, JL, JP, and CI

RDCs marked by *-qa* are mainly agonists, which will be discussed below. The other markers include the additive *-pas/-pis*, the limitative *-lla*, the responsive *-ri* which functions as a topic marker in questions (cf. Cusihuamán (1976:238)), and evidential markers *-mi/-n* and *-s(i)* which function as focal elements; the definitive *-puni* (the marked element refers to a referent which has been talked about, glossed as ‘certainty’ marker), the contrastive *-taq*, and the adverbial *-raq* ‘still, in addition’ only occur once respectively. (119a) shows a postverbal locational NP marked by *-pas* with an emphasizing function, judging from the co-occurring sociative suffix *-ntin*, which indicates the entirety of the referent in question. In (119b), the RDC *condenadoq haciendaman* ‘the condenado’s property’ is marked by the definitiv *-puni* because in the previous discourse, the characters have been warned about the vicious Condenado; the contrastive *-taq* is used because the Schoolboy did not want to go there. (119c) and (119d) show two clauses with marked RDCs from direct speech. Both NPs, *kaimi* and *wawayri*, seem to be afterthoughts. In (c), the demonstrative refers to a referent (trunks filled with money and blood) the two characters are immediately looking at. In (d), the She-calf’s mother who has just given birth notices that the baby is not there; the referent ‘my child’ is thus assumable, also for other characters in the speech situation. (119e) shows a postverbal temporal NP, non-argumental phrase, marked by *-ri*, which also represents an afterthought because it is not in the scope of the bipartite negative marker *mana* and *-chu*; otherwise the focus of the main clause would lie on the question of why the Mayor is not allowed to visit on those nights mentioned but on the other nights.

- (119) a. *lliw-si kicha kicha punku-kuna llaqta-ntin-pi-pas* [JL480]  
 all-HS open open door-PL village-SOC-LOC-ADD  
 ‘All the doors were wide open in the *whole* village.’

- b. *hina-spa*      *chaya-nku*      *condenado-q*      [MU297]  
 like-SS          arrive-3PL      condenado-GEN
- hacienda-man-puni-taq***  
 property-AL-CERT-CON  
 ‘Then (the boy-bear and the schoolboy) arrived at exactly the condenado’s property (they had been warned about).’
- c. *runa-kuna-q*    *kallpa-n*      *apa-ku-sqa-i*      *kai-mi*      [MU368-369]  
 person-PL-GEN    power-3P      carry-REFL-NMLZ-1P    this-AFF  
 ‘‘(The condenado said to the boy-bear:) ‘‘This is the energy of the people I robbed.’’
- d. *may-taq*          *wawa-y-ri*      [JP37]  
 where-CON      child-1P-INTERR  
 ‘(The she-calf’s mother asked her parents:) ‘‘Where is (she), my child?’’
- e. *imarayku-taq*    *chay*    *warmi-ri*      *mana*    *ri-na-y-ta*      [JL31-32]  
 why-CON          that    woman-INTERR      NEG    go-NMLZ-1P-ACC
- muna-n-chu*    *chay*    *tuta-kuna-ri*  
 want-3-NEG    that    night-PL-INTERR  
 ‘(The mayor thought to himself:) ‘‘Why doesn’t that woman want me to go on those nights?’’

Note that (119a) shows a pattern where the postverbal NP *punkukuna* ‘the doors’ has an antecedent in the same clause, namely the quantifier NP *lliysi* ‘all’. In a previous example, (100b), a quantifier NP, *iskayta* ‘two (of the candles)’, appears to the right of the verb and has the NP *chay k’anchaykunas* ‘the candles’ as antecedent. This kind of postverbal element has the function of specification.

Now we will look at the distribution of grammatical relations among the RDCs, which is related to a complex web of factors such as verb type, topical status, and referential interference. Table 46 shows that the most common postverbal grammatical relations in the four texts are S, O/OS/OA, and LOC. More than half of the postverbal A’s in MU and JL are from ditransitive clauses with speech verbs. In MU, this type of clause sometimes has the addressee in the postverbal position – hence the relatively high number of IOs. The function of RDCs encoding referents of speech verbs is mainly referential specification. Since A’s typically refer to main agonists, they are frequently marked by *-qa*; in JL, the adnominal *chay* also occurs in NPs in the role of A.

	<b>MU</b>	<b>JL</b>	<b>JP</b>	<b>CI</b>
<b>A</b>	9	24	3	6
<b>S</b>	11	37	21	11
<b>O, OA, OS</b>	14	25	27	18
<b>IO</b>	8	7	2	3
<b>LOC</b>	13	39	18	21
<b>IA, S#</b>	2	2	4	3

Table 46 Distribution of grammatical relations among RDCs in MU, JL, JP, and CI

Postverbal S's and LOCs co-occur frequently with motion verbs. About 45% of the clauses with (one of) the two grammatical relations also include a motion verb. Postverbal S's in this type of clause are usually main agonists. They can be a NewTop, a GivTop, and a ResTop. In (120), the Boy is the topic in the first two clauses. In clause (iii), the She-calf is re-introduced into the story as a ResTop in a motion construction, encoded by two postverbal NPs; after being established as the new topic, the agonist is encoded in zero-anaphora in clause (iv).

- (120) i. *mana puñu-yu-n-chu* [JP275-278]  
 NEG sleep-AUG-3-NEG
- ii. *astutu chicu-cha-qa*  
 astute boy-DIM-TOP
- iii. *chay-si yayku-mu-n uña-qa waka uña-cha*  
 that-HS enter-CIS-3 baby-TOP cow baby-DIM
- iv. *hina-spa iskay chaki saya-n*  
 like-SS two leg stand-3  
 '(i) He didn't sleep. (ii) He had been astute, the little boy. (iii) Then there came in the baby, the little cow baby. (iv) She stood on her two (hind) legs.'

In (121), the NewTop Parrot is introduced as an RDC in (i). In the subsequent clauses where it interacts with the other topical referent, the Mayor, it appears as a GivTop in the form of postverbal NPs. Note that the verbs in clauses (i), (ii) and (iv) are marked by the mirative *-sqa*; the postverbal position in these cases is likely associated with suspenseful information (see below). As for clause (iii), the postverbal NP probably serves to disambiguate which referent is leaving. The RDC in clause (iv) could also be triggered by syntactic parallelism in relation to the previous clause. The following lines of direct speech from MU show a similar structure: *rin k'inti, phawan k'inti* 'hummingbird goes, hummingbird flies'. The subjective follows the motion verb in both clauses; the character, the Hummingbird itself, is speaking poetically in this scene.

- (121) i. *hina-s inti wata-y-ta hina hamu-sqa* [JL218, 220, 233-234]  
 like-SS sun tie-INF-ADV like come-SD
- q'umir k'allachu-cha*  
 green parrot-DIM  
 (...)
- ii. *hina-s pay-qa riku-rqu-sqa k'alla-cha-ta-qa*  
 like-SS 3-TOP see-EXH-SD parrot-DIM-ACC-TOP  
 (...)
- iii. *hina-s pasa-n k'alla-cha-qa*  
 like-SS leave-3 parrot-DIM-TOP
- iv. *kuti-rqa-mu-sqa k'alla-cha-qa*  
 return-EXH-CIS-SD parrot-DIM-TOP  
 '(i) Then at sunset, there came a little green parrot. (...) (ii) Then he (the mayor) saw the little parrot. (...) (iii) Then the little parrot left. (iv) (Suddenly) it was back again.'

Sánchez (2015:305f.) claims to have observed a pattern of RDCs for both transitive and intransitive clauses (from picture-based narrative data) in Southern Quechua, namely that they tend to be non-topical referents within a certain stretch of discourse. The examples in (120) and (121) clearly contradict her conclusion. It is also shown in section 5.3.2.4 that postverbal NPs encoding main agonists tend to have lower RD values than preverbal ones, which means that these postverbal NPs have higher topic continuity. However, RDCs in the present narratives can also be non-topical referents like locations and instruments or even NewTops, which will be discussed in the following.

Locational RDCs in motion clauses often encode landmarks. They can be NewTops, like in (122a), or SubTops, like in (122b).

- (122) a. *hina-spa-n-si llant'a-ku-q ri-sqa-ku* [CI2]  
 like-SS-3P-HS collect.firewood-REFL-PURP go-NARR-3PL
- karu quebrada uray-ta*  
 far gulch bottom-AL  
 '(One day) they went down a gorge far away to collect firewood.'
- b. *chai-qa chai-lla-man condenado-qa haiku-n* [MU332]  
 that-TOP that-LIM-AL condenado-TOP enter-3
- ventana-ta*  
 window-PERL  
 'Then right after that, the condenado came in through the window.'

In direct speech, clauses in the imperative and the cohortative moods can contain postverbal elements, especially when they are complex or coordinate NPs, as in (123). Hintz (2003:46) has also noted that complex NPs tend to follow the verb in Quechua.

- (123) *apa-mu-y* *manka-ta* *wislla-ta* *plato-ta* [CI30]  
 carry-CIS-IMP pot-ACC spoon-ACC plate-ACC  
*imaymana-ta*  
 everything-ACC  
 ‘(The girl said to the bear:) “Bring pots, spoons, and plates, everything.”’

With regard to topic types, NewTops also appear as RDCs with verb types other than motion verbs. With intransitive verbs like *rikhuri*- ‘appear’ and the existential *ka*-, NewTops are typically presented as suspenseful information. In the context of (124a), the Condor is telling the Boy how to find the She-calf, who is hidden in the bellies of animals which are inside one another like matryoshka dolls; in the present clause, the second animal, a cat, is revealed. (124b) shows a transitive verb with a postverbal O as a NewTop; in this scene in JL, the Mayor is spying on his Lover, which naturally implies suspense.

- (124) a. *chay* *wiksa-cha-n-pi-n* *ka-nqa* *michi* [JP409]  
 that belly-DIM-3P-LOC-AFF be-FUT:3 cat  
 ‘(The condor said to the boy:) “In its (the goat’s) belly there will be a cat.”’
- b. *huq* *t’uqu-manta* *hurqu-rqa-mu-n* (=98a)  
 one hole-ABL take.out-EXH-CIS-3
- huq* *musuq* *allpa* *manka-cha-ta*  
 one new clay pot-DIM-ACC  
 ‘(The lover) took a small new clay pot out of a storage niche.’

Instrumental NPs, or IAs, can appear to the right of the verb as different types of topic. In the two examples in (125), the RDCs represent a NewTop and a SubTop respectively. Instrumental NPs usually refer to props and are often not tracked later in discourse. Another reason for the postverbal position could be their heaviness. Instrumental NPs in the corpus often have modifiers, like in (125a).

- (125) a. *hina-spa* *apa-rpari-n* *yuraq* *sabana-s-wan* [CI214]  
 like-SS carry-INTL-3 white sheet-PL-INSTR  
 ‘(The boy-bear) carried (the condenado) in white sheets.’ (literally: ‘with white sheets’)
- b. *kay-manta* *qaqa-ta* *ch’ipa-yu-ku-chka-n* (=16b)  
 this-ABL tight-ADV squeeze-AUG-REFL-PROG-3

***chaki-n-kuna-wan-raq***

leg-3P-PL-INSTR-IN.ADDITION

‘He held tight onto (the condor’s body) like this, with his legs as well.’ (literally: ‘from (the condor’s body)’)

To sum up, postverbal elements in the present corpus are mainly NPs in various syntactic roles, among which S and O are the most frequent ones; the rest of them are temporal and other adverbial phrases. Different factors which can trigger RDCs have been discussed. NewTops presented as suspenseful information can appear to the right of motion and existential verbs and verbs of emergence; (120iii) also shows a ResTop in the postverbal position, which could also be triggered by the motion verb since postverbal S’s and LOC’s tend to be in clauses with motion verbs. Speech verbs make up the main type of ditransitive verbs which occur with RDCs; MU and JL show more postverbal elements of this kind than the other two texts. RDCs referring to non-agonists are usually encoded in O, LOC, or IA. Postverbal locational and instrumental NPs can appear as NewTops or SubTops; they typically add details in terms of space and props to the story. In general, agonists appear more often as RDCs than non-agonists. The main function of the RDCs referring to agonists seems to be referential disambiguation because they tend to be highly topical. For instance, 30 out of 33 RDCs which refer to agonists in MU have a referential distance less than three; 14 out of 20 RDCs of the same type in JP have a referential distance less than four. There are a few instances of focalized RDCs marked by suffixes like the additive *-pas/-pis* and the contrastive *-taq* in the corpus. In direct speech, interrogative clauses can have RDCs which are the topic of a question, marked with *-ri*; RDCs in imperative and cohortative clauses can be given or new information. Finally, complex NPs tend to appear postverbally.

## **6 Towards a narrative typology of Cuzco Quechua**

### **6.1 A text world model of Quechua narrative**

Table 47 presents a text world model of Quechua narrative consisting of narrative knowledge frames and their linguistic expressions based on Schulze (2019[ms.]:190f.). The knowledge frames are constructed by inductive and deductive methods. For instance, on the one hand, the textual prominence and coding forms of the main agonists are described based on linguistic evidence; on the other hand, features of Andean oral tradition and general structures of folk tales allow us to predict the presence of stereotypical figures and their functions in narrative. The column ‘Linguistic structure’ in the table includes qualitative and quantitative descriptions. Some semantic and structural traits of the knowledge frames are presented in the same column, such as the constellation of *dramatis personae*, types of props, and functions of social institutions and certain geographical entities; they are text-semantic expressions of the knowledge frames. The linguistic features presented in the table are based on structural similarities among some or all of the six narratives and postulated as prototypical features of Quechua narrative.

Narrative-semantic category	Narrative knowledge frame	Linguistic structure
Opening	Activation of the genre <i>cuento/kwintu</i> , which is located in another space-time than here and now	Construction: <i>huq X-s ka-sqa</i> (one X-HS be-NARR) ‘once upon a time, there was a X, they say’ (X is one of the main agonists) <sup>96</sup> ; no specific spatial and temporal setting
Agonists	Constellation of dramatis personae	A victim/hero and a villain (or a wanted person and a seeker) as two antagonistic forces along with a dispatcher, a donor, and/or a helper; dual constellations like male and female, animal and human, parent/god-parent and child/godchild
	Stereotypical roles including animal archetypes	Smaller sets of referential types and lower degree of lexical elaboration on the part of main agonists than the other text referents; typical lexical bases include sex- and age-based or general human terms, (spiritual) kinship terms, and animal names; low percentage of adnominal forms; more agonists are introduced as Sub-Tops than as NewTops.
	Textual importance	High text-frequency of main agonists: 64% of total referential units
Props	Sociocultural frames and belief systems	Andean culinary and textile terms; ceremonial objects like coca leaves and rope; body fluids like saliva and blood as magical elements

<sup>96</sup> The indefinite article does not occur when it is a plural referent.

Space	Schematic cognitive map with low spatial resolution (which can be further elaborated by cultural knowledge and individual experience with a certain tale)	General spatial terms encoding two main spheres: the domestic/social world of humans (LBs like <i>wasi</i> ‘home, room’ and <i>llaqta</i> ‘village’) and the nature (LBs like <i>urqu/montaña/altu</i> ‘mountain’ and <i>waiq'u/bajada/quebrada</i> ‘gorge’); average size of main landmarks: 18.50; only one specific place name; only a few direct spatial descriptions (character movement-centered); vague information on spatial distance, sometimes indicated by the temporal duration of a journey or use of objects; about 11% of all locational phrases involve relational nouns.
	Sociocultural frames and belief systems	Functions of social institutions are implied: e.g. school and parish house as places of education and authority, church as a place of redemption and social gathering; geographical entities regarded as having otherworldly qualities (puna, boulder) or transitions to other worlds (jungle) are involved; among the limited set of relation nouns are several which refer to the concept of ‘border’ (e.g. in SIS, the She-dove turns into a girl at the border of the village).
Time	Temporal concepts	The concepts of day, week, month, and year apply, with <i>tuta</i> ‘night’ and <i>p'unchay</i> ‘day’ as the two most common temporal lexical bases; intervals based on the temporal concepts vary from one to five (e.g. one or two weeks, three months, four or five years).
	Narrative time	Narrative time corresponds by and large to story time with a low frequency of flashbacks; temporal duration can often only be guessed at in contexts of physical growth and journeys; narrative speed is in general slow: more than 20 clauses per day in story time; the most common frequency-related pattern is singulative events being told once (there are also more temporal phrases denoting point in time and duration than those denoting frequency).

Events	Archetypal events	The most common verb types are action verbs (46.17%), speech verbs (14.06%), and motion verbs (14.43%); the most common verb stems are <i>ni-</i> ‘say’, the copula <i>ka-</i> , and <i>ri-</i> ‘go’; action verbs have the lowest degree of lexical elaboration (among the most common stems are <i>apa-</i> ‘carry’, <i>hap'i-</i> ‘catch, hold on to, light’, <i>mikhu-</i> ‘eat’ ).
	Clustering of events	Strong tendency among action verbs and motion verbs respectively; short sequences of different event types occur, based on units like ‘speech act→action’ and ‘action→motion’.
	Repetition of events	Possible contexts for repetitions: thematic series such as the episodes of murder attempts on the Boy-bear; repetitions in direct speech such as passing on instructions; semantic coherence between non-dialogic parts and direct speech through realization of addressed events or hypodiegetic narration – reflected linguistically in lexical isomorphism in terms of nominal and verbal stems, recurrence of syntactic constructions, and formulaic expressions
Rhetorical interaction	Forms of social interaction	Dialogs make up one third of total simple clauses on average; forms of address (kinship terms as honorific forms) and jocular names are used in dialogs.
Modality, emotion and inference	Epistemic and denotic modalities and counterfactuals	Non-dialogic parts: nominalized verbs + causal/purposive case markers (rarely also the same-/different-subject markers); direct speech: modalities implied in the future tense (e.g. cohortative, request-related, conjectural etc.); imperative mood; potential mood marked by <i>-man</i> denoting possibility, wishes, and counterfactuals ( <i>V-man + karqa</i> )
	Mirativity	The mirative <i>-sqa</i> , which can co-occur with the exhortative <i>-r(q)u</i> (suddenness, unexpectedness) or the progressive <i>-sha</i> (immediate perception), marks joint discovery of characters and audience, surprise affecting characters only or affecting audience only.

Modal-ity, emotion and inference	Knowledge reference	The inferential <i>-chá</i> (in present or in the simple past) marks events based on knowledge of other narratives or cultural knowledge; it implies lack of details on the part of the narrator when occurring in the stable parts of a narrative (marked in present or by the mirative <i>-sqa</i> )
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Table 47 Narrative knowledge frames and their linguistic expressions in Quechua narrative

The openings of the present narratives all consist of one clause based on the formulaic expression ‘once upon a time, there was a X, they say’.<sup>97</sup> The remote past and the non-first-hand nature of the information are encoded by the narrative past *-sqa* and the reportative *-s(i)* respectively. Table 48 shows the openings of six versions of the son-of-bear story in three variants of Quechua IIB and I; the stories are part of Weber’s collection *Juan del Oso* (1987). Two stories begin with an existential clause like the present narratives; two start directly with the storyline describing activities of a character; the others include the announcement of storytelling and general information on the story. Lexical temporal phrases are used in some of the examples, such as *ñau pa tiempocunapi* ‘in earlier times’ and *unay* ‘a long time (ago)’. The reportative marker, in the forms of *-shi* and *-s*, appears at the beginning of the last four texts. In Saraguro Quechua, the verb phrase *nin* ‘they say’ is used – a periphrastic form of the reportative suffix; the story in Ferreñafe Quechua (Incahuasi) does not apply any linguistic elements to mark its hearsay nature. The tense marking in these Quechua variants differs to some extent from Cuzco Quechua. The first three dialects (Quechua II) use cognate forms of the simple past *-r(q)a* in Cuzco Quechua. The Quechua I dialects from Oyón and Shawsha show the narrative past markers *-na:* and *-ñah* (cf. *-na:* in), while the Huánuco variant uses two past tenses: *-ra* and *-sha*. South Conchucos Quechua also has *-na:* as the narrative past marker and the two past tense markers. According to Hintz (2011:112f.), *-ra* indicates a more remote past and is more compatible with imperfective semantics, whereas *-sha* marks foregrounded events in narratives.<sup>98</sup> This description explains well the use of the two tense forms at the beginning of the Huánuco story. With regard to space, the general term ‘mountain’ appears in the last two stories. In the passage from Oyón, a town in Central Peru not far from from the Pacific coast, the women are said to ‘collect tunas’, which likely reflects the real-life environment of the narrator. The excerpt from the first story is the only one that contains a real place name.

<sup>97</sup> Schulze (2019[ms.]:192) mentions the oriental type of expression to start a tale: ‘it was, it wasn’t’.

<sup>98</sup> There is another past perfective marker *-ru* in SCQ, which occurs in complementary distribution with *-sha* in terms of person.

Saraguro, Ecuador (Quechua IIB)	<i>Ñaupá tiempocunapi Yurac C'acapi jatun osocuna tiyarca nin.</i>	In earlier times, big bears lived in Peña Blanca, they say.
Incahuasi, Lambayeque Region, Peru (IIA)	<i>Parlashaykillapa uk kwintu, unay kwintu Juan del Oso. Chayqa kaynu karan. Uk tiyimpu oso ...</i>	I'm going to tell you a story, an old story about John the Bear. It was like this. Once there was a bear ...
San José de Sisa, San Martín Region, Peru (IIB)	<i>Pichka runakashi tiyarkansapa. Sukka karkanshi mayorninkuna. Chaypa shutinka karkanshi Juan del Osito.</i>	There were five men, they say. One of them was the leader. His name was Juan the Bear.
Oyón, Lima Region, Peru (I)	<i>Unay unayshi kana: huk kewntu. Hwan osi:tu hutin say kwentu. Wilapashqaychi. Ishkay warmishi aywarquna: tuna palaq.</i>	A long long time ago there was a story, they say. The story was called Juan the Bear. I'm going to tell it to you now. Two women went to catch (literally: 'collect') tunas, they say.
Pachitea, Huánuco Region, Peru (I)	<i>Warmishi purikaran muntitru y osuwanshi tinkusha.</i>	A woman was walking in the mountains and she met a bear, they say.
Shawsha, Junín Region, Peru (I)	<i>Salatas kwidaya:ñah suk siñura muntañakahtraw.</i>	A woman was taking care of corn in the mountains, they say.

Table 48 Openings of versions of the son-of-bear story in some Quechua variants

## 6.2 Discourse grammatical features of Quechua narrative

This section presents discourse grammatical features which structure Quechua narrative, as shown in Table 49. Some of the discourse structures are related to narrative-semantic categories, while the others reflect general design features of Quechua narrative on a syntactic and pragmatic level. The domains of discourse structure represent grammatical knowledge of a speaker, as opposed to narrative-semantic knowledge discussed in the previous section. However, discourse grammatical features cannot be described independent of the text-semantic level, as can be seen in their links to certain narrative-semantic categories in the table. At the same time, textlinguistic structures also reveal narrative styles such as the ablative construction used in the present corpus to create thrilling effects. Some of the discourse features presented in Table 49 are not only relevant for Quechua studies but also prominent topics in typological research. In his monograph on zero-anaphora, Givón (2017:3) points out that “[zero] anaphora is one of the most natural, universal, ancient and functionally coherent grammatical devices in the tool-kit of natural language”. The foreground/background division in discourse is considered universal,

as Hopper and Thompson (1980:280) put it: “Users of a language are constantly required to design their utterances in accord with their own communicative goals and with their perception of their listeners’ needs. Yet, in any speaking situation, some parts of what is said are more relevant than others.” The nature of postverbal elements in a dominantly verb-final language is also a much-discussed topic.

Narrative-semantic category	Discourse structure	Linguistic structure
Text referents	Zero-anaphora	Strong tendency towards zero-anaphora: less than half of the conceptually existent referents are encoded lexically; reasons causing zero-anaphora: typologically low lexicality of O’s; infrequent use of anaphors for agonists; zero-anaphora in subordinate structures; pro-drop structure in direct speech; indefinite zero-subject (‘someone’)
	Marking of topical agonists	Agonists in S/A have a lower rate of lexicality than non-agonists; primary actors show in general low values of referential distance; some secondary actors like helpers have high local topic continuity; referential complexity can lead to overspecification of agonists; topical agonists can be encoded in zero-anaphora at discourse junctures with thematic disruption; main agonists encoded in postverbal position tend to be topical.
Space	Distribution of locative, allative, and ablative NPs	Action verbs attract all three types of NPs; motion verbs correlate strongly with allative NPs (it is not so important to report where the characters came from); non-agentive verbs co-occur mainly with locative NPs; the construction denoting sound transmission from an invisible or unreachable source can create thrilling effects: manner-denoting speech verb + ablative NP (e.g. ‘someone yelled from a mountain top’).
	Spatial deixis	The anaphoric <i>chay</i> ‘that’ mainly refers to objects and locations in the non-dialogic parts of the stories; one instance of <i>kay</i> ‘this’ in the non-dialogic parts indicates a comparison to the speaker’s own body or immediate spatial field; the cislocative <i>-mu</i> denotes movement towards a character in focus or a speaker (deictic center); the translocative <i>-mu</i> indicates that an event takes place elsewhere than a deictic center; the regressive <i>-pu</i> denotes motion back to a deictic center.

Time	Grammatical time	<p>Non-dialogic parts: the narrative foreground is marked by the historical present <math>-\emptyset</math> and the mirative <math>-sqa</math>; the narrative background is marked by the narrative past <math>-sqa</math>, the habitual past <math>-q</math>, and tenseless subordinate structures; the narrative past <math>-sqa</math> also marks the beginning of a story (as a genre marker) and in some texts a secondary storyline or the beginning of a new scene; the simple past <math>-r(q)a</math> is used to indicate temporal anteriority in dependent clauses, clauses marked by the inferential <math>-chá</math>, and when the narrator makes a connection to the present time like in the jocular ending of JP.</p> <p>Direct speech: tripartite tense marking – past (the simple past <math>-r(q)a</math>, zero-marked, or the non-experienced past <math>-sqa</math>), present, future; tense marking in hypodiegetic narration is structured by the salience scheme like in the non-dialogic parts with the difference that the beginning of a narrative is marked in the simple past.</p>
	Temporal deixis	Temporal indexicals with reference to a point of time in the story (e.g. <i>kasqata</i> ‘at that moment’, <i>paqarin</i> ‘the next day’, <i>recién</i> ‘not long ago’); the proximal <i>kay</i> can indicate time in the future in direct speech.
	Marking of topics	<p>New Topics are optionally marked by the indefinite article <i>huq/huk</i> ‘one’, which sometimes seems to mark a suspenseful scene; they are mainly introduced in the syntactic background except in texts where existential clauses introducing props occur more frequently than usual; usually only one primary actor is introduced in an existential clause, namely at the very beginning of a story in the opening formula.</p> <p>Sub-Topics can be zero-marked (zero-marked ones can be ambiguous in terms of definiteness) or marked for definiteness; they are mainly introduced in the syntactic background; they are either frame-based (i.e. an element that can be expected in a setting), or refer to referents which are in a part-whole-relationship with a previous anchor element or family members of another known character.</p> <p><math>\alpha</math>Topics (topics that are only mentioned once) can be NewTops or Sub-Tops.</p>
	Verse structure	The beginning of a verse is marked by interclausal conjunctions or the reportative $-s(i)$ ; the average verse length in the corpus is 2.57 simple clauses; thematic transitions happen slightly more often at verse boundaries than in the rest of a text.

	Information structure	Interclausal conjunctions are often marked by the reportative <i>-s(i)</i> when the latter is used regularly in a text (tendency towards lexicalization); topic-comment structure: NP-TOPICALIZER/NP-ADDITIVE + SECOND ELEMENT- <i>s(i)</i> ; focal markers like the contrastive <i>-taq</i> , the limitative <i>-lla</i> , and the adverbial <i>-raq</i> ‘still, in addition’ tend to co-occur with <i>-si(yá)</i> ( <i>-yá</i> emotive).
	Subordinate clauses	The co- and switch-reference constructions (marked by <i>-spa</i> and <i>-qti</i> respectively) are the most frequent subordinate structures, denoting temporal posteriority and simultaneity of events and occasionally modal relations; the second most frequent subordinate structures are nominalized clauses marked by <i>-na</i> for unrealized or ongoing actions and <i>-sqa</i> for realized actions or states, including the following types of clauses: modal, complement, state-denoting, temporal, and relative clauses. The infinitive marker <i>-y</i> and the agentive/purposive <i>-q</i> also function as subordinators.
	Phrase order	<p>The basic phrase orders for core arguments are S/AV and OV; AOV is the most frequent type among clauses with an overt A and an overt O (only 3% of all clauses); about one fifth of the clauses have a postverbal element (or RDC).</p> <p>RDCs are mainly argumental NPs; RDCs referring to agonists have mainly the function of referential disambiguation; motion verbs tend to have S’s and LOCs as RDCs; NewTops can appear postverbally as suspenseful information; locational and instrumental NPs can appear postverbally as NewTops or SubTops; complex or coordinate NPs tend to be RDCs.</p>

Table 49 Discourse structures and their linguistic expressions in Quechua narrative

### 6.3 Style analysis based on Max Lüthi

Lüthi’s description of the European *Märchenstil* (2005[1947]) encompasses structuralistic, textual, cultural, literary, and psychological aspects, among other things. Its holistic nature makes it an applicable basis for a cross-cultural comparison of narrative styles. In the following, some aspects of the text world model from section 6.1 will also be incorporated. The five features of the European *Märchenstil* have been mentioned in section 3.1.1. They are not independent of each other, but rather all address aspects of an abstract and formalized style. As will be discussed later, although the present Quechua narratives show tendencies towards abstraction and formalization, differences from European folk tales can also be observed.

The feature of ‘depthlessness’ as described by Lüthi includes spatial, temporal, intellectual, and psychological aspects (ibid.: 23). The present corpus also shows the domination of action and motion events over cognitive and emotional states. The physical appearance of the characters is described with more details in some texts than the others. For instances, JL tells us more about what the Boy-bears look like than MU and CI. The Boy-bear’s/Boy-bears’ strength and proneness to violence are projected onto his actions, although there is one clause in CI describing the Boy-bear as *nishu fuerzayuyq* ‘with a lot of strength’. We don’t know much about how this popular figure in Andean tales, the son-of-bear, feels except that when he is annoyed or irritated by other people, he resorts to violence. Interestingly, the narrator of CI mentions at the end of the story that the Boy-bear has realized that the priest had tried to harm him and thus decides to stay at the Condenado’s property. It does not occur very often that the storyteller lets the characters reflect, nor does he explain the motivation behind their actions (ibid.: 56). The moment when Siskucha trusts the Fox and gives him the flute to play, the hearer would know that the protagonist is doomed to be deceived, but a character in a tale can always fall into the notorious trickster’s trap. In the standard versions of the son-of-bear stories, when the priest tries to murder the boy-bear by various methods, he follows the priest’s order every time. The feature that characters in tales seldomly learn from or reflect upon what has happened in the previous episodes falls under ‘isolation’ (ibid.: 38).

Lüthi (ibid.: 15) comments that when emotions are revealed in *Märchen*, they serve certain functions in the plot:

Wenn ein Märchenheld sich weinend auf einen Stein setzt, weil er sich nicht mehr zu helfen weiß, so wird dies nicht berichtet, damit wir seinen Seelenzustand sehen, sondern weil in diesen Fällen gerade diese Reaktionsart des Helden den Kontakt mit dem jenseitigen Helfer herbeiführt.

When the Boy-bear sees his mother cry, he asks, learns about her abduction, and then decides to help her escape – in this way, his role as a helper is established. The narratives in this study show mainly negative emotions such as fear, anger, and sadness. However, even when we hear that the Schoolboy in MU is trembling with fear and hiding under the bed, we do not really sympathize with the character; after all, he merely forms a contrast to the audacious Boy-bear. A specific mental state, namely surprise, can be encoded grammatically in Quechua. The mirative suffix *-sqa* not only marks events that are unexpected for the characters or/and the audience, it can also embed what the characters perceive into the narrative world. This brings extra layers into the tale structure despite its general ‘depthlessness’.

The feature of ‘isolation’ includes further aspects like the depiction of the characters’ relationships with each other. Shortly after the Boy-bear is introduced into the story, he develops compassion for his mother almost in an instant and decides to help her escape; when he keeps causing trouble in society, his mother hands him over to the Priest out of despair; the mother-son relationship ends where the story moves on with the part revolving around the Boy-bear and the Priest. Lüthi (ibid.: 18) notes that family members only appear in folk tales when they have a function in the plot development; episodes can also be isolated from each other because of unsustainable relationships (ibid.: 38). In MU and CI, a new episode begins when the role of the Boy-bear changes from a helper to his mother to the (anti-)hero of the second part of the story, where the Priest, also his godfather, plays the role of a dispatcher. The turning point of ‘isolation’ in Lüthi’s description is ‘universal connection’. Roles in tales like hero, helper, and magical agent are isolated from each other so that they have the potential to be brought together (ibid.: 39). While family and other social relationships in tales are based on real-life experiences, helpers typically appear to the hero on their own terms. It is usually left unexplained how they know precisely what the hero needs and also have the ability to help him (ibid.: 44). The messengers in the figure of a bird in the present narratives show such characteristics.

Lüthi (ibid.: 29) describes the hero as a wanderer. Motion- and journey-related themes are also at the core of the present narratives. The cognitive map of Quechua oral tradition consists of two main spheres: the world inhabited by humans and the wilderness. In the stories where an animal seduces or abducts a human, it is often a female victim who is away from home in the mountains. The Priest sends the Boy-bear to different places in order to murder him in the son-of-bear stories. The helper, like the Servant in JP, can also be sent to perform tasks. Unlike in some European tales, the hero does not move from one kingdom to another, but he goes to places with otherworldly qualities like a boulder in the puna and a mountain lake in JP or travels to other worlds like the Devil’s place in JL. Village, someone’s home, mountain, gorge etc. are typical large landmarks, while interior places like room, bed, seat, storage niche etc. can also have localizing functions. Character movement constitutes a large part of textual clues for spatial information, which makes the cognitive map one- or two-dimensional, or in Lüthi’s words, ‘depthless’ and ‘abstract’. Ablative phrases do not occur very often – a story focuses more on where a character is going than where he/she/it came from (see also section 5.5.2.3). At the end of a story, the hero tends to return home; in the case of the Boy-bear in MU and CI, he settles down in another village.

Regarding characters in tales, they do not represent ‘types’, which can be ‘realistic’, but rather ‘figures’, or ‘actors’ in a plot (*Handlungsträger* in German) according to Lüthi (ibid: 68). For instance, a baker in a tale does not necessarily stand for the type of profession but rather has a function in the story which can also be assumed by a miller or a soldier. This level of abstraction is similar to Propp’s *dramatis personae*. We can even go further and regard the (often conflicting) dual relationships shown in the Quechua narratives as universal in terms of the Jungian concepts of ego vs. shadow and anima vs. animus. However, Lüthi (ibid: 116) also points out that although the *Handlungsträger* can be various characters, there is a certain degree of invariance in the European folk tales in that they typically feature figures like kings, princes, princesses, witches etc., as well as socially isolated or marginalized figures like step-daughters, orphans, poor or stupid people etc. Kings and princesses do not belong to the stock characters in Quechua *kwintus*, although the narrator of JP, one of Payne’s consultants, tells stories with elements from European tales. Instead of witches, we encounter a *watuq* ‘seer, diviner’ who reveals the invasion of the Snake in SN. It is also interesting that the Girl in SN, who is seduced by an animal, is the only daughter of her parents; Siskucha, the protagonist in SIS, who loses his beloved She-dove and is later deceived by the Fox, is also the only son in the family. Stories making fun of mestizos and stupid gringos are also popular in the Andes (cf. Payne (2000:12) and Allen (2011:68)). On the one hand, animal archetypes in Quechua show some degree of universality. For instance, the fox as a trickster is widespread; birds often play messengers; the transformation of snakes into humans is a popular theme cross-culturally (cf. Solms (1991) and Grimms (1991[1834])). On the other hand, there are constellations and symbolic functions attached to the figures that are Quechua-specific. For instance, the condor is not only a native animal of the Andes, but it also often appears as the fox’s opponent in *kwintus*, like in SIS. Although the son-of-bear story may not be of completely Andean origin, the bear metaphor which is possibly implied in the story reflects the ethnic and social struggles of Quechua men (cf. section 3.3.2.4 and Allen (1983)).

The fifth feature of Lüthi’s tale style, ‘sublimation and worldliness’, concerns the nature of motifs (ibid: 63ff.). Many of the universal motifs mentioned by Lüthi also occur in Quechua *kwintus*, such as courtship, wedding, poverty, child abandonment, and server’s loyalty. However, the numinous and magic motifs in *kwintus* show in part a different cultural layer than the European tales. For instance, both cultures have motifs of the dead returning to or dwelling in the world of the living, but preternatural creatures of the Andean oral tradition do not include trolls, giants, dwarfs and the like. Lüthi (ibid: 53ff.) also considers the element of *Gabe*, or

‘magical agent’ as termed by Propp, a central motif in European tales, like an egg which fulfils every wish or a horse which gives useful advice and even builds bridges. Although the present corpus does not include narratives with magical agents, there is a popular story in the Andes about a certain Child Jesus who can make sheep eat wool and pull yarn from their behind (cf. ‘Child Jesus, Yarn spinner’ in Payne (2000) and Allen (2011:1)). Future research is needed to investigate the frequency and importance of magical agents in Quechua folk tales.

What Lüthi means by ‘sublimation’ is the estrangement of tale motifs from their mythical, numinous, sexual, and worldly origins. Mythical themes are not depicted in their original complexity; numinous figures like giants and dwarfs are introduced into folk tales without creating an eerie atmosphere; originally erotic scenes become simple depictions of sexual actions etc. In other words, these motifs have lost concreteness, connections to real experiences, nuances etc. and are reduced to mere forms – they are sublimated or idealized. The present Quechua narratives bear this feature to some extent. Violence, brutality, pain etc. are often implied in actions. For instance, in CI, the scene where the Bear dies is described in three clauses: ‘When (the bear) was sitting down, (the boy-bear and his mother) pushed him (into the hot water). There he died.’. No suspense is built; there is no screaming and struggling; no reaction on the part of the villain’s killers is mentioned. However, while CI mainly consists of simplified motifs, the other stories in the corpus show more vividness in certain scenes. In MU, when the Bear is pushed into hot water, he is ‘rolling around’; the Girl and her mother ‘bludgeon’ him to death; after that, the Girl is happy and even ‘slaughters’ (*naq’ay*, see also *ñak’ay* below) and eats him. In JP, the Servant is madly in love with the She-calf; he looks at her face, ‘touches’ and ‘kisses’ it, and cannot get enough of it. Later in the story, the Boy is also astonished by the She-calf’s beauty: her hair is ‘shiny’ and feels like ‘silk’ like her face; after he gets a glimpse of her by lighting a candle in the dark, a drop of hot wax falls onto her face – the sexual innuendo is more than obvious in this scene. Allen’s elaborate analysis of the narrative ‘Foxboy’ also shows that Quechua *kwintus* have the potential to be dramatic and entertaining; one erotic scene in the story goes like this (Allen 2011:23):

And so the boy climbed into bed with her. But it seems that he wasn’t really a little boy at all. He was a fox, prowling after women. And once he was in her bed he started to feel her up. Groping, groping ... He felt her breasts.

“Hey, Mom! What’re these?”

“Those? Those are my breasts.”

“Oh.” He felt around some more, found her belly button.

“Hey, Mom! What’s this?”

“That’s my belly button.”

“Oh.” He kept feeling around. He reached between her legs.

“Hmm. And what’s this?”  
“That’s where I keep your father’s picnic lunch!”  
“Oh, let me try a little!”

Not only is this a very graphic scene, it also shows a sense of humor by using the metaphor ‘picnic lunch’ to refer to the female sexual organ. Allen’s analysis further reveals Quechua-specific motifs which evoke intertextual and cultural frames. For instance, the foxboy story contains a scene where the protagonists enter the house of a *condenado*, who is a cattle rustler and looks for *ñak'ana* ‘animals to butcher’ (ibid.: 125). The action of *ñak'ay* ‘slaughter, butcher’ plays an important role in the herding culture of the Andes; a notorious creature who feeds on travelers’ fat is also called *ñak'aq* (literally: ‘butcher’). Stories about *condenados* are not only popular themes in *kwintus*, Quechua speakers also have their own image of this creature and some even believe they exist. One speaker describes *condenados*, or *kukuchis*, as follows (ibid.: 127):

I’m told that those who die with many sins upon them wander as *kukuchis* until the end of the world. Their hands and feet get completely worn out, their clothing turns to rags, they’re nothing but bones, they’ve no flesh left to walk on the ground; I’m told their feet, too, wear down to nothing. (...) they can take any form: sometimes a man, sometimes a dog, sometimes a horse. If a dog runs out from inside an empty deserted house, they say “*kukuchi!*”

Recall that in JL, the *Condenados* in the form of three cats run out of a room in the deserted house of the Mayor. On the one hand, the *condenado* themes in the present corpus are idealized in that they have functions in the plot. The *Condenado(s)* in the son-of-bear stories play(s) the role of donor. On the other hand, cultural frames related to this creature are reflected in the narratives. The *condenado* theme is culturally embedded in the social tension between *hacendados* (or landowners) and *campesinos*;<sup>99</sup> the character is often depicted as a former vicious and greedy landowner whose soul is caught in the world of the living. In CI, the narrator comments that the *Condenado* probably used to be a bad *hacendado*. In MU, the sins the former *hacendado* committed are depicted metaphorically: the *Condenado* tells the Boy-bear that the money in his trunks is the energy of the people he robbed; after that, the money turns into blood. In summary, Quechua *kwintus* show a mixture of different types of motifs, be it abstract or literary, estranged or experience-based,<sup>100</sup> Andean or Christian; the various narrative styles can be seen as part of a genre continuum.

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<sup>99</sup> Itier (2007:150) mentions that incest (including relationships with godparents) also appears as a reason for becoming a *condenado* in the son-of-bear stories.

<sup>100</sup> Howard-Malverde (1989) has shown how narrative themes can be connected to personal experiences.

#### 6.4 A comparison of the six narratives

The six narratives from the present corpus are used to derive prototypical features of Quechua narrative. Although they have shown a high degree of structural homogeneity with regard to text-semantic, discourse grammatical, and style-related aspects, variations and idiosyncrasies can still be found. This section will also offer explanations for the differences among the texts from dialectal, diachronic, discursive, and style-related perspectives.

JP shows two morphemes that are associated with the Ayacucho dialect: the progressive marker *-chka* and the plural morpheme *-chik* (for the first person inclusive and the second person). A diachronic change can be observed in the forms of the augmentative *-y(k)u* and the exhortative *-r(q)u*. In the two oldest texts, MU and SIS, the velar and uvular stops always appear in the suffixes; in JL and SN, they are not pronounced in up to half of the occurrences of the suffixes; in the two most recent texts, JP and CI, almost only the allomorphs without the stops are used. The more recent texts (except JP) show a slightly higher frequency of postverbal elements.

Figure 35 shows the distribution of Spanish loanwords in the six texts. While the two most recent texts have the highest percentages of loanwords (but not significantly higher than the percentages in MU and SIS), the two texts from Lira's collection only make occasional use of Spanish loans. Among the borrowed lexemes, there are usually more nouns than verbs in one text. The rest of the loans include adjectives, articles, conjunctions, discourse markers such as *a ver* 'let's see' and *bueno* 'well', and phrases such as *cómo no* 'of course' [MU], *más que*<sup>101</sup> 'even' [SIS], and *más bien* 'it's better (when), instead' [JP]. The two last types of borrowings mostly appear in direct speech, reflecting the use of Spanish expressions in social interactions. Loanwords referring to institutions and denoting temporal concepts and some general landscape terms of Spanish origin are already used in the early texts. JP shows an extended use of the purposive construction, which is mainly used with motion verbs originally, with a Spanish non-motion verb: *V-q siguiy* (< Span. *seguir*) 'continue doing something'.

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<sup>101</sup> In SIS, the Fox says to Siskcucha: *más que simi-y-ta sira-rqu-wa-i-pas* (more than mouth-1p-acc sew-EXH-1O-IMP-ADD), meaning 'sew up even my mouth!'. It could be a colloquial form of Latin American Spanish.

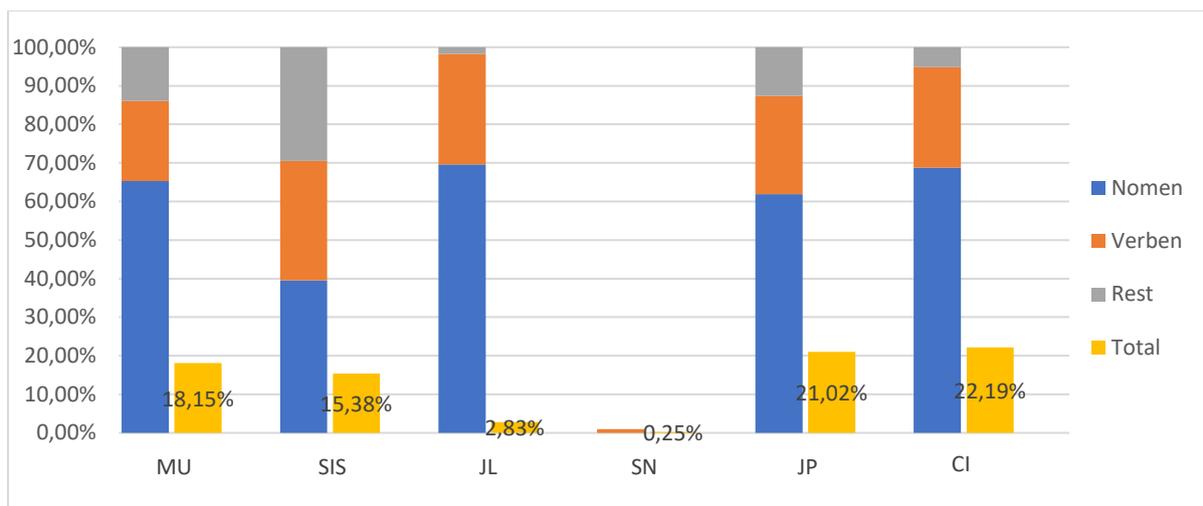


Figure 35 Distribution of Spanish loans in the six texts

Regarding collection-specific features, MU and SIS from Uhle's collection both use interclausal conjunctions frequently and thus exhibit a pronounced verse structure. The narrative past/mirative *-sqa* and the reportative *-s(i)* only occur sporadically. Both texts tend to encode the speaker (in A) and the addressee (in IO) in speech events lexically, more often than the other texts. They further show instances (although only a few) where the proximal demonstrative *kay* is used adnominally to refer to protagonists in non-dialogic parts. Another characteristic that stands out in MU and SIS is the poetic (or rhythmic) structure in direct speech. Dialogs play an important role in SIS and the original version of MU. In the detailed hypodiegetic narration in SIS, echos of events narrated in the non-dialogic parts and formulaic expressions can be found. In MU, the question-answer pairs bring about a large number of repeated event images and verb stems; two poetic lines (said by the Hummingbird) are also found. As mentioned above, one feature which the texts from Lira's collection share is the low frequency of Spanish loans. JL and SN further show a more frequent use of the narrative past *-sqa* and the reportative *-s(i)*. However, JL is narrated more elaborately in terms of higher percentages of adnominal forms, existential clauses introducing props, and subordinate structures; the frequent use of the mirative *-sqa*, which partly marks descriptions embedded in the perception of a character, also makes the story more vivid.

MU and CI are two versions of the son-of-bear story and thus show a high degree of thematic resemblance, as can be seen in their 'functions'-based structure in Table 10, their constellation of dramatis personae in Table 11, and their structure of acts and scenes in Table 35. The thematic and text-semantic structures shared by them have led to similar text-frequencies of the main characters and numbers of types of agonists and spatial referents. However, CI represents a less elaborate narrative in that it has the least direct speech in the whole corpus and the dialogs

do not exhibit rhythmic patterns like in MU. It further has the smallest number of  $\alpha$ Tops among the six narratives due to fewer descriptive details. Syntactically, it uses fewer subordinate structures than the other texts.

Concerning further idiosyncratic features, CI is the only text which uses the intentional *-rpari* and the exaggerative *-tiya* to modify (mainly) action verbs besides the augmentative *-y(k)u* and the exhortative *-r(q)u*. The narrator of JL is the only one who uses the third person pronoun to refer to the protagonist and the adnominal *chay* ‘that’ for primary actors on a regular basis. The narrator of JP uses the Spanish adverbial *por fin* ‘finally’ in clauses marked by the mirative *-sqa* to indicate that the fact that the event in question has taken place is desirable for a character; a positive affect or the dimension of relief is thus added to the mirative stance. JP also exhibits more pronounced features of face-to-face communication than the other narratives. Interjections and onomatopoeia are frequently used. Clauses introducing direct speech are often omitted. The narrator probably used different voices to indicate who was speaking. According to the ethnographer Payne (2000:15), she is fond of imitating different animal sounds and human voices. There is also one instance of the spatial *kay* ‘here’ in the non-dialogic part which refers to the speaker’s own body or immediate spatial field.

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## **8 Appendices**

### **8.1 Summaries of the stories**

#### **8.1.1 A shepherdess and a bear (MU)**

A shepherdess goes to the mountains to herd sheep. A bear who turns himself into a boy approaches her. After talking and spending some time together, the bear asks her to play piggy-back. When she keeps her eyes shut as told, he carries her off to his home and keeps her captive. The girl gives birth to a little bear cub. When the boy-bear is four or five years old, he learns about his mother's story and decides to help her escape. They wait another four or five years until the boy-bear is strong enough to push away the rock which blocks the entrance of the cave and escape after sending the bear away on a day trip.

On his way home, a hummingbird tells the bear about his wife's escape. Expecting the bear's arrival, the girl sets a trap. Later she tricks him into falling into boiling water. The bear is then beaten to death and eaten up by the girl's family.

The boy-bear is baptized and sent to school. He turns out to be a violent being with an enormous appetite. When the girl's family is also punished for what he has done, his mother hands him over to the priest, his godfather. There he continues to cause trouble, killing people who annoy him. The priest determines to get rid of him. First he sends the boy-bear to a cemetery, hoping he will fall into the ditch he has dug, but the boy comes back alive. Then he sends him to the church tower where twenty people are supposed to push him down; instead he pushes them down from the tower. The priest is then captured by the families of the murdered people. After he is freed, as a last resort, he sends the boy-bear away with some provisions and pack animals.

On his way, the boy-bear meets a schoolboy who has been forced to leave home by his poor mother. They become companions, but the schoolboy is frightened by the animal side of the boy-bear. Eventually despite the warning of some passer(s)-by, they come to a village which is haunted by a condenado. When they arrive at the property of the former landowner, the boy-bear starts to eat his livestock and drink his alcohol, whereas the schoolboy is in great fear. Then the condenado appears through the window and challenges the boy-bear to a fight. After a ferocious battle the boy-bear defeats the condenado, who then turns into a white dove. In gratitude for his salvation, the former landowner gives the boy-bear his property.

#### **8.1.2 Siskucha (SIS)**

A young shepherd named Francisco (Quechua variant: Siskucha) finds a baby dove one day when he goes to herd sheep. He decides to raise it by himself and so always takes it with him

to the mountains. What his parents do not know is that the dove turns into a girl at the boundary of the village. Siskucha becomes obsessed with the she-dove and begins to neglect the tasks his parents give him. One day he forgets to take the dove with him and his parents kill and eat it up. When he learns about the dove's death, he is very sad and makes a flute out of one of its leg bones.

While Siskucha is playing his flute in the mountains, the fox is attracted by its beautiful sound and asks permission to play it, after Siskucha tells him about the she-dove. He even lets Siskucha sew up his mouth because Siskucha does not believe he can play the flute with his long snout. Siskucha eventually gives his flute to the fox, who then runs away with it. Now Siskucha has to listen sadly to the fox playing the flute. The condor in disguise of a man comes by and learns of Siskucha's loss. They strike a deal that the condor will get back Siskucha's flute in exchange for four sheep. The condor tells Siskucha to lie down in a gorge covered with worms, feigning death. Then the condor tells the fox that Siskucha died of sadness and the fox goes to see it for himself. The condor suggests that the fox put the flute in Siskucha's mouth to check if he really is dead – when the fox does so, Siskucha quickly grabs the flute back. At the end the condor gets his reward.

### **8.1.3 The she-bear who has three sons (JL)**

A girl from an ayllu (Quechua-speaking community) goes to another town to work as a cook and becomes the mayor's lover. After staying there for a while, she goes back to her ayllu and asks the mayor to visit her every night except on Friday and Tuesday. The mayor becomes suspicious and goes to her house secretly one night. He watches the girl performing a ritual and flying to the mountains. The narrator reveals that the girl has a pact with the Devil: she goes to the Devil's place every Friday and Tuesday; the Devil defecates gold and silver for people who kiss his buttocks. The mayor copies the ritual and also flies to the Devil's place. His lover is surprised to see him and tells him that she will introduce him to the Devil as a new person and he has to smell the Devil's wind without showing any disgust, otherwise he cannot go home again. When it is the mayor's turn to kiss the Devil's buttocks, the Devil breaks wind and he cannot stand the stench, turning away and shouting 'Puff!'. Then the Devil throws him into a ravine.

After three days, a parrot comes, bringing him food and offering to help him find a bear to get him out of the ravine. Soon a she-bear comes. Although she keeps mocking him, she also brings him cooked food and eventually pulls him up with a rope. After taking him to her cave,

she keeps him as her prisoner lover and becomes pregnant. The bear provides for him by stealing food and clothes from other places, while he is locked up in her cave. Then she gives birth to three boy-bears who are half bear and half human. When they become bigger, they learn about their father's story and decide to help him escape. For several months, they push aside the rock which blocks the entrance of the cave and go outside when their mother is out stealing supplies; they plan the escape while growing into young men. Eventually the bear becomes suspicious and tries to return the same day when she goes out. Then they come up with a plan to send the bear away so that they have enough time for the escape. However, they are seen by the bear on their way to the mayor's village. The boy-bears have to fight the bear twice to finally kill her off.

They arrive at the village only to find that it is deserted. In the mayor's mansion, the boy-bears catch three cats which turn out to be condenados. The condenados tell them that they were sent here by their God to eat up all the people because the mayor had gone. Then the boy-bears burn the condenados. For a whole month, the boy-bears go to a hill top to call out to the people who escaped from the condenados. Some of them come back to the village to check on the situation first. They tell the mayor that they looked for him and captured his lover, who was eaten by the condenados. Then the rest of the survivors also return and they all live together in the village. The mayor gives the boy-bears credit for saving him from the Devil; they cover their non-human part of the body and become fearsome rulers like their father. When the mayor dies, they bury him in the village.

#### **8.1.4 The girl who has a snake husband (SN)**

A girl who is the only child in the family goes to the mountains to herd livestock every day. She is beautiful and of marriageable age. One day in the mountains, a slim young man woos her and she falls for him. After that they begin to meet regularly. The young man is in fact a snake crawling on the ground, but the girl does not see that. Eventually the girl becomes pregnant and the snake suggests that they live together in the girl's home. He instructs her to lie to her parents in order to move her bed to the barn and let him live in the broom closet in the wall next to the millstone there so that her parents won't see him. She follows his instructions and takes him home secretly. The snake hides in the closet during daytime, feeding on the flour the girl throws onto the floor while milling, and crawls into the girl's bed at night.

When her parents notice that their daughter is pregnant and ask her about the father, she won't tell them anything. Soon she is in labor and her parents take care of her. Meanwhile, the snake has grown bigger and has to feed on the girl's blood and move to the hole they dug under

the millstone. Her parents ask other people if they have seen their daughter together with someone and tell them about her behavior; they advise them to consult the seer. The seer tells the parents that there is a snake living under their roof and they have to kill it with the help of some armed men; he also instructs them to send their daughter away first, otherwise she won't let them kill her partner.

The parents follow the instructions: they gather ten armed men and send their daughter to a town to buy a medicine for the labor. After she leaves, the men clear out the barn and find the snake under the millstone. They beat it into pieces. While they are trying to destroy its head, the girl returns and finds out that her partner is not under the millstone anymore. When she sees the men beating his head, she starts to scream and suddenly small snakes come out of her. The men kill all the snakes and bury them. They also carry the millstone to a waterfall. After her recovery the girl tells her parents exactly what happened. Later she marries a good man and lives happily ever after.

#### **8.1.5 The she-calf (JP)**

A newlywed woman likes to play with her cat and dog. She continues to spend time with them when she is pregnant and wishes that her child could be like them. Then she gives birth to a she-calf. Her family does not accept the baby, so she asks their servant to take the baby to a boulder in the mountains. The servant leaves the she-calf there and falls in love with her. Soon he begins to visit her every Sunday. One day, the she-calf speaks to him, asking him to send a message to her mother: she should put bread, wine, flowers, and holy water on the table, buy a new bed, and let an innocent boy wait in the bed for her. Only under these circumstances can she return home. The servant passes on the message and her mother prepares everything as she has been told to. As for the innocent boy, she invites the neighbor's son to spend the night at her home.

At midnight, the she-calf comes. She sniffs at the food, slips out of her calfskin, and goes to bed next to the boy. The boy touches her soft face and hair when he wakes up in the middle of the night, and wonders who it is. While he is asleep again, the she-calf vanishes. The next day the boy decides to find out who the girl was and asks his mother for permission to sleep at the lady's home again. In the evening, the boy goes there and pretends to be asleep. When the she-calf comes, she blows out all the candles and lies down next to him. While she is asleep, the boy lights the candle he brought with him. When he is looking at her, a drop of wax falls on her face. The she-calf wakes up, telling him that he has to make seven pairs of sandals before

he can find her again. Then she disappears. The boy follows her instructions and sets out to look for her.

He passes through several villages, asking people if they have seen the girl. Meanwhile, he has become a young man. When he has only one pair of sandals left, he arrives at the jungle and comes across some condors. In exchange for helping them divide a cow into equal parts, they tell him how to find the girl and fly him to a lake. There he has to catch a goat and cut open its stomach. Inside the stomach there is a cat. He then cuts open the cat; in it there is a guinea pig. After he cuts open the guinea pig's stomach, a white dove comes out and flies away. An eagle helps him to knock it down. When he catches the dove, it turns into the girl, who was enchanted. They decide to marry each other. In an instant they are transported back to the village; a palace with servants and beautiful women also appears magically. There they get married.

#### **8.1.6 About a bear (CI)**

Two girls go to a gorge to collect firewood. As they are having trouble tying up their firewood, a bear appears and offers help. He uses too much strength and breaks the rope. Then he asks the beautiful one of the two girls to come home with him to get some new rope. There he holds her captive and the girl eventually gives birth to a human baby and a bear cub.

When the children are eight years old, their mother tells them how she came here and they decide to help her escape. The boy-bear instructs her to send the bear over seven mountains to find a pitch-black cow. While the bear is away, they push aside the rock which blocks the entrance of the cave and carry their mother out. On his way home, a hummingbird tells the bear about his wife's escape. Expecting the bear's arrival, the boy-bear instructs the girl to set a trap. Later they trick him into falling into boiling water and the bear dies.

The girl has the boys baptized and sends them to school. The boy-bear kills his classmates while fighting with them and even kills his brother when he tries to hug him. Then he is handed over to the priest, his godfather, but he continues to kill people. The priest determines to get rid of him. First he sends him to the church tower where a group of people are waiting to ambush him, but he pushes them all down instead. Then the priest sends him to a place with dangerous cows, but he manages to kill the cows and carry their legs home. After that the priest sends him to a place with lions (or pumas)<sup>102</sup> to collect firewood. After the lions eat up his

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<sup>102</sup> The narrator uses the Spanish word *león*, which literally means 'lion'. Robin (1997:380) comments that animals mentioned in the same episode in other versions of the son-of-bear story such as *el tigre* and *el león* represent mythical motifs. Steele (2004:162) points out that "Spanish chroniclers used the word *león* to refer to the puma and *tigre* to refer to the jaguar".

mules, he loads them with the firewood and comes home riding on one of them. At last, the priest sends him to a village haunted by a condenado. There the boy-bear defeats the condenado, who turns into a white dove. In gratitude for his salvation, the former landowner gives the boy-bear the key to his property and permission to marry his daughter. The boy-bear rings the church bell to call back the people who escaped from the condenado. He marries the condenado's daughter and stays in that village, as he finally realizes his godfather was trying to kill him all the time.

## 8.2 Glossed text of MU

- (1) *huq oveja michi-q p'asña-s ka-sqa*  
 one sheep graze-NA girl-HS be-NARR  
 'Once there was a shepherd girl, they say.'
- (2) *hina-spa urqu-pi oveja-ta michi-ku-ska-qti-n*  
 like-SS moutain-LOC sheep-ACC graze-REFL-PROG-DS-3  
 '(One day) when she was grazing sheep on the mountain,'
- (3) *ukuku-qa maqta-man tuku-spa*  
 bear-TOP young.man-AL transform-SS  
 'the bear, disguised as a young man,'
- (4) *riqhuri-n p'asña-man-qa*  
 appear-3 girl-AL-TOP  
 'appeared in front of the girl.'
- (5) *pai-pas oveja-lla-ntin-taq*  
 3-ADD sheep-LIM-SOC-CON  
 'He also had sheep with him.'
- (6) *hina-spa ukuku-qa ni-n p'asña-ta*  
 like-SS bear-TOP say-3 girl-DAT  
 'Then the bear said to the girl.'
- (7) *yao sipas michi-ku-sia-sun-chu oveja-ta ni-spa*  
 INTERJ girl graze-REFL-PROG-FUT:1INCL-INTERR sheep-ACC say-SS  
 "“Hey girl, shall we graze sheep together?””
- (8) *hina-spa p'asña-qa ni-n*  
 like-SS girl-TOP say-3  
 "“Then the girl said:””
- (9) *chai taita-i michi-ku-sun-yá ni-spa*  
 all.right father-1P graze-REFL-FUT:1INCL-EMO say-SS  
 "“All right sir, let's graze (sheep) together.””

- (10) *chai-qa michi-ku-sia-nku*  
that-TOP graze-REFL-PROG-3PL  
“Then they grazed sheep together.”
- (11) *hina-ña-taq ukuku-qa ni-n p'asña-ta*  
like-ALREADY-CON bear-TOP say-3 girl-DAT  
‘Again the bear said to the girl.’
- (12) *quqau-ta apa-ka-mu-rqa-ni*  
provisions-ACC carry-REFL-CIS-PAST-1  
“I brought provisions.”
- (13) *miqhu-iku-sun ni-spa*  
eat-AUG-FUT:1INCL say-SS  
“Let’s eat.”
- (14) *bueno taita-i miqhu-iku-sun-yá*  
okay father-1P eat-AUG-FUT:1INCL-EMO  
“Okay sir, let’s eat.”
- (15) *ñuqa-pas apa-ka-mu-lla-rqa-ni-taq-mi ni-spa*  
1-ADD carry-REFL-CIS-LIM-PAST-1-CON-AFF say-SS  
“I also brought (something).”
- (16) *chai-qa miqhu-nku iskai-ni-nku*  
that-TOP eat-3PL two-EU-3PL  
‘Then the two of them ate.’
- (17) *hina-spa maqta-qa ni-lla-n-taq*  
like-SS young.man-TOP say-LIM-3-CON  
‘Then the young man said.’
- (18) *a ver puqlla-ku-sun-yá ni-spa*  
to see play-REFL-FUT:1INCL-EMO say-SS  
“Well, let’s play!”
- (19) *ni-n maqta-qa*  
say-3 young.man-TOP  
‘said the young man.’
- (20) *chai-qa p'asña-qa# #ni-n*  
that-TOP girl-TOP say-3  
‘Then the girl said: “Okay.” (see (21))
- (21) *#bueno#*  
okay
- (22) *hina-spa q'ipi-n p'asña-qa primer-ta*  
like-SS carry-3 girl-TOP first-ADV  
‘Then the girl carried (the bear) first.’

- (23) *siempre ñawi-ta ch'imlli-spa-puni*  
 always eye-ACC close-SS-CERT  
 “‘Keep your eyes closed all the time.’”
- (24) *ni-n maqta-qa p'asña-ta*  
 say-3 young.man-TOP girl-DAT  
 ‘said the young man to the girl.’
- (25) *p'asña-pas# #ni-n-taq*  
 girl-ADD say-3-CON  
 ‘Again the girl said: “Okay.”’ (see (26))
- (26) *#bueno#*  
 okay
- (27) *chai-qa maqta-ña-taq q'ipi-n*  
 that-TOP young.man-ALREADY-CON carry-3  
 ‘Then the young man carried (her).’
- (28) *hina-spa# #ni-n maqta-qa p'asña-ta*  
 like-SS say-3 young.man-TOP girl-DAT  
 ‘Then the young man said to the girl:’
- (29) *#kunan-qa a ver as karu-cha-man-ña-taq q'ipi-naku-sun#*  
 now-TOP to see little far-DIM-AL-ALREADY-CON carry-RECI-FUT:1INCL  
 “‘Now, well let’s carry each other a bit further.’”
- (30) *bueno*  
 good  
 “‘Okay’”
- (31) *ni-lla-n-taq p'asña-qa*  
 say-LIM-3-CON girl  
 ‘said the girl.’
- (32) *chai-qa maqta-qa q'ipi-n*  
 that-TOP young.man-TOP carry-3  
 ‘Then the young man carried (her).’
- (33) *hina-spa ni-n*  
 like-SS say-3  
 ‘Then he said:’
- (34) *kunan-qa karu-man-mi q'ipi-ska-iki*  
 now-TOP far-AL-AFF carry-PROG-1>2  
 “‘Now I’ll carry you far away.’”
- (35) *ñawi-ta-yá ch'imlli-nki unai ni-spa*  
 eye-ACC-EMO close-2 a.long.time say-SS  
 “‘Close your eyes for a long time.’”

- (36) *hina-spa maqta-qa q'ipi-ska-n*  
 like-SS young.man-TOP carry-PROG-3  
 'Then the young man carried (her).'
- (37) *sonsa p'asña-taq ch'imlli-ska-lla-n ñawi-n-ta*  
 foolish girl-CON close-PROG-LIM-3 eye-3P-ACC  
 'The foolish girl kept her eyes closed.'
- (38) *chai-qa maqta-qa wasi-n-kama q'ipi-rqa-pu-n*  
 that-TOP young.man-TOP home-3P-TERM carry-EXH-REG-3  
*qaqa laja-man*  
 rock cliff-AL  
 'Then the young man carried (her) back to his home at a rocky cliff.'
- (39) *chai-pi-ña p'asña-qa ñawi-n-ta kicha-ri-spa*  
 that-LOC-ALREADY girl-TOP eye-3P-ACC open-INCH-SS  
 'When the girl opened her eyes there,'
- (40) *qhawa-ri-qti-n*  
 look-INCH-DS-3  
 'she saw (that)' (see (41))
- (41) *chai-qa maqta-qa mana maqta-ña-chu*  
 that-TOP young.man-TOP NEG young.man-ALREADY-NEG  
 'the young man was not a young man anymore.'
- (42) *ña ukuku-man-ña tuku-rqa-pu-n*  
 already bear-AL-ALREADY transform-EXH-STAT-3  
 'He had transformed into a bear.'
- (43) *chai-qa p'asña-qa tiya-pu-n ukuku-wan*  
 that-TOP girl-TOP live-STAT-3 bear-COM  
 'Then the girl lived with the bear.'
- (44) *hina-spa ukuku-q churi-n-ta wacha-ka-pu-n p'asña-qa*  
 like-SS bear-GEN son-3P-ACC give.birth-REFL-STAT-3 girl-TOP  
 'And the girl gave birth to a son for the bear.'
- (45) *chai-qa wawa-n-qa qhari-cha ka-sqa uña ukuku-cha*  
 that-TOP child-3P-TOP man-DIM be-SD baby bear-DIM  
 'The baby boy was a little cub.'
- (46) *aicha-ta-ri# #apa-n borrego-ta-raq*  
 meat-ACC-ADD carry-3 lamb-ACC-SOMETIMES  
  
*waka aicha-ta-raq hina*  
 beef meat-ACC-SOMETIMES like  
 'She brought (him) meat like lamb and beef'

- (47) #mana muna-n-kama#  
NEG want-3-TERM  
'until he didn't want (to eat anymore).'
- (48) chai-qa wawa-cha-n-qa hatun-cha-ña  
that-TOP child-DIM-3-TOP big-DIM-ALREADY  
'Then the baby grew big.'
- (49) ña tawa pisqa wata-cha-yuq-ña  
already four five year-DIM-HAVING-ALREADY  
'He was four five years old.'
- (50) hina-s mama-n-qa sapa p'unchai waqa-sqa-llam-pi  
like-HS mother-3P-TOP each day cry-NMLZ-LIM-LOC  
'His mother cried every day.'
- (51) chai-qa wawa-n-qa ni-n  
that-TOP child-3P-TOP say-3  
'(One day) her child said.'
- (52) mama-i ima-manta-taq sapa p'unchai-ri waqa-nki ni-spa  
mother-1P what-ABL-CON each day-INTERR cry-2 say-SS  
"Mother, why do you cry every day?"
- (53) chai-qa mama-n-qa willa-n  
that-TOP mother-3P-TOP tell-3  
'Then his mother told (him):'
- (54) mama-cha taita-cha ka-sia-n-mi  
mother-DIM father-DIM be-PROG-3-AFF  
"I have mother and father,"
- (55) pero mana yacha-ni-chu  
but NEG know-1-NEG  
"but I don't know"
- (56) kausa-sqa-nku-ta  
alive-NMLZ-3P:PL-ACC  
"if they are alive"
- (57) ni wañu-sqa-nku-ta-pas ni-spa  
NEG die-NMLZ-3P:PL-ACC-ADD say-SS  
"or dead."
- (58) oveja michi-ku-sia-q-lla-ta-n  
sheep graze-REFL-PROG-NMLZ-LIM-ADV-AFF  
"“(One day) when I was grazing sheep,””
- (59) kai taita-iki ñuqa-ta kai-man pusa-mu-wa-n  
this father-2P 1-ACC this-AL take-cis-10-3

“your father took me here, saying to me:”

- (60) *q'ipi-ta*                      *puqlla-ku-sia-sun*  
piggyback-ACC                  play-REFL-PROG-FUT:1INCL  
““Let’s play piggyback,” ””
- (61) *ñawi-nchis-ta*              *ch'imlli-spa-lla*  
eye-1INCL:P-ACC              close-SS-LIM  
““while you kept your eyes closed.” ””
- (62) *ni-spa-n*  
say-SS-3
- (63) *kai-man*              *taita-iki*              *q'ipi-mu-wa-n*  
this-AL                      father-2P              carry-cis-1O-3  
“(Like so) your father carried me here.”
- (64) *ni-n*  
say-3  
'said (the girl).'
- (65) *hina-spa*              *wawa-n-qa*              *ni-n*  
like-SS                      child-3P-TOP              say-3  
'Then her child said:'
- (66) *entonces*              *mama-i*              *ri-pu-sun-yá*  
so                              mother-1P              go-REG-FUT:1INCL-EMO  
““So, mother, let’s go back””
- (67) *mama-cha*              *taita-cha*              *ka-sia-n-taq*              *ni-spa*  
mother-DIM              father-DIM              be-PROG-3-CON              say-SS  
““(to where) your mother and father live.””
- (68) *hina-spa*              *mama-n-qa*              *ni-n*  
like-SS                      mother-3P-TOP              say-3  
'Then his mother said:'
- (69) *hay*              *wawa-lla-i*              *ima-ta-s*                      *ati-sun-man*  
interj              child-LIM-1P              what-ACC-INTERR              can-1INCL-POT  
““Oh my child, what could we do?””
- (70) *kai*              *wanka-taq*              *tapa-wa-sia-nchis*  
this                      rock-CON              cover-1O-PROG-1INCL  
““This rock is blocking us.””
- (71) *chai-ri*                      *mana-ña*                      *ka-n-man-chu*              *chai-pas*  
that-ADD                      NEG-ALREADY              be-3-COND-NEG              that-ADD  
““Even if (the rock) weren’t there,””

- (72) *imaina-ta-taq pasa-sun-man kai montaña-ta-ri ni-spa*  
 how-ADV-CON cross-1INCL-POT this mountain-PERL-INTERR say-SS  
 “‘how could we cross this mountain?’”
- (73) *hina-spa wawa-n-qa ni-n*  
 like-SS child-3P-TOP say-3  
 ‘Then her child said:’
- (74) *mama-i kai wanka-ta-qa tanqa-iku-rqu-saq-yá ni-spa*  
 mother-1P this rock-ACC-TOP push-AUG-EXH-FUT:1-EMO say-SS  
 “‘Mother, I’ll push this rock aside (some day).’”
- (75) *hina-spa mama-n-qa ni-n*  
 like-SS mother-3P-TOP say-3  
 ‘Then his mother said:’
- (76) *ima-ta-s wawa-i ati-waq ni-spa*  
 what-ADV-INTERR child-1P can-POT:2 say-SS  
 “‘What could you do, my child?’”
- (77) *mama-i ati-lla-saq-mi*  
 mother-1P can-LIM-FUT:1-AFF  
 “‘Mother, I will manage it.’”
- (78) *kunan proba-iku-lla-saq-pas ni-spa*  
 now try-AUG-LIM-FUT:1-ADD say-SS  
 “‘I’ll try just now.’”
- (79) *proba-iku-n*  
 try-AUG-3  
 ‘He tried (to push the rock).’
- (80) *hina-spa kuyu-ri-chi-n*  
 like-SS move-INCH-CAUS-3  
 ‘Then he moved it (a bit).’
- (81) *chai-qa wawa-n-qa ni-n*  
 that-TOP child-3P-TOP say-3  
 ‘Then her child said:’
- (82) *chai-chu mama-i a ver kuyu-ri-chi-ni*  
 that-INTERR mother-1P to see move-INCH-CAUS-1  
 “‘Well, mother, didn’t I move it?’”
- (83) *aslla-ta-wan wiña-ri-saq*  
 little-ADV-COM grow-INCH-FUT:1  
 “‘I’ll (have to) grow a bit more,’”
- (84) *chai-qa ati-saq-mi tanqa-iku-rqu-i-ta ni-spa*  
 that-TOP can-FUT:1-AFF push-AUG-EXH-INF-ACC say-SS  
 “‘then I’ll push it aside.’”

- (85) *chai-qa mama-n-qa admira-sqa riku-n*  
 that-TOP mother-3P-TOP amaze-NMLZ see-3  
 ‘His mother saw in amazement’ (see (86))
- (86) *wawa-n-ta-qa chai wanka-ta kuyu-ri-chi-sqa-n-ta*  
 child-3P-ACC-TOP that rock-ACC move-INCH-CAUS-NMLZ-3P-ACC  
 ‘how her child moved the rock.’
- (87) *hina-spa ni-n*  
 like-SS say-3  
 ‘Then she said.’
- (88) *aslla-ta-wan wiñari-spa*  
 little-ADV-COM grow-SS  
 ‘‘After you grow a bit more,’’
- (89) *tanqa-iku-rqu-nki ni-spa*  
 push-AUG-EXH-2 say-SS  
 ‘‘you’ll push (it) aside.’’
- (90) *icha ri-pu-iku-man-chu ni-spa*  
 perhaps go-REG-1EXCL-POT-INTERR say-SS  
 ‘‘Perhaps we could go home then.’’
- (91) *hina-spa wiña-ri-n uña ukuku-cha-qa tawa pisqa wata-ta-wan*  
 like-SS grow-INCH-3 baby bear-DIM-TOP four five year-ADV-ADD  
 ‘Then the cub grew another four five years.’
- (92) *hina-spa proba-iku-spa-n*  
 like-SS try-AUG-SS-3  
 ‘When he tried (to move the rock),’
- (93) *ña ati-sqa-ña tanqa-iku-rqu-i-ta*  
 already can-SD-ALREADY push-AUG-EXH-INF-ACC  
 ‘he could already push (it) aside.’
- (94) *hina-spa mama-n-ta ni-n*  
 like-SS mother-3P-DAT say-3  
 ‘Then he said to his mother.’
- (95) *mama-i kunan-qa ña ati-sqa-ni-ña ni-spa*  
 mother-1P now-TOP already can-SD-1-ALREADY say-SS  
 ‘‘Mother, now I can (remove the rock).’’
- (96) *kunan-qa kacha-sunchis taita-i-ta mai-ta-pas*  
 now-TOP send-FUT:1INCL father-1P-ACC somewhere-ACC-ADD  
  
*as karu-ta*  
 little far-ADV

“Now we’ll send my father somewhere far.”

- (97) *hina-spa*      *chai-kama-lla*      *pasa-pu-sun*      *ni-spa*  
like-SS              that-TERM-LIM      leave-REG-FUT:1INCL      say-SS  
“In the meantime we’ll leave.”
- (98) *ni-n*      *wawa-n-qa*  
say-3      child-3P-TOP  
‘said her child.’
- (99) *hina-spa*      *taita-n-ta*      *kacha-nku*      *karu-ta*      *ch'isi-yuq*      *puri-y-ta*  
like-SS              father-3P-ACC      send-3PL      far-ADV      evening-HAVING      walk-INF-ADV  
‘Then they sent his father on a day trip.’
- (100) *hina-spa*      *chai-kama-lla*      *pasa-pu-nku*  
like-SS              that-TERM-LIM      leave-REG-3PL  
‘Meanwhile they left.’
- (101) *wawa-n-qa*      *huq-ta-n*      *wanka-ta*      *tanqa-iku-rqu-n*  
child-3P-TOP      one-ADV-EU      rock-ACC      push-AUG-EXH-3  
‘Her child moved the rock aside with one thrust.’
- (102) *chai-qa*      *mama-n-ta*      *q'ipi-yku-ku-n*  
that-TOP              mother-3P-ACC      carry-AUG-REFL-3  
‘Then he carried his mother on the back.’
- (103) *monte-ta*              *pela-pela-ri-spa*  
vegetation-ACC              cut:RED-CUT-INCH-SS  
‘While he was cleaving a way by cutting bushes like weeds,’ (see (104-106))
- (104) *qura*      *ka-n-man*  
weed      be-3-POT
- (105) *hina*              *ñan-ta*              *rura-spa-n*  
like.this              way-ACC              make-SS-3
- (106) *mama-n-ta-qa*              *q'ipi-yka-pu-n*  
mother-3P-ACC-TOP      carry-AUG-STAT-3  
‘he carried his mother on the back.’
- (107) *hina-spa*      *ña*              *wasi-n*              *cerca-pi-ña*              *ka-sia-qti-nku*  
like-SS              already              home-3P              near-LOC-ALREADY              be-PROG-DS-3PL  
‘When they were near her home,’
- (108) *taita-n-qa*      *kuti-pu-sia-sqa*  
father-3-TOP      return-REG-PROG-SD  
‘his father was on his way back.’
- (109) *hina-spa*      *k'inti-qa*              *ni-n*  
like-SS              hummingbird-TOP              say-3

‘Then the hummingbird said (to the bear):’

- (110) *ri-n k'inti*  
go-3 hummingbird  
‘Hummingbird goes,’
- (111) *phawa-n k'inti*  
fly-3 hummingbird  
‘Hummingbird flies.’
- (112) *pi-q-ma urpi-cha-n-chá llaqta-n q'asa-ta-ña*  
who-GEN-GEN dove-DIM-3P-INFER village-EU pass-PERL-ALREADY  
  
*wasapa-rqu-sia-n ni-spa*  
climb.over-EXH-PROG-3 say-SS  
“‘Whose little dove is crossing the mountain pass to the village?’”
- (113) *hina-spa ukuku-qa ni-n*  
like-SS bear-TOP say-3  
‘Then the bear said:’
- (114) *ha ima-ta-n rima-paya-wanki ni-spa*  
interj what-ACC-INTERR speak-REP-2>1 say-SS  
“‘Hey, what are you saying to me?’”
- (115) *ch'aqlla-spa*  
slap-SS  
‘With one slap’ (literally: ‘slapping it’)
- (116) *rapra-cha-n-ta paki-rqa-pu-sqa*  
wing-DIM-3P-ACC break-EXH-STAT-SD  
‘he broke one of its wings.’
- (117) *hina-spa k'inti-cha-qa ni-n*  
like-SS hummingbird-DIM-TOP say-3  
‘Then the little hummingbird said:’
- (118) *ima-paq-taq kaina-ta rapra-cha-i-ta paki-rqu-wanki*  
what-FIN-CON like.this-ADV wing-DIM-1P-ACC break-EXH-2>1  
“‘Why did you break the little wing of mine like this,’”
- (119) *allipas ñuqa willa-iki-man ka-rqa-n ni-spa ni-n*  
although 1 tell-1>2-POT be-PAST-3 say-SS say-3  
“‘even though I was about to tell you (something)?’”
- (120) *hina-spa ukuku-qa ni-n k'inti-cha-ta-qa*  
like-SS bear-TOP say-3 hummingbird-DIM-DAT-TOP  
‘Then the bear said to the little hummingbird:’

- (121) *willa-iku-wa-i-yá*                      *ni-spa-qa*      *ni-n*  
tell-AUG-1O-IMP-EMO                      say-SS-TOP      say-3  
“‘Tell me (about it)!’”
- (122) *bueno willa-sqaiki*  
okay tell-FUT:1>2  
“‘Okay, I’ll tell you,’”
- (123) *pero icha-qa rapra-cha-i-ta-raq-yá*                      *hampi-yku-wa-i*                      *ni-spa*  
but but-TOP wing-DIM-1P-ACC-FIRST-EMO                      heal-AUG-1O-IMP                      say-SS  
“‘but you fix the little wing of mine first.’”
- (124) *ni-n*  
say-3  
‘said (the hummingbird).’
- (125) *chai-qa*                      *ukuku-qa*                      *quña-lla-n-wan*                      *hampi-yku-n*  
that-TOP                      bear-TOP                      mucus-LIM-3P-INSTR                      heal-AUG-3  
‘Then the bear healed (it) with his mucus.’
- (126) *hina-spa*                      *ni-n*  
like-SS                      say-3  
‘Then (the hummingbird) said:’
- (127) *urpi-cha-iki-n*                      *pasa-pu-n*  
dove-DIM-2P-AFF                      leave-STAT-3  
“‘Your little dove has left,’”
- (128) *wawa-iki-pas*  
child-2P-ADD  
“‘your child too,’”
- (129) *mana astawan*                      *kuti-mu-q*                      *ni-spa*  
NEG anymore                      return-cis-PURP                      say-SS  
“‘and they are not coming back.’”
- (130) *chai-qa*                      *ukuku-qa*                      *pasa-n*                      *wasi-n-ta*  
that-TOP                      bear-TOP                      leave.for-3                      home-3P-AL  
‘Then the bear headed home.’
- (131) *hina-spa*                      *wasi-n-pi*                      *mana ka-qti-nku*  
like-SS                      home-3P-LOC NEG                      be-DS-3PL  
‘When (he saw) they were not at home,’
- (132) *loco hina ri-n p’asña-q*                      *wasi-n-ta*  
crazy like go-3 girl-GEN                      home-3P-AL  
‘he went to the girl’s home angrily,’
- (133) *tapu-tapuri-ku-spa-n*  
think-think-REFL-SS-3

‘thinking it over and over.’

- (134) *hina-spa*      *p'asña-qa*      *ña*      *yacha-sqa*  
like-SS      girl-TOP      already      know-NARR  
‘The girl already knew (that)’ (see (135))
- (135) *ukuku-q*      *runa-man*      *tuku-spa*      *ri-na-n-ta*  
bear-GEN      human-AL      transform-SS      go-NMLZ-3P-ACC  
‘the bear would come disguised as a human.’
- (136) *hina-spa*      *mama-n-ta*      *ni-n*  
like-SS      mother-3P-DAT      say-3  
‘And she said to her mother:’
- (137) *kunan-mi*      *mama-i*      *wawa-i-pa*      *taita-n*      *hamu-nqa*  
now-AFF      mother-1P      child-1P-GEN      father-3P      come-FUT:3  
‘‘Now mother, the father of my child is coming.’’
- (138) *chai-paq-yá*      *iskai*      *perol-kuna-pi*      *uno*      *t'impu-pu-sqa-ta*  
that-FIN-EMO      two      pot-PL-LOC      water      boiled-STAT-NMLZ-ACC  
  
*suya-chi-sunchis*      *ni-spa*      *ni-n*  
wait-CAUS-FUT:1INCL      say-SS      say-3  
‘‘So we’ll let two pots boiled water wait for him.’’
- (139) *chai-qa*      *mama-n-qa*      *ni-n*  
that-TOP      mother-3P-TOP      say-3  
‘Then her mother said:’
- (140) *bueno pues*      *t'impu-chi-sun-yá*      *ni-spa*      *ni-n*  
okay      well      boil-CAUS-FUT:1INCL-EMO      say-SS      say-3  
‘‘Okay, well, let’s boil (some water)!’’
- (141) *hina-spa*      *uno-ta-qa*      *t'impu-sia-q-ta*      *tapa-iku-nku*  
like-SS      water-ACC-TOP      boil-PROG-NA-ACC      cover-AUG-3PL  
  
*iskai*      *q'aspi-lla-wan*  
two      stick-LIM-INSTR  
‘Then they covered the boiling water with two sticks’
- (142) *hawa-n-man-taq*      *p'acha-wan*  
top-3P-AL-CON      clothes-INSTR  
‘and with clothes on top of them.’
- (143) *hina-spa*      *chai-lla-man*      *haiku-n*      *ukuku-qa*      *wiraqucha*      *figura-pi*  
like-SS      that-LIM-AL      enter-3      bear-TOP      gentleman      form-LOC  
‘After than the bear came in in the form of a gentleman.’
- (144) *hina-spa*      *ni-nku*  
like-SS      say-3PL

‘Then they (the girl and her mother) said (to him):’

- (145) *señor kai-pi tiya-iku-i ni-spa*  
mister this-LOC sit-AUG-IMP say-SS  
‘‘Sir, please sit here.’’
- (146) *chai-qa hina tiya-iku-sia-qti-n*  
that-TOP like sit-AUG-PROG-DS-3  
‘Then when he was sitting there,’
- (147) *ni-nku*  
say-3PL  
‘they said:’
- (148) *señor dispensa-iku-wa-i*  
mister excuse-AUG-1O-IMP  
‘‘Sir, excuse us,’’
- (149) *huq rato-cha-lla hatari-yku-rqu-i ni-spa*  
one moment-DIM-LIM get.up-AUG-EXH-IMP say-SS  
‘‘get up for just one moment please.’’
- (150) *iskainin q'aspi-ta hurqu-rqu-nku*  
two stick-ACC take.out-EXH-3PL  
‘They took the two sticks out.’
- (151) *chai-qa ni-nku*  
that-TOP say-3PL  
‘Then they said:’
- (152) *señor tiya-ika-ka-pu-lla-i ni-spa*  
mister sit-AUG-REFL-REG-LIM-IMP say-SS  
‘‘Sir, sit back down please.’’
- (153) *hina-spa tiya-iku-spa-n-qa*  
like-SS sit-AUG-SS-3-TOP  
‘The moment he sat down,’
- (154) *uno t'impu-q-man pasa-ika-pu-n*  
water boil-NA-AL fall-AUG-STAT-3  
‘he fell into the boiling water.’
- (155) *hina-spa qhuspa-ska-na-n-kama-qa*  
like-SS roll.around-PROG-NMLZ-3P-TERM-TOP  
‘While he was rolling around,’
- (156) *q'aspi-kuna-wan q'asu-i-ta qalla-ri-nku*  
stick-PL-INSTR beat-INF-ACC begin-INCH-3PL  
‘they began to beat him with sticks.’

- (157) *chai-qa*            *wañu-rqa-chi-pu-nku*  
that-TOP            die-EXH-CAUS-STAT-3PL  
‘Then they killed (him).’
- (158) *chai-qa*            *p'asña-qa*            *contenta*  
that-TOP            girl-TOP            satisfied  
‘The girl was happy.’
- (159) *hina-spa*            *naq'a-spa-nku*  
like-SS            butcher-SS-3PL  
‘After they butchered (the bear),’
- (160) *miqhu-ika-pu-nku-raq-taq*  
eat-AUG-STAT-3PL-IN.addition-CON  
‘they even ate it.’
- (161) *hina-spa*            *wawa-n-ta-qa*            *marq'a-chi-nku*            *señor cura-wan*  
like-SS            child-3P-ACC-TOP            carry.with.arms-CAUS-3PL            mister priest-INSTR  
‘They let the priest baptize the child.’
- (162) *chai-qa*            *señor cura*            *compadre-n ka-pu-n*  
that-TOP            mister priest            godfather-3P be-STAT-3  
‘The priest became his godfather.’
- (163) *hina-spa*            *escuela-man chura-ku-n wawa-n-ta-qa*  
like-SS            school-AL            send-REFL-3 child-3P-ACC-TOP  
‘Then he sent the child to school.’
- (164) *chai-qa*            *escuela-pi ka-sia-n*  
that-TOP            school-LOC            be-PROG-3  
‘He was at school.’
- (165) *hina-spa*            *chuwi-spa-nku*  
like-SS            play.marbles-SS-3PL  
‘When they were playing marbles’ (see (166-168))
- (166) *gana-rqu-qti-n*  
win-EXH-DS-3P  
‘and (the other schoolmates) won,’
- (167) *ima ch'aqlla-spa*  
CONJ slap-SS  
‘he slapped (them)’
- (168) *ima-lla*            *wañu-rqa-chi-pu-n*            *masi-n*            *warma-cha-ta-qa*  
CONJ-LIM            die-EXH-CAUS-STAT-3            fellow-EU            child-DIM-ACC-TOP  
‘and killed (them).’
- (169) *ima-lla-pi-pas*            *renega-rqa-chi-qti-nku-qa*  
CONJ-LIM-LOC-ADD            angry-EXH-CAUS-DS-3PL-TOP

‘Whenever they (the fellow children at school) made (him) angry,’

- (170) *huq hait'a-pi huq saqma-lla-pi-s wañu-rqa-chi-pu-n*  
 one kick-LOC one punch-LIM-LOC-HS die-EXH-CAUS-STAT-3

*escuela-pi ka-q masi-n warma-cha-kuna-ta*  
 school-LOC be-NA fellow-EU child-DIM-PL-ACC  
 ‘he killed them with one kick or one punch.’

- (171) *chai-qa mama-n-ta abuelo-n-ta abuela-n-ta-qa carcel-man*  
 that-TOP mother-3P-ACC grandfather-3P-ACC grandmother-3P-ACC-TOP prison-AL

*apa-ika-chi-nku queja-kuna-pi riña-kuna-lla-pi*  
 carry-AUG-CAUS-3PL complaint-PL-LOC dispute-PL-LIM-LOC  
 ‘Then his mother and grandparents were put into jail due to all the complaints and disputes.’

- (172) *miqhu-n-ri huq borrego-ta-s sapa p'unchai*  
 eat-3-ADD one lamb-ACC-HS each day  
 ‘He consumed one lamb every day.’

- (173) *chai-qa abuelo-n abuela-m-pas*  
 that-TOP grandfather-3P grandmother-3P-ADD  
*chiqui-ka-pu-n-ña*  
 hate-REFL-STAT-3-ALREADY  
 ‘His grandparents hated him’ (see (174))

- (174) *sinchi-ta-ña waqchaya-chi-pu-qti-n-mi*  
 much-ADV-ALREADY poor-CAUS-STAT-DS-3-AFF  
 ‘for making them much poorer.’

- (175) *hasta mama-n-ta-pas qarqu-pu-n-ña wasi-n-manta*  
 even mother-3P-ACC-ADD expel-STAT-3-ALREADY home-3P-ABL  
 ‘They even threw his mother out of the house.’

- (176) *wawa-iki-wan kuska mai-ta-pas ri-ychis ni-spa*  
 child-2P-COM together somewhere-ACC-ADD go-IMP:2PL say-SS  
 ‘“Go somewhere together with your child.” (they said to her)’

- (177) *hina-spa mama-n-qa escuela-manta hurqu-m-pu-n*  
 like-SS mother-3P-TOP school-ABL take.out-CIS-STAT-3  
*wawa-n-ta*  
 child-3P-ACC  
 ‘Then his mother took him out of school.’

- (178) *hina-spa señor cura-man entrega-pu-n compadre-n-man*  
 like-SS mister priest-AL hand.over-IT-3 godfather-3P-AL  
 ‘She handed (him) over to the priest, his godfather.’

- (179) *kai-ta-qa*    *compadre-ña*    *maneja-chu-n*    *allin-ta*    *ni-spa*  
 this-ACC-TOP    godfather-ALREADY    handle-DEO-3    good-ADV    say-SS  
 ‘‘Hopefully the godfather can handle this one well.’’ (she thought to herself)’
- (180) *hina-lla-taq*    *chai-pi-pas*    *cocinera*    *miqhu-na-ta*    *pisi-lla-ta*    *qu-qti-n*  
 like-LIM-CON    that-LOC-ADD    cook    food-NMLZ-ACC    little-LIM-ADV    give-DS-3P  
 ‘However, when the cook there gave him too little food,’
- (181) *chai-qa*    *huq*    *ch'aqlla-lla-pi*    *wañu-rqa-chi-pu-lla-n-taq*  
 that-TOP    one    slap-LIM-LOC    die-EXH-CAUS-STAT-LIM-3-CON  
 ‘he killed (him) with just one slap.’
- (182) *sacristán-mi*    *ima-lla-pi-pas*    *molesta-rqu-qti-n*  
 sacristan-AFF    what-LIM-LOC-ADD    annoy-EXH-DS-3  
 ‘When the sacristan annoyed him with something,’
- (183) *chai-qa*    *huq*    *hait'a-lla-pi*    *wañu-rqa-chi-pu-lla-n-taq*  
 that-TOP    one    kick-LIM-LOC    die-EXH-CAUS-STAT-LIM-3-CON  
 ‘he killed him with just one kick.’
- (184) *chai-qa*    *señor cura-qa*    *castiga-n*  
 that-TOP    mister priest-TOP    punish-3  
 ‘Then the priest punished him.’
- (185) *castiga-qti-n-pas*  
 punish-DS-3-ADD  
 ‘After being punished,’
- (186) *ni*    *wana-n-chu*  
 NEG    better-3-NEG  
 ‘he didn’t get better.’
- (187) *runa-ta-qa*    *wañu-chi-pu-sia-lla-n*  
 person-ACC-TOP    die-CAUS-MAL-PROG-LIM-3  
 ‘He was still killing people.’
- (188) *runa-kuna-q*    *manu-ña*    *compadre-m-pas*  
 person-PL-GEN    debt-ALREADY    godfather-3P-ADD  
 ‘His godfather was now also in debt of the people.’
- (189) *chai-qa*    *ima-ta-taq*    *rura-n compadre-n-qa*  
 that-TOP    what-ACC-CON    do-3    godfather-3P-TOP  
 ‘And what did his godfather do?’
- (190) *panteón*    *uqhu-pi-s*    *huq zanjon-ta*    *rura-chi-mu-n*  
 cemetery    inside-LOC-HS one    ditch-ACC    do-CAUS-TRSL-3  
 ‘He let (others) dig one ditch inside the cemetery.’
- (191) *hina-spa*    *allin tuta-ta*    *kacha-iku-n*  
 like-SS    good    night-ADV    send-AUG-3

- ‘Then he sent (the child there) at midnight.’
- (192) *libro-cha-i-ta-n*                      *qunqa-rka-ka-m-pu-sqa-ni*  
 book-DIM-1P-ACC-AFF                      forget-AUG-REFL-TRSL-STAT-SD-1  
 “‘I must have forgot my little book there.’”
- (193) *phawa-i*  
 run-IMP  
 “‘Go quickly’”
- (194) *apa-rqa-m-pu-wa-i*                      *ni-spa*  
 carry-EXH-CIS-REG-1O-IMP                      say-SS  
 “‘and bring (it) back to me.’ (he said to him)’
- (195) *kacha-iku-n*  
 send-AUG-3  
 ‘He sent (him there)’ (see (196))
- (196) *wañu-mu-na-n-raiku*  
 die-TRSL-NMLZ-3P-CAUSA  
 ‘in the hope that he would die there.’
- (197) *chai-qa*                      *haiku-rqu-spa*  
 that-TOP                      enter-EXH-SS  
 ‘Then (the child) came in’ (see (198))
- (198) *libro-ta*                      *señor cura-man*                      *entrega-pu-n*  
 book-ACC                      mister priest-AL                      hand.over-REG-3  
 ‘and gave the priest the book.’
- (199) *hina-spa*                      *señor cura-qa*                      *admira-ku-n*  
 like-SS                      mister priest-TOP                      amaze-REFL-3  
 ‘The priest was stunned.’
- (200) *háá*                      *imaina-pi-taq*                      *kai-ri*                      *mana*                      *wañu-mu-n-chu*  
 interj                      how-LOC-CON                      this-INTERR                      NEG                      die-TRSL-3-DUB  
 “‘Uh, how come this one didn’t die there?’”
- (201) *otra*                      *vida-lla-pas*                      *mana*                      *q’api-spa*  
 other                      life-LIM-ADD                      NEG                      crush-SS  
 “‘Didn’t the otherworld frighten’” (see (202))
- (202) *wañu-chi-mu-rqa-n-chu*                      *ni-spa*  
 die-CAUS-TRSL-PAST-3-NEG                      say-SS  
 “‘and kill (him)?’”
- (203) *ni-n*  
 say-3  
 ‘he thought to himself.’

- (204) *hina-spa huq kutin-qa torre pata-pi-ña-taq*  
 like-SS one time-TOP tower top-LOC-ALREADY-CON  
*iskaichunka runa-ta suyapa-chi-mu-n*  
 twenty person-ACC ambush-CAUS-TRSL-3  
 ‘One time he let twenty people ambush (the child) on top of the tower’ (see (205))
- (205) *torre pata-manta tanqa-ika-mu-na-nku-paq*  
 tower top-ABL push-AUG-TRSL-NMLZ-3PL-FIN  
 ‘so that they could push (him) down from there.’
- (206) *hina-spa señor cura-qa kacha-n ahijado-n-ta-qa*  
 like-SS mister priest-TOP send-3 godson-3-ACC-TOP  
 ‘Then the priest sent his godson away (saying)’
- (207) *phawa-i*  
 run-IMP  
 ‘‘Go quickly’’
- (208) *las ocho-ta waqta-rqa-mu-i ni-spa*  
 ART eight-ACC strike-EXH-TRSL-IMP say-SS  
 ‘‘and strike eight o’clock.’’
- (209) *chai-qa ri-n*  
 that-TOP go-3  
 ‘Then he left.’
- (210) *hina-spa campana-q wato-n-ta-ña hap'i-yku-sia-qti-n*  
 like-SS bell-GEN string-3P-ACC-ALREADY seize-AUG-PROG-DS-3  
 ‘When he was reaching for the bell string’ (see (211))
- (211) *las ocho waqta-iku-na-m-paq*  
 ART eight strike-AUG-NMLZ-3P-FIN  
 ‘in order to strike eight o’clock,’
- (212) *runa-kuna chanqa-ika-mu-i-ta muna-sqa-nku llipi-nku*  
 person-PL throw.down-AUG-TRSL-INF-ACC want-SD-3PL all-3P:PL  
 ‘all the people (who were ambushing) tried to push him down.’
- (213) *hina-spa pai aswan llipi-nku-ta runa-kuna-ta*  
 like-SS 3 on.the.contrary all-3P:PL-ACC person-PL-ACC  
  
*chanqa-ika-m-pu-sqa*  
 throw.down-AUG-TRSL-STAT-SD  
 ‘But it turned out that he threw down all the people.’
- (214) *chai-qa las ocho-ta waqta-iku-spa-n*  
 that-TOP ART eight-ACC strike-AUG-SS-3  
 ‘After he stroke eight o’clock,’

- (215) *haiku-pu-n casa cural-ta-qa*  
 enter-IT-3 house parish-AL-TOP  
 ‘he went back into the parish house.’
- (216) *chai-qa ni-n señor cura-ta*  
 that-TOP say-3 mister priest-DAT  
 ‘Then he said to the priest.’
- (217) *ima kuru-cha-kuna suyapa-ku-wa-sqa*  
 what worm-DIM-PL ambush-REFL-1O-SD  
 ‘‘Little worms tried to ambush me!’’
- (218) *ch'uspi-kuna-chus hina*  
 mosquito-PL-DUB like  
 ‘‘They were like mosquitos.’’
- (219) *torre pata-manta-ña-taq tanqa-ika-mu-wa-i-ta muna-sqa-nku*  
 tower top-ABL-ALREADY-CON push-AUG-TRSL-1O-INF-ACC want-SD-3PL  
 ‘‘They wanted to push me down from the top of the tower.’’
- (220) *mana-yá ati-wa-nku-chu*  
 NEG-EMO can-1O-3PL-NEG  
 ‘‘(But) they couldn’t.’’
- (221) *ñuqa-qa aswan chanqa-ika-mu-ni*  
 1-TOP on.the.contrary throw.down-AUG-TRSL-1  
 ‘‘I threw them down instead.’’
- (222) *ñutqhu-pas ch'iqiriqta-raq-taq ni-n*  
 brain-ADD splash-IN.addition-CON say-3  
 ‘‘Their brains splashed.’’
- (223) *chai-qa señor cura-qa manchari-sqa*  
 that-TOP mister priest-TOP afraid-NMLZ  
 ‘Then the priest got scared.’
- (224) *qhatatata-n-raq renega-i-manta*  
 tremble-3-IN.addition angry-INF-ABL  
 ‘He was also trembling because of anger.’
- (225) *kunan-ri imana-saq-taq kai-tukui runa-q alma-n-manta-ri*  
 now-ADD do.what-FUT:1-CON this-ALL person-GEN soul-3P-ABL-INTERR  
 ‘‘Now what should I do for the souls of all these people?’’
- (226) *familia-nku-qa preso-ta-chá hap'i-wa-nqaku ni-spa*  
 family-3P:PL-TOP prisoner-ACC-INFER capture-1O-FUT:3pl say-SS  
 ‘‘Their families will probably take me prisoner.’’ (he said to himself)’
- (227) *chai-qa preso-ta apa-ika-pu-nku compadre-n-ta-qa*  
 that-TOP prisoner-ACC carry-AUG-STAT-3PL godfather-3P-ACC-TOP

‘(Indee) they took his godfather prisoner.’

- (228) *ñaqai-manta-ña*                      *libra-ka-pu-n*  
difficulty-ABL-ALREADY      free-REFL-STAT-3  
‘He freed himself only with great difficulty,’
- (229) *qullqi-n-ta*                      *sapa-nka-man*                      *qu-spa-lla-ña*  
money-3P-ACC                      each-DISTR-AL                      give-SS-LIM-ALREADY  
‘(namely) after giving each of them some of his money.’
- (230) *hina-spa*                      *ni-n*                      *ahijado-n-ta*  
like-SS                      say-3                      godson-3P-DAT  
‘Then he said to his godson:’
- (231) *mana-n*                      *aguanta-i-ta*                      *ati-yki-ña-chu*  
NEG-AFF                      bear-INF-ACC                      can-1>2-ALREADY-NEG  
‘‘I can’t stand you anymore.’’
- (232) *mana-n*                      *paciencia-i-pas*                      *ka-n-ña-chu*  
NEG-AFF                      patience-1P-ADD                      be-3-ALREADY-NEG  
‘‘And I don’t have patience anymore.’’
- (233) *kai*                      *tukui-ta-ña*                      *runa-ta-pas*                      *manuya-chi-wanki*  
this                      all-DAT-ALREADY                      person-DAT-ADD                      in.debt-CAUS-2>1  
‘‘You made me guilty to all these people.’’
- (234) *kunan-qa*                      *mai-ta-pas*    *ri-pu-i*                      *ni-spa*  
now-TOP                      somewhere-ACC-ADD    go-STAT-IMP                      say-SS  
‘‘Now go away!’’
- (235) *hina-spa*                      *huq*                      *hornada*                      *t’anta-lla-ta*                      *masa-ika-chi-pu-n*  
like-SS                      one                      batch                      bread-LIM-ACC                      knead-AUG-CAUS-BEN-3  
‘Then he let (someone) make one loaf of bread for (his godson).’
- (236) *pisqa pachaq*                      *qullqi-ta-taq*                      *regala-iku-n*                      *ñan*                      *gasto-n-paq*  
five                      hundred                      money-ACC-CON                      give-AUG-3                      way                      expense-3P-FIN  
‘He (also) gave him five hundred pieces of money for travel expenses,’
- (237) *huq*                      *mula-ta-taq*    *silla-n-paq*  
one                      mule-ACC-CON    seat-3P-FIN  
‘one mule to ride,’
- (238) *huq-ta-taq*    *t’anta*    *carga-iku-ku-na-m-paq*  
one-ACC-CON    bread    carry-AUG-REFL-NMLZ-3P-FIN  
‘and one to carry the bread.’
- (239) *chai-qa*                      *ri-pu-n*                      *compadre-n-manta*  
that-TOP                      go-STAT-3                      godfather-3P-ABL  
‘Then (the child) left his godfather,’

- (240) *agradece-iku-ku-spa-n*  
 express.thanks-AUG-REFL-SS-EU  
 ‘after having thanked (him)’ (see (241))
- (241) *despede-iku-ku-spa-n*  
 say.goodbye-AUG-REFL-SS-EU  
 ‘and said goodbye.’
- (242) *pasa-pu-n*  
 leave-STAT-3  
 ‘He left.’
- (243) *t'anta-ta-qa*            *iskai*    *p'unchai-lla-pi*            *tuku-rqa-pu-n*  
 bread-ACC-TOP            two    day-LIM-LOC            finish-EXH-STAT-3  
 ‘He finished the bread within just two days.’
- (244) *paqariqnintin-kuna-qa*            *waka-ta*            *oveja-ta-ña-taq*            *hap'i-spa*  
 next.day-PL-TOP            cow-ACC            sheep-ACC-ALREADY-CON            catch-SS  
 ‘The next days he hunted cows and sheep’ (see (244))
- (245) *miqhu-n*  
 eat-3  
 ‘and ate them.’
- (246) *hina ñan puri-ska-sqa-n-pi*  
 like    way    walk-PROG-NMLZ-3P-LOC  
 ‘When he was walking around,’
- (247) *huq waqcha colegial-wan tinku-n*  
 one    poor            schoolboy-COM            meet-3  
 ‘he met one poor schoolboy.’
- (248) *hina-spa ni-n*  
 like-SS            say-3  
 ‘He said (to him):’
- (249) *amigo mai-ta-taq ri-ska-nki ni-spa*  
 friend where-ACC-CON            go-PROG-2            say-SS  
 ‘‘My friend, where are you going?’’
- (250) *colegial-qa ni-n*  
 schoolboy-TOP            say-3  
 ‘The schoolboy said:’
- (251) *tal llaqta-ta-n ri-sia-ni*  
 that    village-ACC-AFF            go-PROG-1  
 ‘‘I’m going to that village.’’
- (252) *paqta ima fortuna-lla-wan-pas tinku-i-man ni-spa*  
 perhaps            some    luck-LIM-COM-ADD            meet-1-POT            say-SS  
 ‘‘Perhaps I’d find some luck (there).’’

- (253) *waqcha-taq-mi*      *mama-i*  
 poor-CON-AFF      mother-1P  
 “‘My mother is poor.’”
- (254) *chai-mi*      *qarqu-n-pu-wa-n*  
 that-AFF      expel-EU-STAT-1O-3  
 “‘So she threw me out.’”
- (255) *mana-n*      *astawan*      *mantene-i-ta*      *ati-yki-chu*  
 NEG-AFF      any.more      maintain-INF-ACC      can-1>2-NEG  
 “‘I can’t provide for you anymore.’”
- (256) *puri-y*  
 go-IMP  
 “‘Go!’”
- (257) *ri-pu-ku-i*  
 go-STAT-REFL-IMP  
 “‘Leave!’”
- (258) *wichai-pas*      *urai-pas*      *ka-n-mi*      *ñan*      *ni-spa*  
 uphill-ADD      downhill-ADD      be-3-AFF      way      say-SS  
 “‘The road goes uphill and downhill.’”
- (259) *chai-mi*      *hamu-sqa-ni*  
 that-AFF      come-SD-1  
 “‘So I came here.’”
- (260) *chai-qa*      *señor cura-q*      *ahijado-n-pas*      *ni-lla-n-taq*  
 that-TOP      mister priest-GEN      godson-3P-ADD      say-LIM-3-CON  
 ‘Then the godson of the priest said:’
- (261) *ñuqa-pas*      *kaina-n*      *ka-ni*  
 1-ADD      like.this-AFF      be-1  
 “‘I have a similar situation.’” (literally: ‘I’m also like this’)
- (262) *chai-mi*      *compadre-i*      *qarqu-n-pu-wa-n*  
 that-AFF      godfather-1P      expel-EU-STAT-1O-3  
 “‘My godfather sent me away.’”
- (263) *haku-yá*  
 come:IMP-EMO  
 “‘Come,’”
- (264) *acompañá-ku-sun*      *ni-spa*  
 accompany-REFL-FUT:1INCL      say-SS  
 “‘let’s go together!’”

- (265) *acompañá-ku-nku*  
 accompany-REFL-3PL  
 ‘They accompanied each other.’
- (266) *chai-qa mai-pi-chá oveja-ta o waka-ta riku-n*  
 that-TOP where-LOC-INFER sheep-ACC or cow-ACC see-3  
 ‘Whenever they saw a sheep or a cow,’
- (267) *hap'i-n*  
 catch-3  
 ‘they caught it.’
- (268) *pacha-pi fogata-ta rura-spa-nku*  
 soil-LOC campfire-ACC make-SS-3PL  
 ‘After making a fire on the ground,’
- (269) *kanka-sqa miqhu-nku*  
 roast-NMLZ eat-3PL  
 ‘they roasted (the animal) and ate (it).’
- (270) *hina-spa colegial-qa manchari-ku-n*  
 like-SS schoolboy-TOP afraid-REFL-3  
 ‘The schoolboy got scared,’
- (271) *miqhu-sqa-n-ta*  
 eat-NMLZ-3P-ACC  
 ‘when he saw (the son-of-bear) eat.’ (see (272))
- (272) *riku-spa*  
 see-SS
- (273) *chai-qa puri-nku semana o iskai semana-ña*  
 that-TOP walk-3PL week or two week-ALREADY  
 ‘They traveled for one or two weeks.’
- (274) *hina-spa ñan-pi-qa tapuri-nku*  
 like-SS way-LOC-TOP ask-3PL  
 ‘(Somewhere) on the road they asked (someone):’
- (275) *mai llaqta-man-mi ri-n kai ñan*  
 which village-AL-INTERR go-3 this road  
 ‘“Which village does this road lead to?”’
- (276) *ni-qti-nku*  
 say-DS-3PL  
 ‘After they said (that),’
- (277) *ni-n*  
 say-3  
 ‘(the person) said:’

- (278) *tal llaqta-man-mi*  
 that village-AL-AFF  
 “‘To that village.’”
- (279) *pero ama ri-ychis-chu*  
 but PROH go-IMP:2PL-NEG  
 “‘But don’t go (there).’”
- (280) *chai cerca-pi huq hacienda ka-n*  
 that near-LOC one property be-3  
 “‘There’s a hacienda near it.’”
- (281) *hina-spa chai hacienda-yuq condena-ku-n*  
 like-SS that property-HAVING condemn-REFL-3  
 “‘The owner of the hacienda has become a condemned.’”
- (282) *chai-mi runa-ta animal-ta miqhu-spa*  
 that-AFF human-ACC animal-ACC eat-SS  
 “‘It wanders around eating people and animals.’” (see (283))
- (283) *puri-ska-n*  
 roam-PROG-3
- (284) *chai-mi chai llaqta-manta ri-pu-ska-nku*  
 that-AFF that village-ABL go-STAT-PROG-3PL  
 “‘That’s why (people) have left the village’” (see (285))
- (285) *ch’iqi-pu-sia-nku huq llaqta-kuna-man ni-spa willa-n*  
 spread-STAT-PROG-3PL other village-PL-AL say-SS tell-3  
 “‘and spread to other villages.’”
- (286) *hina-spa kai ukuku-q churi-n-qa ni-n*  
 like-SS this bear-GEN son-3P-TOP say-3  
 ‘Then the son-of-bear said:’
- (287) *kunan a ver ñuqa chaya-ku-saq hacienda-man-mi*  
 now to see 1 arrive-REFL-FUT:1 property-AL-AFF  
 “‘Now, well, I’ll go to the hacienda.’”
- (288) *sut’in-pi miqhu-wa-nqa ni-spa*  
 truth-LOC eat-1O-FUT:3 say-SS  
 “‘(And see) if he’ll in fact eat me.’”
- (289) *hina-spa colegial-qa manchari-ku-n*  
 like-SS schoolboy-TOP afraid-REFL-3  
 ‘Then the schoolboy got scared.’
- (290) *hina ka-qti-n-qa*  
 like be-DS-3-TOP

“‘If it’s like that,’”

- (291) *mana-n*      *ri-y-man-chu ñuqa-qa*      *condenado-q*      *wasi-n-man-qa*  
NEG-AFF      go-1-POT-NEG 1-TOP      condemned-GEN      home-3P-AL-TOP  
*ni-spa*  
say-SS  
“‘I wouldn’t go the condemned’s place.’”
- (292) *ni-n*  
say-3  
‘he said.’
- (293) *hina-spa*      *ukuku-q*      *churi-n-qa*      *ni-n*  
like-SS      bear-GEN      son-3P-TOP      say-3  
‘Then the son-of-bear said:’
- (294) *ama*      *mancha-ku-i-chu*  
PROH      afraid-REFL-IMP-NEG  
“‘Don’t be afraid.’”
- (295) *ñuqa-wan-qa*      *mana-n*      *cuidado*      *ka-n-chu*      *ni-spa*  
1-COM-TOP      NEG-AFF      worry      be-3-NEG      say-SS  
“‘You don’t have to worry (when you’re) with me.’”
- (296) *chai-qa*      *ri-nku*  
that-TOP      go-3PL  
‘Then they headed (there).’
- (297) *hina-spa*      *chaya-nku*      *condenado-q*      *hacienda-man-puni-taq*  
like-SS      arrive-3PL      condemned-GEN      property-AL-CERT-CON  
‘And they arrived at the very hacienda of the condemned (they talked about).’
- (298) *chai-qa*      *haiku-qti-nku-qa*  
that-TOP      enter-DS-3PL-TOP  
‘When they went in,’
- (299) *cuarto-n*      *punku-pas*      *kicha-raya-sia-lla-sqa-raq-si*  
room-EU      door-ADD      open-PERD-PROG-LIM-NMLZ-STILL-HS  
‘the door of (his) room was still open,’
- (300) *puñu-na-n-pas*      *qimpi-sqa-lla-raq-si*      *ka-sia-sqa*  
bedclothes-NMLZ-3P-ADD      turn.over-NMLZ-LIM-STILL-HS      be-PROG-SD  
‘his bedclothes was still turned over,’
- (301) *chaila-raq-pas*      *hatari-rqu-n-man*      *ka-rqa-n*      *hina*  
just.now-STILL-ADD      get.up-EXH-3-POT      be-PAST-3      like  
‘as if (someone) had just got up.’
- (302) *waka-n*      *oveja-n*      *cabra-n-kuna-pas*      *caballo-n-kuna-pas*  
cow-3P      sheep-3P      goat-3P-PL-ADD      horse-3P-PL-ADD

- urqu-n q'asa-n-ta-s puri-ku-sia-sqa*  
 mountain-EU pass-3P-PERL-HS wander-REFL-PROG-SD  
 'His cows, sheep, goats, and horses were roaming across the mountain pass.'
- (303) *qati-ka-mu-i-pa hora-s-lla-ta-n kiki-lla-nku*  
 follow-REFL-cis-INF-GEN hour-PL-LIM-ADV-EU self-LIM-3P:PL
- huñu-ika-ka-mu-nku lliu animal-kuna*  
 gather-AUG-REFL-CIS-3PL all animal-PL  
 'All these animals gathered back (home) by themselves when it was time.'
- (304) *chai-qa kai ukuku-q churi-n-qa huq waka-ta hap'i-rqa-mu-n*  
 that-TOP this bear-GEN son-3P-TOP one cow-ACC catch-EXH-CIS-3  
 'Then the son-of-bear caught one cow.'
- (305) *hina-spa naq'a-spa*  
 like-SS butcher-SS  
 'After butchering (it),'
- (306) *kanka-pi miqhu-nku*  
 roast-LOC eat-3PL  
 'they ate (it) from a roaster.'
- (307) *hina-spa colegial-ta-qa mana miqhu-i ganas-ni-n-pas*  
 like-SS schoolboy-DAT-TOP NEG eat-INF desire-EU-3P-ADD  
*ka-n-chu llakiku-i-manta*  
 be-3-NEG anxious-INF-ABL  
 'The schoolboy lost appetite because he was afraid (that)' (see (308-309))
- (308) *condenado-q haiku-spa*  
 condemned-GEN enter-SS  
 'the condemned would come in'
- (309) *miqhu-rqu-na-n-manta*  
 eat-EXH-NMLZ-3P-ABL  
 'and devour him.'
- (310) *ukuku-q churi-n-taq-si gusto-n-paq miqhu-ska-n*  
 bear-GEN son-3P-CON-HS pleasure-3P-FIN eat-PROG-3  
 'The son-of-bear, however, was eating with great pleasure.'
- (311) *hina-spa ni-n colegial-ta-qa*  
 like-SS say-3 schoolboy-DAT-TOP  
 'He said to the schoolboy:'
- (312) *ganas-wan miqhu-i*  
 desire-COM eat-IMP  
 '“Eat and enjoy!”'

- (313) *yaqa-ña-n*                      *condenado*      *haiku-rqa-mu-nqa*  
soon-ALREADY-AFF      condemned      enter-EXH-CIS-FUT:3  
“‘Soon the condemned will come.’”
- (314) *hina-spa*              *ñuqa*      *maqa-naku-saq*  
like-SS              1              fight-RECI-FUT:1  
“‘And I’ll fight him.’”
- (315) *qam-pas*              *yanapa-mu-wanki*      *imaina-lla-ta-pas*  
2-ADD              help-CIS-2>1              how-LIM-ADV-ADD  
“‘You will help me somehow.’”
- (316) *paqta-pas*                      *vence-rqu-wan-man*                      *ni-spa*  
perhaps-ADD                      defeat-EXH-3>1-POT                      say-SS  
“‘(because) he could perhaps beat me.’”
- (317) *hina-s*                      *colegial-qa*                      *qhatatata-ska-n*  
like-HS                      schoolboy-TOP                      tremble-PROG-3  
‘Then schoolboy started to tremble.’
- (318) *chai-qa*              *ukuku-q*              *churi-n-qa*              *miqhu-i-ta*              *tuku-spa-ña*  
that-TOP              bear-GEN              son-3P-TOP              eat-INF-ACC              finish-SS-ALREADY  
‘After the son-of-bear finished eating,’
- (319) *hina-spa*              *alacena-ta*                      *kicha-iku-n*  
like-SS              cupboard-ACC                      open-AUG-3  
‘he opened the cupboard.’
- (320) *chai-qa*              *imaimana*              *licor-wan*              *hunt'a-sqa*              *ka-sqa*  
that-TOP              all.kinds.of              liquor-INSTR              fill-NMLZ              be-SD  
‘It was filled with all kinds of liquor.’
- (321) *chai-qa*              *vino-ta*              *toma-iku-n*              *allin-ta*  
that-TOP              wine-ACC              take-AUG-3              good-ADV  
‘Then he took a big gulp of wine,’
- (322) *chai-man*              *coñac-ta*              *kallpa-n-paq*                      *animo-n-paq*  
that-AL              cognac-ACC              strength-3P-FIN                      spirit-3P-FIN  
‘after that (he drank) some cognac for (more) strength and courage.’
- (323) *chai-qa*      *chai-lla-man-si*      *huq*      *urqu-q*                      *punta-manta*      *qapari-mu-n*  
that-TOP      that-LIM-AL-HS      one      mountain-GEN                      top-ABL              yell-TRSL-3  
‘Then (a voice) yelled from a mountain top.’
- (324) *pi-n*                      *chai*      *sauq'a-ta*              *rura-wa-n*  
who-INTERR              that              trick-ACC              do-3>1  
“‘Who’s playing that trick on me?’”

- (325) *pi-n wasi-y-man haiku-n ni-spa*  
 who-INTERR home-1P-AL enter-3 say-SS  
 “‘Who’s entered my home?’”
- (326) *colegial-taq-si lliu manchari-ku-i-manta*  
 schoolboy-CON-HS all afraid-REFL-INF-ABL  
*hisp'a-iku-ku-sia-n-raq*  
 urinate-AUG-REFL-PROG-3-IN.ADDITION  
 ‘The schoolboy pissed himself because of fear.’
- (327) *punku-ta-pas wisq'a-rqa-pu-n*  
 door-ACC-ADD close-EXH-STAT-3  
 ‘He closed the door.’
- (328) *ukuku-q churi-n-taq ni-n*  
 bear-GEN son-3P-CON say-3  
 ‘The son-of-bear said:’
- (329) *ama wisq'a-i-chu ni-spa*  
 PROH close-IMP-NEG say-SS  
 “‘Don’t close (the door)!’”
- (330) *condenado-q puñu-na-n-pata-pi kumpa-raya-ska-n*  
 condemned-GEN bed-NMLZ-3P-TOP-LOC lie.down-PERD-PROG-3  
 ‘He lied down on the condemned’s bed.’
- (331) *colegial-taq catre-siki-lla-pi wina-raya-ska-n*  
 schoolboy-CON cot-BASIS-LIM-LOC hide-PERD-PROG-3  
 ‘The schoolboy, however, hid himself under the bed.’
- (332) *chai-qa chai-lla-man condenado-qa haiku-n ventana-ta*  
 that-TOP that-LIM-AL condemned-TOP enter-3 window-PERL  
 ‘Then the condemned came in through the window.’
- (333) *hina-spa ni-n*  
 like-SS say-3  
 ‘He said (to the son-of-bear):’
- (334) *chai-ri top-aremos ni-spa*  
 that-ADD fight-FUT:1pl say-SS  
 “‘Let’s fight!’”
- (335) *chai-qa ukuku-q churi-n-qa ni-n*  
 that-TOP bear-GEN son-3P-TOP say-3  
 ‘The son-of-bear said:’
- (336) *como no top-aremos ni-spa*  
 how NEG fight-FUT:1pl say-SS  
 “‘Of course we’ll fight!’”

- (337) *chai-qa*      *condenado-s*      *huq-ta*      *saqma-n*  
that-TOP      condemned-HS      one-ADV      punch-3  
‘Then the condemned punched (him)’ (see (338))
- (338) *pirka-ta-wan-raq-si*      *topa-chi-n*  
wall-AL-COM-IN.addition-HS      throw-CAUS-3  
‘and thrust (him) against the wall.’
- (339) *huq-ta-n*      *ukuku-q*      *churi-n-qa*      *saqma-n*      *condenado-ta*  
one-ADV-EU      bear-GEN      son-3P-TOP      punch-3      condemned-ACC  
‘The son-of-bear stroke the condemned (back) with the fist’ (see (340))
- (340) *pirka-man-raq-si*      *yaqa*      *clavu-rqu-n*  
wall-AL-IN.addition-HS      almost      nail-EXH-3  
‘and almost nailed (him) onto the wall.’
- (341) *huq-ta-s*      *hait'a-n*      *condenado*      *ukuku-q*      *churi-n-ta*  
one-ADV-HS      kick-3      condemned      bear-GEN      son-3P-ACC  
‘(Then) the condemned kicked the son-of-bear’ (see (342))
- (342) *pampa-man-si*      *wiqchu-n*  
floor-AL-HS      throw-3  
‘and threw (him) onto the floor.’
- (343) *huq-ta-s*      *ukuku-q*      *churi-n*      *hait'a-n*  
one-ADV-HS      bear-GEN      son-3P      kick-3  
‘The son-of-bear kicked (him back).’
- (344) *iskai-man*      *q'iwirqu-n*  
two-AL      double.up-EXH-3  
‘(The condemned) doubled up.’
- (345) *hina*      *iskai-man*      *q'iwisqa-lla-pas*  
like      two-AL      double.up-NMLZ-LIM-ADD  
‘Even though he had doubled up,’
- (346) *maqapaku-sia-n-raq*  
fight.back-PROG-3-STILL  
‘he was still fighting back.’
- (347) *ña*      *vence-rqu-sia-n-ña*      *ukuku-q*      *churi-n*  
already      defeat-EXH-PROG-3-ALREADY      bear-GEN      son-3P  
*condenado-ta*  
condemned-ACC  
‘The son-of-bear was about to defeat the condemned.’
- (348) *chai-qa*      *uma-n-manta-s*      *yuraq*      *rit'i-man*  
that-TOP      head-3P-ABL-HS      white      snow-AL

*tuku-mu-sia-n-ña*  
 transform-CIS-PROG-3-ALREADY  
 ‘His hair turned white, like snow.’

- (349) *hina-spa-s ukuku-q churi-n-qa ni-n*  
 like-SS-HS bear-GEN son-3P-TOP say-3  
 ‘The the son-of-bear said:’
- (350) *samaiku-sun ni-spa*  
 rest-FUT:1INCL say-SS  
 ‘‘Let’s rest!’’
- (351) *hina-spa samaiku-qti-nku*  
 like-SS rest-DS-3PL  
 ‘When they were taking a break,’
- (352) *ukuku-q churi-n-qa vino-ta upya-iku-n allin-ta*  
 bear-GEN son-3P-TOP wine-ACC drink-AUG-3 good-ADV  
 ‘the son-of-bear took a big gulp of wine.’
- (353) *chai-qa maqana-iku-ku-lla-nku-taq*  
 that-TOP fight-AUG-REFL-LIM-3PL-CON  
 ‘Then they fought again.’
- (354) *hina-spa ukuku-q churi-n-puni vence-ika-pu-n lliu-ta*  
 like-SS bear-GEN son-3P-CERT defeat-AUG-STAT-3 complete-ADV  
 ‘Then the son-of-bear defeated (him) for good.’
- (355) *chai-qa tullu mant'a-rqa-ka-pu-n*  
 that-TOP bone spread-EXH-REFL-STAT-3  
 ‘The bones (of the condemned) fell apart.’
- (356) *hina-spa yuraq paloma-man tuku-rqa-pu-n*  
 like-SS white dove-AL transform-EXH-STAT-3  
 ‘He turned into a dove.’
- (357) *chai-qa agradece-iku-n waranqa waranqa-ta*  
 that-TOP express.thanks-AUG-3 thousand thousand-ADV  
 ‘(The dove) thanked (the son-of-bear) over and over (saying):’
- (358) *Dios-ni-nchis-chá kacha-mu-rqa-sunki*  
 god-EU-1INCL:P-INFER send-CIS-PAST-3>2  
 ‘‘Our God must have sent you here’’ (see (359))
- (359) *ñuqa salva-q-ni-y-ta ni-spa*  
 I save-NA-EU-1P-ACC say-SS  
 ‘‘to save me.’’
- (360) *huq sarta llave-ta entrega-iku-n*  
 one string key-ACC hand.over-AUG-3

‘It gave (him) a string of keys.’

- (361) *hina-spa ni-n*  
like-SS say-3  
‘Then it said:’
- (362) *kai llave-n kai cuarto-q ni-spa*  
this key-AFF this room-GEN say-SS  
“‘This key is for this room.’”
- (363) *riku-chi-n*  
see-CAUS-3  
‘It showed (him the room).’
- (364) *kicha-nku baul-kuna-ta*  
open-3PL trunk-PL-ACC  
‘They opened the trunks (in it).’
- (365) *hina-spa waqin-pi qullqi*  
like-SS some-LOC money  
‘There was money in some of them’ (see (366))
- (366) *waqin-pi yawar*  
some-LOC blood  
‘and blood in the others.’
- (367) *hina-spa ni-n*  
like-SS say-3  
‘Then it said:’
- (368) *runa-kuna-q kallpa-n kai-mi*  
human-PL-GEN power-3P this-AFF  
“‘This is the power I took from the people.’” (see (369))
- (369) *apa-ku-sqa-i*  
carry-REFL-NMLZ-1P
- (370) *chai qullqi yawar-man tuku-n*  
that money blood-AL transform-3  
‘Then the money turned into blood.’
- (371) *kunan-qa kai hacienda-ta qan-man-mi saqi-pu-iki ni-spa*  
now-TOP this property-ACC 2-AL-AFF leave-STAT-1>2 say-SS  
“‘Now I’m leaving this hacienda to you.’ (said the dove to the son-of-bear)’
- (372) *phawa-ri-pu-n yuraq paloma*  
fly-INCH-STAT-3 white dove  
‘Then the dove flew away.’