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Past tense forms and their functions in South Conchucos Quechua:

time, evidentiality, discourse structure, and affect

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirement for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Linguistics

by

Diane M. Hintz

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December 2007

The dissertation of Diane M. Hintz is approved.

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December 2007

Past tense forms and their functions in South Conchucos Quechua:

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ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

- Duplicación de patrones discursivos: Empleo del perfecto en el castellano que está en contacto con el quechua (Duplication of discourse patterns: Use of the perfect in Spanish that is in contact with Quechua). Proceedings from the V Congreso Nacional de Investigaciones Lingüístico-Filológicas, August 6-11, 2007, Lima, Peru, CD, section on language contact, 1-10, 2007

- Stress in South Conchucos Quechua: A phonetic and phonological study. International Journal of American Linguistics 72:477-521, 2006

- La pragmática de orden de las palabras en el quechua del sur de Conchucos" (The pragmatics of word order in South Conchucos Quechua), Proceedings from the IV Congreso Nacional de Investigaciones Lingüístico-Filológicas, Lima, Peru, CD, section 5, 1-11, 2003

- Pragmatics of word order in South Conchucos Quechua. Proceedings from the sixth Workshop on American Indigenous Languages, Santa Barbara Papers in Linguistics, vol. 14, Jeanie Castillo (ed.), 43-53, 2003

- Word Order in South Conchucos Quechua. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of California, Santa Barbara, 2003

- ¿Adónde va /qa/? Cambio lingüístico: un estudio sobre la manera de expresar las relaciones espaciales en el quechua de Ancash (Where did /qa/ go? Language change: A study on the expression of spatial relationships in Ancash Quechua). In Stephen G. Parker (ed.), *Estudios etno-lingüísticos III*, 233-249. Documento de Trabajo, 31. Pucallpa, Peru: Ministerio de Educación and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, 1996

- Tiempo y plano de prominencia discursivo en el quechua de Corongo (Tense and discourse grounding in Corongo Quechua). In Stephen G. Parker (ed.), *Estudios etno-lingüísticos III*, 250-271. Documento de Trabajo, 31. Pucallpa, Peru: Ministerio de Educación and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, 1996

VERNACULAR PUBLICATIONS

- *Heidi.* A translation of the book from English and Spanish into South Conchucos Quechua. With Reida Valenzuela Mauricio and Edilberto Valenzuela Mauricio. Lima: Manantial, 2000

- *Guía de lenguaje quechua para personal de salud.* A bilingual health manual in South Conchucos Quechua and Spanish for Spanish speaking health care professionals. With Linda Orr Easthouse, Randy E. Easthouse and Elías Márquez Santiago. Lima: ILV, UTES and Antamina, 2000

- More than 70 vernacular titles for bicultural/bilingual education programs in South Conchucos Quechua, including a set of graded readers with comprehension questions (with Linda Orr Easthouse, Daniel Hintz, and native authors), 1992-2000

PRESENTATIONS

- Discourse pattern replication: Uses of the present perfect in Andean Spanish in contact with Quechua. Linguistic Society of America/Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, Annual meeting, Anaheim, CA, January 2007

  Also presented as: Duplicación de patrones discursivos: Empleo del perfecto en el castellano que está en contacto con el quechua. V Congreso Nacional de Investigaciones Lingüístico Filológicas, Lima, Peru, August 2007

- El proceso de traducir el libro de Heidi. Invited lecture, Curso Superior en Lingüística Aplicada para Comunidades Indígenas, Universidad Ricardo Palma, Lima, Peru, October 2006

- Funciones comunicativas de los marcadores de tiempo pasado del quechua del sur de Conchucos. Invited lecture, II Jornada Lingüística, Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal. Lima, Peru, October 2006

- Communicative functions of past tense markers in South Conchucos Quechua. Dissertation colloquium, Department of Linguistics at the University of California, Santa Barbara, October 2006

- Creencias de los quechuas sobre el más alla: Edificando torres y sembrando flores. 52nd International Congress of Americanists, Seville, Spain, July 2006

- Songbook development and recording: helping Quechua people to make it happen. Invited lecture, IX Workshop on American Indigenous Languages, University of California at Santa Barbara, April 2006

- Communicative functions of inter-related tense forms in South Conchucos Quechua", 4th International Contrastive Linguistics Conference, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, September 2005

- Alfabetización en el Quechua del sur de Conchucos. Invited lecture, Curso Internacional de Lingüística, Alfabetización y Traducción, Universidad Ricardo Palma, Lima, Peru, May 2005

- Spanish *lado* 'side' as a source of grammaticalization for Quechua -*la:* 'LOC'. Linguistic Society of America/Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, Annual meeting, Oakland, CA, January 2005

- Types of data…how to get it…usefulness…cautions. Native American Indigenous Languages Group, University of California at Santa Barbara, October 2004

- Stress in Quechua: a phonetic and phonological study. Colloquium sponsored by the Department of Linguistics at the University of California, Santa Barbara, October 2004

- Working with speakers, working with the community. Invited presentation, Native American Indigenous Languages Group, University of California at Santa Barbara, November 2003

- Pragmatics of word order in South Conchucos Quechua. VI Workshop on American Indian Languages, University of California at Santa Barbara, April 2003

  Also presented as: La pragmática del orden de las palabras en el quechua del sur de Conchucos. IV Congreso Nacional de Investigaciones Lingüístico-Filológicas, Universidad de Ricardo Palma, Lima, August 2003

- Quechua afterlife beliefs: Building towers and planting flowers. Ethno-linguistics Conference, SIL, Yarinacocha, Peru, November 1997

- Metodologías y materiales empleados en el sur de Conchucos, Ancash, Perú. Presented as part of the roundtable on bilingual education at a conference of the Asociación Peruana de Lectura, Filial de la Asociación International de Lectura. Lima, Perú, August 1997

  Also presented as part of the roundtable discussion: Una política para la educación bilingüe en la Amazonía Peruana. (A plan for bilingual education in the Peruvian Amazon), Instituto Superior Bilingüe. Yarinacocha, Peru, November 1997

- Where did /qa/ go? Language change: A Study on the Expression of Spatial Relationships in Ancash Quechua. Ethno-linguistics Conference, SIL, Yarinacocha, Peru, November 1992

- Tense and Discourse Grounding in Corongo Quechua. Ethno-linguistics Conference, SIL, Yarinacocha, Peru, November 1992

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- Teaching Assistantship, Ling 137, First Language Acquisition, University of California, Santa Barbara, Winter, 2004

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Studies in Tense and Aspect with Marianne Mithun and Bernard Comrie

Studies in Prosody with Matthew Gordon

Studies in Language change with Marianne Mithun

Abstract

Past tense forms and their functions in South Conchucos Quechua:

time, evidentiality, discourse structure, and affect

by

Diane M. Hintz

Characterizations of tense in language generally focus on placement in time. This study demonstrates that tense forms in South Conchucos Quechua (SCQ) not only place past situations in time, they do much more. The research centers on discovering why one tense form, rather than another, is chosen at a given point in discourse.

The data studied consist of over five hours of naturally occurring spoken language. In-depth analysis is presented of four narrative segments, chosen for the richness of tense variation they display. While the data are primarily examined qualitatively, quantitative and prosodic analyses also contribute to understanding the uses of the tense forms.

The analysis of the data reveals a multi-faceted answer to the research question. Several SCQ tense forms place events relative to each other in past *time*. Choices between two of the past tense forms are further determined by *evidentiality*. That is, one form is used when the source of evidence is firsthand or when the situation is discussed from the speaker's perspective, while another is used with secondhand information or when the speaker is giving a reported perspective.

Additionally, as happens in other languages with grammaticized degrees of temporal remoteness (Fleischman 1989), tense is used metaphorically to express distance along other axes. In SCQ, the temporal expression of distance has been co-extended to indicate *narrative structure* and to express *affect*. SCQ tense forms placing events in the more distant past are used with the parts of the narrative that are peripheral (the orientation, side remarks and resolution) and that convey little affect from the speaker. Tense forms placing events closer to the present are used with the parts of the narrative that are critical to the storyline (the abstract, complicating action and climax) and convey positive or very positive affect. A tense form that places events in the more distant past conveys negative affect in these central parts.

This work shows that inflectional tense, which might be expected to do no more than encode sentence-level temporal distinctions, can be used in spontaneous speech for functions well beyond the sentence.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Glossing abbreviations for SCQ

1	*-:*	first person (verbal/nonverbal)
1$_I$	*-ntsi:/-ntsik*	first/second person inclusive (verbal/nonverbal)
1OBJ	*-ma:/-ma*	first person object
2	*-nki*	second person verbal
2	*-yki*	second person nonverbal, second person with past
2OBJ	*-shu*	second person object
3	*-n*	third person (verbal/nonverbal)
ABL	*-pita*	ablative case
ADV	*-ypa*	adverbializer
AG	*-q*	agentive nominalizer
ALL	*-man*	allative case
APP	*-chir/-char*	appeal evidential
BEN	*-pa:/-pa/-pu*	benefactive
CAUS	*-tsi*	causative
CLASS	*-rikoq*	class, similitude case, kind of
CNJ	*-chi*	conjecture evidential
COM	*-wan*	comitative case
COMPL	*-rpu/-rpa*	completive aspect, downward direction
COND	*-man*	conditional mood
CONT	*-yka:/-yka*	continuous aspect
DEF	*-kaq*	definite
DES	*-na:/-na*	desiderative
DIR	*-m(i)/-mer*	direct evidential
DISTR.V	*-paku*	distributive (verbal), diffuse action
DISTR	*-yan*	distributive (verbal and nonverbal)
DLM	*-lla/-lla:*	just, only, polite
DS	*-pti*	adverbial, different subject
DUB	*-tsura:*	dubitive evidential
DUR	*-ra:/-ra*	durative aspect
EFFORT	*-chaku*	concerted or persistent effort
EVEN	*-pis/-si*	additive, even, too
FAR	*-mu*	cislocative/translocative, action at a distance/from afar
FUT1	*-sha:*	future, first person subject
FUT1$_I$	*-shun*	future/imperative, first/second person inclusive subject
FUT3	*-nqa*	future, third person subject
FUT1>2	*-shayki*	future, first person subject, second person object
GEN	*-pa*	genitive
HUM	*-q*	human
IMP2	*-y*	imperative, second person
IMP3	*-tsun*	imperative, third person
INF	*-y*	infinitive
ITER	*-(y)kacha:*	iterative, back and forth
LIM	*-yaq/ya:*	limitative case
LOC	*-chu/-cho:*	locative case

MID	*-ku/-ka*	middle voice, reflexive
MIR	*-sh ka-sh*	mirative, from a past perfect
MS		speech error, mis-speak
MUT	*-cha:*	mutual evidential
NEG	*-tsu*	negative
NEG.APP	*-ra:ku*	dubitive negative with appeal
NEG.EMPH	*-ta:ku*	emphatic negative
NMLZ.I	*-na*	nominalizer, irrealis
NMLZ.I1$_I$	*-na*	nominalizer, irrealis, first person inclusive
NMLZ.R	*-nqa/-sh(q)a*	nominalizer, realis
NOW	*-na*	by now, already
OBJ	*-ta*	accusative case, direct/indirect object
PARTIAL	*-tuku*	partial
PASS	*-ka:/-ka*	passive
PFV	*-ski/-ska*	perfective aspect
PFV.M	*-rku/-rka*	completive-perfective, mutual consent, convergent alignment between stances, upward direction
PFV.O	*-yku/-yka*	completive-perfective, obligation, divergent alignment between stances, inward direction
PL.V	*-ya:/-ya*	plural verbal
PL.N	*-kuna*	plural nonverbal
PL.PFV	*-:ri*	plural with some perfective aspect markers
PL.SP	*-s*	plural from Spanish
PRMT	*-q*	purpose complement with motion verb
PRS	*-Ø*	present
PST	*-r(q)a*	past
PST.H	*-q*	habitual past
PST.N	*-na:*	narrative past
PST.R	*-r(q)u*	recent past - shares paradigm with *-sh/-sh(q)a*, below
PST.R3	*-sh((q)a)*	recent past (from perfect), 3rd subject, and 3rd subject > 1st object and 3rd subject > 3rd object
PTCP	*-sh((q)a)*	participle
PUNC	*-ri/-ra*	punctual, brief duration, limited obligation
PURP	*-pa:*	purposive case
Q.C	*-ta:*	content question
Q.P	*-ku*	polar question (yes/no)
RECP	*-naku*	reciprocal
RPT	*-sh(i)*	reportative evidential
SIDE	*-la:*	side
SIM	*-no:/-nuy*	similitude case
SS	*-r*	adverbial, same subject
SURE	*-ri*	surely evidential
TOP	*-qa*	topic
TOTAL	*-ka:ku*	totally
VOC	*-y*	vocative
WITH	*-ntin*	with, accompaniment, additive
YET	*-ra:/-ran*	yet

Transcription symbols

…	pause
..	short pause
–	truncated word (en dash)
—	truncated intonation unit (em dash)
[ ]	encloses overlapping speech
@	laugh
@you're @kidding	laughter during word
☺you're ☺kidding	smile voice, smile symbol marks smiling during word
=	lengthened prosodically
&	suspended intonation unit, used when 2nd speaker intervenes
(H)	audible inhalation
###	unintelligible (one # for each syllable)
%	glottalization
↑	high pitch on word
↓	low pitch on word
#you're #kidding	uncertain hearing, marks transcribed words as uncertain
||	intonation unit boundary (or new line)
<L2=SPANISH>	code switch to another language
</L2>	
<CRK> </CRK>	encloses words with creaky voice quality

PART ONE – Introduction

1 Introduction and preliminaries

> In linguistics, the relationship between tense and time has been the subject of much study, and it is now plain that there is no easily stateable relationship between the two. Tense forms can be used to signal meanings other than temporal ones. —Crystal (1997:384-5)

Tense, defined as the grammatical marking of location in time (Comrie 1985), serves to locate events in time and can also do much more. Fleischman and Waugh (1991:1) write, "… whatever intrinsic meaning grammatical categories may have, pragmatic factors and discourse context play a crucial role in the interpretation of their meaning. We understand pragmatics here…to refer to the use of language in actual contexts of communication, that is to the ways in which speakers – or writers – manipulate the resources of their language to accomplish particular communicative objectives."

South Conchucos Quechua (henceforth SCQ), with its wealth of forms for representing past time reference, is an ideal candidate for exploring the functions of tense in discourse. The most common SCQ forms used to talk about past situations are listed below with glosses that approximate their meanings.

-Ø	zero-marked present used as a historical present
-r(q)u	recent past (with 1st and 2nd person)
-sh((q)a)	recent past (with 3rd person)
-r(q)a	past
-na:	narrative past
-q	habitual past

The goal of this discourse-based study is to show how speakers of SCQ use verbal tense not only to place past situations in time, but to accomplish several other communicative purposes as well. The research question centers on discovering why one tense form, rather than another, is chosen at a given point in discourse.

Many researchers working on tense variation have argued that tense shifts mark discourse boundaries, often relating the shift to the narrative structure described in Labov 1972 (Ballantyne 2005a and b for Yapese, Cutrer 1994 for French and English, Fleischman 1985 and 1990 for Old French, Fludernik 1991 for English, Middle English, early modern English, French and German, Ianeva-Lockney 2002 for Old Norse, Jucker 2005 for English and German, Schiffrin 1981 for English, Silva-Corvalan 1983 for Spanish, and Wolfson 1982 for English). While placement in time and indication of discourse structure both influence the choice of tense marker in SCQ, we will see that other factors also play a part, factors such as expression of affect and indication of source of evidence. I hope through this study to refine and expand our general understanding of what verbal tense can do in language.

1.1   Organization of the study

The study is organized as follows. In the remainder of this chapter I introduce the SCQ language and then present literature treating tense variation. After that, the nature of the data, the transcription notation and the rationale behind the representation of vowels is described.

Part II of the dissertation deals primarily with the meanings of tense forms, while Part III shows the ways they can be used pragmatically. The dissertation is organized in this manner in part due to a helpful point Comrie (1986:21) makes, "The discourse function of a linguistic item - in particular of a tense - is not to be confused with its meaning." He shows that in different contexts, tense forms assume distinct discourse functions. He explains that each tense has a meaning, and that in order to have a full understanding of the discourse function of a tense, one must first have a clear understanding of its meaning, because the discourse functioning of a tense depends on its meaning.

Hence, the goal of Part II (chapters 2 and 3) is to give a clear understanding of the meaning of each of the SCQ tense forms that are used to communicate about situations that took place in the past. Chapter 2 focuses on the placement of events in time, while chapter 3 demonstrates the interaction that two of the SCQ tense forms have with evidentiality.

The focus of Part III is to show ways that the central meaning of tense, to place events in time, has been extended in SCQ to serve other communicative purposes. In chapter 4, I lay a theoretical foundation from literature on affect and on narrative structure, and then give an overview of the findings for SCQ. In chapter 5, discourse data is presented to illustrate the patterns. In chapter 6, a wider view of the context is provided through color-coded translations into English of the primary data presented in the examples. Points of interest, organized according to tense form, precede each segment of data. Related patterns in other languages and other issues are presented at

the end of the chapter. In chapter 7, support for the hypothesis that verbal tense helps to communicate affect is provided by means of prosodic indicators and in other ways. In chapter 8, I show that different speakers who are describing the same past events do not necessarily use the same tense forms. Tense use can depend on the point of view of the speaker.

In Part IV, chapter 9, I give an overview of the findings of this work and then offer suggestions for future research on this topic in other languages.

In the next section, I indicate the geographic area where SCQ is spoken and explain how it has been classified linguistically.

1.2   Introduction to the SCQ language

If the many varieties of Quechua were to be considered as a unity, Quechua is the most widely spoken Amerindian language today (Adelaar and Muysken 2004:256). It was the language of the Incas, and is still spoken in much of the Andean region of South America and in some jungle areas as well.

SCQ is spoken by about 250,000 people in central Peru. It is one of the Quechua B languages according to Parker's (1963) classification, a member of Quechua I according to the classification by Torero (1964), and of Central Quechua according to Landerman's classification (1991) and according to Mannheim (1985:489).

The Quechua B (or Quechua I or Central Peruvian Quechua) languages are spoken in central Peru, indicated by a line towards the red area of the map below, which is from Landerman (1991:37), as adapted by Daniel Hintz. Quechua A (or Quechua II) is spoken in northern and southern Peru, as well as in Ecuador,

5

Colombia, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina, as shown on the map in blue. In Landerman's classification system, Northern, North Peruvian, and Southern together correspond to Torero's Quechua II and Parker's Quechua A. The labels from all three classification systems are used by Quechua linguists.

FIGURE 1.1.— QUECHUA DIALECT AREAS
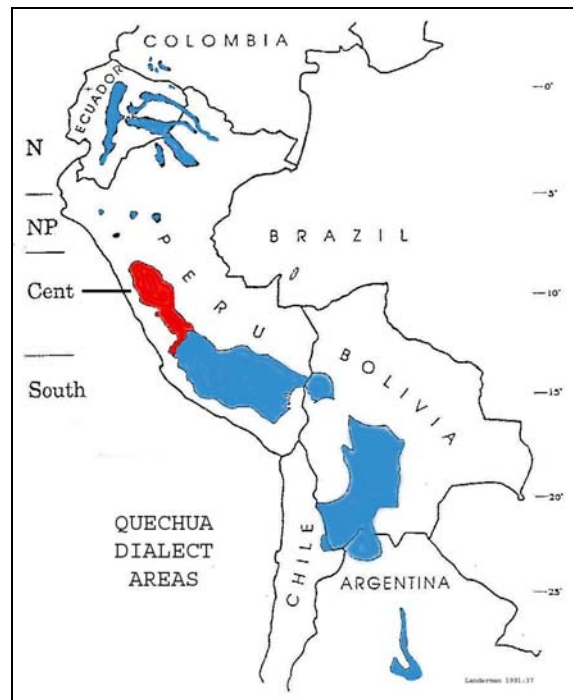
SCQ, like other varieties of Quechua, is agglutinative and exclusively suffixing. Word order is SV and OV with variation for pragmatic purposes (Hintz 2003).

1.3   The problem of tense use in language

A substantial amount of linguistic study has been done on tense variation in the languages of the world, including those listed in Table 1.1. For studies with a

particular focus on the alternation of the historical present with the past, see Sakita

(2002a:20-21).

TABLE 1.1.   TENSE VARIATION IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD

Language in general	Comrie 1985, Dahl 1984 and 2004, Fleischman 1989, Klein 1994
English	Casparis 1975, Chafe 1994, Cutrer 1994, Fleischman 1983, Fludernik 1991 (English, Middle English, early modern English), Jucker 2005, Sakita 2002a and b, Schiffrin 1981, Wolfson 1978, 1979, 1982
French	Cutrer 1994, Fleischman 1985 (Old French), Fleischman 1990 (Old French narrative), Fleischman 1991, Fludernik 1991, Monville-Burston and Waugh 1991 (French historic present in journalistic discourse), Waugh and Monville-Burston 1986 (French simple past), Vet 1991
German	Fludernik 1991, Jucker 2005
Halbi	Longacre 1981
Hebrew	Longacre 1981
Italian	Centineo 1991, Fleischman 1991
Japanese	Iwasaki 1993
Mesoamerican languages	Jones and Jones 1979
Native American languages	Mithun 1998
Northern Totonac	Longacre 1981
Old Norse	Ianeva-Lockney 2002
Spanish	Fleischman 1991, Gilman 1961 (medieval Spanish of the twelfth century), Silva-Corvalan 1983
Permic languages	Leinonen and Vilkuna 2000
Quechua A	Brauch 1981 (the Pastaza Quechua in northeastern Peru), Levinsohn 1991 (Colombian Inga Quechua), Muysken 1977 (Ecuadorian Quechua), Shaver 1989 (Northern Peruvian Lambayeque Quechua)
Quechua B	Hintz 1996 (Corongo Quechua), Howard-Malverde 1988 (Huamalies Quechua)
Romance	Fleischman 1983
Yapese	Ballantyne 2005a and b
Yupik	Mithun 1999

Still, with all this, we have yet to come to a good understanding of the use of tense in language. It has been a long-standing puzzle. For instance, Fleischman, in her research on the pragmatic use of tense in Old French narrative, notes that narrative literature of the Middle Ages shows "seemingly idiosyncratic" use of tenses and that linguists have struggled for many years to understand it (1990:xi). Binnick (1991:3) writes, "Even after twenty-five hundred years of investigation by students of meaning, grammar, logic, and philosophy, tense is very poorly understood."

1.4   Tense variation in Quechua

As long ago as 1607, scholars appreciated the complexity involved in verbal tense use in Quechua. Jesuit linguist Diego González Holguín (1842[1607]) provides a lengthy and detailed account of the verbal tense forms used in 17th century Cuzco Quechua.[1] He explains (1842[1607]:112) that several different tense forms were used to express the past, including the present. He did not attempt to give reasons for the variation, but simply stated that those who know (the language) well know when to use which forms. This indicates that even 400 years ago, speakers used both present and past tense forms to recount past events, for reasons that were not readily apparent.

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[1] Gonzáles Holguín refers to the language as the "lengua general del Inca", as did other Spanish speakers. Mannheim (1991:33) explains that it was the language of the people who were indigenous to the region of the Inka capital, Cuzco, and that it was a contact language for speakers of distinct languages within the Inka state. He indicates (1985:481) that it was the koiné and administrative language of the Inka state.

Several researchers have been fascinated more recently with this issue. Studies on tense variation for individual varieties of present day Quechua, as listed in Table 1.1 above, provide clues that are helpful in understanding the larger picture. I highlight here some of the findings from these studies.

In several varieties of Quechua spoken in Colombia, usually referred to as Inga, Levinsohn (1991) reports the use of one tense marker with introductory statements and preliminary events, another with main events, and yet another that serves a "sudden discovery" function. This gives evidence for the use of tense to mark discourse boundaries and for its use as a mirative, that is, as a marker of unexpected information. (See DeLancey 1997 on mirativity.)

In some Quechua languages, one tense marker is used in introductory sentences and then not again until the resolution, while other tense markers are used in the body of the narrative. For instance, Adelaar (1988:19) finds several San Pedro de Cajas narratives (Tarma Quechua) to be told almost entirely in the present tense (as a historical present). The past *-ra* is reserved for one or two introductory sentences (the "setting") and for a few crucial events, such as the death of a young man, which appears to be a resolution in that narrative.[2] Likewise, Howard-Malverde, in a study on a Huamalies Quechua first person account, documents that the past *-rqa* marks only the opening utterances and does not occur again until the final utterances, and notes that this is typical for first person accounts in this language (1988:135). In the

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[2] Adelaar (1988:19) observes that in these Tarma Quechua narratives, told mostly in the [historical] present, storyline events are marked with perfective aspect, while durative aspect marks descriptive passages. This did not prove to be the case for SCQ. Though both are Quechua B languages, they are different in many ways.

body of the narrative, the zero-marked present is used as a historical present, along with several other past tense markers. Quechua is not unique in this way. It has been noted that Indo-European narratives told mostly in the historical present are framed by preterites both at the beginning and the end of the tale (Fludernik 1991:369, citing Fleischman 1990 on Old French and Heinze 1924 on Old Latin).

Some Quechuan languages have not just one, but two markers keyed to introductory and explanatory information and resolutions. Shaver (1989), on Lambayeque Quechua in northern Peru, shows that the past marker -*sha* is used with introductory material and also to indicate the end of a section of discourse. He also shows that another marker, the narrative past -*q*, is used with the setting for the most crucial episode as well as with its conclusion. Similarly, in Hintz (1996) on Corongo Quechua, I show that this language uses the narrative past -*ñaq* to give settings and explanatory material in legends and that it also marks surprising reversal of fortune type conclusions, while another marker, the past -*:qV*, marks preliminary events as well as non-surprising conclusions. These studies show that discourse structure influences the choice of tense marker. Some of them indicate that tense can be used to convey surprise (mirativity).

Brauch (1981) keys the use of one Quechua tense marker to emotional involvement of the narrator with the story. Writing on Pastaza Quechua in northern Peru, she notes that speakers use -*shka* (cognate with SCQ -*sha*) for events that the narrator considers important, and in which they are emotionally involved (1981:186, 187). This indicates that emotions other than surprise may influence tense choice.

In sum, past research provides insights that are helpful in considering the motivations for tense variation in SCQ. The work done to date gives indications that tense use in Quechuan languages is linked to discourse structure, mirativity and emotional involvement.

I now turn to describe the nature of the data used in the study.

1.5 Data sets

We know that written and oral styles can be quite different (Tannen 1980, 1982a, 1982b, 1985, Chafe 1982, 1984, 1985, 1994, Chafe and Danielewicz 1987, and Biber 1988). Tannen (1982b:xv) suggests that "strategies that have been associated with orality grow out of emphasis on interpersonal involvement between speaker/writer and audience, and that strategies that have been associated with literacy grow out of focus on content."

In the initial stages of this study, I examined both spoken and written SCQ data. Writers, as well as speakers, vary tense markers when communicating about past events, but writers tend to do it to a lesser extent. I determined that it would be wise to concentrate on spoken language in this work, because SCQ is much more a spoken language than a written language. As well, while writers of SCQ have discussed what an optimum "written style" would be like, this is still in flux as more and more people learn to write their language. Hence, the findings presented here are based solely on spoken language. A comparison of tense use in spoken and written SCQ would be a valuable "next step" for future research.

The data used in this study were recorded by Daniel Hintz, myself and language consultants from 1988 to 2006. The majority of the data was transcribed by a team of two of us, and then checked by another team of two. In other words, Dan and a language consultant would transcribe a particular recording, then another language consultant and I would check it, and vice versa. The data not checked by a second team was checked by the original transcribers and has also been edited over time as transcription errors have been noticed. (See also §1.6 on transcription notation.)

In the following three subsections I describe the three nested sets of data utilized in this study. The transcribed data in the appendix is a subset of the data in the coded data base. The data in the coded data base is a subset of the corpus.

1.5.1 The transcribed data in the appendix

The primary data from which examples were chosen can be found in the appendix. It consists of transcriptions of four texts, complete with glosses and free translations. The first three, 'Donkey', 'Stolen Shoes' and 'Work', are from a 21-minute conversation between Guillermo and Rita, a brother and sister in their late twenties from the community of Huaripampa, outside San Marcos.[3] They had not seen one another for a week and were catching up on each other's activities. She had been at the annual festival of the community and he had been working in Huaraz. The fourth transcription is the initial part of a legendary narrative *Achikay* 'Witch', told by a mother to her son at night, both from Huari.

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[3] Pseudonyms have been used in place of the real names of the speakers. The community names have not been changed.

I chose to focus on these particular segments because of the richness of tense variation they contain and also because of the naturalness of the data. No outsiders were present during these recordings. In each case, the speakers had been talking together for a while before the point of the chosen segment. A total of 13 minutes of recorded discourse are included in the appendix. These data, with their glosses and free translations, comprise 39 pages of material.

Quechua-Spanish bilinguals gave me free translations in Spanish of the data found in the appendix. To arrive at the English free translations, I referred to the Spanish free translations as well as to the original spoken Quechua. At any time when I was not certain of the meaning, I asked a Quechua language consultant.

The appendix consists of transcriptions of four segments of discourse. Three are from the conversation between Rita and Guillermo: 'Donkey', 'Stolen Shoes' and 'Work'. The fourth is the initial part of the *Achikay* 'Witch' story. The examples in this work that were taken from the transcriptions in the appendix are referenced in the example headers as D, S, W and A, respectively. For instance, W47 refers to the Work text, line 47. Sources for data not in the appendix are given in the paragraph preceding the example.

1.5.2   The coded data

A larger data set, which includes the data in the appendix, was coded for several factors in Microsoft Access. The following is a list of the data in the Access data base, with the metadata as well.

- A 21-minute conversation on the events of the previous week, between Guillermo and Rita, both from Huaripampa in the district of San Marcos, recorded in a cottage at the linguistics center in Huaraz, no outsiders present, in August of 1993

- An 11-minute conversation on a cattle-herding experience that had taken place that morning, between Lita (59 years old), her son Elí (25 years old), both from Huari, and a shepherd boy who is a friend of the family, Felipe (13 years old) from Chopi Loma, recorded in Lita's kitchen in Huari, no outsiders present, in July of 2002

- Two legendary narratives *Achikay* 'Witch' and *Lamun Kuru* 'Gigantic Worm' told by Lita (59 years old) to her son Elí (25 years old) at night in a bedroom of their home in Huari, no outsiders present, in July of 2002

- Two "Frog" stories told to me by Ricardo and by Alicia, both from Yacya, district of Huari, in the plaza in Huari in July of 2002 (These are descriptions of what was happening on the pages of a wordless, illustrated book entitled "Frog, where are you?" by Mercer Mayer.)

Among other factors, the data entered into the Access data base were coded for genre, tense form, evidential markers and the presence of quoted speech in the sentence. This would later enable me to answer questions such as: Which tense forms occur in the same sentence with which evidential markers? Is there a correlation between quoted speech and tense form? Having coded for tense form made it possible to easily group together a large number of examples of a given

tense form so that the contexts in which they were used could be compared. Additionally, it was also then possible to sort according to genre in order to look for factors that were different between conversation and legendary narrative. A total of 58 minutes of recorded discourse are included in the Access data base.

1.5.3   The corpus

A third, yet larger, set of transcribed data encompassing many discourse genres (see the list below) was also useful. In order to discover whether a certain form exists and if so, in what contexts, I searched this data set using MonoConc Pro. This data set, which I will refer to as the 'corpus', is comprised of the transcription of over five hours (317 minutes) of recording. If it were to be glossed and a free translation given as in the appendix, it would comprise about 951 pages of material (following the same minutes/page ratio as for the data in the appendix). It comes from 37 different speakers, ranging in age from 13 to 75 years old, with most of it coming from speakers between the ages of 20 and 60. The data in the sets above are included in the corpus.

Briefly, the corpus is made up of:

- 5 conversations
- 11 folktales
- 2 epic legendary narratives
- 7 speeches
- 5 first person narratives of events personally experienced
- 1 third person account of situations believed to be true
- 9 prayers
- 5 interviews
- 6 "Frog" stories
- 5 "Pear" stories[4]
- 2 songs
- 2 riddles

1.6   Transcription notation

A few notes of explanation are in order on the transcription of the SCQ data, including the reasons for including representation of some prosodic features. As we know, intonation, pauses, and other prosodic factors can contribute meaning to an utterance. In addition to prosody, the occurrence of laughter and overlapping speech can help to show if speakers are excited and/or happy. Special voice quality can indicate other emotions and attitudes. These features were represented graphically in the transcription in order to make more apparent the correlation of tense use with affect. The list of the transcription symbols used can be found at the beginning of this document. I include sound files for the examples in chapter 7 in which voice quality is helpful in understanding the meaning.

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[4] These are narrations by five SCQ speakers of the "Pear video" (Chafe 1980). The five speakers watched this short video and then told me individually the content of what they had seen. The six-minute video can be viewed at http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/faculty/chafe/pearfilm.htm and at http://pearstories.org.

In addition to marking the features mentioned above, I also divided the data presented in the dissertation into intonation units and marked transitional continuity. An intonation unit (IU) is a sequence of words combined under a single coherent intonation contour (Chafe 1987 and Du Bois, Cumming, Schuetze-Coburn and Paolino 1993). Du Bois et al. (1993), working mostly on English, explain that the boundaries of the intonation unit tend to be marked by various cues, such as a pause and a shift upward in overall pitch level at the beginning of the IU and a lengthening of its final syllable. I followed the procedure developed by Du Bois et al. (1993) in determining intonation unit boundaries.

Transitional continuity, evidenced by the shape of the pitch contour at the transition point between one intonation unit and the next, was also marked. Terminal continuity was marked as "final" when there was a fall to a low pitch at the end of an IU, designated by a period (.). (The final intonation pattern occurs in the last IU of a prosodic sentence, which generally consists of several IUs with continuing contours and then one with a final contour.) Transitional continuity was marked as "continuing" when the pitch was level, slightly falling, or slightly rising at the end of the intonation unit, designated by a comma (,). When a speaker was seeking an affirmative or a negative response from a listener and the pitch rose at the end of the IU, it was coded as an "appeal", designated by a question mark (?). In the English translation lines, standard punctuation is used.

Each @ sign represents one pulse of laughter. The ☺ symbol immediately preceding a word means there is smiling voice quality on that word. The line

numbers in the English translation match the line numbers in the glossed text to follow. To conserve space, two short IUs occasionally appear on one line, with the double bar symbol ‖ separating them.

1.7   On the representation of consonants

In the transcription of the data, I have followed a writing system traditionally used by linguists who work on Quechua. Differences from the IPA are as follows. The letter *q* represents a uvular that can be plosive or fricative, and which is generally voiced syllable-initially and intervocalically, and voiceless word-finally. The palatal lateral /ʎ/ is represented as *ll*. The palatal semi-vowel /j/ is represented as *y*. The voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ is represented as *ch*. The voiceless alveolar fricative /ʃ/ is represented as *sh*.

1.8   On the representation of vowels

Mention also needs to be made of the representation of vowels in the transcription. High vowels are lowered for several reasons in this language.

First, high vowels may be lowered to mid vowels due to purely phonological conditioning. A *u* is lowered to *o* before *q*. This means that *nuqa* 'I' is pronounced *noqa*. I write roots and suffixes in which the vowel is always pronounced in the lowered form with a lowered vowel.

Lowering to mid vowels also occurs across morpheme boundaries. The word *ka-sh-tsu-qa* be-PST.R3-NEG-TOP 'were not' is pronounced with a mid vowel,

kashtsoqa. I do not write the negative morpheme *-tsu* with a lowered vowel because it is not lowered when not followed by the uvular fricative.

The first person marker (length) lowers the immediately preceding high vowel to a mid vowel. For instance *ni-pti-:* say-DS-1 'when I said' is pronounced *nipte:.* The *i* is lowered to *e*. (This happens in the southern part of the area where South Conchucos Quechua is spoken, but not in some other areas.) I do not write high vowels as lowered when they are followed by length, which marks first person.

Secondly, high vowels of certain morphemes may be lowered to the low vowel *a* for morphophonemic reasons. If any one of a certain set of suffixes occurs after any one of another set of suffixes, the high vowel in the earlier suffix is lowered. For instance, *cha-ski-mu-ru-:* arrive-PFV-FAR-PST.R-1 'I got here quickly' is pronounced *chaskamuru:.* The suffix *-mu* 'FAR' causes morphophonemic lowering. The suffix *-ski* 'PFV' is susceptible to morphophonemic lowering. In these cases, I write the vowels lowered, and consider *-ski* and *-ska* to be allomorphs.

The susceptible suffix does not have to be contiguous with the trigger suffix. For instance, *yantaka-ri-ya:-mu-y* look.for.firewood-PUNC-PL.V-FAR-IMP2 'you bring firewood' is pronounced *yantakaraya:muy*. The *-ri* 'PUNC' is lowered to *-ra* by *-mu*.

Table 1.2 lists the susceptible suffixes and the trigger suffixes. I owe my original understanding of trigger suffixes and susceptible suffixes to David Weber, especially as described in Weber (1989:462-463) on Huallaga Quechua.

19

TABLE 1.2.   TRIGGERS AND SUSCEPTIBLE SUFFIXES OF MORPHOPHONEMIC LOWERING[5]

Susceptible	Cause (Trigger)
-yku 'PFV.O'	-mu 'FAR'
-rku 'PFV.M'	-pu 'BEN'
-r(q)u 'PST.R'	-ma: '1OBJ'
-rpu 'COMPL'	-:ri 'PL.PFV' plural with some perfective aspect markers
-pu 'BEN'	-pa: 'BEN'
-ku 'MID'	-tsi 'CAUS'
-naku 'RECP'	-paku 'DISTR.V'
-ri 'PUNC'	
-:ri 'PL.PFV'	
-ski 'PFV'	
-tuku 'PARTIAL'	
-chaku 'EFFORT'	
-ka:ku 'TOTAL'	
-paku 'DISTR.V'	

Monopthongization is a third factor affecting vowel quality. Words such as *tsay* 'that' and *ishkay* 'two' are sometimes pronounced *tse:* and *ishke:*. The same person may say them both ways. I have written these, as much as possible, as they were spoken in order to demonstrate the free variation.

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[5] In relation to morphophonemic lowering, Table 1.2 does not capture a number of exceptional behaviors. For instance, application of the morphophonemic lowering processes can vary from person to person. Furthermore, in some lexicalized forms, such as *haqiri-* 'abandon' from *haqi-ri-* 'leave-PUNC-', the susceptible suffix *-ri* does not lower when a trigger follows it, as in *haqiri-yka-ma:-na-yki-pa:* abandon-PFV.O-1OBJ-NMLZ.I-2-PURP 'in order for you to abandon me'. However, in many other lexicalized forms, the susceptible suffix does lower. For example, the *-ku* in *rantiku-* 'to sell' from *ranti-ku-* 'to buy-MID-' lowers to *-ka* in *rantiku-ma:-na-yki-pa:* sell-1OBJ-NMLZ.I-2-PURP 'in order for you to sell it to me', so that it is pronounced *rantikama:naykipa:*
     Additionally, not every trigger causes every susceptible suffix to lower. For example, *-paku* 'DISTR.V' triggers morphophonemic lowering in *miku-* 'eat' (historically from *mi-* + *ku-* (Weber 1989:464)), while *-tsi* 'CAUS' does not. Hence, *miku-paku-ya:-ru-:* eat-DISTR.V-PL.V-PST.R-1 'we ate it', is pronounced *mikapakuya:ru:*. However, *miku-ri-tsi-ma-sha-qa* eat-PUNC-CAUS-1OBJ-PST.R3-TOP 'she made me eat it' (with two trigger suffixes *-tsi* 'CAUS' and *-ma* '1OBJ') is pronounced *mikuratsimashaqa*. Note that *-ri* 'PUNC' is lowered to *-ra*, though there is no lowering in *miku-*. SCQ is like Huallaga Quechua in the fact that the causative does not lower *miku-* while other triggers can. (See Weber 1989:464 for Huallaga examples.)

Voiceless vowels, often occurring in the word final position, are not phonemic. I do not distinguish between voiceless and voiced vowels in the transcription.

1.9   A discourse-based study

This study is discourse-based, not only in the sense that the examples are taken from streams of discourse, but also in that the analysis takes a considerable amount of discourse context into account. The examples are necessarily long. The use of each tense form can only be explained when it is considered together with the uses of the tense forms in the surrounding sentences. As Mithun (1990) explains, much can be lost when sentences are examined in isolation. She observes, "The use of many constructions is governed by factors beyond the limits of a single sentence" (1990:310). In the case of SCQ tense forms, some of the semantics and basically all of the associated pragmatics would be lost if the study were to be limited to single sentences.

SCQ has much to contribute to the study of verbal tense variation, particularly because of its abundance of forms for representing past time reference and also because of the richness of the additional expressive purposes those forms serve. The picture begins to unfold in chapter 2, as we see how SCQ tense forms are used to place events in time.

PART TWO – Tense, time and evidentiality

2   Tense used to place events in time

> It is conventionally agreed that the basic meaning of tense forms is the location of events in time relative to a reference point which is directly or at one or more removes from the 'now' of the speaker.
>
> — Fleischman (1989:1)

First and perhaps foremost, SCQ tense forms place events in time. They also serve other fascinating communicative purposes, as will be shown in subsequent chapters. The focus of this chapter is to show how they place events in time.[6] I set the stage by defining some terms and explaining the place of chapter 2 in Part II.

Tense has been defined as "the grammaticalisation of location in time" (Comrie 1985:9). We know as well that verb forms rarely mark tense without at the same time indicating some other distinctions, including aspect and modality (Binnick 1991:452). Chung and Timberlake (1985:202) explain, "Tense, aspect, and mood are all categories that further specify or characterize the basic predication, which can be referred to as the event." They define aspect as the "internal temporal structure of the event", while mood describes "the actuality of the event in terms such as possibility, necessity, or desirability."

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[6] The focus of this work is on the forms that are used to place past situations in time. The use of the future tense is touched briefly in §2.7.2. SCQ has only one future tense, which simply places situations in future time, but several pasts, some of which place situations relative to each other in time. The greater complexity in the SCQ past tense system is in accord with Dahl's observation (1984:107) that "[temporal remoteness] distinctions in the past appear to be more well developed — that is, to be more numerous and well defined than those in the future".

Tense and aspect are intertwined in SCQ, with a thread of modality woven in. Daniel Hintz (2008) provides an in-depth treatment of aspect in SCQ, and shows that many of the SCQ tense forms also convey aspect. I refer to his work throughout, as it applies to this work.[7] In chapter 3, I show a linkage in SCQ between tense and modality.

A few additional definitions are necessary at this point. I use the term 'situation' in this work as Comrie (1976:13) uses it, as a general term that includes the terms 'event', 'process', and 'state'. An event is a dynamic situation viewed as a complete whole (perfectively). A process is a dynamic situation viewed in progress, from within (imperfectively). A state is static; it continues as before unless changed.

In this chapter, I give an orientation to the SCQ verbal template in §2.1. Examples and discussion in §2.2 show that the recent past -*sh((q)a)* is no longer a perfect in SCQ. The main purpose of the chapter, to show how past tense forms locate events in time, is realized in the subsequent sections. The past -*r(q)a*, the narrative past -*na:*, the recent past -*sh((q)a)* and -*r(q)u* and the habitual past -*q* are all treated (§§2.3 - 2.6). The use of the zero-marked present as a 'historical present' is also shown (§2.7), as well as the uses of the past perfects (§2.8). Table 2.5, in §2.9,

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[7] Daniel Hintz (2008) shows the aspectual system of SCQ to be made up of twenty derivational and inflectional grammatical markers. Aspect is interwoven not only with the semantic domains of tense and modality, but also with manner and middle voice. In relation to the connection between aspect and past tense, he finds that the recent past forms -*r(q)u* and -*sh((q)a)* and the past -*r(q)a* express both past tense and perfective aspect. The habitual past -*q*, as stated in its gloss, expresses past tense and habitual aspect. The narrative past -*na:* has imperfective tendencies in some contexts.

shows the distribution of past tense forms used in conversation as compared with those used in legendary material. Finally, Figure 2.1, in §2.10, is a diagram summarizing how SCQ tense forms place events relative to each other in time.

2.1 Orientation to SCQ verbal template

SCQ is exclusively suffixing, as are the other varieties of Quechua. The template in Table 2.1 shows the placement of tense in the verb. A set of aspect markers, the causative, the middle, the passive, the benefactive, plural marking and other suffixes appear in a relatively prescribed order preceding the marking of tense. I refer to these non-obligatory suffixes as DERIVATIONAL in Table 2.1. Following those suffixes, tense and person are represented in the INFLECTIONAL position, which is obligatory.[8] Other suffixes and enclitics can appear after the tense and person markers in the INDEPENDENT position, including evidentials and the topic marker. For a more extensive SCQ verbal template, showing the positions of more than eighty verbal suffixes and enclitics, see Daniel Hintz 2008:Appendix C.

TABLE 2.1.   SCQ VERBAL TEMPLATE

VERB ROOT	DERIVATIONAL		INFLECTIONAL			INDEPENDENT
		OBJECT	TENSE	SUBJECT		
yarpa-	*-ska* *-tsi*	*-ma*	*-rqu*	*-yki*		*-m*
think	PFV CAUS	1OBJ	PST.R	2		DIR
'You sure made me think.'						

---

[8] SCQ morphology is more complex than what is represented in Table 2.1. While some suffixes are clearly derivational and some are clearly inflectional, several SCQ suffixes appear to be located midway along a scale from derivation to inflection (see Daniel Hintz 2008:Appendix B). The derivation/inflection issue is also relevant for certain Tarma Quechua suffixes (Adelaar 2006), and may be pertinent in other varieties of Quechua as well. I do not discuss this issue further, as the focus of this work is on inflectional tense.

While Table 2.1 shows tense to be marked separately from the subject and object markers, note that tense, subject and object are not always marked with separate morphemes. SCQ has a number of portmanteau morphemes, including *-nqa* 'future, third person subject', *-sh((q)a)* 'recent past, third person subject', and *-shayki* 'future, first person subject, third person object'.

Before beginning to show how the past tense forms place events in time, it is necessary to first establish that the recent past *-sh((q)a)* is no longer a perfect and to show the means by which it has become a past.

2.2   The former perfect *-sh((q)a)* is now a past

The former perfect *-sh((q)a),* which is only used with third person subjects (§2.5), is now a recent past. The discussion in this section shows the process by which it became a past.

The morphemes *-sh((q)a)* (central Peru), *-sca/-shka* (Ecuador) and *-sqa* (Southern Peru) have been referred to in two ways, as perfects and as pasts. These morphemes, which are assumed to be cognate, may be close to becoming pasts in some varieties and seem to be pasts already in others. For at least three central Peruvian varieties, the morpheme *-sh((q)a)* is glossed as a perfect (Adelaar 1986:23 for Pacaraos, Parker 1976:109 for Ancash, and Weber 1989:106 for Huallaga). Weber writes that the Huallaga simple perfect is used as either a perfect or as a simple past tense and that the simple perfect is rapidly displacing *-ra* 'past' as the most common past tense in Huallaga Quechua (1989:106). For Ecuador, Fauchois (1988:104) proposes that the distinction between *-shca* and *-rca* is one of present

26

perfect and past, respectively, following two of the writers she cites (Ortiz 1974, Stark and Carpenter 1973). Two other grammar writers cited by Fauchois (Grimm 1896, Múgica 1979) believe *-shca* to be simply a past, along with the other past, *-rca*. For southern Peru, Sanchez (2004) and Faller (2003a) refer to *-sqa* as a past, while Calvo (2001) refers to it as a present perfect. It appears reasonable to propose that across the Andes, the perfect is becoming, or has become, a past.

Perfect > past is a common pathway of grammaticalization. In several Romance languages (for example, modern spoken French, Italian, and Romanian), forms that used to convey perfect meaning have gradually become purely past, as a gradual reduction of the presentness of these forms took place (Comrie 1976:61). See also Harris (1982:58) for standard French, Rhaeto-Romance, northern Italian and standard Romanian; Klein (2000:359) for Standard German; and Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:81-82) for a list of 26 lesser studied languages.

In much of the SCQ conversation between Rita and Guillermo, as in the following segment, the recent past *-sh((q)a)* is used to talk about sequences of past events. The fact that this morpheme is used to narrate events is one indication that it is no longer a perfect; it has become a past. It no longer carries the traditional meaning of a perfect, that of current relevance of a past situation.[9]

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[9] In order to facilitate understanding of the examples, many of which are lengthy, the English translation is placed before the Quechua. The lists of glossing abbreviations and transcription symbols can be found immediately preceding chapter 1.

(1) The recent past -*sh((q)a)* used to narrate (S2-14)

2 R: The festival **was** <u>RECENT PAST</u> great.
3   The band from Ayash **went** <u>RECENT PAST</u> down below to um.
4   to Juanito's.
5 G: uh huh,
6 R: The other **played** <u>RECENT PAST</u> up above where um.
7 G: where the Pizarro dancers (were).
8 R: Mhm.
9 G: **Were** <u>RECENT PAST</u> the Pizarro dancers good?
10 R: Yes.
11 G: Who who **danced** <u>RECENT PAST</u> (as Pizarro dancers).
12 R: Manuel, Vidal Sancho, and his nephew **danced** <u>RECENT PAST</u>.

2   R: *[Ko:sa-m   fyesta] ka-**shqa***.
          very.good-DIR festival be-**PST.R3**

3   *...Ayash banda-cha: aq   ura-kaq   aywa-**sh**   ... na-man.*
            Ayash band-MUT   oh   below-DEF go-**PST.R3**   thing-ALL

4   *Huanito-man.*
            Juanito-ALL

5   G: *uh huh,*
          uh huh

6   R: *...Hana-kaq-na-cha: na-chu   tuka-**sh***.
            above-DEF-NOW-MUT thing-LOC play.instr-**PST.R3**

7   G: *Pisa:rru-chu.*
          Pizarro.dancer-LOC

8   R: *Mhm.*
          mhm

9   G: *Ko:sa-ku   pisa:rru-kuna-qA   ka-ya-**sh**?*
          very.good-Q.P Pizarro.dancer-PLUR-TOP be-PL-**PST.R3**

10   R: *Aw.*
          yes

11   G: *Pi: pi-ta: tushu-ya-**sh***.
          who who-QUES dance-PL-**PST.R3**

12   R: *...Tushu-**shqa**   Manuel, ...Vidal Sancho, ...sobri:nu-n,*
            dance-**PST.R3** Manuel   Vidal Sancho   nephew-3

Additionally, *-sh((q)a)* can be used with adverbials referring to the past, as in

(2). Bybee et al. (1994:61-62) write in relation to perfects, "… The goal of the

utterance is not to locate a situation at some definite point in the past, but only to

offer it as relevant to the current moment. The evidence for this is the non-

occurrence of the anterior (their word for 'perfect') with temporal adverbs that

indicate a specific time in the past."

In (2), *-sh((q)a)* is used with an adverbial referring to the past. This shows that it

is being used as a past tense, rather than as a perfect.

(2)   The recent past *-sh((q)a)* with an adverbial of the past (D55-56)

| 55 | R: | Then <u>the next morning</u> mother, sure enough, |
| 56 | | **got up** <u>RECENT PAST</u> at dawn to search, |

| 55 | R: .. | *Tsa* | *<u>waray-nin</u>* | *qoya-q* | *mama-ntsi:-qa* | *ari,* |
| | | then | tomorrow-3 | morning-AG | mom-1ᵢ-TOP | yes |

| 56 | | ... *tsaka-q-lla-na* | | *ashi-q* | *sharku-<u>sh</u>,* |
| | | darkness-AG-DLM-NOW | | seek-PRMT | stand.up-**PST.R3** |

In sum, the SCQ *-sh((q)a),* which was once a perfect, is used as a past

synchronically. Having shown this, I now turn to illustrate how the past tense forms

place events in time.

2.3   The past *-r(q)a*

Some SCQ tense forms are used in relation to each other to code relative time.

For example, if recent events A, B, and C happened in sequence within a certain

stretch of time, but event D happened at some unspecified time *before*, the Quechua

speaker may use the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u* with events A, B, and C and the

past *-r(q)a* with event D. (The SCQ past perfects also place events in past time

relative to each other (§2.8).)

In the next two examples, the past *-r(q)a* is used to place events as previous in

time to events marked with the recent past *-sh((q)a)*. In (3), from the conversation

between Guillermo and Rita, they use the recent past *-sh((q)a)* to talk about events of

a festival that took place the week before. Guillermo switches to the past *-r(q)a* (line

7) to talk about something he had said a week earlier to his wife, Martha.

Though this example might lead us to believe that the past *-r(q)a* is a past

perfect, it actually is not. It can be used to narrate a sequence of events and with

temporal references, as shown in (6) below.

(3)   The past *-r(q)a* used with a previous event

1 R: Martha also **sold** <u>**RECENT PAST**</u> alcoholic drink two nights,
2 G: Oh, she really **did sell** <u>**RECENT PAST**</u> it?
3 R: after putting her children to sleep.
4   Yes.
5 G: Poor thing. Poor thing, Martha.
6 R: Yes, yes.
7 G: "Don't do it," I **had said** <u>**PAST**</u> to her.
8 R: Even though you may have said that, she **sold** <u>**RECENT PAST**</u> it anyway.

1   R: *Marta-pis   shinqiru-ta-m   ishke: tsakay   rantiku-**sh**,*
          martha-EVEN   hot.drink-OBJ-DIR   two   night   sell-**PST.R3**

2   G: *A [rantiku-**sh**-ra:-chi].*
          oh sell-**PST.R3**-YET-CNJ

3   R: *[wamra-n-kuna-ta] punu-yka-tsi-r-yan,*
             child-3-PL.N-OBJ   sleep-PFV.O-CAUS-SS-DISTR

4   *[₂aw, @@]*
             yes

5   G: *[₂Alla=.   @@] ‖ ...Allaw   Marta.*
          poor.thing   poor.thing martha

6   R: *Aw ari. @@*
       yes yes

7   G: *"Ama rura-nki-tsu" ni-**ra**-:-cha: ari noqa-qa.*
       no   do-2-NEG   say-**PST**-1-MUT yes I-TOP

8   R: ☺ *Ni-ka-pti-ki-chir*   ☺ *rantiku-**sh**.*[10]
       say-PASS-DS-2-APP   sell-**PST.R3**

In the first few lines of (4), Rita and Guillermo talk about the band that played during the festival, using the recent past *-sh((q)a)*. In lines 5 and 6, Guillermo uses the past *-r(q)a* to say that the band had played previously in another town and that he and someone else had danced. He then returns to the use of the recent past *-sh((q)a)* to ask a question about the happenings of the recent festival. Note that the use of the present tense as a habitual present (line 4) did not interfere with the use of the two past tenses (lines 3 and 5) to place two past events in time in relation to each other.

(4)   The past *-r(q)a* used with previous events

1 R: The yuriwa dancers' band **was <u>RECENT PAST</u>** nice.
2   That band's name **is <u>PRESENT</u>** High Puchcash.
3   And it **was <u>RECENT PAST</u>** pretty, beautiful.
4 G: Yes, those people **play <u>PRESENT</u>** very well.
5   In Opayaco they **were playing <u>PAST</u>** very well too.
6   And we even **danced <u>PAST</u>** a little.
7 R: Oh.
8 G: And did Niko **drink heavily <u>RECENT PAST</u>**?
9 R: Yes, he **drank heavily <u>RECENT PAST</u>**.
10   But he **was <u>RECENT PAST</u>** nice and quiet.
11   He **didn't bother <u>RECENT PAST</u>** anyone.

---

[10] The ☺ symbol is used to represent smiling voice quality.

1   R: *Yuriwa-pa ka-q sella:ma lindu ka-**shqa** orkesta-n.*
        dancer-GEN be-AG abundantly pretty be-**PST.R3** orchestra-3

2   *Altu Puchcash tsay huti-n tsay orkesta-pa -**Ø**.[11]*
        high puchcash that name-3 that orchestra-GEN **PRS**

3   *I lindu ka-**shqa** shumaq.*
        and pretty be-**PST.R3** beautiful

4   G: *A tse:-kuna-qa ko:sa-m tuka-ya-**Ø**-n.*
        yes that-PL.N-TOP very.good-DIR play.instr-PL.V-**PRS**-3

5   *Upaya:cu-cho:-pis tuka-yka:-ya-**ra**-n ko:sa.*
        Opayaco-LOC-EVEN play.instr-CONT-PL.V-**PST**-3 very.good

6   *I noqa-kuna-pis ichik tushu-ri-ya-**ra**-:-ra:.*
        and I-PL.N-EVEN small dance-PUNC-PL.V-**PST**-1-YET

7   R: *A=.*
        oh

8   G: *I Niku-qa chupa-**sh**-ku?*
        and Niko-TOP drink.heavily-**PST.R3**-Q.P

9   R: *Ari chupa-**shqa**.*
        yes drink.heavily-**PST.R3**

10   *Peru shumaq lindu tranki:lu-lla ka-**shqa**.*
        but beautiful pretty quiet-DLM be-**PST.R3**

11   *Mana pi-ta-pis abusa-**sha**-tsu.*
        no who-OBJ-EVEN abuse-**PST.R3**-NEG

When tense forms are used to place events relative to each other in past time, it is not possible to substitute a different tense form. In (4) above, I had Rita read lines 8-11 out of context and asked her if it would be possible to use the past *-r(q)a* in those four instances. She tried that, said 'yes', and said that the use of the past *-r(q)a* in those lines would indicate that the events had happened months ago. When I had her read those lines again in context, she said that the substitution of the past *-r(q)a*

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[11]As Weber (1989:98) also notes for Huallaga Quechua, the 'be' verb *ka-* is not overt under a certain set of conditions: when it is in present tense and third person, is not needed to support other suffixes, and is not used existentially. This is why there is nothing in line 2, though one might expect *ka-n* 'be-3'.

in lines 8-11 did not sound good. After using the past *-r(q)a* in lines 5 and 6 she did not want to use it in lines 8-11. This shows that when the past *-r(q)a* and the recent past *-sh((q)a)* are used to place events in time relative to each other, substituting another form is not an option.

In the substitution trial above, Rita's impression was that the use of the past *-r(q)a* in lines 8-11 would indicate that the situations had taken place months previously. The following example also shows that the past *-r(q)a* can be used to indicate placement in time as months previous. (5) is from a speech given in 2002 by Teresa, about 55 years old, to the people of her community of Huacchis. She uses the past *-r(q)a* in (5), and then uses it several more times in succession as she gives an account of some events that had occurred 14 months prior (not presented here). She then gives a description of what she had done in the weeks just preceding the moment of speech, and uses the recent past *-r(q)u* with those situations.

While (5) and the substitution trial of lines 8-11 of (4) show that the past *-r(q)a* can indicate remote placement in time, other data show that it can also be used with recent events that took place prior to events marked with the recent past *-sh((q)a*, as in line 7 of (3) above. Taken together, these examples show that the past *-r(q)a* places events as prior in time to situations marked with the recent past. The prior events marked with the past *-r(q)a* need not have taken place months previously to those marked with the recent past, though they may have.

(5) The past *-r(q)a* with a situation that had happened 14 months prior

T: Last year, in the month of April, they **called PAST** me on the phone.

T: *Qanyan   wata ..mes   de abril-cho: .. qaya-ya:-ma-**rqa**-n   por tele:funu.*
   yesterday year month of april-LOC   call-PL.V-1OBJ-**PST**-3 by   telephone

The past *-r(q)a* might appear to be a past perfect, in that speakers sometimes use it to refer to an event that happened previous to the events being discussed, as in line 7 of (3) and lines 5 and 6 of (4). It is not a past perfect, though. It can be used to narrate a sequence of events, as mentioned above for the first part of Teresa's speech, and also as shown in (6) below, from the conversation between Rita and Guillermo about the festival. The past *-r(q)a* can also be used with temporal references (line 18 of (6)). For true SCQ past perfects, see §2.8.

(6) The past *-r(q)a* used to narrate and with a time term

9   G: And would she **have had PAST** any customers?
10 R: Yes, there **were PAST** a good number.
11   I even **drank PAST** a little when our uncle Florencio invited us.
12 G: Oh, yes, yes, yes.
13 R: Niko also **drank PAST** there with our family members.
14 G: Oh yes yes, with them, with the Valenzuelas.
15 R: Yes. Then um with them, um,
16   Um who **were PAST** we at that time? (Who else was there at that time?)
17   Damian and company and many others.
18 G: And <u>on the main day of the festival</u> **did** you **cook PAST**?
19 R: Yes, we **cooked PAST**.

9   G: *I   ka-pu-**ra**-n-ra:-tsura: entra:da-n-qa.*
            and be-BEN-**PST**-3-YET-DUB customer-3-TOP

10   R: *Aw alli-ra:-mi   ka-**ra**-n.*
            yes good-YET-DIR be-**PST**-3

11   *Ichik upu-ri-ya-__ra__-:-mi*   *noqa-kuna-pis*
          small drink-PUNC-PL.V-__PST__-1-DIR I-PL.N-EVEN

          tiyu-ntsi: @Florenciu imbita-ya:-ma-pti-n.
          uncle-1$_I$ Florencio invite-PL.V-1OBJ-DS-3

12   G: *...A ya ya ya.*
        oh yes yes yes

13   R: *Niku-pis   tsay-chu upu-__ra__-n-ra:-mi   ...kasta-ntsi:-kuna-wan.*
        Niko-EVEN that-LOC drink-__PST__-3-YET-DIR   family-1$_I$-PL.N-COM

14   G: *A ya ya na-kuna-wan   ...Valenzuela-kuna-wan.*
        oh yes yes thing-PL.N-COM   Valenzuela-PL.N-COM

15   R: *Aha.|| Nirkur   um na-kuna-wan-pis   este=,*
        yes   in.addition um thing-PL.N-COM-EVEN ummm

16   *...mmm ...mas pi: pi:-ta: ka-ya-__ra__-:   tsay   o:ra,*
        um   more who who-Q.C be-PL.V-__PST__-1 that   hour

17   *Damian-kuna .. tsay .. atska-q.*
        Damian-PL.N that   many-HUM

18   G: *I= diya hunaq-qa yanu-ku-ya-__ra__-yki-ra:-ku?*
        and day day-TOP   cook-MID-PL.V-__PST__-2-YET-Q.P

19   R: *Aw yanu-ku-ya-__ra__-:-ra:-mi.*
        yes cook-MID-PL.V-__PST__-1-YET-DIR

The past *-r(q)a* can also be used in a slightly different way to place events in time. In (7), from the conversation between Rita and Guillermo, four people were dancing together as Pizarro dancers: Manuel, Vidal Sancho, Vidal Sancho's nephew and Arturo. Rita lists the first three in line 11, using a verb with the recent past *-sh((q)a)*. In line 12, she switches to the past *-r(q)a* to say that another man (Arturo) had danced as a Pizarro as well.

Rita explained to me that she had forgotten to include Arturo with the group in line 11, and so she had to go back to say that he had danced too. She told me it would have been incorrect to say *tushuykasha* 'dance-CONT-PST.R3' in line 12. If the

recent past *-sh((q)a)* were to be used in line 12, it would indicate that Arturo had danced after the others, which was not the case.

This example shows that after using the recent past *-sh((q)a)*, a speaker can use the past *-r(q)a* to go back in time to add something forgotten that had happened at the same time as the event just mentioned.

(7)   The past *-r(q)a* used to add something that had been forgotten

10 G: Who, who **danced** **RECENT PAST** (as Pizarros)?
11 R: Manuel **danced** **RECENT PAST**, Vidal Sancho, his nephew,
12   In addition what's his name (Arturo) **was dancing** **PAST** too.

10   G: *Pi: pi-ta: tushu-ya-**sh**.*
             who who-Q.C dance-PL.V-**PST.R3**

11   R: *...Tushu-**shqa**   Manuel,|| ...Vidal Sancho,|| ...sobri:nu-n,*
             dance-**PST.R3** Manuel   Vidal Sancho   nephew-3

12   *Nirkur   uh= tushu-yka-**ra**-n   na-pis.*
             in.addition uh   dance-CONT-**PST**-3 thing-EVEN

In this section I have shown that the past *-r(q)a* generally places events in time as previous to events marked with the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u.* It is not a past perfect. A speaker can also use it to go back in time to relate an event that s/he forgot to include.

2.4   The narrative past *-na:*

The past tense form *-na:* is referred to as the 'narrative past' in linguistic literature on Quechua because it can be used to narrate a complete folktale or legend. Experienced storytellers, though, generally vary the use of this past form with others in their narratives for a variety of communicative purposes (Part III).

The narrative past *-na:* places events in time in the past, both in the legendary genre, as in (8), and in real life, as in (9). It never places events in the present or in the future.

(8)   The narrative past *-na:* in a legend (A5)

5   L: Then the parents **went NARRATIVE PAST** to look (for food).

5   L: ... *Tsay   %ashi-ku-q   aywa-ya:-**na:**   mama-n-kuna-qa.*
            then   look-MID-PRMT   go-PL.V-**PST.N**   parent-3-PL.N-TOP

(9)   The narrative past *-na:* in a real life account (D30-33)

30 R: And in addition um [word search] um,
31   they **stole NARRATIVE PAST** Walter's shoes.
32   Also a man, Ernesto Garay's son,
33   from him someone **stole NARRATIVE PAST** his jacket and his poncho.

30   R: *...I= nirkur   a   na-pa-ta   este=,*
              and in.addition um thing-GEN-OBJ um

31   *Walter-pa-ta   sapatu-n-ta   suwa-ska-pu-ya:-**na:**.*
          Walter-GEN-OBJ   shoe-3-OBJ   steal-PFV-BEN-PL.V-**PST.N**

32   *...Nirkur   huk runa-sh   Ernesto Garay-pa   tsuri-n,*
            in.addition one person-RPT Ernesto Garay-GEN child-3

33   *...tsay-pa-ta-na   kasa:ka-n-ta ponchu-n-ta   suwa-ya:-**na:**   mas,*
            that-GEN-OBJ-NOW jacket-3-OBJ poncho-3-OBJ steal-PL.V-**PST.N** more

One of the functions of the narrative past *-na:* is to place events in time as previous to events marked by the recent past *-sh((q)a.* In (10), Rita recounts an event of the week before (line 41), using the recent past *-sh((q)a)*. Then, using the narrative past *-na:*, she tells about some situations that had taken place previously (lines 42-43). She then returns to the use of the recent past *-sh((q)a)* to tell about an event of the week before (line 44).

(10) The narrative past *-na:* used with a previous event (S41-44)

41 R: And so, the man **looked** <u>RECENT PAST</u>.
42   That young man **had become acquainted** <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u> with him
        (Damian).
43   He **had gone to school** <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u> with Damian.
44   He **recognized** <u>RECENT PAST</u> his voice.

41   R: *...I= tsay-pita-qa   este=,|| .. ari ashi-**sh**   runa-qa,*
             and that-ABL-TOP um   yes seek-**PST.R3** person-TOP

42   *Reqi-**na:**   tsay cho:lu,*
        know-**PST.N** that young.man

43   *Damian-wan-shi   huntu   estudya-**na:**,*
        Damian-COM-RPT together study-**PST.N**

44   *Tse: reqi-**sh**   bos-nin-ta,*
        that know-**PST.R3** voice-3-OBJ

In (11), as in (10), the speaker switches from the recent past *-sh((q)a)* to the

narrative past *-na:* to tell about an event that had happened previously. This example

is from a conversation on cattle herding between Felipe, the shepherd boy who is

speaking here, a young man, Elí, and Elí's mother, Lita.

(11) The narrative past *-na:* used with a previous event

F: 1 It (a cow) **escaped** <u>RECENT PAST</u> from me near Huamparán, heading toward
       Tayan Lake and Kachitsinan.
    2 They **had found** <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u> it in that area on previous occasions.

    1 F: *Ta:yan qocha-la:-pa   ari,|| qeshpi-pa-ma-**sha**-qa*
           Ta:yan lake-SIDE-GEN   yes   escape-BEN-1OBJ-**PST.R3**-TOP

        Huamparan-pita   kachitsinan-la:-pa.
        Huamparán-ABL   Kachitsinan-SIDE-GEN

    2   *Tsay-la:-chu:-na-sh   punta-ta-si   tari-ya:-**na:**.*
        that-SIDE-LOC-NOW-RPT   first-OBJ-EVEN find-PL.V-**PST.N**

In sum, the narrative past -*na:* places both legendary events and real life events in past time. It places events as previous in time to events marked with the recent past -*sh((q)a)*.

2.5　The recent past -*r(q)u* and -*sh((q)a)*

Examples (3), (4), (10) and (11), in the two sections above, show -*sh((q)a)* to place events in the recent past, relative to the not-so-recent pasts (the past -*r(q)a* and the narrative past -*na:*). The first part of this current section is devoted to showing that the recent past -*sh((q)a)* shares a paradigm with the recent past -*r(q)u*.

In intransitive clauses, -*sh((q)a)* occurs with third person subjects, while -*r(q)u* occurs with first and second person subjects. The recent past -*sh((q)a)* does not occur with all third person subjects of transitive clauses though, as described below. Table 2.2, the paradigm for recent past, shows that -*r(q)u* and -*sh((q)a)* do not occur in the same slot. They are in complementary distribution with respect to person. This 'split' paradigm has not been reported previously for any variety of Quechua. The results in Table 2.2 are based on a search of the corpus (§1.5.3).

In order to understand Table 2.2, some explanations of person marking and the "subject marking anomaly" are in order. The subject and object person markers are as follows.

Subject	Object
1　-*:*	1OBJ -*ma:*
1I -*ntsik*	2OBJ -*shu*　(only marked with third person subject)
2　-*nki* or -*yki*	
3　-*n*	

(12), repeated from the verbal template above, shows the normal position of the object person marker and the subject person marker in relation to the tense marker. I follow Weber's (1989) notation for subject and object marking. 2=>1 represents second person subject with first person object, as found in (12).

(12) Position of person markers

> *yarpa-ska-tsi-**ma**-rqu-**yki**-m*
> think-PFV-CAUS-**1OBJ**-PST.R-**2**-DIR
>   'You sure made me think.'

For 3=>1_I and 3=>2 in all the tenses, the subject slot reflects the person of the object rather than the subject. Weber (1989:97) refers to this as the "subject marking anomaly". The use of *-ma:* '1OBJ' in 3=>1_I requires the use of *-ntsik*, the first person inclusive subject marker, to indicate third person subject. The use of *-shu* '2OBJ' in 3=>2 requires the use of *-yki*, the second person subject marker, to indicate third person subject.

Notice in the last row of Table 2.2 that *-sh((q)a)*, bolded, marks tense with third person subjects, except when the subject slot reflects the person of the object rather than the third person subject. Given this subject marking anomaly, it makes sense that *-sh((q)a)*, a portmanteau morpheme for recent past and third person subject, cannot be used for 3=>1_I and 3=>2. No third person marking can be used with 3=>1_I and 3=>2, even though the subject is third person.

TABLE 2.2. SCQ RECENT PAST

OBJECT					
		1	1$_I$	2	3
	1	---	---	-r(q)u-:	-r(q)u-:
	1$_I$	---	---	---	-r(q)u-ntsik
SUBJECT	2	-ma-r(q)u-yki	---	---	-r(q)u-yki
	3	-ma-**sh((q)a)** *-ma-r(q)u-n	-ma-r(q)u-ntsik	-shu-r(q)u-yki	**-sh((q)a)** *-r(q)u-n

The following examples show how the recent past -*r(q)u* locates events in time.
When used in the same context, the past -*r(q)a* places events as previous in time to
events marked with the recent past -*r(q)u*, just as the past -*r(q)a* places events as
previous in time to events marked with the recent past -*sh((q)a)*. In (13), from the
conversation about the festival, Guillermo uses the recent past -*r(q)u* to ask Rita if
they had butchered the big ram. She responds in the affirmative and then uses the
past -*r(q)a* to explain that previous to butchering it, she had gone to the high
grasslands to get it and that Mateo had gone with her.

(13) The past -*r(q)a* with events previous to those with recent past -*r(q)u* (D141-5)

141 G: **Did** you **butcher** <u>RECENT PAST</u> the big (ram)?
142 R: Yes.
143   I **went** <u>PAST</u> to the high grasslands to bring the sheep back.
144 G: To Taqta Canyon by yourself or with Chino?
145 R: Mateo **accompanied** <u>PAST</u> me.

141 G: *[Hatun-ta-chi] pishta-ya-__ru__-yki?*
                  large-OBJ-CNJ slaughter-PL.V-__PST.R__-2

142 R: *mhm.*
        yes

143   *...Noqa aywa-__ra__-: ari,|| ...hallqa-pa   u:sha-man apa-mu-q.*
          I   go-__PST__-1 yes high.grassland-GEN sheep-ABL take-FAR-PRMT

144 G: *Taqta Raqra   kiki-lla-yki? || Chi:nu-wan.*
        Taqta Canyon self-DLM-2   Chino-com

41

145   R: *Mateu-wan kompaña-ya-**ra**-:.*
        Mateo-COM accompany-PL.V-**PST**-1

Likewise, in (14), Guillermo and Rita use the recent past *-r(q)u* to talk about

events that took place the week before, events related to his work. In line 47, Rita

switches to the past *-r(q)a* to talk about something she had done previously.

(14) The recent past *-r(q)u* with recent events, the past *-r(q)a* with a previous event
     (W43-8)

43 R: What things **did** you (pl.) **do RECENT PAST**?
44 G: First I **was doing RECENT PAST** a check of that story I myself had done.
45 R: Oh, right.
46 G: "A rich man loses his bull." (story title)
47 R: Yes, I **read PAST** that too.
48 G: That. And I **did RECENT PAST** that.

43   R: *[₂Ima-kuna-ta-ta:] rura-ya-**ru**-yki?*
                                                     what-PL.N-OBJ-Q.C do-PL.V-**PST.R**-2

44   G: *...Punta-ta-qa || ..komprobasyun-ta-m rura-yka-**ru**-:*
           front-OBJ-TOP   check-OBJ-DIR   do-CONT-**PST.R**-1

           ..tse: kiki-:   kwentu-ta   ...rura-sha-:-ta.
             that   self-1   story-OBJ   do-NMLZ.R-1-OBJ

45   R: *A= ya=.*
          oh yes

46   G: *"Huk ri:ku runa   to:ru-n-ta oqra-Ø-n"?*
          one   rich   person bull-3-OBJ lose-PRS-3

47   R: *Aha tsay-ta noqa-pis [liyi-**ra**-:-mi.]*
          yes that-OBJ I-EVEN   read-**PST**-1-DIR

48   G: *[Tse:-ta.] || I= tse:-ta   rura-**ru**-:,*
                                    that-OBJ   and that-OBJ do-**PST.R**-1

In sum, the recent past markers *-r(q)u* and *-sh((q)a)* locate events in recent time.

The past *-r(q)a* locates situations in time as previous to those marked with the recent

past markers *-r(q)u* and *-sh((q)a)*.

The recent past markers *-r(q)u* and *-sh((q)a*) also locate situations in recent time as related to those located at the present moment, as shown in (15) and (16), from the conversation between Rita and Guillermo. In (15), Guillermo is talking about his work, while in (16), Rita is telling about people returning to Lima after the festival.

(15) The recent past *-r(q)u* locates situations in time as previous to a situation located at the present moment (W79-82)

79 G: We **did** <u>RECENT PAST</u> those things.
80   And we **didn't finish**. <u>RECENT PAST</u>
81   It **is** still **incomplete**. <u>PRESENT</u>
82 R: Oh, you (pl) **didn't finish**. <u>RECENT PAST</u>

79   G: *...Tse:-nin-kuna-ta-na-m   rura-ya-**ru**-:.*
            that-3-PL.N-OBJ-NOW-DIR do-PL.V-**PST.R**-1

80   *...I= usha-ya-**ru**-:-tsu   mana,*
            and finish-PL.V-**PST.R**-1-NEG no

81   *...Falta-**Ø**-n-ra:,*
            lack-**PRS**-3-YET

82   R: *...A= mana-ku usha-ya-**ru**-yki.*
            oh   no-Q.P   finish-PL.V-**PST.R**-2

(16) The recent past *-sh((q)a)* locates an event in time as previous to an event in process at the present moment (S72-3)

72 R: Today many people **are** surely **coming** <u>PRESENT</u>
            (towards Huaraz on the way to Lima).
73   They **went** <u>RECENT PAST</u> on a trip (to Huaripampa)

72   R: *Kanan atska-q-cha: sha-ya:-mu-**Ø**-n.*
            now   many-HUM-MUT come-PL.V-FAR-**PRS**-3

73   *...Aywa-ya-**sh**   biya:hi-chu&*
            go-PL.V-**PST.R3** trip-LOC

In sum, the recent past *-sh((q)a)* shares a paradigm with the recent past *-r(q)u*. They are in complementary distribution according to person. The recent past markers *-r(q)u* and *-sh((q)a*) locate situations in recent time. The past *-r(q)a* places

situations in time as previous to those marked with the recent past markers *-r(q)u* and *-sh((q)a)*. The recent past *-sh((q)a)* locates situations in time as previous to those located at the present moment.

2.6   The habitual past *-q*

The habitual past *-q* locates situations in the past, but does not place them in time in relation to other events in the past. It marks a past situation as something that happened repeatedly, (17) and (18), or habitually, (19) and (20), and so both tense and aspect figure prominently in its meaning. The habitual past *-q* never places a situation in the present or at a future point in time. See Daniel Hintz 2008 for additional examples and discussion.

In (17) and (18), from the *Achikay* 'Witch' legend, the action is carried out repeatedly. In (17), the children call to one big bird after another to rescue them. In (18), they repeatedly say 'Let's go' to each other.

(17) The habitual past *-q* with a repeated action (A32-35)

32 L: Then to the condor,
33   to whatever hawk, to whatever,
34   "Please get me out of here. Please get me out of here," saying,
35   they **called, <u>HABITUAL PAST</u>** towards the sky.

32   L: *...Tsay-shi kondor-ta=,*
              that-RPT condor-OBJ

33   *...imayka   anka-ta ‖ imayka-ta,*
            whatever hawk-OBJ whatever-OBJ

34   *"Hipi-yka-lla:-ma-y.   ‖   Hipi-yka-lla:-ma-y"   ni-r,*
          take.out-PFV.O-DLM-1OBJ-IMP2   take.out- PFV.O -DLM-1OBJ-IMP2   say-SS

35   *qaya-ra:-ya-**q**. ‖   ...[hunaq-pa.]*
          call-DUR-PL.V-**PST.H**   sky-GEN

(18) The habitual past *-q* with a repeated action (A51)

51 L: Then because smoke was rising over there,
              "Come on," they **said HABITUAL PAST** to each other,
              "Let's go" saying,

51   L: *...Tsa   qoshta:-mu-pti-n-qa, || "Aku"   ni-naku-**q**   "Aywa-shun" ni-r,*
              then emit.smoke-FAR-DS-3-TOP come.on say-RECP-**PST.H**   go-FUT1$_I$ say-SS

The habitual past *-q* is also used with habitual actions, those that were

customarily carried out in the past. (19) is from the conversation about cattle herding

between Lita, her son Elí and the shepherd boy, Felipe. (20) is from the legend

Lamun Kuru 'Gigantic Worm', told by Lita.

(19) The habitual past *-q* with a habitual action

1 L: One by one from Tayan lake
2   they (the cows) **would come**, **HABITUAL PAST**
3   from the high grasslands.

1   L: *Ta:yan qocha-pita-qa uno por uno sha–*
              Tayan lake-ABL-TOP one by one MS

2   *cha:-ya-mu-**q**,*
              arrive-PL.V-FAR-**PST.H**

3   *...hallqa-pita.*
              high.grasslands-ABL

(20) The habitual past *-q* with a habitual action

L: Then he (the gigantic worm) **would knock HABITUAL PAST** every afternoon so
    that they would tie (a child) up for him.

L: *...Tsay-shi   to:ka-**q**   kada   tardi   wata-pu-ya:-na-n-pa:.*
        that-RPT   knock-**PST.H** every   afternoon tie.up-BEN-PL.V-NMLZ.I-PURP

In sum, the habitual past *-q* marks situations that took place repeatedly or habitually in the past. It does not place these situations in time in relation to other past situations.

I now turn to show how the zero-marked present can be used as a historical present.

2.7   The zero-marked present

At the most fundamental level of its meaning, the present tense locates a situation at the present moment (Comrie 1985:38). As in many languages, the SCQ present can also be used as a historical present, to talk about events that occurred in the past. In addition, it can locate a situation in the future. While this work focuses on the communicative functions of SCQ past tense markers, present tense is brought into the discussion because it can be used as a historical present. It places events in the past when it functions in this way.

Present tense in SCQ is marked by zero. Bybee (1994) and Bybee et al. (1994:294-5) explore the process by which meaning comes to be assigned to grammatical markers represented by zero. They explain that as another overt grammatical marker (such as a past) is used more frequently, speakers begin to infer that if a person does not use the past, s/he means to contrast with the past. By inference, then, the absence of a tense marker signals present tense.

Based on the foundational work by Bybee (1994) and Bybee et al. (1994), it is probably safe to say that the zero-marked present in SCQ developed in contrast with the past *-r(q)a*. People began to assume that if an utterance did not contain the past

tense marker -*r(q)a*, the speaker meant present tense. The fact that the third person recent past originated from a perfect would indicate that the recent past developed later, and did not have a part in the development of the present tense.

The data in the next three subsections show the zero-marked present used as a historical present, as a futurate and as a true present. The context indicates placement in time in each occurrence of the zero-marked present in the data in the appendix. There are no indeterminate cases. Examples of the zero-marked present used to place events in present time and in future time are included in this section in order to demonstrate that this zero-marked form is not a past. Present tense is typically used in all these ways in language (Binnick 1991:247-8).

2.7.1 The zero-marked present as a historical present

The use of the present as a 'historical present' in the narration of events is well documented. As Iwasaki (1993:46) writes, "The HP [historical present] appears both in written and spoken discourse and is evidenced across time and across languages (e.g., Jespersen 1929; Fleischman 1985)." Chafe (1994:231) observes that "...conversational narrators slip into the historical present from time to time, but they never use that tense exclusively; the present always alternates with the past." This is true for SCQ; the alternation shown in (21) and (22) is characteristic of SCQ narrative data. These examples also illustrate the use of the zero-marked present as a historical present in both conversational narrative (21) and in legendary narrative (22). In (21), from the conversation between Rita and Guillermo, Guillermo is talking about his trip to Huaraz. (22) is from the *Achikay* legend.

47

(21) The historical present in conversational narrative (W15-17)

15 G: getting down to the road, I **waited RECENT PAST** for a bus.
16   Then, San Martin (a bus) **arrives**. **PRESENT**
17   I **take off PRESENT** towards here in that (bus).
18 R: Oh. (admiringly)
19 G: And then, I **came PAST** to Catac.[12]

15   G: *...tsa   karrete:ra-man cha-rpu-r   ka:rru-ta   shuya-ku-**ru**-:,*
            then   road-ALL   arrive-COMPL-SS vehicle-OBJ   wait-MID-**PST.R**-1

16   *...Tsa=, || cha:-ra-mu-**Ø**-n   San   Martin-mi,*
            then   arrive-PUNC-FAR-**PRS**-3 Saint Martin-DIR

17   *Tsay-wan heqa-ska-mu-**Ø**-:.*
            that-COM go-PFV-FAR-**PRS**-1

18   R: *A=.*
            oh

19   G: *I=   tsa: ...um, || ...Ca:tac-yaq sha-mu-**ra**-:,*
            and then   um   Catac-LIM   come-FAR-**PST**-1

---

[12] Note that Guillermo is not using the past *-r(q)a* to place the event in line 19 in time relative to the event marked with the recent past *-r(q)u* in line 15. See the three paragraphs of discussion on this that precede (105).

(22) The historical present in legendary narrative (A43-52)

43 L: They **dug up** <u>RECENT PAST</u> (some potatoes).
44   Having dug them up, in order to cook them,
45   there **is** <u>PRESENT</u> neither fire nor pot.
46 E: um,'
47 L: Then like this, I wonder where,
48   far away or right in front of them, something,
49   **puts out smoke** <u>PRESENT</u> …a hut.
50 E: @@
51 L: Then because smoke was rising over there, "Come on,"
            they **said** <u>HABITUAL PAST</u> to each other, "Let's go" saying,
52   they **went**. <u>RECENT PAST</u>

43   L: *...Tsay-qa oqti-ya-__sha__,*
              that-TOP dig-PL.V-**PST.R3**

44   *...Oqti-ski-r, || yanu-ku-ya:-na-n-pa:,*
              dig-PFV-SS   boil-MID-PL.V-NMLR.I-3-PURP

45   *ni   nina ni   manka-na ka-__Ø__-n-tsu.*
              not fire not pot-NOW be-**PRS**-3-NEG

46   E: *...um #,*
              um

47   L: *...Tsay-qa kay-no:, || may-nin-cho:-ra:,*
              that-TOP this-SIM   where-3-LOC-YET

48   *...karu-cho:-tsura: o prenti-lla-n-cho:-ku-sh   ima-sh,*
              far.away-LOC-DUB or in.front.of-DLM-3-LOC-Q.P-RPT what-RPT

49   *...qoshta:-mu-__Ø__-n   ... tsuklla-qa.*
              emit.smoke-FAR-**PRS**-3   hut-TOP

50   E: @@

51   L: *...Tsa qoshta:-mu-pti-n-qa, || "Aku"   ni-naku-__q__   "Aywa-shun" ni-r,*
              then emit.smoke-FAR-DS-3-TOP come.on say-RECP-**PST.H** go-FUT1ᵢ   say-SS

52   *aywa-ya-__sha__.*
              go-PL.V-**PST.R3**

2.7.2   The zero-marked present as a futurate

The present tense can also be used to express the future (Binnick 1991:247-8).

In (23), with two uses of the zero-marked present as a futurate, Guillermo explains

to Rita that he will be leaving, that he will go back the next day.

(23) The zero-marked present as a futurate (W83-84)

83 G: Right, and now I **leave (I'm going to leave)**. **PRESENT**
84   I **go back (will go back)** **PRESENT** tomorrow, Thursday.

83   G: *Aw, || I   kanan noqa-qa aywa-ku-Ø-:.,*
            yes   and now I-TOP   go-MID-**PRS**-1

84   *...Kuti-ku-Ø-:-qa   waray... waray   hwe:bis-qa,*
            return-MID-**PRS**-1-TOP tomorrow tomorrow Thursday-TOP

In (24), Guillermo explains why he will go back to his home community, in

order to make a declaration.

(24) The zero-marked present as a futurate

88 G: I **go back (will go back)** **PRESENT** there in order to make a declaration.

88   G: *Tse:-man deklarasyun-man qu-q   aywa-na-:-pa:-mi   kuti-ku-Ø-:.*
            that-ALL   declaration-ALL   give-PRMT go-NMLZ.I-1-PUR-DIR return-MID-**PRS**-1

A few sentences later, in line 93 of (25), Guillermo switches to the future tense

with the conjectural *-chi* to say that he thinks he will have to go to Huari (to go to

court) in two days, on Friday. (The use of the conjectural *-chi* indicates hesitancy

and reluctance. The perfective *-yku* in line 92 conveys obligation, the sense that he

'has to' do it.) In line 94 then, Guillermo returns to the use of the present as a

futurate, together with the direct evidential *-mi*, to talk about something he is firmly

planning to do on Saturday. (See §3.2 for an explanation of SCQ evidential

categories.)

(25) The future tense, followed by the zero-marked present as a futurate

92 G: And after arriving (home to Huaripampa),
93   I guess **I'll** have to **go FUTURE** there, to Huari, the day after tomorrow
            (Friday).
94   And then on Saturday, I **do (will do) PRESENT** the comprehension checking
95   of Psalms 19 in Huaripampa.

92   G: *I   kanan cha-yku-r-qa*
         and now   arrive-PFV.O-SS-TOP

93   *...tse:-pa-ra:-**chi***   *aywa-**sha:***   *wara-ntin-qa*   *Huari-pa-ra:.*
           that-GEN-YET-**CONJ**   go-**FUT1**   tomorrow-WITH-TOP   Huari-GEN-YET

94   *I   nirkur   sa:badu-na-**m***   *komprobasyon-ta rura-**Ø**-:*
           and in.addition Saturday-NOW-**DIR** check-OBJ   do-**PRS**-1

95   *salmu-s   dyesi nwe:bi-ta Huaripampa-chu.*
           psalm-pl.sp ten   nine-obj   Huaripampa-loc

Why was the future tense (line 93) interjected into the midst of several uses of

the zero-marked present as a futurate? A comparison of the evidential markers used

with the future tense with those used with the zero-marked present as a futurate

gives a clue. Though the direct *-mi* and the mutual *-cha:* are used with both, the

conjectural *-chi* occurs only with the future tense. The conjectural *-chi* does not

occur with any of the 19 instances of the zero-marked present used as a futurate in

the coded data.

It appears that when the zero-marked present is used to indicate future

placement in time, the speaker is either firmly planning to carry out the action, or

s/he is convinced that it will happen. However, when the speaker is hesitant to carry

out an action or is not convinced that an event will take place, the zero-marked

present as a futurate cannot be used. The future tense is used in that case, with the conjectural -*chi*. I hypothesize that this is the reason Guillermo switched to the future tense in line 93.

Note that use of the zero-marked present as a futurate, often with an evidential marker indicating certainty, is not the only way for a speaker to indicate s/he is committed to making an event happen or is convinced that it will happen. The future tense together with the direct evidential -*mi* can also do this in SCQ, just as it can in Wanka Quechua (Floyd 1999:75-76). Two examples from SCQ follow.

In the *Lamun Kuru* 'Gigantic Worm' legend, a beautiful girl was to be tied up for the worm to eat. Lita quotes the speech of Juan, who states that he will kill the worm and marry the beautiful girl. Juan is determined to make it impossible for the gigantic worm to eat her. In (26), the direct evidential -*mi* is used with the future tense, third person subject -*nqa* as Juan says, 'And it will not eat this one.'

(26) The direct -*mi* with the future, third person subject -*nqa* to indicate conviction
L: "And it (the gigantic worm) will not eat this one."

L: *"y   mana-**m**   kay-ta   miku-**nqa**-tsu."*
   and no-**DIR**   that-OBJ eat-**FUT3**-NEG

Towards the end of the conversation between Rita and Guillermo, they were talking about the shortage of pasture grass due to the drought. Rita told Guillermo that in the high country there was still grass. In (27), Rita quotes their Uncle Ernest, who had made a firm offer to herd the animals up there, using the future, first person -*sha:* and the direct -*mi*, suffixed to two separate verb stems.

(27) The direct *-mi* with the future, third person subject *-nqa* to indicate commitment and determination

R: "I will follow them. I will herd them."

R: *"Qati-ku-__sha:__-__mi__.   Mitsi-mu-__sha:__-__mi__."*
   follow-MID-**FUT1**-**DIR**   to.herd-FAR-**FUT1**-**DIR**

In sum, when the speaker is convinced that something will happen, s/he may use either the future tense or the zero-marked present as a futurate. When the speaker is not convinced that an event will take place, s/he cannot use the zero-marked present as a futurate, but rather, uses the future tense with the conjectural *-chi*.

2.7.3   The zero-marked present as a true present

While the zero-marked present is often used as a historical present and is used occasionally as a futurate, it most typically locates situations at the present moment or marks habitual situations in which the habit holds at the present moment.

In (28), Guillermo uses the zero-marked present twice as a stative as he explains some aspects of his work to Rita. The situations held at the moment he was speaking.

(28) The zero-marked present as a stative present (W73-75)

73 G: That glossary **is PRESENT** like a dictionary.
74   On the borders (of the printout) of Mark it **says PRESENT**
75   what was not understood (by people during the checking),

73   G: *Diksyunaryu-no:-mi tse: glosaryu -__Ø__,*
         dictionary-SIM-DIR   that glossary **PRS**

74   *..Marcus-pa tse: kantu-n-chu   ni-__Ø__-n,*
          Mark-GEN   that border-3-LOC say-**PRS**-3

75   *ima-pis   mana entyendi-ka-sha-n-kuna-ta,*
         what-EVEN no   understand-PASS-NMLZ.R-3-PL.N-OBJ

In (29), Rita is in the midst of her narrative about the lost donkey. She quotes

Victoria, who used the continuous aspect marker -*yka:* with the zero-marked present

tense. This situation held at the moment of Victoria's speech.

(29) The zero-marked present with the continuative (D125)

125 R: So she said to me, "Maybe Chino **is herding PRESENT** him towards here."

125   R: *(H) Tsay ni-ma-sh   "Kapas Chi:nu ima-m   qati-**yka:**-mu-**Ø**-n."*
              that   say-1OBJ-PST.R3   maybe Chino   what-DIR follow-**CONT**-FAR-**PRS**-3

Guillermo uses the present four times in (30) as he talks with Rita about things

that happen every year, habitually, during the time of the festival.

(30) The zero-marked present used in its habitual sense (D24-29)

24 G: Year after year during the time of the festival the donkey **is PRESENT** lost.
25 R: @@@
26 G: It **disappears**, **PRESENT**
27 R: @
28 G: The children **don't pay attention**, **PRESENT**
29   and we ourselves **don't** even **think PRESENT** about it.

24   G: *Wata wata tsa: [fyesta-cho:-qa]   oqra-ka-**Ø**-n   [₂burriku-qa,]*
              year   year   then   festival-LOC-TOP   lose-PASS-**PRS**-3   donkey-TOP

25   R: *[@   @]*   *[₂@]*

26   G: *Illa-ka-ski-**Ø**-n,*
             be.absent-PASS-PFV-**PRS**-3

27   R: @

28   G: *Wamra-pis ka:su-**Ø**-n-tsu*
             child-EVEN pay.attention -**PRS**-3-NEG

29   *ni   noqa-ntsik-pis   yarpa-ski-**Ø**-ntsik-tsu,*
             nor   I-1ᵢ-EVEN   think-PFV-**PRS**-1ᵢ-NEG

54

The data in this section have shown that the SCQ zero-marked present can be used as a historical present, to talk about events that occurred in the past. As well, it can be used as a futurate, to locate a situation in the future. The zero-marked present most typically locates situations at the present moment and marks habitual situations in which the habit holds at the present moment.

I turn now to the past perfects, the last group of past tense markers to be examined here.

2.8   The past perfects

The meaning of the pluperfect, or past perfect, is the "location of a situation prior to a reference point that is itself in the past" (Comrie 1985:25). Comrie explains that many languages have past perfects because it is necessary to place situations in time not only relative to the present moment, but also to "relate them chronologically to one another" (1985:67).

SCQ has past perfects of all the past tenses except for the habitual past -*q*. Two of the past perfects are used to express prior placement in time, while a third, a former past perfect, now functions as a mirative. The past perfects are compound tenses formed by the past participle -*sh((q)a)*, which is almost always reduced to -*sh,* and the 'be' verb *ka-* together with the appropriate past tense suffix. They are listed in Table 2.3. along with the number of times each one occurs in the corpus. These forms are rare in naturally occurring data, though I had no trouble eliciting more. The examples presented below are all from naturally occurring data.

TABLE 2.3.   PAST PERFECTS

Two past perfects and a mirative	forms	occurrences
past perfect of the past -r(q)a	-sh ka-r(q)a- -PTCP be-PST	1
past perfect of the narrative past -na:	-sh ka-na: -PTCP be-PST.N	2
past perfect of the recent past -sh((q)a), which now serves as a mirative	-sh ka-sh((q)a) -PTCP be-PST.R3	6

2.8.1   The past perfect -sh ka-r(q)a-

In (31), Rita uses the past -r(q)a as she sets the stage for telling about the search

for her lost donkey. In line 9 she uses the past perfect of the past -sh ka-r(q)a- with a

previous event. She then returns to the use of the past -r(q)a.

(31) Placement in time prior to past -r(q)a (D6-11)

6   R: At that time, Ninfa, our donkey,
7   **was PAST** over by our cousin Dina's house.
8   G: uh huh,
9   R: And Blacky and Kapsha
        had already come PAST PERFECT OF PAST   (previous in time)
          over to this side of the house.
10 G: uh huh,
11 R: And it **was PAST** about four or five o'clock.

6   R: ...(H) *Tsay o:ra-qa-m, || ...Ninfi:tu ari bu:rru-ntsi:-qa,*
              that hour-TOP-DIR   Ninfa   yes donkey-1$_I$-TOP

7   *pi   pri:ma-ntsi: Dina-pa   ka-q   wayi-n-kaq-chu   ka-yka:-mu-**rqa**-n.*
          who   cousin-1$_I$ Dina-GEN   be-AG   house-3-DEF-LOC   be-CONT-FAR-**PST**-3

8   G: *uh huh,*
          un huh

9   R: *...I=   Negra-wan   Kapcha-qa   kay-la:-pa-na*
            and   Blacky-COM   Capcha-TOP   this-SIDE-GEN-NOW

          *sha-mu-**sh**   **ka-ra**-n wayi-kaq-pa-na.*
          come-FAR-**PTCP**   **be-PST**-3 house-DEF-GEN-NOW

10   G: *uh huh,*
           uh huh

11   R: ...I= la-s   kwatru sinku-na-chir ka-**ra**-n-qa.
         and the-PL.SP four   five-NOW-APP be-**PST**-3-TOP

2.8.2   The past perfect -*sh ka-na:*

The following example is from the folktale *Atitukoq runa* 'Stingy man', told by

Pablo, a 16-year-old boy from Huaripampa to his aunt, Rita. Pablo was narrating the

tale using the narrative past -*na:*. He switches to the past perfect of the narrative past

-*sh ka-na:* when telling about a situation that had happened previously, and then

goes back to the use of the narrative past -*na:*.

(32) Placement in time prior to narrative past -*na:*

1 P: And at the time he **went to the house to sleep** <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u>,
          only his (the other man's) wife was there.
2   And her husband **had gone** <u>PAST PERFECT OF NARRATIVE PAST</u> on a trip.
3   So then, how terrible, the woman **was** <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u> with one after
            another.

1   P: *I   tsa patsa:ku-pti-n-qa*   *warmi-lla-n-na*   *ka-**na:**,*
          and then go.home.to sleep-DS-3-TOP woman-DLM-3-NOW be-**PST.N**

2   *I   runa-n-qa biya:ji-pa aywa-**sh**   **ka-na:**.*
          And   man-3-TOP trip-GEN   go-**PTCP**   **be-PST.N**

3   *Tsay-cho:-qa tsa allaw   warmi-qa   juk-wan   juk-wan   ka-ku-**na:**.*
          that-LOC-TOP   then how.terrible woman-TOP one-COM   one-COM   be-MID-**PST.N**

In (33), from the conversation on cattle herding, Lita uses the recent past

-*sh((q)a)* to suggest that maybe her cows did not want to come down from the high

grasslands. In lines 2-3, Felipe relates a situation that had happened previous to that

of the cows not wanting to come down. At some point when he was not looking, one

of her calves had joined his herd. Not until he got the calf back together with the

herd where it belonged did that herd want to come down. Notice that the past perfect

of the narrative past *-sh ka-na:* was used in this case, with a situation Felipe either

had not observed or did not want to take responsibility for observing. He then

switched to the use of the past *-r(q)a* in line 5 with a situation he had observed. This

example gives a preview of the way evidential factors influence tense choice, the

topic of chapter 3.

(33) Prior placement in time

1 L: They (her cows) didn't **want** <u>RECENT PAST</u> (to come down)
        from the high grasslands?
2 F: In the high grasslands the other one too
        had joined, <u>PAST PERFECT OF NARRATIVE PAST</u>
3   my cows, the little one (Lita's calf).
4 L: Oh?
5 F: Then after I separated it (getting it back with the others belonging to her)
        they **came** (the ones belonging to her). <u>PAST</u>

1   L: *Hallqa-pita-si*   *un kapas mana muna-<u>sha</u>-tsu.*
          high.grasslands-ABL-EVEN um maybe no   want-**PST.R3**-NEG

2   F: *...Hallqa-cho:*   *huk-kaq raki-ka-<u>sh</u>*   *<u>ka-na:</u> tsay-si,*
          high.grasslands-LOC one-DEF separate-PASS-**PTCP** **be-PST.N** that-EVEN

3   *...Wa:ka-:-kuna-man ichi-kaq-qa,*
           cow-1-PL.N-ALL   small-DEF-TOP

4   L: *...A=*
           Oh?

5   F: *Tsay-pita raki-ra-mu-pti-:-qa*   *sha-ka-mu-<u>ra</u>-n-cha.*
          that-ABL separate-PUNC-FAR-DS-1-TOP come-MID-FAR-**PST**-3-MUT

2.8.3   The mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a)*, from a past perfect

In (34), in the early part of their conversation, Rita responds to a question of

Guillermo's by explaining that not one person from a certain family came to the

festival. Instead, their elderly Aunt Victoria came. Rita told me that due to this

aunt's age and infirmity, they had not anticipated that she would come; her coming

was a surprise. The verb phrase *sha-mu-sh kash-qa* (line 2) does not mean 'had come' in this context; it simply means 'came'.

(34) Surprise, mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* from a past perfect

1 R: No, they didn't **go**, **RECENT PAST** not one of them.
2   Rather, our Aunt Victoria **came MIRATIVE**.
3 G: Poor thing, even she **was RECENT PAST** there.

1   R: *Ma=na,* ‖   *aywa-ya-**sha**-tsu*   *tsay-kuna,* ‖   *...ni*   *pi-pis.*
          no   go-PL.V-**PST.R3**-NEG   that-PL.N   nor   who-EVEN

2   *Tiya-ntsi: Viki-m*   *antis sha-mu-**sh**   **ka-shqa**.
          Aunt-1$_I$ Victoria-DIR rather come-FAR-**PTCP** **be-PST.R3**

3   G: *Alla-q*   *ka-**sh**-chi*   *tse:-pis.*
          poor.thing-AG be-**PST.R3**-CNJ that-EVEN

In the part of the conversation where Rita is telling about the lost donkey, she momentarily diverts her attention from the main story line to explain to Guillermo that no one was looking after his donkey on the opening night of the festival. The surprise was that the donkey ended up some distance away at the threshing floor of their uncle (line 84).

The verbal phrase *wara:ya:mush kash* (line 84) cannot mean 'had woken up' here. The act of not paying attention took place the evening before the donkey's waking up at dawn.

59

(35) Surprise, mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* from a past perfect (D83-87)

83 R: They **hadn't paid any attention**
        NARRATIVE PAST to your donkey.
84   (It turns out that) it also
        woke up at dawn MIRATIVE
85 G: in that group (of the donkeys
        that had gotten lost)
86 R: at Uncle Santos' threshing floor
      in Cachca Canyon. @@@
87 G: @@

83   R: *Bu:rru-yki-ta* ☺ *ka:su-ya:-**na:**-tsu.*
        donkey-2-OBJ   pay.attention-PL.V-**PST.N**-NEG

84   *...Tsay-pis* *[wara:-ya:-mu-**sh*** *   **ka-sh**]&*
        that-EVEN dawn-PL.V-FAR-**PTCP**   **be-PST.R3**

85   G: *[Tsay hunta-chu].*
                that fill-LOC

86   R: *&Tiyu-ntsi:*   *Santos-pa*   *e:ra-n-kaq-chu*   *Cachca*
        Uncle-1ᵢ   Santos-GEN   threshing.floor-3-DEF-LOC   Cachca

        [₂Raqra-chu. @@@].
        Canyon-loc

87   G: *[₂@@]*

    For additional examples of the mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a), s*ee (81) and (82) in §5.8. In the corpus of data, *-sh((q)a)* is not used as a past perfect (to locate a situation prior to a reference point that is itself in the past). It is only used as a mirative and to place an event in past time.

    Recall from §2.5 that in intransitive clauses, the recent past *-sh((q)a)* occurs only with third person subjects, while the recent past *-r(q)u* occurs only with first and second person subjects. Would it be the case that the past perfect (turned mirative) follows the same pattern?

In a search of the corpus, I found that only the third person perfect *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* form (now a mirative) is used. In order to determine whether first and second person forms of the perfect of the recent past would follow the same pattern as the recent past forms, I needed to elicit them. I set up hypothetical situations in which one event had taken place before another, and described these situations to Rita, a language consultant. For instance, I told her in Spanish, "Let's say that some people come to your house to visit, but they don't find you because you had gone out. Then later, you tell me what happened." She gave me several acceptable ways to say, 'They came to my house, but I had left' in SCQ. One acceptable way of expressing the last part of the sentence 'I had left' is in (36).

(36) Acceptable for 'I had left'

yarqu-sh   *ka-r(q)u-:*
leave-PTCP   be-PST.R-1

Rita could *not* express this meaning with (37). She said **yarqush kashqa:* is not a word, that she cannot say that.

(37) Unacceptable for 'I had left'

* *yarqu-sh*   *ka-shqa-:*
   leave-PTCP   be-PST.R3-1

I set up additional hypothetical situations in order to complete the paradigm shown in Table 2.4. The forms in the shaded areas are allowable. The forms with

asterisks are not possible for Rita.[13] This shows that *-sh ka-rqu-* is used with first and second person subjects, while *-sh ka-shqa* is used with third person subjects of intransitive clauses. This is the same pattern followed by the recent past *-r(q)u* and *-sh((q)a)*.

TABLE 2.4.   PAST PERFECT (MIRATIVE) OF THE RECENT PAST

Person of the subject	-sh ka-rqu-	-sh ka-shqa
1	-sh ka-r(q)u-:	*-sh ka-sh((q)a)-:
2	-sh ka-r(q)u-yki	*-sh ka-sh((q)a)-nki
3	*-sh ka-r(q)u-n	-sh ka-sh((q)a)

In sum, the data in §2.8 have shown that *-sh ka-r(q)a-* and *-sh ka-na:* are both used as past perfects, while the six cases of *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* in the corpus show this verbal form to be a mirative. In these six instances, *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* communicates surprise but does not locate the situations prior to another reference point that is itself in the past. It was possible, though, to elicit examples for first person subject *-sh ka-r(q)u-:*, for second person subject *-sh ka-r(q)u-yki,* and for third person subject *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* that locate the situations prior to another reference point in the past. This indicates that the forms in this paradigm are probably still capable of conveying past perfect meaning, though they did not appear in the corpus. Each of these elicited examples also has mirative significance.

This completes the tour of the finite tense forms used to locate situations in the past in SCQ. Placement in time can also be established through the use of non-finite

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[13] While she cannot say *-sh ka-shqa-nki*, she has heard it in the Quechua of other areas.

forms (and accompanying suffixes) that are used in relation to finite verbs in the same sentence. The suffix *-na* 'now', which can mean 'already', also aids in locating events in time. A presentation of these additional ways of placing events in time is beyond the scope of this present work. I bookmark it here as a topic for future study.

In the next section, I provide a distribution according to genre of the finite tense forms used to place situations in the past.

2.9   Tense markers used in conversation and in legendary material

Table 2.5 provides a comparison of past tense forms used in conversation and in legendary material. In the *Achikay* legend, there are 93 occurrences of tense forms conveying past meaning, not including those in direct quotes. These are tabulated according to form in the first row of Table 2.5. For comparative purposes, the first 93 occurrences of tense forms used to convey past meaning in the conversation between Rita and Guillermo, not including those in direct quotes, are tabulated in the second row. While the sample size is small, I believe it is representative of the data in the appendix.

These data show that a spectrum of past tense markers are used in each genre. They also show that some tense forms have a propensity for a certain genre. In the first column, for instance, notice that the past *-r(q)a* is used more frequently in conversation than in the legend. The second column shows the opposite to be true for the narrative past *-na:*. The reason for this has to do with source of evidence and perspective of the speaker (chapter 3).

TABLE 2.5.   PAST TENSE FORMS USED IN CONVERSATION VS. LEGEND

	-r(q)a 'PST'	-na: 'PST.N'	-r(q)u 'PST.R' -sh((q)a) 'PST.R3'	-Ø 'PRS' as hist. pres.	-q 'PST.H'	-sh kashqa 'MIR'	-sh karan PAST PERFECT	totals
legend	5	24	21	36	7	0	0	93
convers.	24	4	45	15	0	4	1	93

2.10 Conclusion

The data in this chapter have shown that some of the SCQ tense forms place events relative to each other in past time. The relationships are summarized in Figure 2.1. The recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u* places events in time as previous to the present. The narrative past *-na:* and the past *-r(q)a* both place events in time as previous to the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u*. The data in chapter 3 show that the choice between the narrative past *-na:* and the past *-r(q)a* depends on evidential factors. The past perfect of the narrative past *-sh ka-na:* and the past perfect of the past *-sh ka-r(q)a-* place events as previous to the narrative past *-na:* and the past *-r(q)a*, respectively.

FIGURE 2.1.— SCQ TENSE FORMS PLACE EVENTS RELATIVE TO EACH OTHER IN TIME
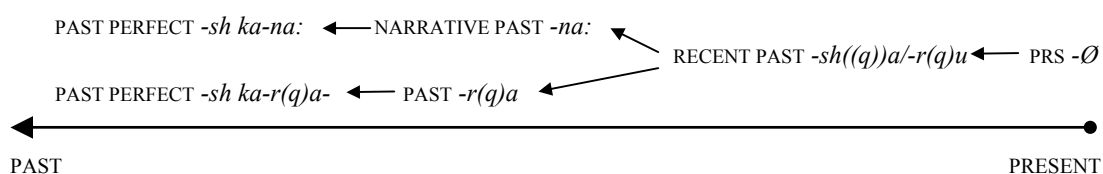
PAST PERFECT *-sh ka-na:* ⟵ NARRATIVE PAST *-na:*

RECENT PAST *-sh((q))a/-r(q)u* ⟵ PRS *-Ø*

PAST PERFECT *-sh ka-r(q)a-* ⟵ PAST *-r(q)a*

PAST   PRESENT

Other markers place events in past time without placing them in time in relation to other past events. The mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* indicates that an event was surprising and that it happened in the past. In the corpus of data, the mirative

64

-sh ka-sh((q)a) does not indicate that the event happened previous to a recent event marked with *-sh((q)a)* or *-r(q)u*, though it was possible to elicit it with a past perfect meaning. Note that the language does not need the mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* to place an event in time previous to an event that happened in the recent past because the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* serve this purpose.

Finally, the habitual past *-q* indicates that an event happened repeatedly or habitually in the past. It does not place events in past time in relation to other events that occurred in the past.

In this chapter I have focused on how tense markers are used to place events in time. In chapter 3, we will see that two SCQ past tense markers are associated with evidential meaning.

3   Tense and evidentiality

> Temporal distance may be only one of the
> semantic factors that underlie an opposition
> between two verbal categories.
> —Dahl (1984:113)

The use of tense interacts with the use of evidentials in many languages of the world, including Quechua. The data in this chapter demonstrate that the choice made between two SCQ past tenses (the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:*) depends on whether the source of evidence was firsthand or secondhand and/or whether the situation is being talked about from the speaker's perspective or a reported perspective (§5.2.1). Secondly, the data also show that evidential marking does not occur in every sentence in discourse, but that it occurs in patterns linked to tense marker usage and to change in source of evidence or in the speaker's perspective. While both findings boost our understanding of the relationship of tense to evidentiality, the first one is crucial to answering the research question of the dissertation, "Why is one tense form, rather than another, chosen at a given point in discourse?"

In relation to the interaction of tense with evidentiality in other languages, Aikhenvald (2003:2) notes that while evidentiality may be independent of tense-aspect choice, in some languages evidential markers are fused with tense-aspect markers, and in others, choices among evidential categories correlate

with tense or aspect. She presents a correlation between tense and evidentiality in Tariana (2004:2-3) and also references work on several other languages (2004:261-7). Documentation of the interaction of tense with evidentiality includes Barnes 1984 on Tuyuca, Blain and Déchaine 2007 on eastern dialects of Cree, DeLancey 1986 on Tibetan, Faller 2002a,b, 2003a,b, and 2004 on Cusco Quechua, Fleck 2007 on Matses, Floyd 1999 on Wanka Quechua and Woodbury 1986 on Sherpa and English. For a list of languages categorized according to the ways tense correlates with evidentiality, see Aikhenvald (2004:267).

De Haan (2005:318) observes, "Most languages that use the verbal system to code evidential distinctions do so only in the past tense." He cites Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986), who show that in Turkish, two past tenses can be used for evidential distinctions. Additionally, Leinonen and Vilkuna (2000:496ff), citing Haarmann 1970 and Dahl (1985:152), show the existence of an evidentiality-based opposition between two past tenses in Permic languages. In SCQ as well, the evidentiality-based opposition is between two past tenses, the past -r(q)a and the narrative past -na:.

In §3.1, I discuss the concepts of evidentiality and validation as applied to Quechuan languages in the literature. In §3.2, Daniel Hintz' (2006) analysis of SCQ evidential categories is summarized. The material in §3.1 and §3.2 is foundational for §3.3, which is the heart of the chapter. The evidentiality-based dichotomy in the use of the past -r(q)a and the narrative past -na: is illustrated in §3.3. The data in §3.4 show that the relationship between the past -r(q)a and the narrative past -na: is

not one of relative time, but rather, that the choice between the two markers is dependent on source of evidence. In §3.5, data from witnessed accounts, legendary narrative and conversation illustrate patterns of evidential use. These data illustrate the links between use of evidentials, use of tense markers, change in source of evidence and change in the speaker's perspective. In §3.6, I focus on how the speaker's perspective can influence the choice of evidential and tense form. In §3.7, I draw together the main findings of the chapter.

3.1 Quechua evidential enclitics

Insightful work dedicated to the treatment of the grammatical marking of evidentiality and validation in Quechua includes Adelaar 1997 on Quechua in general, Dedenbach-Salazar 1997 on the 17th century Huarochiri Quechua manuscript, Faller 2002a,b, 2003a,b and 2004 on Cusco Quechua, Floyd 1999 on Wanka Quechua, Daniel Hintz 2006 on SCQ, Nuckolls 1993 on Ecuadorian Pastaza Quechua, Stewart 1985 on Conchucos Quechua[14] and Weber 1986 on Huallaga Quechua.

In most literature on Quechua evidentials, three enclitics are discussed. For central Peruvian Quechua, these are referred to as the direct *-mi*, the reportative *-shi*, and the conjectural *-chi*. The exact forms vary somewhat by area. For instance, in

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[14] The Quechua spoken in the Conchucos area of central Peru is a dialect chain, with variation from community to community. Since the time of Stewart's work, "South Conchucos Quechua" and "North Conchucos Quechua" have come to be used to refer to the two principle varieties spoken in Conchucos. It is not possible to pinpoint exactly where in the central area of Conchucos one variety ends and the other begins, due to the nature of the dialect chain.

Cusco Quechua, while the direct -*mi* has the same form as in central Peruvian Quechua, the reportative is -*si* and the conjectural evidential is -*chá*.

In SCQ, as in many other varieties of Quechua, the direct evidential -*mi* and the reportative evidential -*shi* often appear in their apocopated forms -*m* and -*sh* after a short vowel. They retain their full forms after a consonant or a long vowel. I represent them as -*mi* and -*shi* in the prose of this document. The conjectural evidential -*chi* does not generally undergo apocope after a short vowel in SCQ.

In its narrow sense, the term *evidentiality* is used in the linguistic literature to refer to source of information (direct personal experience, report, inference), while *validation* refers to the speaker's attitude regarding the certainty of the information (certain, probable, possible). In its wider sense, the term *evidentiality* is used to encompass both source of information and validation, particularly in literature on languages where one marker can code both. Aikhenvald (2004) defines evidentiality in the narrow sense. Chafe and Nichols (1986) think of it more broadly.

Though some of the Quechua enclitics code both evidentiality and validation, I refer to them as 'evidentials', adopting the wider sense of the term *evidentiality*.

The use of the direct evidential -*mi* implies that the speaker has direct evidence of what is being stated (an evidential function), or that s/he is convinced that what s/he is stating is true without any doubt (a validational function). Speakers use the reportative -*shi* to pass on secondhand information (an evidential function), generally making no claims as to its reliability. The conjectural -*chi* is used primarily to indicate the speaker's attitude that the statement s/he is making is probably true (a

validational function). It can also be considered to have an evidential function, in which the speaker's *assumption* is the source of evidence. In the use of *-chi,* speakers assume that what they are saying is probably true, based on their own reasoned analysis of generally known facts. This is a type of inference (an evidential function). See Aikhenvald (2004:2-3) on inferred and assumed evidentiality.

Hence, the direct *-mi* conveys both evidentiality and validation. The reportative *-shi* generally conveys evidentiality, and not validation. The conjectural *-chi* conveys both evidentiality and validation.

The validational meanings of *-mi* and *-chi* can be extended to serve pragmatic functions. Though this is not the focus of this chapter, I mention a few of the extensions to make clear that these markers can do more than indicate source of evidence and level of certainty. The direct *-mi* with a question has a brusque and imposing effect in SCQ, almost like a demand for information, and is generally used with a family member or friend when the speaker is angry or frustrated about something. Cerrón-Palomino (1976:108) notes that the use of *-mi* with a question is not very polite in Junín-Huanca Quechua. The conjectural *-chi* can turn a statement into a query, a gentle question, as Weber (1989:425) also notes for Huallaga Quechua. The conjectural *-chi* can also simply soften a statement, making it sound more courteous (Stewart 1985:17) for Conchucos Quechua. The conjectural *-chi* can have yet a different effect, that of making a statement sarcastic, also noted by Stewart (1985:17) and by Weber (1989:426).

I now turn to some recent findings specific to SCQ evidentiality that are foundational to understanding the data presented in §3.3.

3.2   SCQ evidential categories

Daniel Hintz (2006) finds that the direct *-mi*, the reportative *-shi,* the conjecture *-chi* and some additional evidentials are used in SCQ. He demonstrates that a number of them can be distinguished according to whether the knowledge they code is individual or shared.

Two SCQ evidentials code knowledge that has a high degree of certainty. The *-mi* enclitic codes the individual speaker's certainty, while the *-cha:* enclitic codes the shared/mutual certainty of the speaker and others. Similarly, SCQ has two evidentials that code knowledge that has a lower degree of certainty. The *-chi* enclitic codes knowledge the individual speaker holds that is less certain than that encoded by *-mi*. The *-chir* encodes knowledge held by both the speaker and the interlocutor, knowledge about which they are not entirely certain. The *-chir* enclitic is often used as an appeal, a kind way of nudging the interlocutor to confirm what has just been said. These four form a set in that they all include the speaker's personal estimation of certainty.

The *-shi* enclitic is in a separate category from these four in that it codes reported information, which is non-personal knowledge.

Having laid a foundation for understanding evidential use in SCQ, I now present data showing the evidentiality-based opposition between the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:*.

3.3　The evidentiality-based opposition between two past tenses

In order to determine whether a correlation exists between tense and evidentiality SCQ, as it does in a number of languages, I first coded Lita's *Achikay* 'Witch' and *Lamun kuru* 'Gigantic Worm', as well as the conversation between Rita and Guillermo and the one between Lita, Felipe and Elí, for tense and evidentiality, as described in §1.5.2. The two legends comprise 132 sentences, while the two conversations consist of 332 sentences.[15] Table 3.1 was then created from these data to show co-occurrences of tense forms and evidentials.

The shading in Table 3.1 highlights a dichotomy between the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* in regards to co-occurrence of evidentials. The narrative past *-na:* occurs only with the reportative *-shi*, the non-personal knowledge marker, and does not occur with any of the four evidentials associated with personal knowledge. The past *-r(q)a* occurs with all of the four evidentials associated with personal knowledge and does not co-occur with the reportative *-shi*, the non-personal knowledge marker.

Examples (38) - (41) below, show that the past *-r(q)a* occurs with situations about which the speaker is making an assertion or an assumption from his or her own point of view, often accompanied by one of the personal evidential enclitics. The narrative past *-na:* occurs when the speaker is relating a situation that is not personal knowledge, but rather, that was reported.

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[15] I consider a sentence in SCQ to contain one and not more than one finite verb. A sentence generally contains other elements as well.

A few comments on co-occurrences of other tense forms with evidentials are also in order. The recent past that came from a perfect *-sh((q)a)* occurs with all the evidential markers, demonstrating that it is not semantically linked to any particular evidential. I draw attention to this in order to contrast it with the Cusco Quechua *-sqa*, also described as a past or a perfect, which has been said to be associated with a reportative meaning (Calvo 2001, Cusihuaman 1976, Escobar 1997, Faller 2002a, Klee and Ocampo 1995 and Sanchez 2004).

The recent past *-r(q)u* does not occur with reported information. This is a consequence of the limitation on the personhood of the subjects and objects with which the recent past tense marker may occur. As described in §2.5, the recent past *-r(q)u* only occurs with first and second person subjects and with third person subjects that include the second person as an object. In regards to first person subjects, speakers would not and do not use the reportative to talk about actions they carried out themselves. In relation to second person participants, speakers are unlikely to use a reportative when talking about an action in which the interlocutor was a participant (either as subject or object), and in fact, this does not happen in data in the corpus.

All the other tense markers, including the present used as a historical present, occur with all the evidentials.

TABLE 3.1. EVIDENTIALS IN THE SAME SENTENCE AS PAST TENSE FORMS

tense forms	no evid.	high certainty knowledge		lower certainty knowledge		unspecified certainty	Total
		indiv	*shared*	*indiv*	*shared*	*reported*	
		-*mi* 'DIR'	-*cha:* 'MUT'	-*chi* 'CNJ'	-*chir* 'APP'	-*shi* 'RPT'	
-*na:* 'PST.N'	43	0	0	0	0	11	54
-*r(q)a* 'PST'	44	19	8	2	6	0	79
-*r(q)u* 'PST.R'	34	10	1	1	1	0	47
-*sh(q)a* 'PST.R3'	96	21	7	8	10	7	149
-*q* 'PST.H'	13	1	3	1	3	1	22
-Ø hist. 'PRS'	78	5	5	5	3	17	113
Total	308	56	24	17	23	36	464

Note also that, as the first column of Table 3.1 'no evid.' shows, data source is not marked in every sentence in this variety of Quechua. In fact, two-thirds (308/464) of the sentences in this set of data do not contain an evidential marker. See §3.5 for further discussion.

Examples (38) - (41) show the past -*r(q)a* used with each of the four evidentials that include the speaker's personal estimation of certainty, the direct -*mi*, the mutual -*cha:*, the conjectural -*chi* and the appeal -*chir.* Then, (42) shows the narrative past -*na:* used with the reportative -*shi,* the non-personal knowledge marker, in a legendary narrative, while (43) shows -*na:* used with -*shi* used in a real life situation.

In (38), from the segment of conversation between Rita and Guillermo on his work, Rita uses the direct -*mi* with the past -*r(q)a* in telling Guillermo that she too had read the book he was talking about. This is personal knowledge of which Rita is certain. She had carried out the action herself.

(38) The direct evidential *-mi* with the past *-r(q)a* (W47)

47   R: *Aha tsay-ta   noqa-pis [liyi-__ra__-:-__mi__.]*
           yes that-OBJ I-EVEN   read-__PST__-1-__DIR__
           'Yes, I read that too.'

In (39), as Rita tells Guillermo about the search for a lost donkey, she quotes the speech of her Aunt Victoria who was trying to help determine where the donkey had gone. Everyone there with them knew that it had rained hard and been windy. Victoria's statement about that is part of the thinking process that led to the conclusion that the donkey must have gone to look for shelter. With the use of the mutual knowledge evidential *-cha:,* Victoria establishes the statement as something they all know for certain. This is knowledge that she holds personally and that is also shared, held in common, with everyone there.

(39) The mutual knowledge evidential *-cha:* with the past *-r(q)a* (D50)

50   R: *May   tamya– tamya-__ra__-n-__cha:__ ferti   byentu-ra-n.*
           surely rain   rain-__PST__-3-__MUT__ strong be.windy-PST-3
           'It surely rained hard. It was windy.'

In 'Stolen Shoes', Rita and Guillermo were talking about something their uncle had said to their brother. In (40), Rita suggests that their uncle might have lied, using the conjectural evidential *-chi*. She does not know for certain, but believes it to be likely that he did lie. Her assumption is based on knowledge of the uncle's character. She reasons that since he has intentionally said untrue things about people in the past, his current comments were probably also uttered purposefully. This is personal knowledge that Rita arrived at through a reasoning process.

(40) The conjectural evidential *-chi* with the past *-r(q)a* (S84)

84   R: *Arde:-pis*   *ni-**ra**-n-**chi***   *tse:-qa.*
        pretense-EVEN   say-**PST**-3-**CNJ** that-TOP
        'He could even have said it as a lie.'

    Example (41) is from a conversation on cattle herding between Lita, her son Elí and a shepherd boy, Felipe, a friend of the family. Elí says to Felipe, 'You got here at dawn, right?' Elí's statement is based on their joint knowledge that this is Felipe's typical time of arrival. Elí uses the appeal evidential *-chir*, which is an invitation to Felipe to confirm it, and then immediately follows with a direct question about the time of arrival, 'What time did you get here?' to which Felipe answers, 'Seven o'clock'.

(41) The appeal evidential *-chir* with the past *-r(q)a*

    E: *Wa:ray-lla-**chir**   cha:-ra-mu-**ra**-yki*
        dawn-DLM-**APP**   arrive-PUNC-FAR-**PST**-2

        *imay   o:ra-lla   cha:-ra-mu-**ra**-yki?*
        when   hour-DLM   arrive- PUNC-FAR-**PST**-2
        'You got here at dawn, right? What time did you get here?'

    F: *Las siete.*
        the seven
        'Seven o'clock.'

    Examples have now been presented showing the past *-r(q)a* used with each of the four evidentials that include the speaker's personal estimation of certainty (the direct *-mi*, the mutual *-cha:*, the conjectural *-chi* and the appeal *-chir).* The next two examples show the narrative past *-na:* used with the reportative *-shi,* the non-personal knowledge marker.

The reportative evidential -*shi* and the narrative past -*na:* are typically used at the beginning of legendary narratives. The *Achikay* legend told by Lita has an epilogue, a story after the story. (42), the first sentence in the epilogue, is marked with the reportative evidential -*shi* and the narrative past -*na:*. The information conveyed in this sentence is non-personal knowledge for the storyteller. The story had been passed down to her from her grandparents.

(42) The reportative evidential -*shi* with the narrative past -*na:* in a folktale

L: *Tsay-**shi**= hunish-chu Tayta Dyos um,|| ...aswana-man,*
   that-**RPT** heaven-LOC father god um clay.pot-ALL

   *wiña-tsi-**na:** tsay wamra-pa tullu-n-ta.*
   pour-CAUS-**PST.N** that child-GEN bone-3-OBJ

   'Then in heaven Father God poured that child's bones into a clay pot.'

In one part of her conversation with Guillermo, Rita tells him about a theft in their community and the search for the thief. In (43), she uses the reportative -*shi* with the narrative past -*na:* when explaining that the victim of the theft had reportedly gone to school with a man named Damian. This is non-personal knowledge for Rita, information that had been passed around in the community.

(43) The reportative evidential -*shi* with the narrative past -*na:* in real life (S43)

43   R: *Damian-wan-**shi** huntu estudya-**na:**,*
         Damian-COM-**RPT** together study-**PST.N**
         'He had gone to school with Damian.'

These examples show that the past -*r(q)a* occurs with situations about which the speaker is making an assertion or an assumption based on what s/he knows, and from his or her perspective, and that -*r(q)a* can be accompanied by the direct -*mi*, the

mutual *-cha:*, the conjectural *-chi* or the appeal *-chir*. The narrative past *-na:* occurs

when the speaker is reporting something that was told to him or her, which is

non-personal knowledge.

3.4   Relationship between the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:*

The data in this section show that the relationship between the past *-r(q)a* and

the narrative past *-na:* is not one of relative time. Rather, it is keyed to evidentiality,

as shown in the preceding section.

When a speaker has been using the past *-r(q)a* to talk about a situation that s/he

observed, s/he can switch to the narrative past *-na:* to step back and talk about a

previous situation s/he did not observe, as in (44). In this part of the conversation

between Rita and Guillermo, Rita said that her donkey was not the only one that had

wandered off. Guillermo's had wandered off and been found at the threshing floor

(line 82). It wandered off because no one had been looking after it (line 83).

In (44) and (45), the evidential qualities are enclosed in curly brackets, as in

{witnessed}, at the right hand side. The references to time are in parentheses, as in

(previous in time).

(44) The narrative past *-na:* with an unobserved situation (D83)

82	R: *I*	*qam-pa-pis*	*ka-**ra**-n,*
	and	you-GEN-EVEN	be-**PST**-3

       'And yours **was PAST** there too.   {witnessed}

83	*Bu:rru-yki-ta*	*ka:su-ya:-**na:**-tsu.*
	donkey-2-OBJ	pay.attention-PL.V-**PST.N**-NEG

       They **hadn't paid any attention**   {not witnessed}
       NARRATIVE PAST to your donkey.'   (previous in time)

Conversely, when a speaker is using the narrative past *-na:* in telling about a situation s/he did not observe, s/he can switch to the past *-r(q)a* to step back to talk about a previous situation s/he witnessed, as in (45).Rita had not observed the unveiling of the stolen goods (line 56). She had personally heard people say that individuals from Pacash had stolen the shoes (line 58). She uses the mutual evidential *-cha:*, rather than the direct *-mi*, in line 58 to establish with Guillermo that he now knows this too. He would have no trouble accepting the certainty of her statement, because the inhabitants of Pacash are known for thievery.

(45) The past *-r(q)a* with a witnessed event (S58)

54   *Tsay-na doña   Ado:ra-qa ari,|| um "Kay-cho:-cha: ka-yka-Ø-n.*
        that-NOW madame Adora-TOP yes   um   this-LOC-MUT be-CONT-PRS-3
        'Then Mrs. Adora, "Here it is.

55   *Ama-ri   pi-ta-pis   willa-ku-yku-ya-y-tsu". || ni-r-nin,*
        no-SURE   who-OBJ-EVEN inform-MID-PFV.O-PL.V-IMP2-NEG say-SS-3
        Don't you tell anybody," saying,

56   *...hipi-mu-__na:__   chachak   qepi-sha-ta*
         take.out-FAR-__PST.N__ very.tight wrap.up-PTCP-OBJ

       tsay-chu Walter-pa   sapatu-n-ta-pis.
        that-LOC Walter-GEN shoe-3-OBJ-EVEN
        she **took out** __NARRATIVE PAST__ a tightly tied bundle   {not witnessed}
        with Walter's shoes inside too.'

57   G: *[Bes=cha:].*
        how.awful
        'How awful.'

58   R: *[I= Walter-pa   sapatu-n-pa:-qa] "Paqash-kuna-sh apa-sh"*
        and Walter-GEN shoe-3-PURP-TOP   Pacash-PL.N-RPT take-PST.R3

       ni-ya-__ra__-n-__cha:__.
       say-PL.V-__PST__-3-__MUT__
       'And about Walter's shoes they **had said**, __PAST__   {witnessed}
       "Those people from Pacash stole them".'   (previous in time)

In both of these examples with switches, from past to narrative past in (44) and conversely, from narrative past to past in (45), the situation mentioned second happened previous in time to the situation mentioned first. The fact that the switch can go both ways with prior situations indicates that the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* are not on a strict time line in relation to one another and that a factor other than placement of events in time is motivating the switch. In both (44) and (45), the speaker needed to switch tense forms due to a change in source of evidence.

The data in §3.3 and §3.4 have shown that the choice made between two SCQ past tenses (the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:*) depends on whether the source of evidence was firsthand or secondhand and/or whether the situation is being talked about from the speaker's perspective or a reported perspective. In the next section, I examine how the use of tense and evidentials patterns in discourse.

3.5   Tense and evidential patterning in discourse

Aikhenvald (2004:310) writes, "Evidentials are often conceptualized as genre markers, or 'tokens' of a narrative. There is then an expectation that a story describing a particular kind of knowledge will contain an established, conventionalized evidential." She also notes, "If the evidentiality choice is linked to a choice made in a tense system, or if evidentiality marking is fused with tense, the combination of a tense plus an evidential marker becomes a typical feature of a narrative" (2004:310).

In SCQ, at the beginning of narratives that were witnessed by the speaker or in which the speaker was a participant, the direct *-mi* is used together with the past

-r(q)a. In contrast, at the beginning of legends and other reported material, the reportative *-shi* is usually used with the narrative past *-na:* to identify the material as reported. In many SCQ narratives, these genre-identifying markers are not repeated at all as the series of events unfolds. In other SCQ narratives, the markers are repeated, but not in every sentence. Stewart, also writing on Conchucos Quechua, observes that after the source has been identified, evidentials are not used in subsequent sentences under the scope of the event or in the summary (1985:30-5).

San Martin Quechua is like SCQ in that after the source has been identified, the evidential does not need to be repeated (Coombs, Coombs, and Weber 1976:149-50). Wanka Quechua is distinct from SCQ and San Martín Quechua in regards to evidential patterning. While sentences are not all marked with evidentials in conversational Wanka, in narrative legendary material, each sentence is marked with the reportative *-shi* (Floyd 1999:133-50). Floyd suggests that this is due to a "discourse level grammaticalization" and that the reportative marking is principally a characteristic feature of the genre, not an indicator of hearsay (1999:135).

The pattern found in San Martín Quechua and in many SCQ narratives is also found in an American Indian language that was spoken in northern California. The Wintu reportative "is not suffixed to every single verb of a story known through hearsay, but rather only to the verb in the first sentence…establishing a frame for the whole story" (Schlichter 1986:49).

Aikhenvald (2004:1) writes that in about a quarter of the world's languages, the specification of source of evidence is necessary in every statement. Tariana, on

which she has worked extensively, is a prime example. In other words, evidential marking is 'obligatory' in these languages. Even in Tariana, though, evidential marking is not present in some statements in which the evidential value is apparent from the context (Aikhenvald 2004:78-9).

In SCQ, evidential marking is far from required in every statement. Table 3.2 (an extension of Table 3.1) shows that of the 464 finite clauses in the Access data base with a past tense verb, only 156, or 34%, have an evidential marker in the sentence.

TABLE 3.2.   PERCENTAGES OF SENTENCES WITH PAST FORMS WITH EVIDENTIALS

tense form in the sentence	no evid.	sentences with evidentials / total sentences with this tense form	percentage of sentences with an evidential
-na: 'PST.N'	43	11/54	20%
-r(q)a 'PST'	44	35/79	44%
-r(q)u 'PST.R'	34	13/47	28%
-sh(q)a 'PST.R3'	96	53/149	36%
-q 'PST.H'	13	9/22	41%
-Ø hist. 'PRS'	78	35/113	31%
Total	308	156/464	34%

These findings are particularly interesting because they contrast with a commonly held view on evidential-validation marking in Quechua in general. Adelaar and Muysken (2004:210) report that "the validity of the source from which the information was drawn, either through personal witness, hearsay, or conjecture is consistently marked in most declarative sentences." The low percentage of sentences with an evidential in the SCQ data (34%) may be due to the fact that these data consist largely of naturally occurring conversation with embedded narratives, while

much of the linguistic literature on Quechua is based on legendary narratives and written material such as the Huarochiri manuscript. Additionally, it appears that Quechua languages vary in patterns of evidential usage, just as they vary in tense usage and in other ways.

Evidential usage in Shipibo-Konibo, spoken in the Peruvian jungle, seems to pattern similarly to SCQ evidential usage. Valenzuela (2003:540) writes that once the evidential value of the information has been established in a Shipibo-Konibo text, evidential markers can be left out in clauses under the "scope" of a previous overt evidential. She considers evidentiality to be "obligatory" in the sense that the evidential value of each utterance is clear, due to evidentiality having been marked grammatically at an earlier point in the discourse. As in SCQ, when there is a switch in evidential value, this must be indicated overtly.

In SCQ, evidential marking is not "obligatory" in all sentences. Neither is it "optional" in all sentences. At some points in SCQ discourse, evidentials are necessary, while at other points they are not required. In subsequent sections, I describe their patterns of occurrence and the way they pattern with certain tense markers according to genre.

My impressions are that evidential marking is generally necessary at the outset of a discourse, and that it is always necessary when the source of evidence or perspective of the speaker changes. Speakers often reinforce an evidential value that was established at the outset, especially when switching tenses or when using the present as a historical present. Additionally, speakers specify the source of

information of an utterance or give evidence of their perspective when they sense that the interlocutor may not be aware of it.

It is worth pointing out that speakers do not all follow the same patterns. Weber (1989:423) notes that one Huallaga Quechua speaker typically does not use the direct *-mi* with situations in which many other Huallaga Quechua speakers do use it, such as in personal narratives, procedural descriptions, and descriptions of prototypical cultural events. This speaker only uses the direct *-mi* when there could be some question about the source of information.

I now provide SCQ examples to illustrate tense and evidential patterning in discourse, first from witnessed accounts, then from legends and finally, in conversation.

3.5.1   In witnessed accounts

In (46), Rita begins an account about a lost donkey in which she was a participant, with the direct evidential *-mi* and the past *-r(q)a.* The use of these two markers together establishes a frame for the whole story. With the use of these markers, a speaker declares the account to be valid. The assessment is generally based on his or her participation in the events or observation of them.

(46) The direct evidential *-mi* and the past *-r(q)a,* directly witnessed (D6-7)

6   R: ...(H) *Tsay o:ra-qa-**m**,* ‖   *...Ninfi:tu ari bu:rru-ntsi:-qa,*
             that hour-TOP-**DIR** Ninfa   yes donkey-1I-TOP
         ‘At that time, Ninfa, our donkey,

7   *pi pri:ma-ntsi: Dina-pa ka-q wayi-n-kaq-chu ka-yka:-mu-**rqa**-n.*
        who cousin-1I   Dina-GEN be-AG house-3-DEF-LOC be-CONT-FAR-**PST**-3
        was over by our cousin Dina’s house.’

Through the rest of the story, she does not feel the need to reinforce the source of evidence through the use of direct evidential *-mi*, even though the interlocutor interjects 15 comments and three questions. The ‘Donkey’ narrative comprises 50 sentences, not including directly quoted material or the comments and questions by the interlocutor.

With the exception of two uses of the appeal evidential *-chir* with the time terms ‘about 4 or 5 p.m.’ and ‘about 8 p.m.’ and two uses of the mutual evidential *-cha:*, Rita does not use additional evidentials. In relation to tense, in this story she uses the past *-r(q)a*, the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u*, the zero-marked present as a historical present, the narrative past *-na:* and two past perfects. In other words, the direct evidential *-mi* together with the past *-r(q)a* are not used all the way through, but only at the beginning to establish that the speaker certifies the information in the account.

Another example comes from a formal 13-minute presentation Guillermo made to the community about the guard force, a local vigilante group in 1993. After telling how the guard force program had started in Peru, he reviewed what the community’s own local guard force had accomplished and then explained the rationale for

disbanding the guard force in their community. In this speech, composed of 78 sentences, he begins with a greeting to everyone, tells what he is going to talk about and invites their comments. In (15), the first sentence following the introductory material, he uses the direct evidential *-mi* and the past *-r(q)a.* The use of these two markers together conveys that the speaker attests the validity of what he is saying.

(47) The direct evidential *-mi* and the past *-r(q)a,* directly witnessed

  G: *Tse: Ronda   yarqa-mu-**ra**-n   departamentu de Cajamarca-pita-**m**.*
   that   guard.force   come.out-FAR-**PST**-3   department   of   Cajamarca-ABL-**DIR**
   'That guard force (concept) came from the department of Cajamarca.'

This pair of markers is used on only two other occasions in the speech, both times as 'boundary markers'. That is, they mark ending points or starting points of segments of his presentation. He uses the direct evidential *-mi* an additional 43 times, but with other tenses, most typically the recent past and the present as a historical present.

A question remains for further research. Why did Guillermo repeat the use of *-mi* so often in his account, while Rita did not repeat it in hers? It may have to do with the 'formal presentation' genre he was using, or with the gravity of the life and death matters he was talking about. In contrast, Rita was simply telling her brother about something amusing that had happened, in a light-hearted way.

The accounts from which both (46) and (47) are taken show that the direct evidential *-mi* used together with the past *-r(q)a* can establish a frame in which the speaker "certifies" the information. In the remainder of the narrative, the direct

evidential *-mi* may be repeated, as in the guard force account, but it is not required in each sentence.

I now turn to the use of the reportative evidential *-shi* and the narrative past *-na:* in legendary narrative.

3.5.2   In legendary narrative

While the reportative evidential *-shi* and the narrative past *-na:* are used together repeatedly in some legends and folktales, in much other legendary material, they are found primarily in the beginning sentence or sentences.

Three elements are generally used at the start of a legend or folktale to identify the genre, to establish the 'legend' frame. These are *Unay* 'once upon a time', the reportative *-shi* and the narrative past *-na:*. After that, the narrative past *-na:* and any other tense markers are often used alone, without evidential marking. The reportative *-shi* and the narrative past *-na:* are sometimes used together at the end, as if to close the frame.

Example (48) is the initial part of the folktale *Mana musyaq runa* 'The naïve man', told by a 16-year old boy, Pablo from Huaripampa to his aunt, Rita. The reportative *-shi* is used together with the narrative past *-na:* in each of the first two sentences of the story. The two markers are also used together once in the middle of the story, and again in the last sentence. The story consists of 37 sentences. The narrative past *-na:* is the only tense form used in the story, excluding direct quoted speech. The narrative past *-na:* occurs 34 times without the reportative *-shi* or any other evidential.

The first two sentences of the story, lines 1-2 and lines 3-4 of (48), show the

reportative *-shi* together with the narrative past *-na:*. These are followed by line 5, in

which only the narrative past *-na:* is used.

(48) The narrative past *-na:* and the reportative *-shi* at the start of a folktale

1 P: ***Unay-shi***   *juk mana ima-ta-pis*   *musya-q runa aywa-ku-**na:** Li:ma-pa.*
      long.ago-RPT one no   what-OBJ-EVEN know-AG man go-MID-**PST.N** lima-GEN
      'Once upon a time a man who didn't know anything went to Lima.

2   *Juk serra:nu   runa.*
       one from.mountains man
       A man from the mountains.

3   *Tsay-**shi** Li:ma-man cha-yku-r-qa,*
       that-**RPT** Lima-ALL   arrive-PFV.O-SS-TOP
       Then, after getting to Lima,

4   *burriku-n-ta   wata-yku-**na:**   juk posti-man.*
       donkey-3-OBJ tie-PFV.O-**PST.N** one post-ALL
       he tied his donkey to a post.

5   *I   pase   ishpa-na:-**na:**.*
       and very.much urinate-DES-**PST.N**
       He really needed to go to the restroom.'

In the last sentence of the story, (49), the narrative past *-na:* is used together

with the reportative *-shi.* Their use helps to indicate that this is the end of the story.

(49) The narrative past -*na:* and the reportative -*shi* at the end of a folktale

37   *Ni-pti-n-na-**sh***   *pare:ja-qa na-qa*   *enamura:du*
        say-DS-3-NOW-**RPT** couple-TOP um-TOP   male.lover

        jayta-r   *qarqa-ska-mu-**na:**,*
         kick-SS   throw.out-PFV-FAR-**PST.N**

        allaw   *mana musya-q runa-ta-qa.*
        poor.thing no   know-AG man-OBJ-TOP
        'As soon as he said that, the couple, the man of the couple that is, threw the man
        who didn't know anything out, kicking him, poor thing.'

In some legendary narratives, such as in Lita's *Achika*y 'Witch' and *Lamun Kuru* 'Gigantic Worm', after the frame has been established, a wide assortment of tense forms are used, with few evidentials. These two legendary narratives comprise a total of 132 sentences, not including directly quoted material. Lita begins each one, and their epilogues as well, with the reportative evidential -*shi* and the narrative past -*na:*. Example (50) is the first sentence of the epilogue to the *Lamun Kuru* legend.

(50) The narrative past -*na:* and the reportative -*shi* at the start of an epilogue

   L: *Tsay-**shi** tsay-wan kasara-ku-**na:***   *a:nir ari*
      that-**RPT** that-COM marry-MID-**PST.N** so   surely

      tsay ...Uku Maria-pa   tsuri-n-qa.
      that   Uku Maria-GEN son-3-TOP
      'So then he married her, surely, that son of Uku Maria.'

See also (55) on page 129 for the beginning of the *Achikay* story, and (42) on page 77 for the beginning of the epilogue to the *Achikay* story.

In these two legends, Lita uses the combination of the reportative -*shi* and the narrative past -*na:* only two additional times, both of them with explanatory

material. Those are, 'They say mice could talk in those days' and 'They say the worm's mouth was this big'.

These data show that just as the direct *-mi* and the past *-r(q)a* can be used to establish a frame for a narrative witnessed or attested by the speaker, the reportative *-shi* and the narrative past *-na:* can be used to establish a frame for reported, legendary material as the story begins.

As mentioned above, Lita also uses other tense forms and evidentials in these two legendary narratives. In addition to the narrative past *-na:*, she uses the past *-r(q)a*, recent past *-sh((q)a)*, the zero-marked present as a historical present and the habitual past *-q*. When switching to the zero-marked historical present or to the habitual *-q*, Lita often uses the reportative *-shi* to reinforce the fact that the story is reported information. When she switches to the recent past *-sh((q)a)*, though, she does not use an evidential. The source of evidence established in the preceding utterances seems to carry over to utterances in which the recent past *-sh((q)a)* is used. In conversation however, speakers often do use an evidential when they switch to the recent past *-sh((q)a)*.

Why is this? Once the source of evidence is established as 'reported' in a legendary narrative, that evidential value continues as the events unfold, unless the speaker interrupts the narrative to make a comment or ask a question from her own perspective. When the speaker interrupts to do either of these things, evidential marking is required, because the perspective has changed from a reported perspective to the speaker's perspective. While an established evidential value

'holds' through a legendary narrative (barring interruption), in conversation, evidential values shift frequently. Unless a speaker enters into a narrative of one type or another, source of evidence and perspective vary greatly as speakers take turns talking. The recent past -*sh((q)a)* often takes evidential marking in conversation in order to specify these evidential values, as in lines 2, 3, 5, 20 and 25 of (51) below.

A more complete answer to this question awaits further research. Additional conversation and legendary narrative should be examined to discover for certain why a switch to the recent past -*sh((q)a)* is accompanied by evidential marking in conversation but not in legendary narrative.

3.5.3   In conversation

It is my impression that in conversation, evidentials are used more often and in greater variety than in narrative. Evidential markers are used at change points, such as when the discourse topic shifts and a new source of evidence needs to be given or when a speaker is shifting perspective. These change points occur more frequently in conversation than in narrative.

In (51), a segment of conversation preceding the 'Stolen shoes' narrative, seven evidentials are used in the 14 sentences. In other words, 50% of the sentences have evidentials, compared with 10% in the 'Donkey' narrative and 29% in Lita's two legendary narratives.

Based on observations from other segments of conversation, I believe the evidential use in (51) to be representative of SCQ conversation in general. To ascertain this, evidentials could be counted in a larger body of conversational

material. Since conversation includes spontaneous narratives, it would be necessary to remove as much as possible of the narrative out of a body of conversation data and then count the evidentials.

SCQ conversational data also appear to demonstrate greater variety in evidential usage than narrative does. For instance, in lines 2-17 of (51), from 'Stolen Shoes', there are four tokens of the mutual evidential *-cha:*, and one each of the direct *-mi*, the appeal *-chir* and the reportative *-shi*. In (51), conversational participants use *-mi* to establish a statement as something they personally certify (line 2), switch to *-cha:* to confirm that they both know something (lines 3, 5, 20, 27), use *-shi* with reported information (line 13) and *-chir* with a query to confirm something of which they are not completely certain (line 25). New evidential marking is needed at every point of change in source of evidence, level of certainty or individual vs. shared knowledge.

Due to the many points of change that necessitate distinct evidential marking as conversationalists interact, it is reasonable to expect that conversation would have a higher frequency of evidential use and greater variety than narrative does.

(51) Seven evidentials in 14 sentences of conversation (S2-27)

2 R: *[Ko:sa-**m** fyesta] ka-**shqa**.*
   very.good-**DIR** festival be-**PST.R3**
   'The festival was really great.

3   *...Ayash banda-**cha:** aq ura-kaq aywa-**sh** ...na-man. ‖ Juanitu-man.*
    Ayash band-**MUT** oh below-DEF go-**PST.R3** thing-ALL Juanito-ALL
    The band from Ayash went down below to [word search], to Juanito's.'

4 G: *uh huh,*
   uh huh
   'uh huh,'

5   R: *...Hana-kaq-na-__cha:__   na-chu   tuka-__sh__.*
         above-DEF-NOW-__MUT__ thing-LOC play.instr-__PST.R3__
         'The other played up above where [word search].'

6   G: *Pisa:rru-chu.*
         Pizarro.dancer-LOC
         'Where the Pizarro dancers (were).'

7   R: *mhm.*
         mhm
         'mhm.'

8   G: *Ko:sa-ku   pisa:rru-kuna-qa   ka-ya-__sh__?*
         very.good-Q.P Pizarro.dancer-PL.N-TOP be-PL.V-__PST.R3__
         'Were the Pizarro dancers good?'

9   R: *Aw.*
         yes
         'Yes.'

10   G: *Pi: pi-ta: tushu-ya-__sh__.*
         who who-Q.C dance-PL.V-__PST.R3__
         'Who, who danced (as Pizarros)?'

11   R: *...Tushu-__shqa__   Manuel,|| ...Vidal Sancho,|| ...sobri:nu-n,*
         dance-__PST.R3__ Manuel   Vidal Sancho   nephew-3
         'Manuel danced, Vidal Sancho, his nephew,

12   *Nirkur   uh= tushu-yka-__ra__-n   na-pis.*
         in.addition uh   dance-CONT-__PST__-3 thing-EVEN
         In addition what's his name (Arturo) was dancing too.

13   *...Arturo-pis   ni-ka-sha-n-ta-qa   qeshya-na-r-__shi__   aywa-ku-__na:__,*
          Arturo-EVEN say-PASS-NMLZ.R-3-OBJ-TOP be.sick-DES-SS-__RPT__ go-MID-__PST.N__
         Then because Arturo got sick, he left.

14   *I= tushu-__sh__   ka-__shqa__   tiyu-ntsi: Mariu-pa   tsay papi-n-lla-na.*
         and dance-__PTCP__ be-__PST.R3__ uncle-1₁ Mario-GEN that papi-3-DLM-NOW
         And then our Uncle Mario's son danced.'

15   G: *A=.*
        oh
        'Oh.'

16   R: *...Ari,*
          yes
        'Yes,

17   *Na-kuna-ta   qaya-pa:-ya-**ra**-n   palla-ta-no: yuriwa-kuna-lla-ta.*
         thing-PL.N-OBJ call-BEN-PL.V-**PST**-3 dancer-OBJ-SIM dancer-PL.N-DLM-OBJ
         'They insisted that the yuriwa dancers were palla dancers, as if they were palla
         dancers.'

18   G: *@@@.*

19   R: *@*

20   G: *... ☺Palla-**cha:**   ☺ka-**sh**-tsu-qa.*
              dancer-**MUT**   be-**PST.R3**-NEG-TOP
         'There were no palla dancers.'

21   R: *uh huh.*
         uh huh.
         'Right.

22   *...I= ko:sa   [ka-**sh**.]*
          and very.good be-**PST.R3**
         And it was very good.'

23   G: *[Ketal]   ketal   lindu [₂fyesta-qa].*
                            how.about.that how.about.that pretty   festival-TOP
         'How about that, how about that, pretty festival.'

24   R: *[₂Ari.]*
                                                           yes
         'Yes.'

25   G: *Borrache:ra-**chir** alla:pa ka-**sh**?*
        drunkenness-**APP** very   be-**PST.R3**
        'Was there a lot of drunkenness?'

26   R: *Pase:pa.*
        very
        'Too much.

27   *Shinqiru-wan   runa   pas   diya-man-na-qa   wara:-mu-**ra**-n*
        hot.drink-COM   person very day-ALL-NOW-TOP   dawn-FAR-**PST**-3

        *mashta-ra-r-ra:-**cha:**,*
        spread.out-DUR-SS-YET-**MUT**

        Due to the alcoholic beverage (the night before), on the main day of the festival
        people greeted the morning all sprawled out,'

3.6   Evidentiality and distancing oneself

Source of evidence, relative certainty, individual vs. shared knowledge and

speaker perspective are all factors that help to determine choice of evidential marker

in SCQ. In this section I present another angle on *perspective*. The reportative *-shi*

may be used to distance oneself from the situation being described, presenting it as if

from someone else's perspective. As Haviland (1996:303) writes, "…evidential

embellishment to speech can be seen as a kind of metaphorical movement. One

distances oneself from an utterance by suggesting that it comes from another's

mouth; or one embraces the vantage point of another, taking it as one's own."

In Ecuadorian Pastaza Quechua, a speaker can represent his or her own

perspective by using the direct evidential *-mi*, and can use the reportative *-shi* to

"assert or to project a focus from someone else's perspective" (Nuckolls 1993:249).

Aikhenvald (2004:320), like Haviland, sees this use of the reportative as a way of

distancing oneself from an event.

This also happens in SCQ, as can be observed in the 'Stolen Shoes' narrative, analyzed in chapter 5. The reportative *-shi* often occurs with the narrative past *-na:* with situations the speaker wants to distance herself from, situations involving thievery and deception. She feels ashamed that members of her community would do things like this. She does not want to claim any association with these actions, wants to distance herself from them, and presents them as from 'another'.

In SCQ, the evidential suffixes that pair with the past *-r(q)a* give the speaker's perspective on a piece of knowledge (or the mutual perspective shared by the speaker and someone else). They indicate whether this knowledge is seen as certain, marked with the direct *-mi* or the mutual *-cha:*, or not so certain, marked with the conjectural *-chi* or the appeal *-chir*. The reportative *-shi* is the only evidential suffix that marks some 'other' person's perspective on a piece of knowledge.

3.7   Interaction of tense and evidentiality in SCQ

As was shown in chapter 2, the primary meaning of both the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* has to do with placing events in time in the past, and in particular, as previous to events marked with the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u*. The data in this chapter have shown that the meanings of the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* are further specified by evidential factors. The past *-r(q)a* is used when the source of evidence is firsthand or when the situation is being talked about from the speaker's perspective. The narrative past *-na:* is used when the source of evidence is secondhand or when the speaker would like to give a reported perspective. The

choice between the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* is based on these evidential factors.

In reference to tense and evidential patterning in discourse, the past *-r(q)a* pairs with the direct evidential *-mi* at the beginning of accounts witnessed by the speaker or of which the speaker is certain. Likewise, the narrative past *-na:* pairs with the reportative *-shi* at the beginning of reported, legendary material. After establishing the frame for the account, it is not necessary to repeat these tense-evidential pairs. They are sometimes repeated in closing statements, serving as 'bookends'.

As the events of a witnessed account unfold, the speaker does not necessarily repeat the direct *-mi*, even when shifting tenses. Likewise, in the progression of events in a reported account, even when shifting to another tense, the speaker is not required to use the reportative *-shi*. To make a comment from another perspective, though, the speaker must use the appropriate evidential marker.

This concludes Part 2, in which I have focused on the primary meaning of the tense forms under discussion. I have shown that placement in past time is a part of the meaning of each of them and that the meanings of two of them are further delimited by evidentiality. In Part 3, I explore how the primary meaning of tense, to place events in time, is extended to serve pragmatic functions.

PART THREE – Tense, affect and narrative structure

4   Links between tense, affect and narrative structure

> …it has increasingly come to be recognized that the functions of tense in discourse— particularly **narrative** discourse— are frequently not limited to the basic REFERENTIAL function [grammatical function] of locating events in time.
>
> —Fleischman (1989:2)

Placement in time, the primary meaning of tense, can be extended to other functions, namely, the expression of affect and the indication of narrative structure. While several scholars have linked tense form variation with narrative structure, as mentioned in chapter 1, very little has been said about the relationship of tense to affect. See §4.1.3.

In chapter 2, SCQ data were provided to illustrate how tense forms are used to place events in time. In chapter 3, counts of SCQ tense forms co-occurring with evidential forms showed that source of evidence is linked to two of the tense forms. The narrative past *-na:* is only used with the reportative evidential *-shi*, while the past *-r(q)a* is used with all the evidential markers except for the reportative *-shi*.

Having shown how tense is linked to evidentiality, I focus in chapter 4 on the links between tense and affect and between tense and narrative structure. Toward the end of the chapter, I show the inter-relationships of all four factors: placement in *time*, specification of *source of evidence,* expression of *affect* and indication of *narrative structure*. The patterns are then illustrated in chapters 5 and 6. Before

exploring how placement in time is extended to other functions in SCQ, I first lay groundwork on affect and on narrative structure.

4.1 On affect

As Labov (1984:43) writes, "If grammatical descriptions don't take social and emotional expression into account, and their effect on the underlying system, they will be incomplete and even misleading...". This point is well taken in relation to the analysis of SCQ verbal tense. If affect is not considered as part of the analysis, many uses of verbal tense forms in SCQ discourse are inexplicable.

Though the role of prosody and the lexicon in the communication of affect has been fairly well documented, less research has been done on the expression of affect through grammatical resources. Suzuki (2006:2) laments that mainstream linguistics in Western traditions has paid relatively little attention to the expression of affect in language. Linguists working on Japanese, though, have paid considerably more attention to the grammatical expression of affect (e.g., Clancy 1999, Maynard 1993 and 2002, Suzuki 1979[1824], Suzuki 2006, and Yamada 1936). Suzuki (2006:3) cites Yamada (1936:888) as defining the study of grammar as *ningen no shisoo kanjoo o gengo nite arawasu hoohoo no kenkyuu* 'the study of methods in which humans express ideas and emotions linguistically', showing that Japanese linguists have understood the connection between grammar and affect for some time.

In the same vein as Suzuki 2006, Besnier, a linguistic anthropologist, writes (1990:420) that affect has been considered to be "too slippery an area of language for 'scientific' investigation". He explains, "Mainstream linguists define referential

meaning as their area of inquiry, and sociolinguists have made headway in understanding how language interlocks with various social processes. But affect has been consistently set aside as an essentially unexplorable aspect of linguistic behavior..." Both Besnier (1990) and Caffi and Janney (1994) are concerned with advancing the study of language and affect, Besnier from a cultural point of view and Caffi and Janney from the point of view of pragmatics.

4.1.1   Morphosyntactic features can signal affect

Ochs and Schieffelin, in a seminal cross-linguistic study of the expression of affect in language, propose that "beyond the function of communicating referential information, languages are responsive to the fundamental need of speakers to convey and assess feelings, moods, dispositions and attitudes" (1989:9). They believe this need to be just as critical and as human as that of describing events, and I agree. The SCQ data show that in addition to placing events in time, tense forms may also be used to convey feelings and attitudes.

Both Labov (1984) and Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) show that languages use a variety of morphosyntactic and discourse features, including tense-aspect marking, to intensify and specify attitudes and feelings. Providing evidence from 21 languages, Ochs and Schieffelin (1989) effectively argue that while intonation and the lexicon can indicate affect, affective functions can also be carried out by components of syntax. Ochs and Schieffelin show that almost any aspect of the linguistic system that is variable is a candidate for expressing affect.

In addition to the lexicon, some affect specifiers across languages listed by Ochs and Schieffelin (1989:15) include "verb voice (e.g. the adversative passive in Japanese and Thai; the active voice to indicate negative affect in Malagasy), affixes (e.g. the elaborate nominal suffixes in Italian expressing positive and negative affect such as *-ino, -etto, -accio, -uccio, -otto, -one*; the extensive verbal suffixes in Kaluli expressing annoyance, sadness, surprise and support; in Japanese and Dyirbal, affixes that encode positive or negative orientations to a possible future event), particles (e.g., in Samoan, particles used to convey negative affect), determiners (e.g., in Samoan, the sympathy-marked determiner), conjunctions (e.g., the 'if only' conjunction in English to signal positive affect to some possible event or situation), intonation, and voice quality."

Ochs and Schieffelin (1989:15) observe that many structures simply encode 'positive affect' (which may cover happiness, excitement, love, sympathy) or 'negative affect' (which may cover sadness, worry, anger, disappointment). Verbal tense in SCQ also specifies a range of affective meanings, rather than pinpointing a precise affective meaning.[16]

4.1.2   Use of the term "Affect" in this work

SCQ verbal tense has affective functions in addition to its semantic function of placing a situation in time. Following Izard (1977:65) and Ochs and Schieffelin (1989:7), I consider affect to be a broader term than emotion. My use of the term

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[16] In this work, I will not attempt to discuss all the ways that affect is expressed morphosyntactically in SCQ, just the expression of affect associated with tense markers.

includes not only feelings, but also attitudes associated with people and situations. In other words, it includes stance as well as feelings. Speakers can display positive or negative attitudes or feelings about people or the situations under discussion, and this can be reflected in the tense form they use. Verbal tense can also have a mirative affective function; that is, it can express surprise.

4.1.3 Primary affects

Silvan S. Tomkins, a psychologist and influential theorist on emotion, documents types of primary affect in his various works, beginning with Tomkins 1962 on the positive affects and Tomkins 1963 on the negative affects. He gives each affect a joint name. The first term in the list below is the affect as experienced at low intensity and the second as experienced at high intensity (1962:337).

Positive
    1) Interest-Excitement
    2) Enjoyment-Joy

Resetting
    3) Surprise-Startle

Negative
    4) Distress-Anguish
    5) Fear-Terror
    6) Shame-Humiliation
    7) Contempt-Disgust
    8) Anger-Rage

Several of Tomkins' affect categories (1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8) are related to tense

form use in SCQ. [17] I will use Tomkins' terms and also some affect terms found in

Ochs and Schieffelin 1989 for further specification.

For many years psychologists have found it helpful to describe varying

intensities of affect in relation to behavior. Linguists are beginning to notice

gradients of affect reflected in language as well. Labov (1984) and Ochs and

Schieffelin (1989) find that the meaning of morphosyntactic components and/or

other components of language can be extended to convey varying intensities of

affect.

A few linguists relate gradients of emotional intensity to verbal tense forms.

Fleischman (1989) proposes that temporal distance conveyed by remoteness tense

forms may be extended to the expressive component of language (affect) and speaks

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[17] Many others doing research on emotion accept and make use of these categories (e.g., Magai and Hunziker 1993, Izard and Buechler 1980). At the same time that Tomkins put his work into print, Robert Plutchik, another leader in research on emotion, published the early version of his theory, which also included descriptions of eight discrete emotions that vary in intensity (1962:123). He gave them somewhat different names, but they mostly map directly onto those of Tomkins, as shown below.

Tomkins' categorization	Plutchik's categorization
Positive	
1) Interest-Excitement	7. heedfulness, anticipation, expectation
2) Enjoyment-Joy	1. pleasure, joy, ecstasy
	2. acceptance, incorporation
Resetting	
3) Surprise-Startle	3. surprise, astonishment
Negative	
4) Distress-Anguish	5. pensiveness, sorrow, grief
5) Fear-Terror	4. timidity, fear, panic
6) Shame-Humiliation	
7) Contempt-Disgust	6. boredom, disgust, loathing
8) Anger-Rage	8. annoyance, anger, rage

of distance along axes, showing that she also thinks of affect as on a cline. In Longacre's (1981) 'Spectrum and Profile' approach to discourse, a spectrum has to do with information types, while the profile maps out mounting and declining tension (or excitement). He relates changes in emotional intensity to the tense/aspect forms used in Hebrew, in Halbi and in Northern Totonac. Schiffrin (1981:60) shows the English historical present to be used with the most intense events of a narrative, those preceding the climax and at the climax, with the past being used at less emotionally intense events.

The concept that affect varies in intensity is helpful in specifying how tense forms are used in SCQ as well. In Tomkins' categorization, excitement is more intense than interest. In SCQ, these two shades of the same affect are associated with distinct tense forms. The present tense used as a historical present codes excitement, while the recent past codes simple interest. The SCQ tenses used to code negative affect and surprise do not seem to distinguish intensity.

4.2   On narrative structure

Narrative structure also plays a part in explaining the tense variation found in SCQ discourse. In this section I give the defining characteristics of a narrative and present the components often found in narratives.

4.2.1   Defining characteristics of narrative

Iconicity of temporal sequence is one of the defining characteristics of narrative. That is, the temporal order of events as they actually happened is mirrored in the

narrative. Fleischman (1990:23) writes that "Narration is a verbal icon of experience viewed from a *retrospective* vantage" and that iconic sequence refers to the unmarked ordering principle of narrative (1990:131). Labov (1972:359) defines narrative as "One method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred." He provides the following example of a short narrative.

(52) Pre-adolescent narrative (Labov 1972:360)

> This boy punched me
> and I punched him
> and the teacher came in
> and stopped the fight.

Labov (1972:360) defines a *minimal* narrative as "a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation". Labov and Fanshel (1977:105) write that narratives are often told to illustrate a proposition, a point (what is being talked about), and that the proposition is usually an affective one.

4.2.2   Components of narrative

Labov and Waletzky (1967), further refined in Labov 1972, developed an analysis for narrative that has been widely influential and has been applied to a variety of languages. The Labov 1972 schema for the structure of a canonical narrative is as follows. I use these terms in my analysis, plus the component of "climax" added by subsequent researchers, and another useful term "aside", which I define below.

TABLE 4.1   STRUCTURE OF A CANONICAL NARRATIVE (LABOV 1972)

component of narrative	purpose
Abstract	summarizes, tells what the story is about
Orientation	identifies setting (time, place, persons and the activity or situation)
Complicating Action	introduces events that occurred
Evaluation	conveys the "point" (can occur throughout the narrative)
Result or Resolution	explains what finally happened, concludes
Coda	relates the events to the current context

Additionally, the coda "steps back from the narrated events to provide a metacomment on them" (Chafe 1994:132).

The component "peak" or "climax", the highpoint of the story, is useful (Jones and Jones 1979, Longacre 1981 and 1985, Fleischman 1990, Chafe 1994). The climax or peak is often marked by phonological features such as higher pitch and amplitude and faster speech, showing that the speaker is more excited here than during other parts of the discourse (Longacre 1985:85). I use the term "aside" to refer to a side comment, a rhetorical question or any departure from the narrative. An "aside" may be explanatory or give the speaker's point of view on the situation.

In relation to "evaluation", Labov (1972:369) notes that evaluative devices can be distributed throughout a narrative. He also writes (1972:371), "Evaluative devices say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful; more generally, that it was strange, uncommon, or unusual — that is, worth reporting". In Labov's schema, evaluation devices convey the "point". Notice

that several of the adjectives in the first group are connected with fear or another negative affect. Some of those in the second group have to do with happiness and joy, positive affects. A narrative must have a point, a reason for being told, and this point is affective, either positive or negative.

Rather than designating a component of narrative as "evaluation" in the SCQ data, I specify the particular affect that occurs with each abstract, climax and complicating action. I find it necessary to distinguish types of affect, rather than merging them under "evaluation", because the nature of the affect determines the tense choice in these components of narrative.

4.3   Discourse topic development

SCQ speakers' use of tense is somewhat dependent on which of two patterns they use to develop a discourse topic. For that reason it is helpful to bring in a discussion on discourse topic development. The term 'topic' has been used in reference to a number of linguistic phenomena. In his chapter on discourse topics (1994:120-136), Chafe's usage is in accord with expressions such as *the topic of a paragraph* and *changing the topic*, and I follow that usage here. A discourse topic is generally something that people are interested in, something they care to talk about, something that has some sort of emotion attached to it. A certain discourse topic is often interesting because something unexpected happens (1994:122).

Chafe explores two major patterns of topic development. As people talk together, a topic can be developed through *elicitation* or through *narration*. When a topic is developed through elicitation, two or more interlocutors speak in relatively

short "turns" (1994:123). The topic is developed through the interaction of the speakers. The roles of the speakers are not balanced though. "One (the *eliciter*) introduces the topic, but it is the other (the *responder*) who possesses the bulk of the interesting information", (1994:123). The eliciter is interested in learning more about a certain topic, and part of the way he or she does that is by asking questions. Chafe goes on to explain that some topics have their own "internal momentum" (1994:128). A speaker can develop a topic with minimal contributions from the other speaker(s). The development of a topic in this way often takes the form of a story with a point, a narrative.

SCQ conversational data demonstrate both types of discourse topic development, *elicitation* and *narration*. A conversation often starts with topic development through elicitation. A number of question and answer sequences may occur until someone remembers something funny or exciting or otherwise interesting and breaks into a narrative.

SCQ speakers who are developing a discourse topic by means of elicitation use tense a little differently than when one of them is primarily telling a story. When topics are developed through *elicitation* in SCQ, tense forms are generally used to place events in time (chapter 2) and indicate source of evidence (chapter 3). When a speaker enters into the central part of a *narrative* though, affect is the factor on which the tense choice is based. This will be discussed in detail below. I now turn to explore how the primary meaning of tense could be extended to serve other purposes.

4.4 'Placement in time' meaning extended to other functions

The primary meaning of tense in SCQ is placement in time. Secondarily, evidentiality further defines the meaning of two of the past tenses. How could it be that tense forms, thought primarily to place situations in time, are used to help communicate affect and also to indicate narrative structure?

4.4.1 From placement in time to expression of affect

We could consider the possibility that recent events are more likely to be up front in a person's consciousness than those that happened longer ago. People are likely to care more about and also be more interested, in events that happened recently. They are generally not so interested in what happened a long time ago, unless those situations made an emotional impact. This may be at the root of the link in SCQ between placement in time and affect. The placement in time meaning (distant or more recent) is extended to refer to how a speaker feels emotionally about what is being discussed, that is, distanced (no strong feelings or negative feelings) or close (caring emotionally).

The SCQ past *-r(q)a* is associated with almost no affect; it is generally used to present facts objectively. The recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u* is associated with an attitude of interest, one of the types of positive affect. The zero-marked present, used as a historical present, conveys positive affect that is emotionally more intense than simple interest, such as joy, happiness and excitement. The narrative past *-na:* is not always associated with affect, but when it is, it conveys shame, distress or other feelings that could be classified as negative.

We could think of affect as on a cline, linked to placement in time. Starting with the furthest back in time, and the most distance emotionally, the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* are used. The past *-r(q)a* is generally associated with affective neutrality on the part of the speaker. The narrative past *-na:* may also be associated with neutral affect, especially when used in orientations. In several other parts of narrative it is associated with negative affect. The past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* then, are used when speakers are emotionally distant from a situation (either no feelings or negative feelings). The use of the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u*, which places situations in time between the present and the further back past, is associated with the positive affect of simple interest in a situation. Heightened positive affect, associated with situations that are closest to people emotionally, is marked with the zero-marked present, used as a historical present.

Fleischman (1989:3) writes, "The **scalar** nature of temporal distance, i.e., the fact that languages often grammaticize **degrees** of remoteness in past and/or future time, makes this concept a particularly felicitous metaphorical vehicle for the expression of other linguistic notions which are likewise best described in terms of a cline or gradient rather than in simple binary terms." The scalar quality of the expression of time in SCQ seems to serve as a metaphorical vehicle for the expression of affect.

4.4.2   From placement in time to indication of narrative structure

Temporal distance can also be extended along another conceptual axis. It can be extended to indicate narrative structure. As will be shown in chapters 5 and 6, only

two tense forms, the past -*r(q)a* and the narrative past -*na:*, are used with the peripheral parts of a narrative (the orientation, side remarks and resolution). Another set of tense forms, the zero-marked present used as a historical present, the recent past -*r(q)u* and -*sh((q)a)* and the narrative past -*na:*, are used with the components of narrative that are central to the story (the abstract, complicating action and climax).

In other words, the tense forms that place events farthest back in time, the past -*r(q)a* and the narrative past -*na:*, are used with the peripheral parts of the narrative, those parts in which the speaker is not generally emotionally involved. The tense forms that are closer to the present, particularly the recent past -*r(q)u* and -*sh((q)a)* and the present used as a historical present, are used with the parts of the story that are central, that are critical to the storyline and in which the speaker is involved emotionally.

Note that the narrative past -*na:* is a member of both sets. When it occurs in the peripheral parts of a narrative, it does not appear to convey affect. When it is used in the central parts of the story, it conveys negative affect.

Hence, the meaning of placement in time has been co-extended to affect and narrative structure. Affect and narrative structure are linked. Tense forms placing events in the more distant past are used with parts of the narrative that are peripheral, less critical to the storyline, and that convey little affect from the speaker. Tense forms placing events closer to the present are used with the parts of the narrative that are critical to the storyline and that do convey affect from the speaker.

4.4.3 On what factors is the choice based?

These thoughts on extension of the meaning of placement in time lead us partway along the path to discovering the basis for choice of tense form at a given point in the discourse. There is yet more to consider. A set of two particular forms is used in the peripheral parts of a narrative. On what basis do speakers choose between the two forms? A set of three forms is used in the central parts of a narrative. What determines the choice among these three forms?

In chapter 5, we will see that in the more peripheral parts of a narrative (the orientation, side remarks and resolution), tense choice is based on indication of source of evidence and speaker perspective. In the components of narrative that could be considered central to the story (the abstract, complicating action and climax), the choice is tied to the affect the speaker is expressing.

This makes good sense. As a SCQ speaker is orienting the listener to a narrative, s/he needs to indicate whether it is based on what s/he observed or believes to be true or whether it is was passed on to him or her by someone else. When s/he steps out of the narrative to give an explanation, s/he must also give the source of evidence. S/he can also step aside to give a personal perspective. In the result, which is often a summary, the use of the tense form indicates whether the information is something the speaker observed or believes to be true or whether it was reported.

Then, in the central parts of the narrative (the abstract, the complicating action and the climax), the expression of affect takes over. In the abstract, the tense form used helps to convey to the listener whether this is something the speaker is happy

and excited to tell about or something s/he is upset about. The tense forms used in the complicating action indicate whether the speaker is very happy, simply interested or is distressed about the unfolding events. In the climax as well, the tense form helps to indicate affect. It communicates whether the speaker regards the situation as something very positive or something negative.

4.4.4 No obligation to use the extended meanings of tense

Tense is a resource speakers can use to convey affect and indicate narrative structure, but they are not *obligated* to use it for these purposes. In many folktales, the storyteller chooses to use the narrative past -*na:* all the way through, with no variation from it. When the narrative past is used this way, it does not indicate narrative structure or affect. It only indicates the time as past and the evidential quality as reported. Young storytellers (in their early teens) tend to tell folktales without varying from the narrative past.

Additionally, the past -*r(q)a* can be used with a stretch of narrative being told from the speaker's own perspective. Generally, the speaker is certain of this information. If not, an evidential marker is used to indicate doubt. When past -*r(q)a* is used with a stretch of narrative like this, it does not indicate narrative structure. It only indicates the time as past, and that the events are being talked about from the speaker's perspective.

4.5 Synopsis of the functions of tense

A synopsis of the functions of SCQ tense forms in discourse is presented in this section. Table 4.2 is an overview of the functions of the most common past tense forms in narrative. In Table 4.3, the functions are presented in another way. The forms are first categorized according to the components of narrative structure with which they occur and then according to the basis for the choice within a particular component of narrative structure. Table 4.4 gives the functions of forms used when a discourse topic is developed through elicitation. The tense markers in these tables are color coded in the same way as the data presented in chapter 6.

4.5.1 Process of labeling and tabulating

I labeled each clause with a finite tense form in the data in chapter 6 according to: 1) *placement in time* in relation to the preceding clause with a finite tense form, 2) the *type of associated affect*, 3) component of *narrative structure*, and 4) *evidential marking*. In labeling narrative structure, I followed Labov's schema, with his definitions of components, and added the components of CLIMAX and ASIDE. In cases when it was difficult to decide between components, (such as RESULT and ORIENTATION) I labeled with both, because elements of both are present. In labeling for affect, decisions were based on the context, lexical items, marked pitch changes, and special voice quality. Identifying placement in time was fairly straightforward. In the places where the context did not make it obvious, language consultants were able to clarify the order of events.

115

I then tabulated which tense forms are associated with which functions and summarized the tabulations to form Table 4.2. In examining additional folktales and conversation and seeing these generalizations hold true again and again, I became convinced that they are accurate for spoken SCQ.

TABLE 4.2. FUNCTIONS OF COMMON TENSE FORMS USED WITH PAST SITUATIONS

	-na: PST.N 'narrative past'	*-r(q)a* PST 'past'	*-sh((q)a)* PST.R3 *-r(q)u* PST.R 'recent past'	*-Ø* PRS 'present'
Time	previous to recent past	previous to recent past	previous to the true present	past, when used as a historical present
Affect – situations that for the speaker are:	1) neutral in orientations, 2) otherwise usually negative (shameful, distressing, apprehensive), 3) surprising when with the continuous aspect marker *-yka:*	generally objective, usually neutral in respect to affect	positive (interesting)	very positive (exciting, joyful, happy), when used as a historical present
Narrative structure	orientations, asides, results, abstracts, complicating action, climaxes	orientations, asides, results	complicating action	abstracts, complica-ting action, climaxes
Source of evidence / Speaker's perspective	1) with *-shi* 'REP' in orientations and asides to reported situations 2) not with any other evidential	1) not with *-shi* 'REP', 2) with *-m* 'DIR' or *-cha:* 'MUT' in orientations, asides or results, 3) with *-chi* 'CNJ', *-chir* 'APP' or *-ra:* 'YET' in asides	any	any

4.5.2   Discourse topic developed through narrative — Table 4.3

Table 4.2 is helpful in that it shows the functions of the forms. It does not
indicate why a speaker would choose one tense form over another at a given point in
discourse. Table 4.3 shows the bases for the choices. The types of observations made
and questions asked leading to the development of Table 4.3 were as follows.

Observe, for instance, that as shown in the third row of Table 4.2, orientations
occur with the narrative past -*na:* and the past -*r(q)a*, but not with the recent past or
the present as a historical present. On what basis would a speaker choose between
the narrative past and the past? The fourth row shows that the narrative past may be
used *only* with the reportative evidential -*shi*, while the past may be used with any
evidential *except* for the reportative -*shi*. The basis for choosing between the
narrative past and the past in the orientation to a narrative is source of evidence.

Also in the third row of Table 4.2, notice that every tense form except for the
past -*r(q)a* may be used in association with complicating action. What would be the
basis for choosing between the various possible tense forms that commonly occur
with complicating action? In the second row, we see that the narrative past -*na:* is
used in association with negative affect, the recent past -*sh((q)a)* and -*r(q)u* is used
with the positive affect of interest, and that the zero-marked present as a historical
present is used with very positive affect, such as excitement and happiness. A
process of elimination points to affect as the factor influencing the choice. The
choice cannot be based on placement in time, because the events in complicating

action occur in chronological sequence. It cannot be based on evidentiality, because the recent past and the present as a historical present can be used with any evidential marker.

When the results are arranged as in Table 4.3, the bases for the choices become apparent. Orientations, asides and resolutions form a group, using either the past *-r(q)a* or the narrative past *-na:*. In this group, the choice is based on source of evidence and speaker perspective. Abstracts, climaxes and complicating action form another group, using the narrative past *-na:* or the zero-marked present as a historical present. Complicating action may also use the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u.* In this group, the choice is based on affect. Codas form their own group, in which the choice is based on placement in time. The affect of 'surprise' is not tied to narrative structure and so is separate in the table. It occurs with asides, complicating action, results and climaxes.

Chapter 5 provides examples of each of the options in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3.   DISCOURSE TOPIC DEVELOPED THROUGH NARRATIVE

narrative structure	tense forms used		choice based on:
ORIENTATION	-r(q)a PST	'past'	evidentiality
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
AN ASIDE	-r(q)a PST	'past'	evidentiality & speaker perspective
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
RESOLUTION	-r(q)a PST	'past'	evidentiality
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
ABSTRACT	-Ø PRS	'present'	affect
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
CLIMAX	-Ø PRS	'present'	affect
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
COMPLICATING ACTION	-Ø PRS	'present'	affect
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
	-sh((q)a) PST.R3	'recent past'	
	-r(q)u PST.R		
CODA	-Ø PRS	'present' as true present	placement in time
	-r(q)a PST	'past'	
	-sh((q)a) PST.R3	'recent past'	
	-r(q)u PST.R		

SURPRISE (can be COMPLICATING ACTION, ASIDE, RESULT, CLIMAX)	-sh ka-sh MIR	'was past perfect, now mirative'	affect of surprise
	-na: PST.N -yka:	'narrative past with continuous aspect'	
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
	-sh((q)a) PST.R3	'recent past'	

120

4.5.3 Discourse topic developed through elicitation — Table 4.4

As mentioned earlier, discourse topics can be developed through narration or through elicitation (Chafe 1994:122-3). When a topic is developed through elicitation, one speaker introduces the topic by means of a question or in another way, and the other speaker responds. Both speakers have a part in the development of the topic. Their alternating contributions are generally brief. When the topic is developed this way, SCQ speakers place situations in time by using the past -*r(q)a*, the recent past -*sh((q)a)* and -*r(q)u*, the zero-marked present as a true present or as a futurate, and the future tense (chapter 2).

The zero-marked present as a historical present and the narrative past -*na:* are not used when topics are developed through elicitation. These tense forms are used to communicate affect in abstracts, climaxes and complicating action of narratives. Generally, affective points do not occur in topics developed through elicitation, unless the topic that was begun through elicitation develops into a narrative.

Table 4.4 shows that only the past -*r(q)a* and the recent past -*r(q)u* are used to introduce discourse topics about past situations when these topics are developed through elicitation. Only the past -*r(q)a* is used with asides to topics developed this way. Closure is generally with the past -*r(q)a*, and rarely with the recent past -*r(q)u*.

TABLE 4.4.   DISCOURSE TOPIC DEVELOPED THROUGH ELICITATION

introduction of topic	*-r(q)a* PST 'past' *-r(q)u* PST.R 'recent past'
an aside	*-r(q)a* PST 'past'
closing of topic	*-r(q)a* PST 'past' *-r(q)u* PST.R 'recent past' (infrequently)

4.6   Conclusion

As Fleischman (1989:2) writes, the functions of tense in discourse, particularly

narrative discourse, are often not limited to locating events in time. The scalar nature

of temporal distance can be extended metaphorically to express other linguistic

notions. In SCQ, the meaning of placement in time has been co-extended, to the

expression of affect and to the indication of narrative structure.

Affect and narrative structure are linked in SCQ. Tense forms placing events in

the more distant past are used with the parts of the narrative that are peripheral (the

orientation, side remarks and resolution) and that convey little affect from the

speaker. Tense forms placing events closer to the present are used with the parts of

the narrative that are critical to the storyline (the abstract, complicating action and

climax) and that convey either positive or very positive affect from the speaker. A

tense form that places events in the more distant past conveys negative affect in

these central parts.

In the peripheral parts of a narrative about past events, tense choice is based on

source of evidence and speaker perspective, while in the central parts, the choice is

tied to affect. The data in chapter 5 illustrate the ways tense forms pattern in SCQ

discourse as they serve these communicative purposes.

5   Tense patterns in narrative

> ...an expanded notion of an affective
> dimension of communication would take in all
> levels of linguistic organization as well as
> nonverbal phenomena and the organization of
> discourse and interaction.   —Irvine (1982:32)

In this chapter, I focus on how tense is used as topics are developed through narrative. In addition to its other functions, tense can be used to structure discourse and convey affect.

Representative examples are provided of tense forms used with each component of narrative structure, in context. In chapter 6, I present several segments of talk, including parts of a conversation and part of a legendary narrative, to illustrate in wider context how tense forms help to structure discourse and communicate affect.

The data presented include material within quotes, that is, represented discourse, in order to maintain the coherence of the story line. I do not analyze the tense markers in this embedded material because doing so would add an unnecessary layer of complexity. I also do not analyze the non-finite verbs because they are not marked for tense.

The structure of this chapter follows that of Table 4.3.

5.1   Orientation

Orientations to situations that the speaker observed or knows to be true are marked with the past *-r(q)a*. The direct evidential *-mi* is often used at the beginning of this type of orientation.

Orientations provided at the beginnings of folktales are told with the narrative past *-na:*. The reportative *-shi* generally, but not always, occurs with the narrative past at the beginnings of folktales.

5.1.1   Orientation to situations known to be true

In the following orientation to the 'Donkey' narrative, Rita tells what time it was (lines 1, 6 and 11), what was happening, the activity (line 2), which donkeys were involved (lines 6 and 9) and where they were (lines 7 and 9). She includes each of the components Labov (1972) lists for an orientation: time, activity, persons and place. She uses the past *-r(q)a* to give the orientation. The direct evidential *-mi* accompanies it in line 6. The past perfect of the past form *-r(q)a* is used in line 9 to place an event as previous in time.

Subsequent to this part of the orientation, Rita gives an abstract of the story she will tell, using the zero-marked present tense as a historical present. Then Guillermo interjects some comments. In line 30, Rita comes back to what she was saying and provides another piece of orientation, explaining that at just that time (four or five o'clock) the band arrived. Line 30 follows line 11 in her mind.

(53) Orientation, the direct evidential *-mi*, the past *-r(q)a* (D1-11, 30)

```
1   R:  That opening night,
            I'll tell you about that.                    (future time)
2       They organized PAST that tournament.             ORIENTATION
3   G:  The school.
4   R:  mhm,
5   G:  uh huh,
6   R:  At that time, Ninfa, our donkey,
7       was PAST over by our cousin Dina's house.        ORIENTATION
8   G:  uh huh,
9   R:  And Blacky and Kapsha had already come           ORIENTATION,
            PAST PERFECT over to this side               (previous in time)
            of the house.
10  G:  uh huh,
11  R:  And it was PAST about four or five o'clock.       ORIENTATION
.
.
30  R:  At just that time the band arrived PAST too.      ORIENTATION
```

1   *(H) Tsay alba   tsaka-y, || tsay-kaq-ta-ra: willa-yku-shayki-qa,*
            that first.night darkness-INF that-DEF-OBJ-YET inform-PFV.O-FUT1>2-TOP

2   *Este= ... tsay kampyuna:tu-ta organisa-ya-**rqa**-n,*
            um   that tournament-OBJ organize-PL.V-**PST**-3

3   G: *Eskwela.*
            school

4   R: *... mhm,*
               mhm

5   G: *uh huh,*
               uh huh

6   R: *...(H) Tsay o:ra-qa-**m**, || ...Ninfi:tu ari bu:rru-ntsi:-qa,*
               that hour-TOP-**DIR**   Ninfa   yes donkey-1$_I$-TOP

7   *pi   pri:ma-ntsi: Dina-pa   ka-q   wayi-n-kaq-chu   ka-yka:-mu-**rqa**-n.*
            who   cousin-1$_I$ Dina-GEN be-AG   house-3-DEF-LOC   be-CONT-FAR-**PST**-3

8   G: *uh huh,*
               un huh

9   R: *...I=   Negra-wan   Kapcha-qa   kay-la:-pa-na*
               and   Blacky-COM   Capcha-TOP   this-SIDE-GEN-NOW

            *sha-mu-**sh**   ka-**ra**-n wayi-kaq-pa-na.*
            come-FAR-**PTCP** be-**PST**-3 house-DEF-GEN-NOW

126

10   G: *uh huh,*
         uh huh

11   R: *...I= la-s   kwatru sinku-na-chir ka-__ra__-n-qa.*
         and the-PL.SP four   five-NOW-APP be-__PST__-3-TOP
.
.
.
30   R: *Tsa: tsay o:ra-lla-na   ari arpa-kuna-pis   @[cha:-ya:-mu-__ra__-n,]*
         then   that hour-DLM-NOW yes harp-PL.N-EVEN   arrive-PL.V-FAR-__PST__-3

The next orientation, also using the past *-r(q)a,* is to events that really happened as well, events that were directly observed and experienced by Guillermo.

This segment begins after a pause in their conversation, which had been mostly about what Rita had experienced during the festival. In lines 1-4 of (54), Rita shifts the focus to Guillermo and his activities. She asks what time he left for Huaraz, using the past *-r(q)a* twice in lines 3 and 4. Her question helps to set the stage for his story. It includes references to all of Labov's components of orientation: time, activity, person and place.

Guillermo does not directly answer her question, because a story has occurred to him. He orients her in lines 5 and 6 to how he felt as he began his trip, using the past *-r(q)a* together with direct evidential *-mi*. The use of this evidential together with the past *-r(q)a* indicates that he witnessed these events and is certain they are true. He does not need to use the direct evidential *-mi* again in his subsequent talk, having established the veracity of the information, unless he enters into something new or feels the need to re-establish that what he is telling is true.

All of (54) is introductory material for what is to follow. There is no overlapping speech, no represented discourse (direct reported speech) and no laughter. The speakers are just entering into this topic.

Lines 5 and 6 are temporally ordered. Orientation clauses may be free clauses, without time placement constraints, or they may be temporally ordered (Labov 1972:364). The fact that lines 5 and 6 are temporally ordered does not prevent them from being classified as orientation.

(54) Orientation, direct *-mi*, the past *-r(q)a* (W1-6)

```
1   R:  And you, the day that you came here,
2       the day that you came here to Huaraz, Guillermo,
3       when did you leave? PAST
4       (because) I left PAST for Acopara.                ORIENTATION
5   G:  I went out PAST feeling totally lazy.
6       But then I asked PAST God (for help).
```

1   R: *...I= qam-qa tsay–   ..kay-pa   sha-mu-na-yki   o:ra-qa,*
        and you-TOP that (MS)   this-GEN   come-FAR-NMLZ.I-2   hour-TOP

2   *kay Huaras-pa   sha-mu-na-yki   o:ra-qa, || Guillermo,*
     this Huaraz-GEN   come-FAR-NMLZ.I-2   hour-TOP   Guilllermo

3   *imay o:ra-ta: yarqa-mu-**ra**-yki,*
     when hour-Q.C leave-FAR-**PST**-2

4   *Noqa-qa heqa-ski-**ra**-: ...Acopa:ra-pa.*
     I-TOP   go-PFV-**PST**-1 Acopara-GEN

5   G: *...Noqa-qa ...pase:pa ...qela-na-yka-r-**mi**   yarqa-mu-**ra**-:.*
        I-TOP   very   lazy-DES-CONT-SS-**DIR** leave-FAR-**PST**-1

6   *...I   tsay-pita-na-**m**   Tayta Dyus-nintsik-man maña-ku-**ra**-:,*
        and that-ABL-NOW-**DIR** Father God-1ᵢ-ALL   ask-MID-**PST**-1

5.1.2   Orientation to reported situations, especially folktales

At the beginning of the *Achikay* 'Witch' folktale in (55), the storyteller Lita orients the listener to the state the people were in at that time, a state of poverty. The

reportative -*shi* is used in the first sentence, while the narrative past -*na:* is used in both sentences. Once the narrative has been established as reported information, it is not necessary to repeat the reportative -*shi* with subsequent uses of the narrative past -*na:*.

(55) Orientation, reportative -*shi*, narrative past -*na:* (A1-3)

1	L:	The witch.	
2		They **were <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u>** poor, surely, like us.	ORIENTATION
3		There **were <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u>** many parents and many children.	

1   L: *Achikay-qa,*
        witch-TOP

2   *...Kay-no: pobri-**sh** ka-ya:-**na:** ari.*
       ...this-SIM poor-**RPT** be-PL-**PST.N** surely

3   *Mama-n-kuna wamra-n-kuna atska ka-**na:**.*
       parent-3-PL.N child-3-PL.N many be-**PST.N**

The following orientation using the narrative past -*na:* is from the folktale *Wisku Runa* 'Blind man', which was told by a 50-year-old woman from Huaripampa in 1992. In (56), she uses the narrative past -*na:* twice in orienting to the people involved and in giving some details about those people, including the event of their marriage. She uses the recent past -*sh((q)a)* in the subsequent part of the story. The reportative -*shi* is not used in this orientation, indicating that it is possible to orient to a reported situation with the narrative past -*na:* alone.

(56) Orientation, reported situations, the narrative past *-na:*

1   I: This story's name is "Blind Man".
2   That blind man **was NARRATIVE PAST** rich,
           old, and single.   ORIENTATION
3   Then he got **married NARRATIVE PAST** to a
           lady of Chinese descent.

1   I: *Kay kwentu-pa wisku runa-m   jutin.*
              this story-GEN blind man-DIR name

2   *Tse: wisku runa ruku   solte:ru ri:ku ka-**na:**.*
           that blind man old.man single   rich be-**PST.N**

3   *Tsay juk chi:na-lla-wan   kasa-ku-**na:**.*
           then a   chinese-DLM-COM marry-MID-**PST.N**

In sum, source of evidence is the principle factor motivating the choice of tense marker in orientations. If the situations were observed or in some other way known to be fact, known to have really happened, they are marked with the past *-r(q)a*, while if they were reported, they are marked with the narrative past *-na:*.

Orientation material does not have much affect associated with it. The storyteller is simply setting the stage for what is going to happen.

5.2   Aside

In the midst of telling a story, speakers sometimes depart from it to make a side comment, give an explanation, or say something that might be enclosed in parentheses if it were written. A speaker may tell about an previous event that relates to the current situation, or s/he may simply make a comment from his or her own perspective that is not part of the narrative. I will refer to such departures from the narrative as *asides*.

As with orientations, the choice of tense form used with asides depends on the source of evidence. It can also help to indicate the speaker's perspective. Asides are marked with the past *-r(q)a* if the situation was directly experienced by the speaker or is told from the perspective of the speaker. They are marked with the narrative past *-na:* if the situation was reported.

Asides are different from orientations in several ways. Orientations come at the beginning and lead into the narrative. An aside can be interjected anywhere. The orientation introduces the discourse topic and sets the stage, while an aside generally explains something or gives the speaker's perspective on the situation.

5.2.1   Asides showing the speaker's perspective

The utterances in line 7 of (57) and lines 83 and 84 of (58) are presented to show how the past *-r(q)a* can be used to give the speaker's perspective on a situation.

Example (57) comes from the *Achikay* story, told by Lita to her son, Elí. Lita asks a rhetorical question in line 7. She is wondering to herself and to her son how the parents in the story could have been such bad people. The past tense suffix *-r(q)a* helps to set this rhetorical question off as not part of the story. The use of *-ra:* 'YET' on the question word *ima* 'what' marks the question as rhetorical.

The use of the past *-r(q)a* is preceded by the use of the narrative past *-na:* in line 5 and followed by the historical present in line 10.

The past *-r(q)a* is used only five times in this long story. In each case it is used to give the speaker's perspective on the situation, rather than a perspective coming from the story itself.

(57) Aside showing the speaker's perspective, the past *-r(q)a* (A7)

5   L: Then the parents **went NARRATIVE PAST**
            to look. (for food)
6   E: um hum,
7   L: What type of people **were PAST**   AN ASIDE
            those parents?
8   So, "I think the children are asleep.
9   Let's toast some corn,"
10   they **say PRESENT**
            after arriving from their searching.

5   L: ... *Tsay   %ashi-ku-q   aywa-ya:-__na:__   mama-n-kuna-qa.*
                  then   look-MID-PRMT   go-PL.V-__PST.N__   parent-3-PL.N-TOP

6   E: *um hum.*
                  um hum

7   L: *...Ima-hina-n-pa:-na-ra: ka-yku-__ra__-n   mama-n-pis   tayta-n-pis.*
                  what-type-3-PURP-NOW-YET   be-PFV.O-__PST__-3   mother-3-EVEN father-3-EVEN

8   *...Tsay-qa,|| ..."Wamra-kuna   punu-ka-sha-m   may.   -Ø*
                  that-TOP   child-PL.N   sleep-PASS-PTCP-DIR   I.think PRS

9   *... Anka-ku-ri-shun".*
                  toast.corn-MID-PUNC-FUT1$_I$

10   *ni-ya-__Ø__-n-shi   tsay ashi-ku-ya-nqa-n-pita   cha-ski-r-qa.*
                  say-PL.V-__PRS__-3-RPT that search-MID-PL.V-NMLZ.R-3-ABL arrive-PFV-SS-TOP

'Stolen Shoes' is a section of the conversation between Rita and Guillermo that is mostly narrative. In lines 78-82, Rita tells Guillermo how their brother Niko was maligned by Adrian, a man in the community. Adrian had told Niko that people had said that he, Niko, was the one who had stolen the shoes. In line 83, Guillermo makes a comment about this from his own perspective, using the past *-r(q)a*. He says

he supposes Adrian was the only one who thought that. Guillermo uses the appeal evidential *-chir* with this utterance, inviting Rita to give her perspective. Rita responds that Adrian could have been lying, using the past *-r(q)a* together with the conjectural evidential *-chi.* The use of *-chi* here conveys sarcasm, as Weber (1986:144) also describes for Huallaga Quechua (another variety of central Peruvian Quechua).

As discussed in chapter 3, the past *-r(q)a* can occur with any evidential except for the reportative *-shi.* The past *-r(q)a* occurs with knowledge that the speaker has or that s/he shares with someone else. The past *-r(q)a* can also help to indicate the speaker's perspective. It cannot be used with knowledge that came from someone else or to represent someone else's perspective.

(58) Aside showing the perspectives of the speakers, the past *-r(q)a* (S83,84)

78 R: " "Niko stole,"
79   saying they commented about you,"
80   saying he (Uncle Adrian) **said**. **NARRATIVE PAST**
81   "Who said this about me, Uncle?"
82   When he (Niko) said this he (Adrian) did not
              give him an answer. **NARRATIVE PAST**
83 G: I suppose he alone **thought PAST** that.   AN ASIDE
              (Adrian, that Niko had stolen the things)
84 R: He (Adrian) could even have **said PAST** it   AN ASIDE
              as a lie.

78   R: *...um= " "Ni:ku-m   apa-sh",*
                   um   Niko-DIR take-PST.R3

79   *ni-r-mi   ni-ya:-shu-ra-yki-qa."*
              say-SS-DIR say-PL.V-2OBJ-PST-2-TOP

80   *Ni-r-shi   ni-__na:__,*
              say-SS-RPT say-__PST.N__

81   *"Pi-ta: Tiyu-y   ni-ma-sh",*
         who-Q.C uncle-VOC say-1OBJ-PST.R3

82   *[ni-pti-n-qa   mana-sh ni   rasuna-**na:**-tsu].*
        say-DS-3-TOP no-RPT   nor give.answer-**PST.N**-NEG

83   G: *[Kiki-n-lla-na-**chir**   ni-**ra**-n] [₂tse:-qa].*
        self-3-DLM-NOW-**APP** say-**PST**-3   that-TOP

84   R: *[₂Arde:-pis]   ni-**ra**-n-**chi**   tse:-qa.*
                                   pretense-EVEN say-**PST**-3-**CNJ** that-TOP

Each of these asides, line 7 of (57) and lines 83 and 84 of (58), uses the past
-r(q)a and illustrates how the speaker can step aside from the narrative to give his or
her perspective on the situation.

The next two asides, both from 'Stolen Shoes', show a distinction between the
use of the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:*. The choice between these two tense
forms is based on evidentiality. While (59) uses the past *-r(q)a* with a previous
situation experienced by the speaker, (60) uses the narrative past *-na:* with a
previous situation that was reported to the speaker.

5.2.2   Aside, previous situation experienced by speaker

In 'Stolen Shoes', Rita tells Guillermo about an incident that took place in their
community the previous week. Some shoes and other items of clothing had been
stolen from two young men. The father of one of them went to the house of another
young man he suspects, Damian, and confronts Damian's father. The climax of the
story is reached in lines 54-56 when Damian's mother brings out a bundle with the
stolen shoes inside it.

Immediately following this climactic point, Rita explains in line 58 that those in their community had thought that people from Pacash had stolen the things. In this aside, she uses the past *-r(q)a* and also the mutual evidential *-cha:*, which indicates that she knew this to be true and that her interlocutor Guillermo also now knows the truth of this piece of information. It is shared validated knowledge (Daniel Hintz 2006). Guillermo and Rita both know, as does everyone in their community, that the people from Pacash commonly get into fights and steal things.

Rita uses the narrative past *-na:* both preceding and following this use of the past *-r(q)a*. In line 58, she left the narrative story line to explain to Guillermo a previous situation that she had experienced and knew that he would accept as true.

(59) An aside — a previous situation experienced by the speaker (S58)

54 R: Then Mrs. Adora, "Here it is.
55   Don't you tell anybody," saying,
56   she **took out** <u>**NARRATIVE PAST**</u> a tightly tied
            bundle with Walter's shoes inside too.
57 G: How awful.
58 R: And about Walter's shoes they **had said**, <u>**PAST**</u>   AN ASIDE
            "Those people from Pacash stole them".   (previous in time)
59   So it turned out it **was** <u>**NARRATIVE PAST**</u>
            just him (Damian, from their own community)
            after all.[18]

54   R: *Tsay-na   doña   Ado:ra-qa ari,|| um "Kay-cho:-cha: ka-yka-Ø-n.*
            that-NOW madame Adora-TOP yes um this-LOC-MUT be-CONT-PRS-3

55   *Ama-ri   pi-ta-pis   willa-ku-yku-ya-y-tsu". || ni-r-nin,*
            no-SURE   who-OBJ-EVEN inform-MID-PFV.O-PL.V-IMP2-NEG say-SS-3

---

[18] The word *mana-ku* is generally translated as 'isn't it?' or 'didn't it?' but it does not seem to have that meaning in this case. The native speaker who had uttered line 59 translated it later to Spanish as 'Entonces él no más habrá sido.' On two separate occasions I asked her about the meaning of *mana-ku* and both times she said it meant 'entonces'. I am not certain of its exact meaning here.

56	*...hipi-mu-__na:__*	*chachak*	*qepi-sha-ta*	*tsay-chu*	*Walter-pa*
	take.out-FAR-**PST.N**	very.tight	wrap.up-PTCP-OBJ	that-LOC	Walter-GEN

sapatu-n-ta-pis.
shoe-3-OBJ-EVEN

57   G: *[Bes=cha:].*
       how.awful

58   R: *[I= Walter-pa   sapatu-n-pa:-qa]*   *"Paqash-kuna-sh apa-sh"*
       and Walter-GEN shoe-3-PURP-TOP   Pacash-PL.N-RPT take-PST.R3

ni-ya-__ra__-n-__cha:__.
say-PL.V-**PST**-3-**MUT**

59   *...I= tsay-lla   ka-ku-__na:__   mana-ku.*
       and that-DLM be-MID-**PST.N** no-Q.P

5.2.3   Aside, previous situation not witnessed by speaker

The following example is from an earlier part of the 'Stolen Shoes' narrative. In line 41, Rita tells Guillermo that the young man whose clothing had been stolen looked for his things. In lines 42 and 43, she leaves the narrative story line to tell Guillermo about previous situations that had been reported to her. Because this was reported information, she had to use the narrative past *-na:*. She uses the reportative evidential *-shi* in line 43. She uses the recent past *-sh((q)a)* both preceding and following these uses of the narrative past *-na:*.

(60) An aside — previous situations not witnessed by the speaker (S42-43)

41   R: And so, the man (whose clothing had been stolen)
         looked. <u>RECENT PAST</u>
42   That young man **had become acquainted**   ⌐
         <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u> with him (Damian).   AN ASIDE
43   They say he **had gone to school**   (previous in time)
         <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u> with Damian.   ⌐
44   He **recognized** <u>RECENT PAST</u> his voice.

41 R: *...I= tsay-pita-qa este=,|| .. ari ashi-**sh** runa-qa,*
       and that-ABL-TOP um   yes seek-**PST.R3** person-TOP

42 *Reqi-**na:**   tsay cho:lu,*
    know-**PST.N** that young.man

43 *Damian-wan-**shi** huntu estudya-**na:**,*
    Damian-COM-**RPT** together study-**PST.N**

44 *Tse: reqi-**sh**   bos-nin-ta,*
    that know-**PST.R3** voice-3-OBJ

In sum of §5.2, departures from the narrative referred to here as 'asides' are marked with the past -*r(q)a* if the situation is told from the personal perspective of the speaker and/or was directly experienced by the speaker. The narrative past -*na:* is used if the speaker is relaying a reported situation.

5.3 Result

A result or resolution explains what finally happened (Labov 1972). It concludes or brings a story or episode to closure. In SCQ narrative, speakers use either the past -*r(q)a* or the narrative past -*na:* with results. A speaker closes a discourse topic with the same tense marker, linked to source of evidence, that s/he opened it with. In some cases the corresponding evidential marker is also present. For results, just as for orientations, the choice of tense marker is based on source of evidence.

Results are distinct from climaxes in this language in relation to function. Results summarize what has taken place or in some other way bring the discourse topic or sub-topic to a close. The interlocutor may take his or her turn after such a closure and begin a new discourse topic or sub-topic. In contrast, climaxes are

highpoints of the discourse. The climax gives the reason for telling the story, the main affective point.

Results and climaxes are also distinct from each other in regards to verbal tense marking. For results, the choice between verbal tense markers is based on source of evidence, while for climaxes the choice is based on affect.

In (61) and (62), below, the results were witnessed or experienced by the speaker and the past *-r(q)a* was used. In (63) and (64), the results were not observed by the speaker and the narrative past *-na:* was used. See §3.5 for additional examples.

5.3.1 Results witnessed by the speaker

In lines 55-59 of (61), Rita uses the recent past several times in telling about how she and her mother woke up and looked for the donkey. They did not find it and her mother was worried that someone might have stolen it. Rita uses the past *-r(q)a* in line 64 to say that her mother was about to cry, which is a result of much searching and not finding. Line 64 closes this episode.

(61) Result witnessed by the speaker (D64)

55	Then the next morning mother, sure enough,	
56	**got up** <u>RECENT PAST</u> at dawn to search.	
57	She **looked** <u>RECENT PAST</u> in the vicinity of	COMPLICATING
	Stinky Spring and around Ongup.	ACTION
58	The donkey **wasn't** <u>RECENT PAST</u> there.	
59	I also **woke up** <u>RECENT PAST</u> very early,	
60	"Mother, was it there?" saying.	
61	When I said that,	
62	"It isn't," saying,	
63	"Someone must have already stolen it," mother saying,	
64	**was** <u>PAST</u> almost to cry.	RESULT

55   *.. Tsa waray-nin qoya-q   mama-ntsi:-qa ari,*
        then tomorrow-3 morning-AG mom-1ᵢ-TOP   yes

56   *... tsaka-q-lla-na   ashi-q   sharku-__sh__,*
        darkness-AG-DLM-NOW   seek-PRMT   stand.up-**PST.R3**

57   *was– Asya-q Pukyu kinray-pa   Ongup-pa   ashi-mu-__sh__,*
        (MS) Stink-AG Spring vicinity-GEN   Ongup-GEN   seek- far-**PST.R3**

58   *Bu:rru-qa   ka-__sha__-tsu.*
        donkey-TOP be-**PST.R3**-NEG

59   *...Noqa-pis qoya-lla-na   rikcha-ska-mu-__ru__-:,*
         I-EVEN   morning-DLM-NOW wake.up-PFV-FAR-**PST.R**-1

60   *"Mama-y   ka-sha-ku"   ni-r,*
        mom-VOC be-PST.R3-Q.P say-SS

61   *... Ni-pti-:,*
         say-DS-1

62   *"Mana-m ka-Ø-n-tsu"   ni-r,*
        no-DIR   be-PRS-3-NEG say-SS

63   *mama-qa pas ari "Runa-na-chir   suwa-ski-sh"   ni-r,*
        mom-TOP very yes   person-NOW-APP steal-PFV-PST.R3 say-SS

64   *pase:pa [waqa-na-r-na]   ka-yka-__rqa__-n.*
        very   weep-DES-SS-NOW be-CONT-**PST**-3

In (62), Rita uses the historical present twice in describing their search for the donkey. Then, because they had not been able to find it after really searching, she went to her cousin to request divination (line 110). She uses the past *-r(q)a* with this result. Line 110 could also be considered to be an orientation in that a new person and a new activity are introduced. It may not be necessary to distinguish between orientations and results. Both are marked with the same tense forms. It is possible that starting points/ending points form one category in speakers' minds that could be referred to as 'boundary marker'.

139

In line 107, in the same sentence with the use of the past *-r(q)a*, the speaker uses the mutual certainty evidential *-cha:*. She is indicating that she knows what she is saying to be true, and that she knows her listener understands that it is true as well.

(62) Result / Orientation, experienced by the speaker (D110)

103	R: I **don't** even **get scared**. **PRESENT**	
104	"How could somebody steal it?	COMPLICATING ACTION
105	It must be just over there," saying.	
106	With Chino, over by Ongup Canyon,	
107	and in the vicinity of Shayan Tuna we really **search**. **PRESENT**	
108	After that then, not [word search]-ing now,	
109	because even I hadn't found it anywhere, getting scared now,	
110	I **went PAST** to our cousin Dina, taking along coca to have her chew.' (for divining)	RESULT / ORIENTATION

103 R: *(H) Noqa-qa ari ni   mantsa-ka-Ø-:-pis.*
         I-TOP   yes nor be.afraid.of-PASS-**PRS**-1-EVEN

104   *"Runa-qa   suwa-ski-n-man-ra:-ku,*
         person-TOP steal-PFV-3-COND-YET-Q.P

105   *tsay kinray-lla-chir"   ni-r,*
         that vicinity-DLM-APP say-SS

106   *Chini:tu-wan,|| (H) Ongup   Raqra   kinray   washa,*
         Chino-COM   Ongup   Canyon vicinity   over.there

107   *tsay Shayan Tuna kinray   pas ashi-yku-ya-Ø-:,*
         that Shayan Tuna vicinity very seek-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-1

108   *(H) ...Tsay-pita-qa tsa= ,|| (H) mana-na na-r-na-**cha:**,*
              that-ABL-TOP then   no-NOW uh-SS-NOW-**MUT**

109   *noqa-pis mana-na may-cho:-pis   tari-r-na   mantsa-ka-r-na,*
         I-EVEN   no-NOW where-LOC-EVEN find-SS-NOW be.afraid.of-PASS-SS-NOW

110   *@pri:ma-ntsi: ☺Dina-kaq-pa   ☺aywa-**ra**-: ☺kuka-ta*
         cousin-1ᵢ   Dina-DEF-GEN   go-**PST**-1   coca-OBJ

         ☺apa-rku-r   ☺chaqcha-tsi-ku-q.
          take-PFV.M-SS   chew.coca-CAUS-MID-PRMT

140

5.3.2 Results not witnessed by the speaker

The next two results, in contrast with the previous two, were not observed by the speaker. The speaker did not witness these situations. The narrative past -*na:* is used with results that were not witnessed by the speaker.

Preceding (63), Rita tells how the people of the community had tried to discover who had stolen some shoes and other possessions from a person who had become drunk during the time of the festival. In the climactic part, she tells how the shoes are revealed in the home of the thief. She wraps the story up in (63).

(63) Result not observed by the speaker (S59)

| 59 | R: | So it turned out it **was NARRATIVE PAST** | | RESULT |
| | | just him after all. | | |

| 59 | R: | ...*I=* | *tsay-lla* | *ka-ku-**na:*** | *mana-ku.* |
| | | and | that-DLM | be-MID-**PST.N** | no-Q.P |

The storyteller of the *Achikay* 'Witch' legendary narrative uses a series of the present as a historical present in the complicating action preceding line 25 of (64). The result of the mother pushing the children over the cliff is that they were caught in some thorny plants on the way down and trapped there. This is the ending point of the preceding stretch of complicating action.

This result in line 25 is marked with the narrative past -*na:*. It was not observed by the storyteller. The story had been passed down from her great-grandparents.

The pitch pattern in lines 24-25 gives evidence of suspenseful apprehension. See §7.2.2. While affect is apparent in this result and in some of the others as well, it does not determine the choice between tense forms in results. The only two tense forms that occur with results are the past -*r(q)a* and the narrative past -*na:*. Source of

evidence is the factor on which the choice is based. Both placement in time and source of evidence 'trump' affect. If a form is needed to place an event in time or indicate source of evidence, this takes priority over indicating affect.

Both the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* are used as 'bookends' for episodes of narrative. If the narrative was observed by the speaker or otherwise known to be true, the past *-r(q)a* is used to introduce and to conclude. If the narrative was reported, the narrative past *-na:* is used to orient and to conclude.

(64) Result in legendary material, not observed by the speaker (A25)

19	After she said that, taking them to the mountain cliff,	
20	she (the mother) **pushes PRESENT**	COMPLICATING ACTION
	her boy and her girl children down.	
21	E: Over the cliff?	
22	L: Over the cliff.	
23	E: @@ And?	
24	L: Then after she pushed them down over,	
25	the two of them **stayed** (trapped)	RESULT
	NARRATIVE PAST in *weqlla* and *qeshqi*	
	plants. (*Qeshqi* has thorny trunks.)	

19   *...Ni-r-qa,||*   *...qaqa-pa*   *apa-r,*
       say-SS-TOP   mountain.cliff-GEN take-SS

20   *...china-n orqu-ta wamra-n-ta qarpa-ska-mu-**Ø**-n.*
       female-3 male-OBJ child-3-OBJ push.down-PFV-FAR-**PRS**-3

21   E: *...qaqa-pa?*
       mountain.cliff-gen

22   L: *...qaqa-pa.*
       mountain.cliff-GEN

23   E: *...@@..I?*
           and

24   L: *...Tsay qarpa-ska-mu-pti-n-qa,*
       that push.down-PFV-FAR-DS-3-TOP

25   *...weqlla-chu: qeshqi-chu ke:da-ya:-**na:** ishka-n.*
       weqlla-LOC qeshqi-LOC stay-PL.V-**PST.N** two.3

In sum, a result explains what finally happened. It concludes. The past *-r(q)a* is used with results experienced or otherwise known to be true. The narrative past *-na:* is used with results of reported narratives.

Orientations, asides and results form a set. The choice of tense form for each of them is based on source of evidence. In asides, the choice can be based on the speaker's perspective, as well as source of evidence. The options are the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:*. Each of these components of narrative (orientations, asides and results) provide what might be considered peripheral or supplementary information. They do not generally present the action or the point of the story.

In the abstract, the complicating action and the climax, choice of tense form is based on another factor, affect. These components (the abstract, the complicating action and the climax) form the central part of narratives in SCQ. They present the action and make affective points.

5.4   Abstract

An abstract summarizes. It tells what the story is about. Both of the abstracts presented here give an abbreviated version of the story that follows. The tense forms used reflect the affect the speaker is communicating. The historical present conveys the positive affect of excitement. The narrative past *-na:* conveys the negative affects of shame and distress and also disapproving stance. The recent past *-sh((q)a)* conveys the positive affect of interest and a positive stance. The tense form used in the abstract communicates whether the affective significance of the story will be positive or negative.

5.4.1 Positive affect associated with the present as historical present

In (65), Rita gives an abstract of the 'Donkey' narrative using the present as a historical present, which helps to convey her excitement. This abstract comes immediately after the orientation, which was given in the past *-r(q)a*. Comments from the interlocutor about how the donkey always gets lost during the fiesta follow the abstract.

Rita gives a number of affective points in the abstract: she does not corral the donkeys for the night, their donkey gets lost, everybody in the family looks and looks for the donkey and they do not find it. The full story that follows gives the details of who looked where, how they went about trying to find the donkey, who finally found the donkey and where.

Her raised pitch across lines 16 and 17 indicates excitement, as does her smiling voice quality and laughter in line 18. The content itself is exciting as well.

(65) Abstract, positive affect (D12-18)

```
12  R:  And I don't even shut PRESENT them in
13       "It's still early" saying,                          ⎫
14        we lose PRESENT the donkey in the night.           ⎪ ABSTRACT,
15  G:  uh huh,                                              ⎬ excitement
16  R:  All of us, Niko,                                     ⎪
17        all of us look PRESENT and look PRESENT            ⎪
            for the donkey in the night.                     ⎪
18        We don't find PRESENT it. @@                       ⎭
```

```
12     R: ... I=  noqa-pis  mana  qayku-ski-Ø-:-pis-tsu,
              and I-EVEN   no    enclose-PFV-PRS-1-EVEN-NEG

13        "Tempra:nu-lla-ra:-cha:"    ni-r,
           early-DLM-YET-MUT          say-SS
```

144

14   *oqra-yku-ya-Ø-:*   *tsaka-y*   *bu:rru-ta-qa.*
       lose-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-1   darkness-INF   donkey-OBJ-TOP

15   G: *uh huh,*
        uh huh

16   R: *Llapa-:-kuna, || Niko,*
        all-1-PL.N   Niko

17   *llapa-:-kuna* *tsaka-y*   *ashi-ya-Ø-:*   *ashi-ya-Ø-:*   *bu:rru-ta-qa,*
       all-1-PL.N   darkness-INF seek-PL.V-**PRS**-1   seek-pl.v-**PRS**-1   donkey-OBJ-TOP

18   *.. (H) Mana-na ☺ tari-yku-[ya-Ø-:-na-tsu].*   @ @
        no-NOW   find-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-1-NOW-NEG

5.4.2 Negative affects associated with the narrative past

The next abstract, from the 'Stolen Shoes' narrative, is presented to show that negative affect may also be associated with an abstract.

As Guillermo and Rita talked about the festival, he asked if there was a lot of drunkenness. Rita answered that there was, and spelled out some details. Then a related story occurred to her. The abstract is a brief summary of that story. Rita tells what was stolen, from whom, and that people tried to figure out who did it. She also gives the final outcome, the identity of the thieves.

As she begins the abstract in line 30, Rita's tone of voice changes. She speaks in a lowered tone of voice and in a way that conveys hurt feelings, distress, shame and disapproval. I have heard other members of her family also speak this way when they are talking about a wrongdoing that has affected them personally.

The situation was that some people from their own community had stolen some items from other community members who were sleeping outside after having drunk too much at the festival. It is considered very bad form to steal from a person who is

drunk. Rita has negative feelings about it, especially shame, because the thieves were from their own community, not from a neighboring community as had been supposed. She uses the narrative past *-na:* four times in the abstract to help convey her shame and her stance of disapproval. In line 35, she is distressed because her own brother Niko was accused of the theft.

Rita also uses the recent past *-sh((q)a)* once in the central part of the abstract (line 34), conveying the positive affect of interest. She takes a positive stance towards the act of trying to find out who the thieves were so that they could be brought to justice.

The narrative past *-na:* and the recent past *-sh((q)a)* are used throughout the complicating action of the 'Stolen Shoes' narrative for the same affective purposes for which they are used in the abstract.

(66) Abstract, mostly negative affect (S30-36)

30	R:	And in addition um [word search] um,		
31		they **stole** <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u> Walter's shoes.	A	*shame*
32		Also a man, Ernesto Garay's son,	B	
33		from him someone **stole** <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u>	S	*shame*
		his jacket and his poncho.	T	
34		And "Who would it be? Who would it be?"	R	
		they **said**. <u>RECENT PAST</u>	A	*interest*
35		At first they **said**, <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u>	C	*shame, distress*
		"Niko stole them."	T	
36		And it turned out that Damian and Miguel		
		had done <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u> it.		*shame*

30   R: *...I= nirkur   a   na-pa-ta   este=,*
            and in.addition um thing-GEN-OBJ um

31   *Walter-pa-ta   sapatu-n-ta   suwa-ska-pu-ya:-**na:**.*
       Walter-GEN-OBJ   shoe-3-OBJ   steal-PFV-BEN-PL.V-**PST.N**

32   *...Nirkur   huk runa-sh   Ernesto Garay-pa tsuri-n,*
          in.addition one person-RPT Ernesto Garay-GEN child-3

33   *...tsay-pa-ta-na   kasa:ka-n-ta ponchu-n-ta suwa-ya:-**na:**   mas,*
          that-GEN-OBJ-NOW jacket-3-OBJ poncho-3-OBJ steal-PL.V-**PST.N** more

34   *I=... "Pi-ra: pi-ra:"   ni-ya-**shqa**,*
          and   who-YET who-YET say-PL.V-**PST.R3**

35   *Punta-ta-qa "Ni:ku-m apa-sh"   ni-ya:-**na:**,*
          first-OBJ-TOP Niko-DIR take-PST.R3 say-PL.V-**PST.N**

36   *I   Damian-wan Kuru   Miguel-lla tsay-ta-qa   rura-ku-ya:-**na:**.*
          and Damian-COM Insect[19] Miguel-DLM that-OBJ-TOP do-MID-PL.V-**PST.N**

In sum, the choice between tense forms in the abstract is based on affect. The narrative past *-na:* is used to convey negative affects such as shame and disapproving stance. The recent past *-sh((q)a)* communicates interest and a positive stance. The present as a historical present indicates the positive affect of excitement. The context as well as tone of voice and changes in pitch support this analysis.

5.5 Climax

Chafe (1994:129) describes a climax as an "unexpected deviation" from the norm. If a narrative were to contain nothing unexpected, it would have no point. The climax gives the reason for telling the story. Characteristically, climaxes are emotionally intense, exciting and surprising. A narrative may have more than one climax, particularly an epic narrative such as *Achikay* 'Witch', which has four. As in abstracts, in climaxes the choice between verbal tense markers is based on affect.

In this section, first I present two climaxes from conversational narrative, one demonstrating positive affect and the other negative affect. After that, two climaxes

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[19] Kuru 'insect' is a nickname.

from legendary narrative are presented, one with positive affect and the other with negative affect.

5.5.1 Positive affects, historical present, conversational narrative

Turning now to the abstracts in conversational narrative, the positive affects of happiness and excitement are associated with the climax in (67), which uses the historical present. The negative affect of shame is associated with the climax in (68), which uses the narrative past *-na:*.

In the 'Work' segment of the conversation between Rita and Guillermo, he tells her how he had not been excited about traveling to Huaraz to work. He had delayed coming for three weeks, but finally did make the trip. He is surprised and delighted to see how happy his co-workers are to see him. The reunion in lines 32-40 of (67) is the climax of this narrative.

Several tense forms are used in the 'Work' narrative, including the past *-r(q)a*, the present as a historical present, the recent past *-r(q)u* and the narrative past *-na:*. The present as a historical present is only used when the speaker is happy and/or excited about what s/he is talking about, as in this climax.

Just as Schiffrin (1981:60) finds the English historical present to be used with the most intense events of a narrative, those preceding the climax and at the climax, with the past used at less emotionally intense events, the historical present is used in this SCQ narrative with the most exciting events, those right before the climax and at the climax. In line 31, the historical present is used at the point when the door is opened for Guillermo. He does not know if his co-workers will be angry or happy. In

the climactic part (lines 32-40), he uses the historical present several times as he tells how each person gets happy when they see him and that he himself gets happier. No other tense markers are used in this climactic part. Rita responds to what he says with delighted laughter.

The intensity of the very positive, happy affect dies down a little as Guillermo says in line 41 almost exactly what Rita had said in line 40, overlapping with her speech. He uses the recent past *-r(q)u* rather than the historical present that she had used.

(67) Climax, historical present, happiness and excitement (W32-40)

28	Antonio **was NARRATIVE PAST** out in the street	
29 R:	Uh huh,	
30 G:	supervising workers.	
31	Then he **opens PRESENT** (the door) for me.	*happiness, excitement*
32	As soon as I go in I **find PRESENT** David.	
33	He **gets happy PRESENT** too.	CLIMAX,
34 R:	Very much so? @	*happiness, excitement*
35 G:	Mrs. Debora too.	
36 R:	@@	
37 G:	They all **get happy**. **PRESENT**	
38 R:	Ah.	
39 G:	In my heart I also **get** even **happier**. **PRESENT**	
40 R:	About the festival you **don't** even **think PRESENT** now@@@.	
41 G:	About the festival I **didn't** even **think RECENT PAST** now.	*interest, less intense*

28   *...don Antonio ka-yka:-__na:__   ka:lli-chu   ...waqta-cho:,*
          Mr. Antonio be-CONT-**PST.N** street-LOC   back-LOC

29   R: *uh huh,*
          uh huh

30   G: *...aru-tsi-ku-r,*
          work-CAUS-MID-SS

31   *...Tse:-na   kicha-pa:-ma-**Ø**-n,*
      that-NOW open-BEN-1OBJ-**PRS**-3

32   *Pa:sa-ra-mu-r   don ...David-ta-qa   tari-ri-**Ø**-:,*
      pass-PUNC-FAR-SS Mr.   David-OBJ-TOP find-PUNC-**PRS**-1

33   *...Pay-pis kushi-yku-**Ø**-n,*
      he-EVEN happy-PFV.O-**PRS**-3

34   R: *Alla:pa ka-q? @*
      very   be-AG

35   G: *Seño:ra [Debora-pis].*
      Mrs.   Debora-EVEN

36   R: *[@@]*

37   G: *Kushi-yku-ya-**Ø**-n   llapa-n.*
      happy-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-3 all-3

38   R: *... ☺A=,*
           ah

39   G: *Noqa-pis kushi-ku-**Ø**-:   shonqu-:-chu mas-ra:,*
      I-EVEN   happy-MID-**PRS**-1 heart-1-LOC   more-YET

40   R: *...Fyesta-pa: ni [yarpa-**Ø**-nki-na-pis-tsu.   @@@]*
      festival-PURP nor think-**PRS**-2-NOW-EVEN-NEG

41   G: *[Fyesta-pa:-qa   yarpa-**ru**-:-na-pis-tsu.]*
                    festival-PURP-TOP think-**PST.R**-1-NOW-EVEN-NEG

5.5.2   Negative affect, narrative past, conversational narrative

The climax in (68) comes from the 'Stolen Shoes' narrative in the conversation

between Rita and Guillermo. The narrative past *-na:* is used with this climactic event

that brings shame to the community, the revealing of the stolen goods in the home of

the thief. Rita's tone of voice indicates the shame she feels.

It is typical for a climax to have "bells and whistles" (Chafe 1994:131) marking

it prominently (Longacre 1985), as does the one in lines 54-56. This climax consists

of one grammatical sentence with multiple clauses, with quoted material embedded.

The adjective *chachak* 'tightly-tied' is used and receives a heavy accent. Adjectives

are rarely used in the language, so use of one here indicates something special.

(68) Climax, narrative past *-na:*, negative affect of shame (S54-56)

54 L: Then Mrs. Adora, "Here it is.
55   Don't you tell anybody," saying,
56   she **took out NARRATIVE PAST** a tightly tied   CLIMAX,
            bundle with Walter's shoes inside too.   *shame, surprise*

54   L: *Tsay-na doña   Ado:ra-qa ari,|| um "Kay-cho:-cha: ka-yka-Ø-n.*
            that-NOW madame Adora-TOP yes   um   this-LOC-MUT be-CONT-PRS-3

55   *Ama-ri   pi-ta-pis   willa-ku-yku-ya-y-tsu". || ni-r-nin,*
            no-SURE   who-OBJ-EVEN inform-MID-PFV.O-PL.V-IMP2-NEG   say-SS-3

56   *...hipi-mu-**na:**   chachak   qepi-sha-ta   tsay-chu Walter-pa*
            take.out-FAR-**PST.N** very.tight wrap.up-PTCP-OBJ that-LOC Walter-GEN

            sapatu-n-ta-pis.
            shoe-3-OBJ-EVEN

Climaxes from legendary narrative follow the same pattern of tense use to

convey affect as climaxes from events that really happened. The historical present is

used for events that are exciting in a positive way, that are associated with happiness

on the part of the narrator. The narrative past *-na:* is used in conjunction with

negative affect.

5.5.3   Positive affect, historical present, legendary narrative

Three of the climaxes in the *Achikay* 'Witch' and *Lamun kuru* 'Gigantic worm'

stories are marked with the present as a historical present. These climaxes are

associated with positive affect (excitement and happiness) on the part of the

storyteller when the antagonist is outwitted. In these climaxes: 1) the witch eats her

own child, thinking she was eating the visiting girl, 2) the witch falls to her death

after a mouse chews in two the rope she was climbing and 3) A gigantic worm that had been eating children is slain. Tomkins writes (1962:290), on the joy of revenge, that even in the politest of society "it is not uncommon to see the joy in the ill-concealed smile of triumph at the felicitous wit that destroys the adversary". This is what happens in these cases. The storyteller is excited and animated in telling about the downfall of the adversaries, who have done so much harm. All three of these climaxes are marked with the present used as a historical present.

Two climaxes in the *Achikay* story that involve deaths of children are marked with the narrative past *-na:*. These climaxes are negative from the point of view of the storyteller. They are associated with sadness and/or anger.

To contrast the use of the historical present and the narrative past at climactic points in narrative, I present two climaxes from the *Achikay* story that are associated with opposing types of affect. In both cases the witch eats a child. In (69), she accidentally eats her own child, which is exciting and triumphantly good from the point of view of the storyteller. It is marked with the present as a historical present. In (70), she eats the visiting girl's brother, which galls the storyteller and is marked with the narrative past *-na:*.

The context preceding (69) is that the witch told her child to do several things: to get a fire going under a very large container of boiling water, to trick the visiting girl into looking down in, and then to push her in to be cooked. The visiting girl overheard, was able to push the witch's child in instead, and then escapes. The witch arrives on the scene later (line 79), calls out for her child to come and eat, and begins

to eat what is in the pot, thinking it was the visiting girl. The climax is at her

discovery of and reaction to what she had eaten. The storyteller's voice shows

excitement as she tells this climactic part. Her voice carries the drama as she

animates the voice of the witch.

Both the events preceding the climax and the climatic events themselves are

marked with the present as a historical present, indicating excitement, as was also

the case in (67). Following the climax, the storyteller switches to the recent past

-sh((q)a) to tell about the visiting girl getting away and the witch's pursuit of her.

(69) Climax, present as a historical present, positive affect (A79-89)

79 L: Then the witch **arrives** <u>PRESENT</u>.
80   "Wonderful, so he did it.
81   Antuktupay, *(name of witch's child)*
82   Where would he be so we can eat?"
83   saying she **calls**, <u>PRESENT</u> beginning to eat.
84   After she calls him, within her stomach
           "Qawllullullullu," he **says**. <u>PRESENT</u>   CLIMAX,
85   "Oh, *&^%!,   *excitement*
86   she made me eat my child, I think."
87   Defecating on top of a rock,
88   "Take the form of a child, take the form of a child,
89   Antuktupay," saying, the witch
           is kneading <u>PRESENT</u> it @@
           (into a human shape).

79   L: *Tsay-shi cha-ski-**Ø**-n   ..achikay-qa.*
            that-RPT arrive-PFV-PRS-3   witch-TOP

80   *..."Achallaqhaw   a:nir   rura-yku-sha".*
               wonderful   so   do-PFV.O-PST.R3

81   *..."Antuktupay,*
               Antuktupay

82   *Maychu:-ra: ka-yka-n   aq miku-ya:-na-:-pa:."*
               where-YET   be-CONT-3 oh eat-PL.V-NMLZ.I-1-PURP

83   *ni-r-shi   qaya-ku-Ø-n   miku-ri-r-na.*
        say-SS-RPT call-MID-**PRS**-3 eat-PUNC-SS-NOW

84   *...Qaya-ku-pti-n-qa   pacha-n-lla-chu, ||"Qaw:llullullullu" ni-Ø-n_.*
        call-MID-DS-3-TOP stomach-3-DLM-LOC   qawllullullullu   say-**PRS**-3

85   *..."A: nina-siki grandisima,*
         oh fire-butt gigantic

86   *miku-ra-tsi-ma-sha-qa   wawa-:-ta-m   e:llu."*
        eat-PUNC-CAUS-1OBJ-PST.R3-TOP child-1-OBJ-DIR I.think

87   *...Rumi hana-n-man   ishpa-ski-r-qa,*
         rock   on.top.of-3-ALL urinate-PFV-SS-TOP

88   *"Wawa-tuku-y   wawa-tuku-y,*
         child-PARTIAL-IMP2 child-PARTIAL-IMP2

89   *Antuktupay" ni-r   lluyllu-yka-Ø-n   @@ || ...Achikay.*
        Antuktupay say-SS knead-CONT-**PRS**-3   witch

5.5.4 Negative affect, narrative past, legendary narrative

The climax in (70), lines 70-72, is associated with negative affect, gall at the

evilness of the witch. The storyteller leads up to the climax using the historical

present. She switches to the narrative past *-na:* for the climax. The pauses in line 70

add emotional impact to the statement. Line 72 has a marked increase in pitch and

intensity. The way the storyteller says *mikurina:* 'She ate him' indicates anger, gall

in relation to the character of the witch.

(70) Climax, narrative past *-na:*, negative affect (A63-72)

63 L: "All right. You sleep with my child.
64   I'll sleep with your brother on the second floor,"
             she (the witch) **says PRESENT**.
65 E: um hum.
66 L: So she **sleeps PRESENT** on the second floor
             with her (the girl's) brother,
67   that mother of his, the witch.
68   Then the child, "Ouch,
69   ouch," saying he **dawns**. **PRESENT**
             (*The child cries out all night until dawn.)*

154

70   And she completely **finished NARRATIVE PAST**
          him, the child.   CLIMAX,
71 E: How **did** she **finish NARRATIVE PAST** him?'   *gall at the evilness*
72 L: She **ate NARRATIVE PAST** him.   *of the witch*

63   L: *"A=,   ...Qam ...wamra-:-wan puñu-ka-mu-y,*
          All   right   you   child-1-COM sleep-MID-FAR-IMP2

64   *...Noqa turi-ki-wan   puñu-mu-sha: hunish-chu:". || ni-**Ø**-n.*
          I   brother-2-COM   sleep-FAR-FUT1   second.floor-LOC   say-**PRS**-3

65   E: *[um hum].*
          um hum

66   L: *...[A:nir] turi-n-wan-qa   hunish-chu   punu-ya-**Ø**-n=,*
          so   brother-3-COM-TOP second.floor-LOC sleep-PL.V-**PRS**-3

67   *..tsay mama-n achikay-qa.*
          that mother-3 witch-TOP

68   *...Tsay-qa wamra-qa, ||"Achachallaw=,*
          that-TOP child-TOP   ouch

69   *...achachallaw" ni-r   wara-ski-**Ø**-n.*
          ouch   say-SS dawn-PFV-**PRS**-3

70   *...Y   u% chip   usha-ri-**na:**. || ...wamra-ta-qa.*
          and MS totally finish-PUNC-**PST.N**   child-OBJ-TOP

71   E: *Imanuy usha-ri-**na:**.*
          how   finish-PUNC-**PST.N**

72   L: *↑Miku-ri-**na:**.*
           eat-PUNC-**PST.N**

In sum, the choice between tense forms in the climax is based on affect. In climactic material, which characteristically is emotionally intense and surprising, the affect associated with the surprise can be positive or negative. This is reflected in the tense form used. The narrative past *-na:* is used to convey negative affects such as shame and anger. The historical present indicates positive affect, including excitement and happiness. Context, tone of voice, changes in pitch and intensity, and pauses support this analysis.

5.6 Complicating action

As with abstracts and climaxes, the choice between tense forms in the complicating action of narratives is based on affect. The historical present is used in association with the positive affects of excitement and happiness. The recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u* is used with interest, a positive affect that is less intense than excitement. The narrative past *-na:* is used in association with negative affect, including shame, anger and suspenseful apprehension.

5.6.1 Positive affects, the historical present

In (71), lines 7-10 form one grammatical sentence, containing represented discourse in lines 7-8 and the historical present in line 10. Delighted laughter from the interlocutor follows in line 11. Represented discourse and laughter often accompany the historical present (chapter 7).

The historical present is used as the speaker conveys positive, happy affect in line 10. It is also associated with excitement together with happiness (lines 16 and 17). When wanting to get on the bus at that point in the route, it is necessary to flag it down, hoping it has room and will stop. Guillermo is happy and excited to see a bus coming, and even more so when he is allowed to get on.

(71) Complicating action, positive affects, historical present (W10, 16-17)

```
7   G:  "Father God, you know how it is.
8         You will have to arrange how I will be," saying,
9         trusting in him, going out of my house
              feeling lazy,
10        on the path then I start to get happy PRESENT        happiness
              about my coming.
11  R:  @@
```

156

12 Surely because you had asked God.
13 G: So, "He already knows," saying now,
14 gradually becoming more content,
15 getting down to the road,
     I **waited** <u>RECENT PAST</u> for a bus.   *interest*
16 Then, San Martin (a bus) **arrives**. <u>PRESENT</u> ⎤
17 I **take off** <u>PRESENT</u> towards here in that (bus). ⎦ *happiness, excitement*

7   G: *"...Tayta Dyus qam-mi musya-yku-Ø-nki,*
        Father God   you-DIR know-PFV.O-PRS-2

8   *...Qam dispo:ni-yku-y   ima-no:-pis   ...ka-na-:-pa:"   ni-r,*
           you   arrange-PFV.O-IMP2 what-SIM-EVEN   be-NMLZ.I-1-PURP say-SS

9   *pay-man ya:ra-ku-r-na ǁ wayi-:-pita qela-na-yka-r   yarqa-mu-r,*
           he-ALL   trust-MID-SS-NOW house-1-ABL lazy-DES-CONT-SS leave-FAR-SS

10   G: *...na:ni-cho:-na= ..kushi-na-ski-**Ø**-:*   *[sha-mu-na-:-pa:]*   *ka-q-ta.*
           path-LOC-NOW   happy-DES-PFV-**PRS**-1 come-FAR-NMLZ.I-1-PURP   be-AG-OBJ

11   R: *[@   @]*

12   *...Tayta   [₂Dyos-nintsi:-man maña-ku-sh   ka-r-chir.]*
           Father   God-1₁-ALL   ask-MID-PTCP   be-SS-APP

13   G: *[₂Entonsi "Pay-qa musya-ku-n-na-m"]   ni-r-na,*
                        then   he-TOP know-MID-3-NOW-DIR say-SS-NOW

14   *kushi-na-r   kushi-na-r,*
        happy-DES-SS happy-DES-SS

15   *...tsa   karrete:ra-man cha-rpu-r   ka:rru-ta   shuya-ku-**ru**-:,*
           then   road-ALL   arrive-COMPL-SS vehicle-OBJ   wait-MID-**PST.R**-1

16   *...Tsa=, ǁ cha:-ra-mu-**Ø**-n   San   Martin-mi,*
           then   arrive-PUNC-FAR-**PRS**-3 Saint Martin-DIR

17   *Tsay-wan heqa-ska-mu-**Ø**-:.*
        that-COM go-PFV-FAR-**PRS**-1

In (72) below, the five finite verbs in lines 8-22 are all in the present used as a historical present, and help to convey the positive affect of excitement. Represented discourse (lines 8, 9, 14, 15 and 18) and laughter (lines 12, 15 and 16) are associated with these uses of the historical present.

In the analysis of (72) and of all the data in which affect is being conveyed, it is necessary to bear in mind that it is the positive or negative *affect of the speaker*, rather than the positive or negative *content of the narrative* that determines the tense choice. Often these are parallel; negative content elicits negative affect from the speaker and positive content elicits positive affect from the speaker. However, it is not always this way. The *Achikay* narrative has quite a lot of negative content. In (72), the parents decide not to cook anything until the children are asleep in order to eat all the food themselves. After discovering that the children are awake, the mother throws them over the cliff. The storyteller communicates her excitement, a positive affect, as she tells this, using the historical present.

One might wonder why she laughs so much. Chafe (2007) finds that laughter can mitigate the uncomfortableness of a situation, so that it seems lighter, not so serious (See §7.4). I would hypothesize that this is why Lita laughs here. Laughter itself expresses a positive feeling. Lita is having a good time telling the story.

(72) Complicating action, positive affect, historical present (A8-22)

8   L: So, "I think the children are asleep.
9   Let's toast some corn,"
10   they **say PRESENT**
            after arriving from their searching.
11   E: Go on,
12   L: @@@ after saying that,
13   but apparently the child **does not sleep PRESENT**   *excitement*
            he is **listening PRESENT**
14   When she said, "I wonder where the toasting pot
            is for us to toast corn",
15   "Mother, down below in the corner," @
            he **says, PRESENT**
16   the @child. @@
17   E: Go on,

18 L: After he said that, "Oh, he's awake, isn't he,
        the little pest."
19   After she said that, taking them to the mountain cliff,   *excitement*
20   she (the mother) **pushes PRESENT**
        her boy and her girl children down.
21 E: Over the cliff?
22 L: Over the cliff.

8   L: *...Tsay-qa,|| ..."Wamra-kuna   punu-ka-sha-m   may.   -Ø*
            that-TOP   child-PL.N   sleep-PASS-PTCP-DIR   I.think PRS

9   *... Anka-ku-ri-shun".*
            toast.corn-MID-PUNC-FUT1$_I$

10   *ni-ya-**Ø**-n-shi   tsay ashi-ku-ya-nqa-n-pita   cha-ski-r-qa.*
            say-PL.V-**PRS**-3-RPT that search-MID-PL.V-NMLZ.R-3-ABL arrive-PFV-SS-TOP

11   E: *Ni-y,*
            say-IMP2

12   L: *@@@ || ...Ni-pti-n-qa,*
                 say-DS-3-TOP

13   *...wamra-qa   peru mana-chi   punu-**Ø**-n-tsu   wiya-ra-yka-**Ø**-n,*
            child-TOP   but   no-CNJ   sleep-**PRS**-3-NEG listen-DUR-CONT-**PRS**-3

14   *"Kanalla   may-chu-ra: anka-ku-ri-shun"   ni-pti-n-qa,*
            toasting.pot where-LOC-YET   toast.corn-MID-PUNC-FUT1$_I$ say-DS-3-TOP

15   *..."Mama-y, || ...ulla   kuchu-lla-cho:-mi"   @ni-**Ø**-n,*
            Mother-VOC   below   corner-DLM-LOC-DIR   say-**PRS**-3

16   *@wamra-qa.[@@]*
            child-TOP.

17   E: *[Ni-y],*
                     say-IMP2

18   L: *Ni-pti-n-qa   "Riya-yka-Ø-n   aw lisu:-ra?"*
            say-DS-3-TOP wake.up-CONT-PRS-3 yes rude-YET

19   *...Ni-r-qa,|| ...qaqa-pa   apa-r,*
            say-SS-TOP   mountain.cliff-GEN take-SS

20   *...china-n   orqu-ta   wamra-n-ta qarpa-ska-mu-**Ø**-n.*
            female-3 male-OBJ child-3-OBJ push.down-PFV-FAR-**PRS**-3

21   E: *...qaqa-pa?*
            mountain.cliff-gen

22   L: *...qaqa-pa.*
            mountain.cliff-GEN

5.6.2 Positive affect of interest, the recent past

The use of the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u* is associated with the positive affect of interest. This affect is less intense than the positive affects of excitement and happiness.

Izard and Buechler (1980:168) write that the most frequently experienced positive emotion is interest. It makes sense that the everyday, regular way of talking about past events is with the recent past, the tense form associated with interest. In the 21-minute conversation, there are 117 tokens of the recent past, which is more than the combined number of tokens of the other five forms used with past situations. This shows, at least in this lengthy conversation, the recent past to be much more frequent than the others. Table 5.1 provides a count of the tense markers used with past situations in the 21-minute conversation.

TABLE 5.1.   COUNTS OF TENSE MARKERS USED WITH PAST SITUATIONS

Tense marker used for past situations	Number of tokens in the conversation
recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u*	117
past *-r(q)a*	66
present as a historical present *-Ø*	26
narrative past *-na:*	18
mirative (from a past perfect) *-sh kashqa*	5
habitual past *-q*	0

A series of utterances may be marked with the recent past, as in (73). In this segment of the 'Donkey' narrative, Rita tells about her mother finding the donkey's tracks at the threshing floor and coming home, and about others in the family

searching and then coming back, not having found it. The events of this complicating action are in sequence as they happened. Rita's speech is rapid in this segment, she needs to catch her breath several times (lines 89, 95 and 98) and she smiles (line 101). All of these things demonstrate her interest in what she is talking about.

(73) Complicating action, positive affect of interest, recent past (D88-101)

88	R:	So when mother went in the early morning,
89		she **found** <u>RECENT PAST</u> its tracks over there on Uncle Santos' threshing floor, the imprints of its wallowing and everything.
90	G:	Uh huh.
91	R:	Then,
92		there **was** not <u>RECENT PAST</u> even an indication of where it went. (There were no tracks leading away.)
93		"Maybe it is my donkey," she **said**. <u>RECENT PAST</u>
94		Having said that (mother said to me), "Because your donkey was over there,
95		it might have been his (Guillermo's)" saying.
96		She **came back** <u>RECENT PAST</u> well into the day,
97		eight o'clock (a.m.) or about then.
98		We **searched** <u>RECENT PAST</u> very hard.
99		Then we all **arrived**, <u>RECENT PAST</u>
100		"It's not anywhere.
101		It's not anywhere," saying, all of us.

COMPLICATING ACTION, *interest*

88   R: *(H) I   tsay-pita-qa   mama qoya-lla-na   aywa-r-nin-qa=,*
         and that-ABL-TOP mom   morning-DLM-NOW go-SS-3-TOP

89   *..tsa rastru-ta-qa   tari-__shqa__   ari washa   Tiyu-ntsik Santos-pa*
         then rastro-OBJ-TOP find-**PST.R3** yes over.there Uncle-1₁   Santos-GEN

      e:ra-n-kaq-chu   qoshpa-ri-sha-n-ta   llapa-n-pis.
      threshing.floor-3-DEF-LOC wallow-PUNC-NMLZ.R-3-OBJ all-3-EVEN

90   G: *uh huh,*
         uh huh

91   R: *...Kay– tsay-pita-qa,*
         (MS) that-ABL-TOP

92   *ni   may-pa   aywa-sha-n-pis   ka-__sha__-tsu,*
       nor where-GEN go-NMLZ.R-3-EVEN be-**PST.R3**-NEG

93   *"Bu:rru-:tsura:-pis" ni-__sh__,*
      donkey-1-DUB-EVEN say-**PST.R3**

94   *ni-ka-sha-n-ta-qa,   "Ari bu:rru-yki washa-chu   ka-sh   ka-pti-n,*
      say-PASS-NMLZ.R-3-OBJ-TOP   yes donkey-2 over.there-LOC be-PST.R3 be-DS-3

95   *(H) ... pay-pa-chir ka-sh"   ni-r.*
            he-GEN-APP be-PST.R3 say-SS

96   *Kuti-ka-mu-__sh__   pas hunaq-na,*
      return-MID-FAR-**PST.R**3 very day-NOW

97   *la-s   o:chu tsay-no:-na-chir.*
      the-PL.SP eight that-SIM-NOW-APP

98   *(H) Ashi-ya-__ru__-:   pas pase:pa.*
        seek-PL.V-**PST.R**-1 very very

99   *Tsa cha-ski-ya-__ru__-:-na   ari,*
      then arrive-PFV-PL.V-**PST.R**-1-NOW yes

100   *"Mana-m ka-Ø-n-tsu,*
       no-DIR   be-PRS-3-NEG

101   *Mana-m ka-Ø-n-tsu" ni-r ☺ [llapa-:-kuna-pis].*
       no-DIR   be-PRS-3-NEG say-SS   all-1-PL.N-EVEN

    A single utterance in the midst of others may be marked with the recent past, as in (74), below, from the Achikay story. In line 41, the use of the historical present is associated with the excitement of the condor getting the children out of the prickly plants. In line 43, the emotional intensity dies down to simple interest as the children dig potatoes, marked with the recent past *-sh((q)a)*. Things get more intense again as the children realize they have no way to cook the potatoes (line 45) marked with the historical present. This same pattern of tense form use occurs in (71), above.

(74) Complicating action, positive affect of interest, recent past (A43)

41 L: Then a condor or something
        gets them out, <u>PRESENT</u>   *excitement*
42   to the potato field ready to harvest.
43   They **dug up** <u>RECENT PAST</u> (some potatoes).   *interest*
44   Having dug them up, in order to cook them,
45   there **is** <u>PRESENT</u> neither fire nor pot.   *excitement*

41   L: ...*Tsay-shi   kondor-ku-sh   ima-shi   hipi-ski-**Ø**-n,*
            that-RPT   condor-Q.P-RPT   what-RPT   take.out-PFV-**PRS**-3

42   ...*qarwa-raq papa-man-qa.*
           yellow-yet potato-ALL-TOP

43   ...*Tsay-qa oqti-ya-**sha**,*
           that-TOP dig-PL.V-**PST.R3**

44   ...*Oqti-ski-r, ‖   yanu-ku-ya:-na-n-pa:,*
           dig-PFV-SS   boil-MID-PL.V-NMLR.I-3-PURP

45   *ni   nina ni manka-na ka-**Ø**-n-tsu.*
           not fire not pot-NOW be-**PRS**-3-NEG

5.6.3 Negative affects, the narrative past

In complicating action, the narrative past *-na:* is used in association with negative affects, including shame, anger and suspenseful apprehension.

In the following excerpt from 'Stolen Shoes', the complicating action is moving along with *-sh((q)a),* the recent past, (lines 44-48). At the point when Benito almost hits Ernesto with a stick (line 49), the narrative past *-na:* is used. With the use of the narrative past *-na:* and through her tone of voice, Rita is expressing shame that this happened in their community. She uses the narrative past *-na:* this way in the abstract and the climax of this narrative as well, shown above in (66) and (68), respectively.

(75) Complicating action, negative affect of shame, narrative past *-na:* (S49)

44 R: He **recognized RECENT PAST** his voice.
45   After he told his dad,   COMPLICATING ACTION,
       he (his dad) **went RECENT PAST** over there.   *interest*
46   So Ernesto Garay **went RECENT PAST** to
       Benito's to say to him,
47   "Your son stole my son's clothes.
48   Is this the way you raise your son?"
49   When he (Ernesto) said this,
       he (Benito) almost **hit NARRATIVE PAST**   COMPLICATING ACTION,
       him with a stick.   *shame*

44   R: *Tse: reqi-**sh**   bos-nin-ta,*
       that know-**PST.R3** voice-3-OBJ

45   *Tsay-na aywa-**sh** tsay-man,|| ...tsa papa:-nin-ta willa-pti-n-qa,*
       that-NOW go-**PST.R3** that-ALL   then father-3-OBJ inform-DS-3-TOP

46   *Tsay ..a Ernesto Garay-qa aywa-**sh** don Benito-man-qa ari= ni-q-nin,*
       that   um Ernesto Garay-TOP go-**PST.R3** sir Benito-ALL-TOP yes say-PRMT-3

47   *"Wamra-yki suwa-pa-sh   wamra-:-pa ro:pa-n-kuna-ta.*
       child-2   steal-BEN-PST.R3 child-1-GEN clothes-3-PL.N-OBJ

48   *...Tsay-rikoq-ta   wamra-ta ashma-Ø-nki",*
       that-CLASS-OBJ child-OBJ raise-PRS-2

49   *Ni-pti-n-qa   qeru-wan ka:si wiru-ska-mu-**na:** na-qa.*
       say-DS-3-TOP wood-COM almost hit-PFV-FAR-**PST.N** thing-TOP

In (76), the use of the narrative past *-na:* is associated with the negative affect of anger. In lines 80 and 82, Adrian maligns Rita's brother Niko to his face. Both Rita and Guillermo are angry because Adrian spoke this way to her brother, who was innocent. In 83, Guillermo overlaps completely with Rita's speech in line 82 before she was able to finish, and then she overlaps with his.

(76) Complicating action, negative affect of anger, narrative past (S78-82)

78 R: " "Niko stole,"
79   saying they commented about you,"
80   saying he (Uncle Adrian)
             said. **NARRATIVE PAST**   COMPLICATING ACTION,
81   "Who said this about me, Uncle?"   *anger*
82   When he (Niko) said this he (Adrian) did not
             give him an answer. **NARRATIVE PAST**
83 G: I suppose he alone **thought** **PAST** that.   AN ASIDE
        (Adrian, that Niko had stolen the things)
84 R: He (Adrian) could even have **said PAST** it   AN ASIDE
        as a lie.

78   R: *...um= ""Ni:ku-m   apa-sh",*
           um   Niko-DIR take-PST.R3

79   *ni-r-mi   ni-ya:-shu-ra-yki-qa."*
          say-SS-DIR say-PL.V-2OBJ-PST-2-TOP

80   *Ni-r-shi   ni-**na:**,*
          say-SS-RPT say-**PST.N**

81   *"Pi-ta: Tiyu-y   ni-ma-sh",*
           who-Q.C uncle-VOC say-1OBJ-PST.R3

82   *[ni-pti-n-qa   mana-sh ni   rasuna-**na:**-tsu].*
           say-DS-3-TOP no-RPT   nor give.answer-**PST.N**-NEG

83   G: *[Kiki-n-lla-na-chir   ni-**ra**-n]   [₂tse:-qa].*
          self-3-DLM-NOW-APP say-**PST**-3   that-TOP

84   R: *[₂Arde:-pis]   ni-**ra**-n-chi   tse:-qa.*
                                  pretense-EVEN say-**PST**-3-CNJ that-TOP

In (77), the witch sends the children to get firewood, eats the potatoes they had

dug and then pours round rocks into the pot in their place. The words

aywayanqanya:qa chaskiptinqa mikuskir in lines 60 and 61 are all pronounced with

high pitch. Then the storyteller's voice drops for line 62 with the pouring of the

rocks into the pot. Later, the children return and realize they have been tricked.

The marked pitch changes in lines 60-62, together with the context and the use of the narrative past *-na:*, all help to convey suspenseful apprehension.

(77) Complicating action, negative affect of suspenseful apprehension (A60-62)

59	L: go and bring firewood," she **says**. **PRESENT**	COMPLICATING ACTION,
60	While they went to look for firewood,	*excitement*
61	as soon as (the potatoes) were done, after eating them up,	
62	she **poured** **NARRATIVE PAST** round rocks down into the pot.	COMPLICATING ACTION, *suspenseful apprehension*

59   L: *aywa-y   yantaka-ra-ya:-mu-y". || ..ni-**Ø**-n.*
          go-IMP2   look.for.firewood-PUNC-PL.V-FAR-IMP2   say-**PRS**-3

60   *...Yantaku-q   ↑aywa-ya-nqa-n-ya:-qa,*
          look.for.firewood-PRMT   go-PL.V-NMLZ.R-3-LIM-TOP

61   *↑cha-ski-pti-n-qa   ↑miku-ski-r,*
          arrive-PFV-DS-3-TOP   eat-PFV-SS

62   *qolluta-ta   wiña-pa-rpu-**na:**. || ...manka-man.*
          round.rocks-OBJ pour-BEN-COMPL-**PST.N**   pot-ALL

Summarizing, orientations, asides and resolutions form a set, in which the choice between tense forms is based on source of evidence and perspective. Abstracts, climaxes and complicating action form a second set, in which the choice is based on affect.

The narrative past *-na:* is a member of both sets. The past *-r(q)a* occurs almost exclusively in the first set (with orientations, asides and resolutions). The recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u* occur almost exclusively in the second set (with complicating action). The historical present occurs only in the second set (in abstracts, climaxes and complicating action).

5.7   Coda

Codas relate the events in a narrative to the current context. They step back

from the narrated events to talk about them. Placement in time is the factor on which

tense choice is based in the codas. The present tense is almost always used, probably

because interlocutors are relating the events to the current context. The past and the

recent past are used occasionally. An example of each type is presented below.

5.7.1   Placement in time, present

After the short narrative segment in 'Stolen Shoes', in which Rita tells

Guillermo how Adrian had maligned their brother to his face, in the coda in (78),

they both talk about Adrian's character using the zero-marked present tense. In line

88, Guillermo makes a metacomment about all of what Adrian had said, that Adrian

is really good at telling bad things about people.

(78) Coda, placement in time, zero-marked present tense (S85-89)

85   G: How could he say that about Niko
        or hmm,
86   maybe because he senses something
        he **talks** (that way), **PRESENT**
87   R: Yes.   CODA
88   G: Adrian **is PRESENT** really good   (present)
        (at telling bad things about people).
89   R: That's for sure.

85   G: *...Ni:ku-pa: ni-na-n-pa:-qa   #u-qa ma:,*
            Niko-PURP say-NMLZ.I-3-PURP-TOP or-TOP lets.see

86   *ima-ta-pis   algu-ta   maya-r-chir   peru ni-Ø-n,*
        what-OBJ-EVEN something-OBJ sense-SS-APP   but   say-**PRS**-3

87   R: *...Ari.*
            yes

88   G: *...<CRK>Adrian-pis   ko:sa-lla-m</CRK>*. **Ø**
                  Adrian-EVEN very.good-DLM-DIR   **PRS**

89   R: *...Sella:ma   ari.*
              abundantly yes

5.7.2   Placement in time, past

The coda in (79) comes at the very end of the 'Donkey' narrative. Rita makes a metacomment about the whole thing, using the past tense *-ra*, 'Hey, we @were so afraid.' Guillermo then uses the zero-marked present tense to say, 'That's (the way) the festival is.' Both of these statements place situations in time.

(79) Coda, placement in time, past *-r(q)a* and zero-marked present (D149-150)

149 R: Hey, we @**were so afraid**. **PAST**   CODA,
                                                            (previous in time)
150 G: That's (the way) the festival **is**. **PRESENT**   CODA,
                                                            (present)

149   R: *...Tsay-ran [@mantsa-ka-yku-ya-**ra**-:-qa].*
              that-YET   be.afraid.of-PASS-PFV.O-PL.V-**PST**-1-TOP

150   G: *[Tsa: fyesta-qa.]*   **Ø**
                        then festival-TOP **PRS**

5.7.3   Placement in time, recent past

In (80), the recent past *-sh((q)a)* is used twice. After telling the whole 'Stolen Shoes' story, including the revelation of the bundle of stolen things, Rita makes a broader comment about it all, 'And so like that everything was known.' The word got out to the whole community about what had happened. Guillermo echoes what she said, using some of the same morphology, including the recent past *-sh((q)a).*

(80) Coda, placement in time, recent past *-sh((q)a)* (S60-62)

60 R: And so like that everything
         was known. **RECENT PAST**   CODA
61 G: That's bad, isn't it?   (recent past)
62   So it **became known RECENT PAST**
            (to everyone).

60   R: *I   tsa   tsay-no:-pa   musya-ka-**sh**   [chip].*
            and then that-SIM-GEN know-PASS-**PST.R3**   total

61   G: *[Tse:-ran-qa] aw?*
                                                 that-YET-TOP   yes

62   *Tsa   musya-ka:-ri-**sh**.*
         then know-PASS-PUNC-**PST.R3**

In sum, in codas, placement in time is the factor affecting the choice of tense marker. Speakers generally use the present tense as they relate the events of the narrative to the current situation, but it is also possible to use the past *-r(q)a* or the recent past *-sh((q)a)*. After the narrative is over and the interlocutors are talking about it, though affect may be present in what they say, this is not the factor that determines choice of tense marker. When talking about it afterwards, they go back into a more conversational mode, in which placement in time generally determines the choice of tense marker, as discussed in chapter 2.

5.8   Affect of surprise

Izard and Buechler (1980:168) explain that surprise momentarily dominates consciousness, interrupting ongoing emotion, and that it is a transient state, typically brought about by a sudden unexpected event.

169

Situations that are surprising are not tied to any one component of narrative structure. The SCQ data show surprising situations occurring within the complicating action and asides, and also as results and climaxes. Surprises do not occur in orientations. In some cases, it is hard to determine if a surprising situation is a part of the complicating action or a result, because it seems to be both. For these reasons, I chose to make a separate section for the affect of 'Surprise', rather than tying it to narrative structure.

Tomkins writes that the experience of surprise is brief (1962:498) and is a general interrupter to ongoing activity (1962:489). This helps to explain why when a tense form is used in association with surprise, only one token of the form is used. The brief, surprising interruption occurs and is marked by tense only once. When tense is used in association with other affects, particularly the recent past in association with interest, several tokens of a particular form often occur together in groups.

A variety of tense forms can be used to indicate surprise. The former past perfect *-sh ka-shqa* almost always indicates surprise, in addition to placing an event in past time. (It is associated with scorn in one instance in the data.) The occurrence of the continuous *-yka:* with the narrative past *-na:* indicates surprise. The narrative past *-na:* by itself may also indicate surprise, which has also been documented for two other varieties of central Peruvian Quechua (Adelaar 1977:96 for Tarma Quechua and Howard-Malverde 1988:130 for Huamalies Quechua). In very few instances, the recent past *-sh((q)a)*, which came from a perfect, indicates surprise.

170

The experience of surprise varies from an essentially neutral quality in its milder form to a somewhat negative quality in its more intense form as the startle response (Tomkins 1962:498). Some of the surprises in the data appear to be more intense than others. I label those 'startle'. I do not find a correlation between particular tense forms and the intensity of the surprise.

Below I provide two examples of each of the forms that consistently express surprise: *-sh ka-shqa*, a former a past perfect, and the continuous *-yka:* with the narrative past *-na:*.

The following example of the mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* from a past perfect is from a *Juan del Oso* 'John (son) of the Bear' folktale, a story about the adventures of a very strong person whose father was a bear and whose mother was human. It was recorded in 1992, told by Pablo, a 16-year-old boy from Huaripampa to his aunt, Rita. The story uses the narrative past *-na:* almost exclusively.

Juan and his companion were crossing a bridge when he heard the sound of an owl hooting above him. In the Quechua culture, the hooting of an owl is a bad omen. Juan got angry, thinking that the owl was trying to do them harm. He went up the tree and threw the owl, which turned out to be a man who was sent to play a trick, down into the water to drown. Later, Juan wrote a letter to the priest describing what had happened. At the point when the owl startles them, Juan uses *-sh ka-sh((q)a)*, the mirative that came from a past perfect.

(81) Surprise, mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* from a past perfect

1 A: "Father,
2   when we were passing by,
          an owl **hooted a bad omen <u>MIRATIVE</u>** at us.   *startle*
3   I **threw <u>RECENT PAST</u>** the owl down
4   and it **was <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u>** only a man" saying.

1   A: *"Pa:dri,*
          Father

2   *... tsa pa:sa-yka:-ya-pti-:   tuku ranya-ya:-ma-**sh**   **ka-sh**,*
              so pass-CONT-PL.V-DS-1 owl hoot.bad.omen-PL.V-1OBJ-**PTCP** **be-PST.R3**

3   *Tsa tuku-ta-qa   jita-ska-mu-**ru**-:.*
              so   owl-OBJ-TOP throw-PFV-FAR-**PST.R**-1

4   *y   runa-lla ka-ku-**na**:"   ni-r.*
              and man-DLM be-MID-**PST.N** say-SS

In (82), from the conversation between Rita and Guillermo about the festival

she had attended, she explains that in anticipation of inviting their family members

to a special meal, they had prepared holiday foods. The surprise (a negative surprise)

was that no one from their family arrived from Lima.

(82) Surprise, mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* from a past perfect

R: 1   We **cooked <u>PAST</u>** hotly spiced guinea pig and meat soup
    2   in order to invite someone,
    3   and also peeled wheat and such.
    4   And it turned out that none of our
          family members **came**. **<u>MIRATIVE</u>**   *surprise*

1   R: *Haka   pikanti-ta, || aytsa so:pa-ta-m   yanu-ku-ya:-**ra**-:,*
          guinea.pig spicy.hot-OBJ   meat soup-OBJ-DIR cook-MID-PL.V-**PST**-1

2   *pi-lla-ta-pis   imbita-ku-na-pa:*
          who-DLM-OBJ-EVEN invite-MID-NMLZ.I-PURP

3   *ni-r-mi   llushtu-ta   tsay-kuna-ta,*
          say-SS-DIR pelado-OBJ that-PL.N-OBJ

4   *...I   mana henti   kasta-ntsi:-kuna aywa-ya-**sha**-tsu   **ka-shqa**.*
              and no   people family-1ᵢ-PL.N   go-PL.V-**PTCP**-NEG **be-PST.R3**

In their conversation, Rita and Guillermo use the continuous aspect marker
-*yka:* with the narrative past -*na:* three times. In each case the speaker came upon an
action already in progress and was surprised.

In (83), which is one of those cases, Guillermo switches from the recent past
-*r(q)u* to the narrative past -*na:* with the continuous aspect marker -*yka:* to explain
that upon his arrival there, Antonio was in the street outside the center where
Guillermo worked, supervising construction workers. It was a pleasant surprise to
find Antonio in the street, because he would be able to open the door for Guillermo.
On numerous occasions Guillermo has had to wait a long time for someone to come
and unlock the door.

(83) surprise, event in progress, narrative past with continuous (W27-30)

27 G: From there I **got here RECENT PAST** quickly.   *interest*
       (faster than I thought I would)
28   Antonio **was** out in the street   *surprise*
     NARRATIVE PAST WITH CONTINUOUS   (process already begun)
29 R: Uh huh,
30 G: supervising workers.

27   G: ...*Tse:-pita* ...*cha-ska-mu-**ru**-:,*
         that-ABL   arrive-PFV-FAR-**PST.R**-1

28   ...*don Antonio ka-**yka:-na:***   *ka:lli-chu* ...*waqta-cho:,*
        Mr. Antonio be-**CONT-PST.N** street-LOC   back-LOC

29   R: *uh huh,*
       uh huh

30   G: ...*aru-tsi-ku-r,*
       work-CAUS-MID-SS

In (84), at the end of the 'Donkey' narrative, as Rita was running down the mountain path towards where she thought it might have gone, she comes around a bend and is surprised to see Chino riding it uphill towards her.

(84) Surprise, event in progress, narrative past with continuous (D148)

148   R: And then when I turned the corner
          running by the cross, Chino
          was coming up mounted.   *surprise*
          NARRATIVE PAST WITH CONTINUOUS   (process already begun)

148   R: *...I= tsay-pita-qa   cruz-kaq-pa   ko:rri ko:rri tuma-ski-na-:-pa:-qa*
          and that-ABL-TOP cross-DEF-GEN run   run   turn-PFV-NMLZ.I-1-PURP-TOP

          *Chi:nu munta-sh   @witsa-**yka:**-tsi-mu-**na:**,   @*
          Chino mount-PTCP   go.up-**CONT**-CAUS-FAR-**PST.N**

In sum, several past tense forms can express mirativity, including the former past perfect -*sh ka-shqa*, the continuous -*yka:* together with the narrative past -*na:*, the narrative past -*na:* by itself, and also the recent past -*sh((q)a)*, which came from a perfect. Surprise can occur in almost any part of the narrative, but does not occur in the orientation.

5.9   Summary and discussion

Several intricate patterns of SCQ tense use come to light through the analysis of discourse data. Orientations, asides and results form a set and are marked with the narrative past -*na:* or with the past -*r(q)a*. Source of evidence and speaker perspective is the basis for the choice in this first set.

Abstracts, complicating action and climaxes form another set and are marked with the narrative past *-na:*, the recent past *-sh((q)a)* or *-r(q)u*, or the present as a historical present. Affect is the basis for the choice in this second set.

A variety of tense forms are used in codas, placing situations in time. Surprise is indicated by several tense forms as well, including the former past perfect *-sh ka-shqa* and the narrative past *-na:* together with the continuous aspect marker *-yka:*.

Table 5.2 presents generalizations for the components of narrative that form sets. (It should be noted that the recent past occurs almost entirely with complicating action. It occurs in one instance in an abstract, and not at all in climaxes.)

TABLE 5.2.   OVERVIEW OF NARRATIVE STRUCTURE COMPONENTS AND TENSE

	Narrative past *-na:*	Past *-r(q)a*	Recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u*	Present as historical present *-Ø*	Choice based on:
ORIENTATIONS, ASIDES, RESULTS	yes	yes	no	no	SOURCE OF EVIDENCE / PERSPECTIVE
ABSTRACTS, COMP. ACTION, CLIMAXES	yes	no	yes	yes	AFFECT

As mentioned in chapter 4, it is reasonable that specification of source of evidence and perspective would be necessary in the first set, and that affect would be expressed in the second set. As a speaker orients the listener to a new discourse topic, it is necessary to give the source of evidence. In an aside, because it departs from the narrative in which the source of evidence is already established, the speaker

needs to communicate the source of evidence and his or her perspective. Results may or may not have an explicit evidential marker. They are associated in evidential status with the evidential marking used in the orientation.

In the second set, it makes good sense that affect is the factor determining the choice between tense markers. The abstract, the complicating action and the climax carry the emotional import of the story. The abstract conveys whether this is something the speaker is happy and excited to tell about or something s/he is upset about. The complicating action of a given narrative can convey distinct types of affect at different points of the story. Both positive affects and negative affects can be expressed in climaxes. If a narrative has multiple climaxes, they do not all necessarily convey the same affect, as shown in 5.5.3 and 5.5.4.

Though the division of labor between these two sets might be characterized as background (set 1) and foreground (set 2), the members of the sets do not follow those distinctions exactly. Following Labov and Waletzky 1967, the foreground of a narrative can be considered to be a *sequence of temporally ordered clauses*, in which the 'narrative events' of the story are set forth, while backgrounded clauses are not 'on the time line'. Orientations can, and in this data do, include narrative clauses, clauses that are temporally ordered. A result may also consist of a narrative clause that follows from the complicating action. See also §6.5.3.

6   Tense patterns in wider context

> Verbal forms in isolation, or decontextualized, do not have specific meanings. Rather, each verbal form has a general referential [temporal] meaning which determines its possible patterns of co-occurrence with other forms and its use within a given communicative situation.
> —Silva-Corvalan (1984:229)

Many of the examples from chapter 5 are presented here in wider context in order to give the 'big picture' of how tense forms help to structure discourse and communicate affect. These longer segments of data are translations into English, with the tense forms color-coded and glossed. On the right, components of narrative structure are listed in small caps, affects are in italics and placement in time is enclosed in parentheses. The few instances of the habitual past, indicating repeated action, are enclosed in square brackets. The complete transcriptions of the data referenced in these segments are in the appendix.

An overview, along with points of interest organized according to tense form, precedes each segment of data. It may be most helpful to read the overview to a given set of data, then read through the data itself, and then read the points of interest on each tense form in conjunction with the corresponding data. Related patterns in other languages and other issues are presented at the end of the chapter.

6.1 Tense form use in a narrative in conversation: 'Donkey'

This first narrative is included to show: 1) how well tense form usage can set off narrative structure and 2) that two tense forms, the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u* and the zero-marked present used as a historical present, may be used in the complicating action.

This narrative is from a conversation between a brother and a sister in their late 20's, recorded in 1993. They had not seen each other for a week and were catching up on each other's activities. Rita had been at the annual festival in their community, while Guillermo had been working in Huaraz. Some segments of the conversation, such as this one, can be identified as narrative with an affective point or points.

The segment below is a true narrative about a donkey that was lost during the time of the festival. It lasts four minutes, 35 seconds and begins three minutes into the 21-minute conversation. Rita tells the story and Guillermo interjects comments and questions. Rita's speech is tagged with R, while Guillermo's is represented with G.

Rita begins with a complete orientation, using the past *-r(q)a*. She then gives an abstract, a shortened form of the story she will be telling, using the present as a historical present. Guillermo comments on the situation, using present tense. In the complicating action, Rita gives many details about the search and recounts conversations related to it, using the recent past and the historical present. In response to Guillermo's comments and questions, she often steps back in time from the point where she is in the story to fill in more details. The climax, the appearance

of the donkey, does not happen until the very end and is marked with the narrative past *-na:*.

6.1.1 The past *-r(q)a*

The orientation to this true narrative (lines 2-11 and 30) is given with the past *-r(q)a*. Results/resolutions, the ending points of an episode of the narrative, can also be marked with the past *-r(q)a* (lines 64, 110).

As mentioned in §5.3.1, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether an utterance is a result or an orientation, particularly line 110. It is a result in that Rita goes to her cousin for divination because she has not been able to find the donkey. It is orientation in that a new person and a new situation are introduced. It may be most accurate to call it a 'boundary marker' between episodes.

The past *-r(q)a* is used in line 149 to make a metacomment about the whole experience, 'Hey, we @were so afraid.' This could be labeled a coda.

This past *-r(q)a* is also used to place events at a point previous in time to what is being talked about (lines 48, 82, 121, 136, 143 and 145).

In sum, the past *-r(q)a* is used in this segment in the orientation, with results, in the coda, and with events previous to what is being talked about. The past *-r(q)a* is *not* used with the abstract, complicating action or climactic material.

6.1.2 The zero-marked present

Rita uses the present as a historical present in the abstract (lines 12-18) and with complicating action associated with excitement or happiness (lines 78-80, 103-107,

132, 140). In addition to using the historical present, she sometimes also raises her pitch to help to convey excitement, as in lines 78-80. This will be discussed further in chapter 7.

Guillermo makes comments using the zero-marked present tense (lines 20-29, 66, 70 and 150).

6.1.3   The recent past *-r(q)u*

Rita uses the recent past *-r(q)u* throughout the narrative with complicating action (lines 37-47, 53-60, 71-75, 88-101, 123-131), but not with any of the other components of narrative. She uses it to convey interest, a mildly positive affect. She cares about what she is talking about.

The historical present and the recent past *-r(q)u* are both used to carry the story line. The historical present is associated with situations the speaker is excited about, while the recent past *-r(q)u* is used with situations in which the speaker is simply interested.

6.1.4   The narrative past *-na:*

The narrative past is used four times in this true narrative. It is used once to indicate previous placement in time (line 83). It can also be associated with the affect of surprise (lines 34, 138, 148), especially when it occurs with the continuous aspect marker *-yka:* (lines 138, 148). In both of these cases the speaker came upon an action in progress and was surprised.

6.1.5 The mirative *-sh ka-sh*

The *-sh ka-sh* construction, which was probably a past perfect as discussed in §2.8.3 and §5.8, now indicates surprise (line 84).

(85) The 'Donkey' segment of the conversation between Rita and Guillermo

1	That opening night	
	I'll tell you **-shayki** FUT1>2 about that.	(future time)
2	They organized **-rqa** PST that tournament.	ORIENTATION
3	G: The school.	
4	R: mhm,	
5	G: uh huh,	
6	R: At that time, Ninfa, our donkey,	
7	was **-ra** PST over by our cousin Dina's house.	ORIENTATION
8	G: uh huh,	
9	R: And Blacky and Kapsha had already come	ORIENTATION,
	-sh ka-**ra** PST PRF over to this side	(previous in time)
	of the house.	
10	G: uh huh,	
11	R: And it was **-ra** PST about four or five o'clock.	ORIENTATION
12	And I don't even shut **-Ø** PRS them in	
13	"It's still early" saying,	
14	we lose **-Ø** PRS the donkey in the night.	ABSTRACT,
15	G: uh huh,	*excitement*
16	R: All of us, Niko,	
17	all of us look **-Ø** PRS and look **-Ø** PRS	
	for the donkey in the night.	
18	We don't find **-Ø** PRS it. @@	
19	G: (unintelligible)	
20	But,	
21	R: @@	
22	G: that's **-Ø** PRS typical.	
23	R: @@	
24	G: Year after year during the time of the	
	festival the donkey is lost. **-Ø** PRS	
25	R: @@@	
26	G: It disappears, **-Ø** PRS	(present)
27	R: @	
28	G: The children don't pay attention, **-Ø** PRS	
29	and we ourselves don't even think **-Ø** PRS	
	about it.	
30	R: At just that time the band arrived **-ra** PST too.	ORIENTATION
31	G: @@	
32	R: While we were very happy there,	
33	G: @@@@	
34	R: it got totally lost. **-na:** PST.N @@@	RESULT,
35	G: @	*surprise*

182

36   What a deal, gosh.

37 R: Yes, so then Niko, and also Elsa and Chino

38 G: Looking here and there,

39 R: we looked **-ru** PST.R all over the place,

40   in the vicinity of Stinky Spring, by the cross.

41   We looked **-ru** PST.R so many places

       and we didn't find **-ru** PST.R it.   COMPLICATING ACTION,

42   Then, because the festival had already started,   *interest*

       abandoning the donkey search,

43 G: @

44   "It will appear at dawn" saying,

45   just shutting the rest of them in,

46   we danced **-rqu** PST.R all night at the

       festival then.

47 G: And like that if somebody takes it,

48 R: "I don't think so" saying

       our Aunt Victoria said **-ra** PST as well.   (previous in time to

49   "It will appear at dawn somewhere over there.   dancing)

50   It surely rained hard. It was windy.

51 G: (unintelligible)

52 R: For that reason surely it went somewhere

       to shelter itself,"

53   saying. After she had said that then,

54   we said, **-ru** PST.R "So hopefully

       it will appear at dawn."

55   Then the next morning mother, sure enough,

56   got up **-sh** PST.R3 at dawn to search.

57   She looked **-sh** PST.R3 in the vicinity of   COMPLICATING ACTION,

       Stinky Spring and around Ongup.   *interest*

58   The donkey wasn't **-sh** PST.R3 there.

59   I also woke up **-ru** PST.R very early,

60   "Mother, was it there?" saying.

61   When I said that,

62   "It isn't," saying,

63   "Someone must have already stolen it,"

       mother saying,

64   was **-rqa** PST almost to cry.   RESULT

65 G: Yes that—

66   Surely so because in the festival,

67   people walk around **-Ø** PRS up to no good.   (present)

68   One or another could take it as he walks by.

69 R: Uh huh, right.

70 G: That's not good. **-Ø** PRS   (present)

71 R: So then Niko also, after he got up,
       looked **-sh** PST.R3 everywhere,
72   by Huanac, above Thicket Spring,
       then by Pillau,
73 G: the following day.
74 R: by Pakpak.
75   Yes, we looked **-ru** PST.R absolutely
       everywhere.
76 G: And,
77   "Somebody must have already stolen it" saying.
78 R: Yes, "Somebody must have already stolen it,"
       saying I too,
79   make a pass **-Ø** PRS through Huaroya,
       Acorma, Orcush, everywhere, by the cross.
80   Nothing is there, **-Ø** PRS not even its tracks.
81 G: Oh, what a deal.
82 R: And yours was **-ra** PST there too.

83   They hadn't paid any attention **-na:** PST.N
       to your donkey.

84   (It turns out that) it also
       woke up at dawn **-sh ka-sh** MIR
85 G: in that group (of the donkeys
       that had gotten lost)
86 R: at Uncle Santos' threshing floor
       in Cachca Canyon. @@@
87 G: @@@
88 R: So when mother went in the early morning,
89   she found **-shqa** PST.R3 its tracks over there
       on Uncle Santos' threshing floor, the
       imprints of its wallowing and everything.
90 G: Uh huh.
91 R: Then,
92   there was not **-sha** PST.R3 even an indication
       of where it went. (There were no tracks
       leading away.)
93   "Maybe it is my donkey," she said. **-sh** PST.R3
94   Having said that (mother said to me),
       "Because your donkey was over there,
95   it might have been his (G's)" saying.
96   She came back **-sh** PST.R3 well into the day,

COMPLICATING ACTION,
interest

COMPLICATING ACTION,
excitement

A (previous in time to her
N looking)
  (previous in time to 82,
A at the time of the
S dancing)
I
D *surprise*
E

COMPLICATING ACTION,
interest

184

97	eight o'clock (a.m.) or about then.	
98	We searched *-sh* PST.R3 very hard.	COMPLICATING ACTION,
99	Then we all arrived, *-sh* PST.R3	*interest*
100	"It's not anywhere.	
101	It's not anywhere," saying, all of us.	
102	G: uh huh,	
103	R: I don't even get scared. *-Ø* PRS	COMPLICATING ACTION,
104	"How could somebody steal it?	*excitement*
105	It must be just over there," saying.	
106	With Chino, over by Ongup Canyon,	
107	and in the vicinity of Shayan Tuna we really search. *-Ø* PRS	
108	After that then, not [word search]-ing now,	
109	because even I hadn't found it anywhere, getting scared now,	
110	I went *-ra* PST to our cousin Dina, taking along coca to have her chew.' (for divining)	RESULT / ORIENTATION
111	G: uh huh.	
112	R: "Cousin, did somebody take our donkey or what?	
113	Searching hard until now, we haven't found it,"	
114	saying. At the time I said that to her,	
115	(Mother had already said to) Chino surely, "Maybe it went to Shiquip.	
116	The other day Wilma took it to gather pasture grass.	
117	And having seen good pasture there,	
118	maybe it went there.	
119	Let's see. Go, asking along the way,"	
120	saying. When mother sent him,	(previous to when
121	Chino went then. *-ra* PST	Rita talked to Dina)
122	G: uh huh,	
123	R: So, "Let's see, I'm still going to have her chew coca,	
124	in order for us to go look where (she indicates) too," saying, I went. *-ru* PST.R	
125	So she said *-sh* PST.R3 to me, "Maybe Chino is herding him towards here.	COMPLICATING ACTION, *interest*
126	If not, because he damaged some crops, they shut him up somewhere.	
127	With money still (not until you pay a fine) will you get him out.	
128	Go quickly and look in different places.	
129	Or did somebody really steal him?"	

130	When she said that,	
131	running quickly I was going **-ru** PST.R towards the cross, "I'm going to the town council" saying.	COMPLICATING ACTION, *interest*
132	G: Godmother Dina says. **-Ø** PRS	*excitement*
133	R: Mhm.	
134	After she said this to me,	
135	when I told Niko too,	
136	Niko also went **-ra** PST to Huanac to look.	(previous in time to her running in line 131)

137	Mother then, just the same, sure enough,	A	*surprise*
138	was @cleaning **-na:** PST.N tripe,	S	(process already begun)
139	even though scared.@	I	
140	So we laugh **-Ø** PRS (at her) (*Though everybody else was running around looking, she was preparing food, because it is necessary to eat.*)	D E	*happiness*
141	G: Did you butcher **-ru** PST.R the big (ram)		(recent past)
142	R: Mhm.		

143	I went **-ra** PST to the high grasslands to bring the sheep back.	(previous in time to butchering the ram)
144	G: To Taqta Raqra by yourself or with Chino?	
145	R: Mateo accompanied **-ra** PST me.	
146	G: Oh.	
147	R: Yes.	
148	And then when I turned the corner running by the cross, Chino was coming up mounted. **-na:** PST	CLIMAX *surprise* (process already begun)
149	Hey, we @were so afraid. **-ra** PST	CODA, (previous in time)
150	G: That's (the way) the festival is. **-Ø** PRS	CODA, (present)

6.2 Narrative past can convey negative affect: 'Stolen Shoes'

This segment is included primarily to demonstrate how the narrative past *-na:* can be used in association with negative affect. It is associated with shame and/or distress and with a disapproving stance in this narrative, while the recent past *-sh((q)a)* is associated with interest in finding out who did the stealing and with a positive stance.

This segment is part of the conversation between the brother and sister. It lasts one minute, 46 seconds and occurs a little before the middle of the 21-minute conversation.

Preceding this segment, Guillermo and Rita had been talking about the festival. They had commented on the band, and then went on to talk about who had danced and who had become sick and left. In lines 1-27, preceding this segment, topics are developed through elicitation. Tense forms are used to place events in time and to help specify source of evidence and give the speaker's perspective, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3. In line 27, Rita brings that part of the conversation to a close, using the past *-r(q)a*, which can accompany closings.

The narrative begins in line 30 and continues through line 64. It concerns a theft in the community and the process of finding out who did it. In lines 65-75, Rita provides some of the subsequent events, including what she thinks is happening at the time she is speaking. She then remembers another part of the narrative and goes

back to tell it in lines 76-82. They wrap up this topic in lines 83-89, relating the events in lines 76-82 to the character of the person involved.

6.2.1 The narrative past *-na:*

The asides in lines 42 and 43 are marked with the narrative past *-na:* together with the reportative *-shi.*

With the exception of its use in lines 42 and 43, the narrative past *-na:* is used in this narrative in association with negative affect. In lines 31, 33, 35, 36 and 59, the narrative past *-na:* is used in association with theft. In line 56, the stolen items are revealed by someone from their own community. In line 49, someone almost hits someone else. Rita felt ashamed because the events had occurred in their own community and because someone from their community had committed the theft, not someone from the outside as had been supposed.

In lines 76, 80 and 82, the use of the narrative past *-na:* is associated with anger. Rita is angry because Adrian spoke in a maligning way towards her brother, who was innocent. Both Rita and Guillermo take a negative, disapproving stance towards this man.

6.2.2 The recent past *-sh((q)a)*

The recent past *-sh((q)a)* is used in alternation with the narrative past. Its use generally indicates that the speakers are interested in and/or take a positive stance towards particular actions. In lines 34, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46 and 65, the recent past is used with actions taken to find out who did the stealing and give a report to the

authorities. Lines 60 and 62 have to do with the identity of the thieves becoming

known to all concerned. In lines 66, 71, 73 and 75, the recent past is used to tell

about people traveling to Lima, thieves included.

6.2.3 The past *-r(q)a*

The past *-r(q)a* is used only with asides in this narrative. In line 58, the

information was known by the speaker to be true, as evidenced by the mutual

knowledge evidential *-cha*. The difference between this aside and the ones in line 42

and 43 with the narrative past *-na:*, mentioned above, is due to evidentiality.

In the asides in lines 83 and 84, both Guillermo and Rita use the past *-r(q)a* with

the appeal evidential *-chir* and the conjectural evidential *-chi*, respectively. They are

talking about their own thoughts, giving their own perspective. Guillermo and Rita

are thinking that Adrian was either inventing things in his head or lying outright.

6.2.4 The zero-marked present

The present is not used as a historical present in this narrative. Nothing in the

narrative is associated with the positive emotions of happiness or excitement. No one

laughs or has smiling voice quality. The shame associated with the various situations

in this narrative inhibits strongly positive emotions. About shame, Tomkins writes

(1963:123), "We are inclined to favor the theory that shame is an innate auxiliary

affect and a specific inhibitor of continuing interest and enjoyment. Like disgust, it

operates ordinarily only after interest or enjoyment has been activated, and inhibits

one or the other or both."

189

In the coda, present tense is used as a true present. Guillermo's part of the coda to the story in lines 30-59 is somewhat spread out (lines 63, 74, 77) and interspersed with what Rita goes on to say about the event. The second short stretch of narrative in lines 76-82 also has a coda (lines 85-89). Present tense is used in all of the coda material. The speakers try to make sense of what happened and relate it to what they know.

(86) The 'Stolen Shoes' segment of the conversation between Rita and Guillermo

25   G: Was **-sh** PST.R3 there a lot of drunkenness?   (recent past)

26   R: Too much.

27   Due to the alcoholic beverage (the night before),
        on the main day of the festival
        people greeted the morning **-ra** PST   CLOSING
        all sprawled out,

28   sleeping in the corners.

29 G: Oh my. How awful.

30 R: And in addition um [word search] um,

31   they stole **-na:** PST.N Walter's shoes.   **A** *shame*

32   Also a man, Ernesto Garay's son,   **B**

33   from him someone stole **-na:** PST.N his jacket   **S** *shame*
        and his poncho.   **T**

34   And "Who would it be? Who would it be?"   **R**
        they said. **-shqa** PST.R3   **A** *interest*

35   At first they said, **-na:** PST.N   **C** *shame, distress*
        "Niko stole them."   **T**

36   And it turned out that Damian and Miguel
        had done **-na:** PST.N it.   *shame*

37 G: Oh, how awful.

38 R: So,

39 G: And they found **-sh** PST.R3 (the things),   COMPLICATING ACTION,
      I assume.   *interest*

40 R: Uh huh.

41   And so, the man looked. **-sh** PST.R3

42   That young man had become acquainted
        -na: PST.N with him (Damian).   AN ASIDE

43   They say he had gone to school **-na:** PST.N   (previous in time)
        with Damian.

44   He recognized **-sh** PST.R3 his voice.

45   After he told his dad,   COMPLICATING ACTION,
        he (his dad) went **-sh** PST.R3 over there.   *interest*

46   So Ernesto Garay went **-sh** PST.R3 to
       Benito's to say to him,

47   "Your son stole my son's clothes.

48   Is this the way you raise your son?"

49	When he (Ernesto) said this,
	    he (Benito) almost hit **-na:** PST.N
	    him with a stick.
		COMPLICATING ACTION,
		shame

50	G: Benito.	
51	R: Benito.	
52	"As if I raise my son like this,	
53	or I sent him (to do it)," saying.	
54	Then Mrs. Adora, "Here it is.	
55	Don't you tell anybody," saying,	
56	she took out **-na:** PST.N a tightly tied bundle with Walter's shoes inside too.	CLIMAX, *shame, surprise*
57	G: How awful.	
58	R: And about Walter's shoes they had said, **-ra** PST "Those people from Pacash stole them".	AN ASIDE (previous in time)
59	So it turned out it was just him **-na:** PST.N after all.	RESOLUTION
60	And so like that everything was known. **-sh** PST.R3	CODA, (recent past)
61	G: That's bad, isn't it?	
62	So it became known **-sh** PST.R3 (to everyone)	
63	The guard force is **-Ø** PRS no good for that.	CODA,
64	R: That's bad.	(present)

THE CONVERSATION CONTINUES

65	They reported **-sh** PST.R3 him,	

66	but today they (Damian and the others)
	    left already **-sh** PST.R3 (for Lima, before
	    they could be taken to the police station),
		(recent past)

67	G: (reported him) at the police station.	
68	R: Yes.	
69	No, not there, to the guard force.	
70	G: to the guard force.	

71	R: Today they (the visitors, including Damian)
	    must have come **-sh** PST.R3 (towards
	    Huaraz on their way to Lima).	

72	Today many people are surely
	    coming **-Ø** PRS
	    (towards Huaraz on the way to Lima.)
		(present)

73	They went **-sh** PST.R3 on a trip (to Huaripampa)	(recent past)
74	G: That's **-Ø** PRS a bad way (to treat) a drunk person.	CODA to the story above (present)
75	R: and they returned **-sh** PST.R3 (to Lima).	(recent past)

192

76	So, our uncle Adrian (not knowing the items had been found) said *-na:* PST.N (to Niko),	COMPLICATING ACTION, *anger*
77 G:	All that is not good. *-Ø* PRS	CODA to the story above (present)
78 R:	" "Niko stole,"	
79	saying they commented about you,"	
80	saying he said. *-na:* PST.N	COMPLICATING ACTION,
81	"Who said this about me, Uncle?"	*anger*
82	When he said this he did not give him an answer. *-na:* PST.N	
83 G:	I suppose he alone thought *-ra* PST that. (Adrian, that Niko had stolen things)	AN ASIDE
84 R:	He could even have said *-ra* PST it as a lie.	
85 G:	How could he say that about Niko or hmm,	
86	maybe because he senses something he talks (that way), *-Ø* PRS	
87 R:	Yes.	CODA to this part
88 G:	Adrian is *-Ø* PRS really good (at telling bad things about people).	(present)
89 R:	That's for sure.	

6.3 The historical present conveys positive affect: 'Work'

This segment is included primarily to illustrate the use of the present as a historical present to convey the positive affects of happiness and excitement. It is also from the conversation between Rita and Guillermo. It lasts three minutes, 20 seconds and occurs in about the middle of the 21-minute conversation. In this segment, Guillermo is telling Rita about what he has been doing over the last week. They had not talked all week because they were in different places. He had made a

trip from their home community to Huaraz, the capital city of the department of Ancash, where the conversation takes place.

Guillermo had been scheduled to come to work three weeks previous to his actual arrival. He put off traveling because he had things to do at home and had not felt up to the trip. Phone service to his community did not exist at that time. He had not known if his co-workers would be happy to see him or angry, due to his tardiness.

Lines 1-41 are essentially a narrative with a central affective point; Guillermo was welcomed with enthusiasm and happiness by his co-workers.

In lines 42-85, Guillermo talks in chronological order about the work he did, but makes no central affective point. He simply talks about the things he did, one by one, in response to a few questions and some feedback from his sister. The topic is developed through elicitation and does not develop into a story.

In lines 1-41, the narrative structure components of orientation, climax and aside are labeled. Within the complicating action, only the affects are labeled in order to focus attention on the affect.

In §§6.3.1 - 6.3.4, I focus on lines 1-41, a segment in which the discourse topic is developed by narration and tense forms help to indicate structure and convey affect. Lines 42-85, in which the discourse topic is developed through elicitation, are discussed in §6.3.5.

6.3.1 The present tense as a historical present

Present tense is used as a historical present in some of the complicating action and in the climax of this narrative. Its use is associated with the positive affects of happiness and excitement. It appears at the parts when Guillermo starts to get happy about his trip (line 10), when he catches the bus (lines 16 and 17) and when he is reunited with his co-workers (lines 31-40). Rita laughs delightedly in lines 34, 36 and 40 in response to what Guillermo says, and has smiling voice quality in line 38, indicating happiness.

6.3.2 The past -r(q)a

In the orientation in lines 1-6, where the time, place, participants and situation are described, the past -r(q)a is used.

The past -r(q)a is also used in lines 19-25 with a segment of complicating action. These events are not interesting or exciting to Guillermo. He has made this trip dozens of times. Nothing was eventful about it except that the last leg of the journey, from Catac to Huaraz, went more quickly than he had anticipated. He uses the recent past in line 27 to express that.

Interestingly, in checking to find out what tense forms could be substituted in this narrative, another native speaker volunteered that it would have been better to use the recent past -r(q)u in lines 19-25 where Guillermo used the past -r(q)a . This would fit with what I have seen again and again in the use of -r(q)u. It is typical to use the recent past -r(q)u with complicating action in which the speaker is interested.

Guillermo may have been thinking of lines 19-25 as a report, a series of facts about his trip, in which case the past -*r(q)a* would be the marker of choice.

When placement in time is the factor determining the use of the past -*r(q)a*, it occurs to place an event in time before events using -*r(q)u* 'PST.R', as in lines 47 and 85.

6.3.3   The recent past -*r(q)u*

The recent past -*r(q)u* is used in lines 15 and 27 with complicating action that is more intense emotionally than that marked with the past -*r(q)a*, but less intense than that marked with the present as a historical present. It is used in line 41 with the coda, where the speaker finishes and then begins to talk about something else.

It is helpful to consider lines 40 and 41 in light of what is known about dialogic syntax, as an aid to understanding the differences between these two utterances. Dialogic syntax occurs when a speaker constructs an utterance "by selectively reproducing elements of a prior speaker's utterance" (Du Bois 2007:140). Dialogic partners pick up on each other's syntax, morphology, words, and structures as they are engaged in conversation together. The meaning conveyed by the second speaker may be the same as what the other person has said; it may be a variation of that person's meaning; or it may be opposite the meaning conveyed by the other person. The stance two people take in relation to their topic of conversation may be the same or different.

Diagraphs (two-dimensional alignments in rows and columns) can be used to display likenesses and differences across two or more utterances. Du Bois, who coined the term *diagraph,* explains that it means literally 'mapping across': *dia-* 'across' + *graph* 'mapping' (2007:160). When the elements of utterances are arranged in this way, key correlations stand out that might not have been noticed otherwise.

In (87), line 41 is positioned directly underneath line 40 in diagraph form. Note that while many elements of the two utterances are the same, Guillermo uses the recent past *-r(q)u* rather than the historical present, and he does not laugh as Rita does. The meaning and the attitudes conveyed are similar, but not exactly the same. Her utterance is a suggestion that what she is saying is true. His utterance is an affirmation that it is true. The intensity of the happy, positive affect is lessened as the idea is stated the second time with the recent past *-r(q)u* and without laughter.

(87) Dialogic syntax, happiness with use of the historical present, less intense but
      positive affect with the use of the recent past *-r(q)u*

```
40    R: ...Fyesta -pa:      ni  yarpa -Ø -nki -na -pis -tsu . @@@
41    G:  Fyesta -pa: -qa        yarpa -ru -:   -na -pis -tsu .
```

40 R: About the festival you **don't PRESENT** even think now. @@@
41 G: About the festival I **didn't RECENT PAST** even think now.

6.3.4   The narrative past *-na:*

The sole instance of the narrative past *-na:* in this narrative is in line 28. The continuous aspect marker *-yka:* is also a part of the verb. In the three instances in the data when these two suffixes occur on the verb, a process has already begun before

the speaker observes it. The speaker comes upon it and is surprised. Here Guillermo is surprised to find Antonio in the street supervising workers.

The other two instances of the continuous *-yka:* with the narrative past *-na:* occur in 'Donkey', in lines 144 and 153. In each of these three cases the speaker came upon an action already in progress. The speaker did not observe the entire event. Another tense marker cannot be substituted in these contexts.

6.3.5   The past *-r(q)a,* topic developed through elicitation

This section focuses on lines 42-85, in which the topic is developed through elicitation. Most of the tense uses (23/28) place events in time. In lines 49-57. though, the speaker uses the past *-r(q)a* to separate off some parts. In line 49 it is used to introduce a new sub-topic, and again in line 55 to close that sub-topic. In lines 56 and 57, its use gave the impression to a native speaker that Guillermo was revising the glossary a little bit in some free moments when Edgardo was not available to work. In other words, this is not the heart of what Guillermo is talking about; it is an aside, a sidelight.

This shows that while tense forms are generally used to place events in time when topics are developed through elicitation, tense forms can be used as needed to introduce a new subtopic, to close it, and to indicate that a particular part of what is being mentioned is not the heart of the matter at hand.

This segment is not discussed further here because many parts of it were presented in previous chapters.

(88) The 'Work' segment of the conversation between Rita and Guillermo

1　R:　And you, the day that you came here,
2　　　the day that you came here to Huaraz, Guillermo,
3　　　when did you leave? *-ra* PST
4　　　(because) I left *-ra* PST for Acopara.　　　　ORIENTATION
5　G:　I went out *-ra* PST feeling totally lazy.
6　　　But then I asked *-ra* PST God (for help).
7　　　"Father God, you know how it is.
8　　　You will have to arrange how I will be," saying,
9　　　trusting in him, going out of my house
　　　　　feeling lazy,
10　　　on the path then I start to get happy *-Ø* PRS　　　*happiness*
　　　　　about my coming.
11　R:　@@
12　　　Surely because you had asked God.
13　G:　So, "He already knows," saying now,
14　　　gradually becoming more content,
15　　　getting down to the road,
　　　　　I waited *-ru* PST.R for a bus.　　　　*interest*
16　　　Then, San Martin (a bus) arrives. *-Ø* PRS
17　　　I take off *-Ø* PRS towards here in that (bus).　　*happiness, excitement*
18　R:　Oh. (admiringly)
19　G:　And then, I came *-ra* PST to Catac.
20　　　After eating lunch in Catac,
　　　　　I traveled *-ra* PST to here.
21　　　I got *-ra* PST here about 5:30.　　　　*no excitement*
22　R:　In the afternoon?
23　G:　Yes, in the afternoon.
24　R:　At the time it was starting to get dark, right?
25　G:　I came *-ra* PST in a small bus from Catac.
26　R:　Oh.
27　G:　From there I got here *-ru* PST.R quickly.　　*interest*
　　　　　(faster than I thought I would)
28　　　Antonio was *-na:* PST.N out in the street　　AN ASIDE,
29　R:　Uh huh,　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*surprise*
30　G:　supervising workers.　　　　　　　　　(process already begun)
31　　　Then he opens *-Ø* PRS (the door) for me.　　*happiness, excitement*

32   As soon as I go in I find **-Ø** PRS David. ⎫

33   He gets happy **-Ø** PRS too.   CLIMAX,

34 R: Very much so? @   *happiness, excitement*

35 G: Mrs. Debora too.

36 R: @@

37 G: They all get happy. **-Ø** PRS

38 R: Ah.

39 G: In my heart I also get **-Ø** PRS even happier.

40 R: About the festival you don't
     even think **-Ø** PRS now@@@. ⎭

41 G: About the festival I didn't
     even think **-ru** PST.R now.   *interest, less intense*

END OF THE NARRATIVE-LIKE PART, THE CONVERSATION CONTINUES

42 G: From that point we worked **-ru** PST.R with um, ⎫

43 R: What things did you (pl.) do? **-ru** PST.R   (recent past)

44 G: First I was doing **-ru** PST.R a check of that
     story I myself had done. ⎭

45 R: Oh, right.

46 G: "A rich man loses his bull". (story title)

47 R: Yes, I read **-ra** PST that.   (previous in time)

48 G: That. And I did **-ru** PST.R that.   (recent past)

49   In addition I did **-ra** PST something else.   INTRODUCTION OF TOPIC

50   In the notes for the book of Mark,
     in its footnotes,

51   whatever people did not understand,

52   at the bottom so that they understand,

53   making it beautifully understandable.

54   Edgardo and I
     brought out the meaning. **-ru** PST.R   (recent past)

55   I did **-ra** PST that.   CLOSING OF TOPIC

56   And I was checking **-ra** PST a little bit ⎫
     of the glossary.   AN ASIDE

57   I was revising **-ra** PST it. ⎭

200

58   Then, Edgardo and I worked **-ru** PST.R together. ⎤

59 R: Oh.

60   You have been **-ru** PST.R here for just a week
          now, right?

61 G: Yes,

62 R: You have finished **-ru** PST.R (a week of work)
          now?

63 G: We went over **-ru** PST.R the results
          of Edgardo's checking

64   and the results of my checking in Huaripampa.   (recent past)

65 R: Oh, right.

66 G: what I brought here.

67   And what both of us did was **-sha** PST.R3 good.

68 G: We did **-ru** PST.R that for two days, the checking,

69   David, I, Edgardo, the three of us.

70 R: Oh.

71 G: Yesterday and now today,

72   we did **-ru** PST.R the glossary. ⎦

73   That glossary is **-Ø** PRS like a dictionary. ⎤

74   On the borders of (the printout of) Mark
          it says, **-Ø** PRS   (present)

75   what was not understood (by people
          during the checking),

76 R: On the last one (the last page).

77 G: Yes. In order for them to understand,
          we explain **-Ø** PRS there (on the last page),

78   like a dictionary. ⎦

79   We did **-ru** PST.R those things. ⎤ (recent past)

80   And we didn't finish. **-ru** PST.R ⎦

81   It is still incomplete. **-Ø** PRS   (present)

82 R: Oh, you (pl) didn't finish. **-ru** PST.R   (recent past)

83 G: Right, and now I leave. **-Ø** PRS ⎤

84   I go back **-Ø** PRS tomorrow, Thursday. ⎦ (present as a futurate)

85   "I came only until then,"
          I said **-ra** PST to David.   (previous in time)

6.4   Tense form use in legendary narrative: *Achikay* or 'Witch'

This segment shows that tense forms are used in legendary narrative in much the same way as in narrative about true events. One difference stands out. Orientations to legendary material are given with the narrative past *-na:*, while orientation to narratives about events that actually happened are given with the past *-r(q)a*. As discussed in §5.1, this is due to the difference in source of evidence.

The following segment of talk comes from the folktale *Achikay* or 'Witch', an Andean 'Hansel and Gretel' tale. Almost every Quechua-speaking area in the Andes has a version of this story. Stories are often told at night in this culture, when people are in bed. I spent some time with a family I know in Huari in 2002. They were agreeable to having their talk recorded so that I could study it in order to learn more about Quechua. I set the DAT player to run for four hours and left it in the care of one of the older sons. He hung it on a nail in the kitchen and later took it into the bedroom when it was time to go to sleep. The mother told stories to her husband and her son. Her husband went to sleep after about two stories. Her son kept on listening and responding. The segment of data below is a translation to English of the initial two minutes of the *Achikay* story, which lasts a total of 8.5 minutes. L tags the speech of Lita, the 59-year-old mother. E tags the speech of Elí, her 25-year-old son. Her husband was awake at this time but did not make responses as she told the story.

Components of narrative structure in this segment other than the orientation and the asides are not labeled. As in the previous segment, everything else could be regarded as complicating action. Affects are listed for the complicating action.

6.4.1   The narrative past *-na:*

The narrative past *-na:* is used with the orientation (lines 2 and 3). It is also used with the parts of the story that have negative affect associated with them. In the segment of the story presented below, the narrative past *-na:,* together with special voice quality, conveys suspenseful apprehension, a mild form of fear. The use of glottal stops has the effect of making the voice sound forceful (lines 5 and 53). Marked pitch changes (lines 25 and 60-62) also help convey suspenseful apprehension. The Quechua data mentioned here are presented along with sound files and further discussion in chapter 7.

6.4.2   The past *-r(q)a*

Two questions, both marked with the past *-r(q)a*, are asked as the story progresses. The questions are ancillary to the story, asides. The storyteller asks a rhetorical question in line 7, wondering to herself and to her listener how the parents could have been such bad people. In line 27, the listener asks a question to ascertain that the children did not die after being thrown over the cliff.

6.4.3   The present as a historical present

The situations marked with the present as a historical present are associated with the positive affects of excitement and/or happiness. In lines 8-22, the parents do not

begin to prepare food until they think the children are sleeping. After finding out they are awake, the mother gets angry, takes them to the edge of a cliff and pushes them over. Represented discourse and laughter help to convey the speaker's animated excitement. In line 41, happily, a condor gets the children out of their trouble. In lines 44-49, 56 and 59, they find a solution for cooking the potatoes.

6.4.4 The recent past -*sh((q)a)*

The situations marked by the recent past -*sh((q)a)* are associated with the positive affect of interest. This affect is less intense than those expressed by the historical present (excitement) and the narrative past (suspenseful apprehension).

The recent past -*sh((q)a)* is used when the children are in the situation of being stuck on the side of the mountain (line 29), when they dig potatoes (line 43) and when they go from one location to another (lines 52 and 57).

6.4.5 The habitual past -*q*

The habitual past -*q* is used in this story with repeated actions. It can also be used with actions that are carried out habitually. It does not seem to mark narrative structure or carry any particular affect. In line 35, the children call out again and again to the large birds that fly by, begging to be lifted out and transported down to the potato field. In line 51, the children repeatedly urge each other to go to where the smoke was rising.

(89) The first two minutes of the *Achikay* 'Witch' story

1   L: The witch.
2   They were **-na:** PST.N poor,
        surely, like us.   ORIENTATION
3   There were **-na:** PST.N many parents
        and many children.
4   E: And,
5   L: Then the parents went **-na:** PST.   *suspenseful*
        to look. (for food)   *apprehension*
6   E: um hum,
7   L: What type of people were **-ra** PST   AN ASIDE
        those parents?
8   So, "I think the children are asleep.
9   Let's toast some corn,"
10   they say **-Ø** PRS
        after arriving from their searching.
11   E: Go on,
12   L: @@@ after saying that,
13   but apparently the child does not sleep **-Ø** PRS   *excitement*
        he is listening. **-Ø** PRS
14   When she said, "I wonder where the toasting pot
         is for us to toast corn",
15   "Mother, down below in the corner," @
        he says, **-Ø** PRS
16   the @child. @@
17   E: Go on,
18   L: After he said that, "Oh, he's awake, isn't he,
        the little pest."
19   After she said that, taking them to the mountain
        cliff,
20   she (the mother) pushes **-Ø** PRS
        her boy and her girl children down.
21   E: Over the cliff?
22   L: Over the cliff.
23   E: @@ And?
24   L: Then after she pushed them down over,   RESULT,
25   the two of them stayed (trapped) **-na:** PST.N   *suspenseful*
        in *weqlla* and *qeshqi* plants.   *apprehension*
        (*Qeshqi* has thorny trunks.)
26   Then,

27   E: So I guess they didn't die? *-rqa* PST   AN ASIDE

28   L: No.

29   They stayed *-sha* PST.R3 there surely,   *interest*

           they didn't get *-sha* PST.R3 to the ground.

30   halfway down the cliff.

31   E: Hmm.

32   L: Then to the condor,

33   to whatever hawk, to whatever,

34   "Please get me out of here.

           Please get me out of here," saying,

35   they called, *-q* PST.H towards the sky.   [repeated action]

36   E: Um hum.

37   L: "Please get me out to the potato field ready to

            harvest,

38   Uncle condor, Uncle blackbird" saying,

39   to whatever animal that passed by.

40   E: Um hum.

41   L: Then a condor or something

           gets them out, *-Ø* PRS   *excitement*

42   to the potato field ready to harvest.

43   They dug up *-sha* PST.R3 (some potatoes).   *interest*

44   Having dug them up, in order to cook them,

45   there is *-Ø* PRS neither fire nor pot.

46   E: um,

47   L: Then like this, I wonder where,   *excitement*

48   far away or right in front them, something,

49   puts out smoke, *-Ø* PRS a hut.

50   E: @@

51   L: Then because smoke was rising over there,

          "Come on," they said *-q* PST.H to each other,   [repeated action]

          "Let's go" saying,

52   they went. *-sha* PST.R3   *interest*

53   The witch, was *-na:* PST.N ...there.   *suspenseful*
                                                    apprehension

54   The witch, "Bring them here.

          Let's be happy together.

55   Bring your potatoes. Cook them here.

56   Here is a hearth and firewood too,"   *excitement, happiness*

          she says. *-Ø* PRS

57   So carrying their potatoes,

          they went. *-sha* PST.R3   *interest*

58	So, "After putting them on to cook and	
	kindling the fire,	
59	go and bring firewood," she says. -Ø PRS	*excitement*
60	While they went to look for firewood,	
61	as soon as (the potatoes) were done,	
	after eating them up,	
62	she poured -*na:* PST.N round rocks down	*suspenseful*
	into the pot.	*apprehension*

6.5   Related patterns in other languages and other issues

Patterns in other languages raise some interesting questions. In this section I relate the findings for SCQ to patterns discovered and issues raised in research on tense variation in other languages. I then present two additional issues.

6.5.1   On diametrically different uses for one tense marker

As shown in §5.1.2 and §5.8, the narrative past -*na:* can be used with orientations, which generally have no strong affective associations, and also with surprises. While this might seem unusual, literature on tense variation shows that in at least a few other languages, a single marker can be used for these two functions.

Ballantyne 2005a finds that in Yapese, a Micronesian language, the 'non-present' marker serves both to mark explanatory information and narrative peaks having an element of surprise. Boutin (1988:85-87) shows that in Banggi, an Austronesian language, the verbal affix -*in*- is used both with setting and explanatory information as well as with climactic events that are contrary to expectation. Boutin shows (1991:21-27) that while the verbal inflectional affix -*in*- may seem, in an examination of isolated utterances, to mark past tense, it actually serves these other purposes in discourse. Jones and Jones (1979:19) write that Kickapoo, an

Algonquian language, uses a particular mode-tense combination, the independent first aorist, both to mark explanatory information and to mark the high point of the story. Waugh and Monville-Burston (1986:847,852) show that the French simple past is used for introductory comments, such as setting the tone or giving the theme, and also with the conclusion, marking not only the end of a development, but showing its importance (1986:860).

These studies on other languages show that SCQ and other varieties of Quechua mentioned in §1.4 (Corongo Quechua and Lambayeque Quechua) are not alone in using the same marker for these different kinds of purposes. The context helps to distinguish which way the marker is being employed.

I now turn to other patterns reported in the literature. In an earnest endeavor to account for a gradient that is both felt and observed in narrative, scholars have conceptualized a modified framework of grounding. Some scholars have also proposed a link between grounding and evaluation (affect). The SCQ data help to illuminate both of these related issues. I discuss each in turn.

6.5.2   On scalarity, grounding, and affect

Fleischman reviews criteria that have been helpful in identifying foreground and background information (1985:857-860). Following Labov and Waletzky 1967, she writes that the foreground of a narrative consists of the *sequence of temporally ordered clauses* in which the 'narrative events' of the story are set forth. Backgrounded clauses are not 'on the time line'. They are 'displaced' from the sequence of temporally ordered clauses. Hopper (1979:214) explains that foreground

208

events succeed one another in the narrative in the same order as their succession in the real world, whereas background events are not in sequence to the foreground events and are not sequenced with respect to one another.

In a shift from the traditional definitions of the terms, several scholars, including Ballantyne (2005a and b), Fleischman (1985, 1989, 1990), Givón (1987), Jones and Jones (1979), and Longacre (1981), suggest that the distinction between foreground and background may not be binary but scalar. Longacre (1981:340) writes that foreground-background might be better viewed as a 'spectrum'. Fleischman (1985:862) suggests the idea of a 'continuum in which saliency is a matter of degree'. For instance, Fleischman (1985:871) observes that in the complicating action of Old French narratives, the present used as a narrative present can mark "[+high] foreground, alternating with *passé simple* for [-high] foreground and/or background." Jones and Jones (1979) analyze discourse in terms of levels of 'information relevance' and label according to peak, pivotal events, backbone events, ordinary events, significant background and ordinary background.

For SCQ as well, it is necessary to think in terms of a gradient, though not a gradient keyed to grounding, in order to adequately account for the varied tense forms used in the complicating action of narratives. I first attempted to label the events according to whether they were important or ordinary, following Jones and Jones (1979), but found it difficult to choose between these two labels, having little objective evidence upon which to base the choice. When thinking, however, in terms of a gradient based on *affect*, I found that several objective factors could be called

into play when making judgments. These factors include marked pitch shifts, marked voice quality, laughter, and lexical items that indicate a particular type of affect. (See also chapter 7.)

A range of affects are expressed in the complicating action of SCQ narrative, as we saw in §5.6. Negative affects such as shame, anger and apprehension are associated with the narrative past *-na:*. Two kinds of positive affect can also be displayed in complicating action: the *low intensity positive affect* of interest, which is associated with the use of the recent past *-r(q)u* and *-sh((q)a)*, and the *high intensity positive affects* of happiness and excitement, associated with the use of the zero-marked present as a historical present. Hence, the affects expressed in complicating action range from negative, to positive, to very positive.

It may be useful for researchers with an interest in 'discourse structure' to consider that degrees of intensity of affect may be what gives the feel of a gradient in the complicating action of narratives, rather than types of information per se. Making grounding 'scalar' can only account for the gradient by modifying the definitions of foreground and background. (Under the traditional definitions, a situation is either foreground or background, on the time line or not. One situation does not move the action forward to a greater degree than another situation.) Thinking of the gradient in terms of intensity of affect, though, can help to capture the reality of what speakers communicate by means of tense variation in language, especially in the complicating action of narrative.

In addition, an increase in intensity of affect has been documented previously for the shift from past to historical present, as English speakers move from complicating action into the climax of a narrative (Schiffrin 1981:60 and Chafe 1994:208-9). This is also true for SCQ when the affect is positive, as shown in §5.5.

In sum, it may be preferable to think in terms of intensity of affect, rather than 'scalar' grounding, in attempting to understand what speakers communicate through use of tense, both in SCQ and in other languages.

I turn now to an examination of the possibility of matching foreground and background material (according to the traditional definitions) with the distinct factors on which tense choice is based (evidentiality, affect and placement in time).

6.5.3   On grounding and the factors influencing tense choice

The summary in Table 4.3 has been reproduced as Table 6.1, with additional labeling of 'background' and 'foreground' at the left. Orientations and 'asides' are background information, while abstracts, complicating action, climaxes, and resolutions are considered to be foregrounded information, because the situations in these components of narrative occur in time sequence with what came before. We see that for the elements of narrative considered to be background, the choice is based on indication of source of evidence, while for all the foregrounded parts of a narrative except the resolution, the choice of tense marker is based on expression of affect.

TABLE 6.1. SOME CORRELATION BETWEEN TENSE CHOICE AND GROUNDING

Narrative structure	Tense forms used		Choice based on:
ORIENTA-TION	*-r(q)a* PST	'past'	
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
AN ASIDE	*-r(q)a* PST	'past'	
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
RESOLUTION	*-r(q)a* PST	'past'	
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
ABSTRACT	*-Ø* PRS	'present'	
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
CLIMAX	*-Ø* PRS	'present'	
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
COMPLI-CATING ACTION	*-Ø* PRS	'present'	
	-na: PST.N	'narrative past'	
	-sh((q)a) PST.R3	'recent past'	
	-r(q)u PST.R		
CODA	*-Ø* PRS	'present'	
	-r(q)a PST	'past'	
	-sh((q)a) PST.R3	'recent past'	
	-r(q)u PST.R		

background (ORIENTATION, AN ASIDE)
foreground (RESOLUTION, ABSTRACT, CLIMAX, COMPLICATING ACTION)
communication about the story (CODA)

evidentiality (background and RESOLUTION)
affect (ABSTRACT, CLIMAX, COMPLICATING ACTION)
placement in time (CODA)

I am not the first to see a connection between affect and narrative structure (with its associated grounding). Fleischman (1985:860-1) cites the work of Polanyi and Hopper (1981), who link grounding to evaluation. They see background from the

dual perspective of predictability and hence, less salience, as well as lack of evaluation by linguistic strategies. In contrast, foreground is made up of unexpected, more salient items that are evaluated. Hence, Polanyi and Hopper (1981) and Fleischman (1985) see a link between foregrounded material and expression of affect. Fleischman notes that this does not imply that foregrounding and evaluation *must* coincide (1985:861). We see from Table 6.1 that though resolutions (results §5.3) are typically foregrounded material, indication of source of evidence, not expression of affect, is the basis for tense choice. Hence, a complete match does not exist between expression of affect and foreground material.

In sum, the SCQ data show source of evidence to be the basis for verbal tense choice for backgrounded material, and expression of affect to be the basis for verbal tense choice in most, but not all, foregrounded material.

In the next section, I show that though the recent past *-r(q)u* and the past *-r(q)a* are similar in form, they are not allomorphs but distinct morphemes.

6.5.4   On the distinction between *-r(q)u* and *-r(q)a*

The recent past *-r(q)u* and the past *-r(q)a* had different origins. In Proto-Quechua, **-rqa* was a past, an inflectional marker, while **-rqu* was a directional signifying 'outward', a derivational marker. Daniel Hintz (2008, §9.2 and §9.3) explains the development of **-rqu* into a perfective, which became restricted to the past in SCQ.

In Tarma Quechua and Pacaraos Quechua *-r(q)u* is a perfective aspect marker (Adelaar 1988:18 and Adelaar and Muysken 2004:246 respectively). In both of these

varieties of Quechua, the perfective *-r(q)u* and the past *-r(q)a* can appear in the same word.[20]

(90) Tarma Quechua perfective *-ru* and past *-ra* in the same word (Adelaar 1988:29)

40   *chay kutru xaxa-man yaygu-nxa-n-tru   ilari-**ru**-**ra***
       that corner rock-ALL enter-NMLZ.R-3-LOC vanish-**PERF**-**PST.3**
       'There, in that corner rock, at the same place where he had appeared, he disappeared.'

(91) Pacaraos Quechua perfective *-rqu* and past *-rqa* in the same word (Adelaar and Muysken 2004:246)

10   *"kuy-traw   ka-yka-n"*
       that.over.there-LOC   be-PROG-3

       *n^ya   say-naw-pa-sh   wamra rima-**rqu**-**rqa***
       already that-SIM-GEN-RPT   child   speak-**PERF**-**PST.3**
       ' "It is over there", a child had said.'

In sum, *-r(q)u* and *-r(q)a* are distinct suffixes. They developed from different sources. In some varieties of Quechua, both suffixes can occur in the same word.

6.5.5   Co-occurrence with negatives and interrogatives

Adelaar (2006:134) reports that in Tarma Quechua, aspect markers such as the perfective *-ru* are not found in the main verb of a negative sentence, but that in Pacaraos Quechua, which has a similar aspect system, the aspect markers are allowed with main verbs in the negative. One might then wonder if the SCQ recent past *-r(q)u*, which is cognate with the Tarma perfective *-ru*, occurs with negatives. An examination of the data shows that the SCQ recent past *-r(q)u* does occur with

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[20] Example (90) is from a text on the origin of the sanctuary of Muruhuay near Acobamba (Tarma). For the full text see Adelaar 1977:330-7.
    In (90) and (91), *tr* represents the retroflexed affricate.

negatives, as do the other tense markers discussed in this work, the past *-r(q)a*, the narrative past *-na:*, the recent past *-sh((q)a)*, the habitual past *-q*, and the present used as a historical present.

One might also wonder whether all the tense forms can occur in interrogative sentences. They all do, with the exception of the present used as a historical present. This probably has to do with the fact that the present is used as a historical present in abstracts, complicating action and climaxes. In these parts of a story the narrator makes statements, and is not likely to ask a question. Questions generally appear in the 'asides' of narratives.

I next examine the possibility of a correlation between verbal tense and semantic classes of verbs.

6.5.6   On semantic classes

In addition to their tense component, some of the forms described in this work have aspectual components as well. For instance, both forms of the recent past, *-r(q)u* and *-sh((q)a)*, as well as the past *-r(q)a* have perfective features (Daniel Hintz 2008). Some researchers have noted a connection between aspect and semantic classes of verbs (e.g., Comrie 1976:50, 82-84, 122; Mithun 2000:266-268). Hence, one might wonder whether a correlation exists between tense/aspect forms and semantic classes of verbs in SCQ. I classified the 478 finite verbs in the data base according to whether they were dynamic or stative, since these are known classes that can correlate with aspect. Samples of verbs labeled according to this semantic categorization are shown in (92).

(92) Sample dynamic and stative verbs

dynamic   **stative**
apta- 'to grab'   *ka-*   'to be'
wiña- 'to pour'   *ta:ku-* 'to reside'
kicha- 'to open'   *falta:-* 'to be lacking'
apa-   'to carry'   *ba:li-* 'to be valuable'
aywa- 'to go'
qaya- 'to call'

The various tense forms used were then tabulated according to semantic class.

The numbers on the left side of the columns in Table 6.2 indicate the number of

times a particular tense form occurs with verbs of a particular semantic class. The

numbers in parentheses are the expected frequencies.[21]

TABLE 6.2. TENSE FORMS USED ACCORDING TO SEMANTIC CLASS

Tense forms	Semantic Class		
	dynamic	stative	Total
historical present -Ø	102 (95.2)	9 (15.8)	111
recent past -*r(q)u*	46 (39.4)	**0 (6.3)**	46
recent past -*sh((q)a)*	132 (138.8)	31 (23.2)	163
past -*r(q)a*	69 (66.9)	9 (11.1)	78
narrative past -*na:*	41 (49.7)	**17 (8.2)**	58
habitual past -*q*	20 (18.9)	2 (3.1)	22
Total	410	68	478

Then, in order to determine whether a significant correlation exists between

semantic class of verb and the verbal tense, I ran a chi-square goodness-of-fit test

with a continuity correction and subsequently checked the residuals. This test

showed a significant correlation between the choice of verbal tense form and

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[21] The expected frequency is calculated by multiplying the total number of occurrences of a particular finite verb form (in the right column) by the total number of finite verbs associated with for instance, cognition verbs (bottom left) and then dividing this number by the total of all the finite verb forms (bottom of right column). So, for instance, the expected frequency for the historical present occurring with cognition verbs is found by taking 111 x 179/478.

semantic class ($\chi 2 = 25.85$, df = 5, p<0.001). The residuals show that the significant result is due to the facts that stative verbs prefer the narrative past *-na:* and disprefer the recent past *-r(q)u*. The numbers in the cells with significant results are shaded in Table 6.2.

I first examine the results having to do with the narrative past *-na:*. The residual value for the narrative past *-na:* occurring with stative verbs is 3.05, which is > 1.96 and therefore exploratorily significant.[22] A plausible explanation for the fact that stative verbs prefer the narrative past *-na:* is that the narrative past often occurs with orientations and asides, in which the speaker generally states the way things were, using the stative verb *ka-* 'to be'. Very little, if any, action occurs in orientations and asides. Additionally, we might hypothesize the narrative past *-na:* to have imperfective tendencies, because stative verbs prefer it.

I turn now to the results for the recent past *-r(q)u*. The residual value for the recent past *-r(q)u* occurring with stative verbs is -2.56. This exploratorily significant result shows that stative verbs disprefer the recent past *-r(q)u*. My current hypothesis is that these significant results have to do with the perfective nature of the recent past *-r(q)u*. Stative verbs not only disprefer the recent past *-r(q)u*, no stative verb *ever* occurs with it.

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[22] Residual values demonstrate how far away the actual frequencies are from the expected frequencies. Threshold values for residuals are >1.96 and < -1.96. If a residual value is greater than 1.96 or less than -1.96, this means that the deviation of the observed value in a cell from its expected value is exploratorily significant at a level of 0.05. I use the term 'exploratorily significant' to refer to a p value smaller than 5% which has not been corrected for multiple post hoc tests.

However, a question remains. If stative verbs disprefer perfectives, then why do the other perfectives, the recent past *-sh((q)a)* and the past *-r(q)a*, occur with statives? A look at the origin of the recent past *-r(q)u* may give the explanation. Daniel Hintz (2008) shows that the recent past *-r(q)u* was once a derivational perfective and that the members of the set of derivational perfectives rarely, if ever, occur with the stative *ka-* 'to be'. Though the recent past *-r(q)u* is inflectional now, the co-occurrence patterns from its previous derivational status continue.

Another fact that may enter into the explanation is that the recent past *-r(q)u* only occurs in complicating action, and not with any other component of narrative. It may be that because the recent past *-r(q)u* is perfective, it only occurs with non-stative verbs, which are the kinds of verbs we would expect to find in complicating action.

In sum, stative verbs prefer the narrative past *-na:* and disprefer the recent past *-r(q)u.* The explanation for these facts may have to do with the aspectual component of the forms, their uses in narrative and the history of the development of the recent past *-r(q)u.*

6.5.7   Salient points

Several points are salient from the discussion in this section. 1) SCQ uses the same tense marker for diametrically different purposes, as some other languages do as well. The narrative past *-na:* is used with orientations and asides as well as with surprises. 2) Thinking in terms of a gradient of affect can help to capture the reality of what speakers communicate through use of tense, particularly in the complicating

action and the climactic elements of narrative. 3) In SCQ, there is a close, but not exact, pairing of expression of affect and foregrounded material on one hand, and of indication of source of evidence and background information on the other. 4)Though the recent past *-r(q)u* and the past *-r(q)a* are similar in form, they are not allomorphs, but are distinct suffixes. 5) The recent past *-r(q)u* and **-sh((q)a),** the past *-r(q)a*, the narrative past *-na:*, the habitual past *-q* and the present used as a historical present all occur with the negative *-tsu*. They also all occur in interrogative sentences, with the exception of the present used as a historical present. 6) Stative verbs prefer the narrative past *-na:* and disprefer the recent past *-r(q)u*.

6.6   Conclusion

The complexity of verbal tense patterning in this language comes through in the color-coded data sets presented in this chapter. The particular segments discussed here were chosen because of the richness of tense variation they contain. As has been shown, each tense use has a purpose. In addition to placing situations in time and indicating source of evidence and speaker perspective, tense forms also help to structure discourse and communicate affect.

7   Indicators of emotional involvement

> It is virtually impossible for a narrator to
> tell a story without communicating, either
> explicitly or, as is more common, implicitly
> through a variety of means, some degree of
> distance or affinity, detachment from or
> involvement with the various subjects (events,
> objects, places, and especially personae) which
> constitute the story world. These affective
> relationships…are a vital component of the
> 'message' the text communicates…
> —Lanser (1981:202)

The term 'affect' has been used in this work to refer to emotions and attitudes.

A related term, 'involvement', is used more widely in linguistic literature. When

used in the sense of *emotional* involvement, this term overlaps considerably in

meaning with the term 'affect'. Like affect, involvement can have a gradient quality.

A speaker can be more emotionally involved at one point in a conversation than at

another. One difference between the two terms is that while the qualifiers 'positive'

and 'negative' are often associated with affect, they generally are not associated with

involvement.

Tannen uses the term 'involvement' extensively in her work on conversation.

Her sense of it is as "an internal, even emotional connection individuals feel which

binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories

and words" (1989:12). She writes that this sense of the term is similar to Chafe's

(1982) conception of it, as a psychological, internal state that shows itself in

observable linguistic phenomena. Chafe (1985:116) notes three types of involvement in conversation: self-involvement of the speaker, interpersonal involvement between speaker and hearer, and involvement of the speaker with what is being talked about.

These conceptions can be applied to SCQ data. In relation to Tannen's sense of the term, the emotional connection in the SCQ conversation data is primarily to the past activities and memories being talked about, or in the case of the folktales, to the activities in the story world. In relation to Chafe's three types of involvement, it is the last type, involvement of the speaker with what is being talked about, that is most observable in the data in this study, which are primarily narratives embedded in conversation.

This chapter is included in the dissertation to add support to the hypothesis that verbal tense in SCQ can help to indicate affect. In the data presented in chapters 5 and 6, context and lexical items give evidence of distinct types of affect. In this chapter I highlight some additional indicators from the SCQ data, including represented discourse, marked pitch shifts, marked voice quality and laughter. Several of these (represented discourse, marked pitch shifts and marked voice quality) have been documented in linguistic literature as indicators of involvement, which is why I bring in the term 'involvement'. Some of these indicators have positive affective associations in the SCQ data, while others have negative associations. The indicators with positive associations often occur with the zero-marked present used as a historical present. The indicators with negative associations often occur with the narrative past -*na:*.

To facilitate comprehension, the English free translation precedes the Quechua data in the examples.

7.1   Represented discourse (direct reported speech)

Represented discourse (direct reported speech or direct quotation) is one known indicator of involvement (Chafe 1982:48 and 1994:223, Hymes 1973:14-15, Tannen 1989:25-26, 98-133). The historical present is often used in material surrounding direct quotations, as in (93), from the *Achikay* story.

(93) Complicating action, positive affect, historical present (A8-22)

```
8    L: So, "I think the children are asleep.
9         Let's toast some corn,"
10        they say PRESENT
              after arriving from their searching.
11   E: Go on,
12   L: @@@ after saying that,
13        but apparently the child does not sleep PRESENT         excitement
              he is listening. PRESENT
14        When she said, "I wonder where the toasting pot
              is for us to toast corn",
15        "Mother, down below in the corner," @
              he says, PRESENT
16        the @child. @@
17   E: Go on,
18   L: After he said that, "Oh, he's awake, isn't he,
              the little pest."
19        After she said that, taking them to the mountain
              cliff,
20        she (the mother) pushes PRESENT
              her boy and her girl children down.
21   E: Over the cliff?
22   L: Over the cliff.
```

8   L: *...Tsay-qa,|| ..."Wamra-kuna   punu-ka-sha-m   may.   -Ø*
         that-TOP   child-PL.N   sleep-PASS-PTCP-DIR   I.think PRS

9   *... Anka-ku-ri-shun".*
         toast.corn-MID-PUNC-FUT1ᵢ

10   *ni-ya-Ø-n-shi   tsay ashi-ku-ya-nqa-n-pita   cha-ski-r-qa.*
         say-PL.V-**PRS**-3-RPT that search-MID-PL.V-NMLZ.R-3-ABL arrive-PFV-SS-TOP

11   E: *Ni-y,*
         say-IMP2

12   L: *@@@ || ...Ni-pti-n-qa,*
                  say-DS-3-TOP

13   *...wamra-qa   peru mana-chi   punu-Ø-n-tsu   wiya-ra-yka-Ø-n,*
         child-TOP   but   no-CNJ   sleep-**PRS**-3-NEG listen-DUR-CONT-**PRS**-3

14   *"Kanalla   may-chu-ra: anka-ku-ri-shun"   ni-pti-n-qa,*
         toasting.pot where-LOC-YET   toast.corn-MID-PUNC-FUT1ᵢ   say-DS-3-TOP

15   *..."Mama-y, || ...ulla   kuchu-lla-cho:-mi"   @ni-Ø-n,*
         Mother-VOC   below   corner-DLM-LOC-DIR   say-**PRS**-3

16   *@wamra-qa.[@@]*
         child-TOP.

17   E: *[Ni-y],*
                           say-IMP2

18   L: *Ni-pti-n-qa   "Riya-yka-Ø-n   aw lisu:-ra?"*
         say-DS-3-TOP wake.up-CONT-PRS-3 yes rude-YET

19   *...ni-r-qa,|| ...qaqa-pa   apa-r,*
         say-SS-TOP   mountain.cliff-GEN take-SS

20   *...china-n   orqu-ta   wamra-n-ta qarpa-ska-mu-Ø-n.*
          female-3 male-OBJ child-3-OBJ push.down-PFV-FAR-**PRS**-3

21   E: *...qaqa-pa?*
         mountain.cliff-gen

22   L: *...qaqa-pa.*
         mountain.cliff-GEN

The present used as a historical present often occurs in the same sentence with

represented discourse. Might a significant correlation exist between represented

223

discourse and the historical present or with any of the other tense forms used to talk about past situations?

I coded 478 finite verbs in the discourse data according to: 1) tense form and 2) whether represented discourse occurs in the same sentence (§1.5.2). The results in Table 7.1 show that, for instance, 35 of the 111 tokens of the historical present occur in a sentence that contains represented discourse.

The number in parentheses is the expected frequency. In Table 7.1, the expected frequency is calculated by multiplying the total number of occurrences of a particular finite verb form (in the right column) by the total number of finite verbs associated with represented discourse (bottom of center column) and then dividing this number by the total of all the finite verb forms (bottom of right column). So, for instance, the expected frequency for the historical present is found by taking 111 x 69/478.

TABLE 7.1. FINITE VERBS WITH REPRESENTED DISCOURSE IN THE SAME SENTENCE

Tense forms used with past events	Finite verbs with represented discourse in the same sentence (expected frequencies in parentheses)	Total of finite verbs
historical present	35 (16.0)	111
recent past	17 (30.2)	209
past	10 (11.3)	78
narrative past	5 (8.4)	58
habitual past	2 (3.2)	22
Grand Total	69	478

In order to determine whether a significant correlation exists between any or all of these tenses and represented discourse, I ran a chi-square goodness-of-fit test with

a continuity correction and subsequently checked the residuals. This test showed a significant correlation between the choice of verbal tense form and represented discourse occurring in the same sentence ($\chi2 = 30.16$, df = 4, p<0.001). The significant result is due to the fact that finite verbs used in conjunction with represented discourse prefer the historical present and disprefer the recent past.

How is it possible to know that the significance lies with the use of the historical present and the recent past? If the results of a chi-square test are significant, the residuals can indicate where the significance comes from. Residual values demonstrate how far away the actual frequencies are from the expected frequencies. Threshold values for residuals (a given) are >1.96 and < -1.96. If a residual value is greater than 1.96 or less than -1.96, this means that the deviation of the observed value in a cell from its expected value is exploratorily significant at a level of 0.05. I use the term 'exploratorily significant' to refer to a p value smaller than 5% which has not been corrected for multiple post hoc tests.

The residual value for the historical present occurring with represented discourse in the same sentence is 4.74, which is greater than 1.96 and therefore exploratorily significant. The residual value for the recent past occurring with represented discourse in the same sentence is -2.40, which is less than -1.96 and therefore exploratorily significant.

We have seen that finite verbs used in conjunction with represented discourse prefer the historical present and disprefer the recent past. If it is true that represented discourse is an indicator of involvement, as has been documented in the literature,

this finding supports the hypothesis that the historical present tends to be used when speakers are more emotionally involved in what they are talking about, while the recent past tends to be used when the speaker is less emotionally involved, when the affect is less intense.

As was shown in chapter 5, the historical present is used with heightened *positive* emotional involvement. Since represented discourse is used much more frequently than would be expected by chance with verbs marked with the historical present, one might wonder whether represented discourse is used much less frequently than would be expected with verbs marked with the narrative past, shown to accompany *negative* emotional involvement in chapter 5. It does occur less frequently (Table 7.1), but not significantly less frequently. This shows that only a particular type of emotional involvement, heightened positive emotional involvement, is associated with represented discourse.

Other indicators of involvement include marked pitch shifts and marked voice quality (Tannen 2005:40-41). These will be discussed in the next two sections.

7.2   Marked pitch shifts

Goldbeck, Tolkmitt and Scherer (1988:119) write, "The voice is indubitably an important means of signaling emotion: As it transmits a verbal message, it also sends out information concerning the speaker's emotional state via acoustic cues such as fundamental frequency (pitch) and voice quality." Prosodic phenomena can express heightened emotional involvement, and also sometimes specific affective attitudes (Chafe 2002:279). See also Bezooyen 1984, Bolinger 1982, and Goldbeck et al.

1988 on the expression of specific types of affect through prosody. Chafe finds, for example, that heightened involvement is consistently expressed in English conversation by heightened pitch and typically an expanded F0 range extending over the domain in question (2002:281).

Intonation has received little study in SCQ. While I provide documentation in Hintz 2006 on transitional continuity at the end of intonation units, the nuances of meaning carried by intonation patterns encompassing entire phrases are yet to be described.

In this section, two pitch traces from complicating action are provided to illustrate changes in pitch that help to communicate affect. Additionally, a pitch trace from an orientation, with little variation in tone of voice, is presented for contrast. Affect does not appear to be communicated in this orientation.

Sound files for the examples below are available on the accompanying CD in both MP3 and WAV format. The sound file names are underlined at the end of each example header.

7.2.1   Marked elevation in pitch, excitement

Preceding (94), which is part of the complication in the 'Donkey' narrative, Rita had told how they had not been able to find the donkey, though they had looked everywhere. In (94), Rita and Guillermo talk about how she thought that someone must have stolen it. She gives names of three additional places she looked and then, as shown in Figure 7.1, below, she elevates the pitch on *maytse:– crus-kaq-pa tuma-ra-mu-Ø-:* and reaches a highly elevated peak on the first syllable of *na:da.*

This pitch pattern, together with the use of the historical present, helps to indicate

that she is emotionally involved, that she is excited about what she is talking about.

(94) Marked elevation in pitch, excitement (W80) nada.mp3

76 G: And,
77   "Somebody must have already stolen it" saying.
78 R: Yes, "Somebody must have already stolen it,"
            saying I too,
79   **make a pass PRESENT** through Huaroya,   COMPLICATING ACTION,
            Acorma, Orcush, everywhere, by the cross.   *excitement*

80   Nothing **is PRESENT** there, not even its tracks.

76   G: *[₂I],*
                                and

77   ...*"Runa-na-chir   [₃apa-sh"   ni-r].*
                person-NOW-APP take-PST.R3 say-SS

78   R: *[₃A "Runa-na-chir]   apa-sh"   ni-r   noqa-pis,*
                                yes person-NOW-APP take-PST.R3 say-SS I-EVEN

79   *Waro:ya-pa   Acorma-pa   Orqush-pa*
                Huaroya-GEN   Acorma-GEN   Orcush-GEN

            maytse:–   crus-kaq-pa   tuma-ra-mu-Ø-:,
                everywhere cross-DEF-GEN turn-PUNC-FAR-**PRS**-1

80   *↑na:da   ni   [huk ima-n-pis].   Ø*
                nothing nor one   what-3-EVEN **PRS**

FIGURE 7.1.— PITCH TRACE FOR LINES W79-80

Waro: yapa Acormapa Orqushpa maytse:– cruskaqpa tumaramu: na:da ni huk imanpis
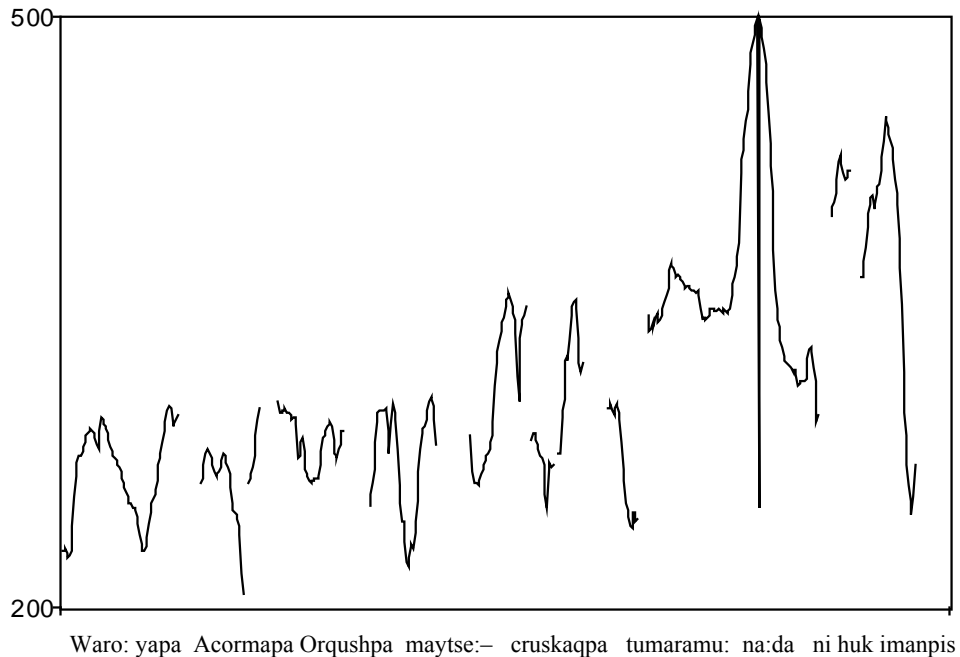
7.2.2 Marked high pitch followed by drop, suspenseful apprehension

In part of the complicating action of the *Achikay* story, the witch eats the potatoes the children had dug and pours round rocks into the pot in their place, (95). As shown in the pitch trace (the upper trace) in Figure 7.2, the words *aywayanqanya:qa chaskiptinqa mikuskir* in lines 60 and 61 are all pronounced with high pitch. The storyteller's voice drops for line 62. The elevation and then the drop in pitch, together with the use of the narrative past *-na:*, help to convey suspenseful apprehension.

Though pitch is dramatically marked in this segment of speech, intensity is not at all marked (lower trace in Figure 7.2). I did not observe marked intensity in any of

the speech segments with marked pitch patterns. The intensity trace is included in

Figure 7.2 only to show that intensity is not marked.

(95) Marked high pitch followed by drop, suspenseful apprehension (A60-62)
      <u>aywayanqanyaaqa.mp3</u>

60   While they went to look for firewood,
61   as soon as (the potatoes) were done,
            after eating them up,
62   she **poured <u>NARRATIVE PAST</u>** round rocks down   COMPLICATING ACTION,
                    into the pot.   *suspenseful apprehension*

60   *...Yantaku-q*   *↑aywa-ya-nqa-n-ya:-qa,*
            look.for.firewood-PRMT   go-PL.V-NMLZ.R-3-LIM-TOP

61   *↑cha-ski-pti-n-qa*   *↑miku-ski-r,*
            arrive-PFV-DS-3-TOP   eat-PFV-SS

62   *qolluta-ta*   *wiña-pa-rpu-**na:**.* || *...manka-man.*
            round.rocks-OBJ pour-BEN-COMPL-**PST.N**   pot-ALL

FIGURE 7.2.— PITCH AND INTENSITY TRACES FOR LINES A60-62
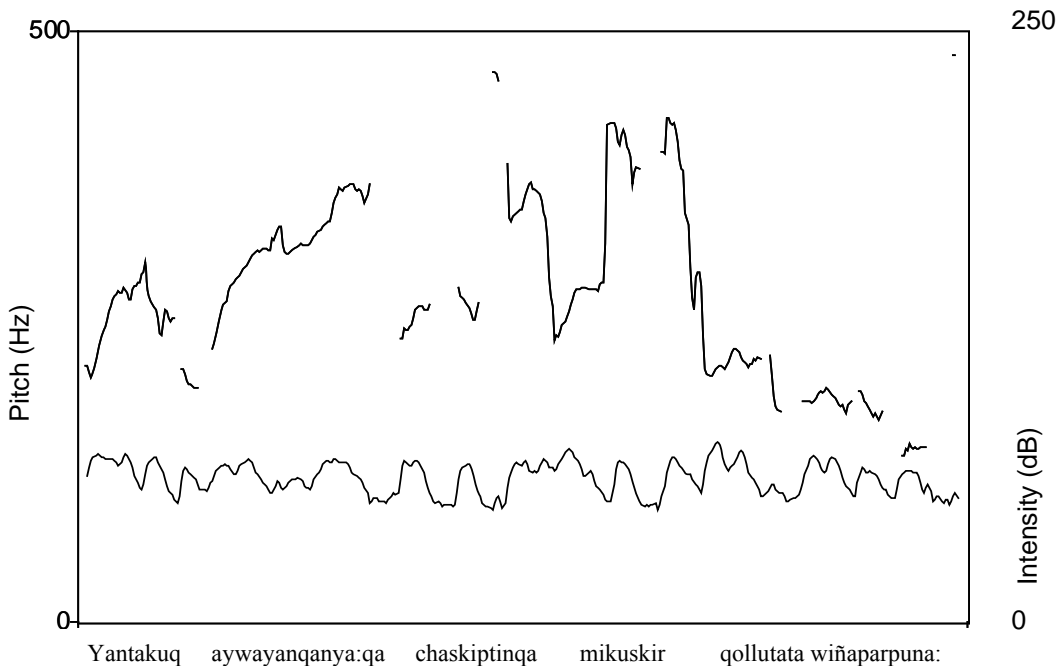
The same pitch pattern is observable in A24-25, where it is associated with suspenseful apprehension as well.

7.2.3   Almost no variation in pitch

The pitch pattern in (95), above, contrasts with the pattern in the orientation to this story (96), below, in which the narrative past is also used. Other than a phrasal accent on the word for 'poor', the pitch varies little across this utterance, as shown in Figure 7.3. The storyteller is not communicating much, if any, affect here as she orients to the listener to the narrative.

(96) Little variation in pitch in the orientation, narrative past, (A1-3) Achikayqa.mp3

```
1    L:  The witch.
2         They were NARRATIVE PAST poor,                    ORIENTATION
              surely, like us.
3         There were NARRATIVE PAST many parents
              and many children.
```

1   L: *Achikay-qa,*
         witch-TOP

2   *...Kay-no: pobri-sh ka-ya:-na: ari.*
      ...this-SIM poor-**RPT** be-PL-**PST.N** surely

3   *Mama-n-kuna wamra-n-kuna atska ka-na:.*
      parent-3-PL.N child-3-PL.N   many be-**PST.N**

FIGURE 7.3.— PITCH TRACE FOR LINES A2-3
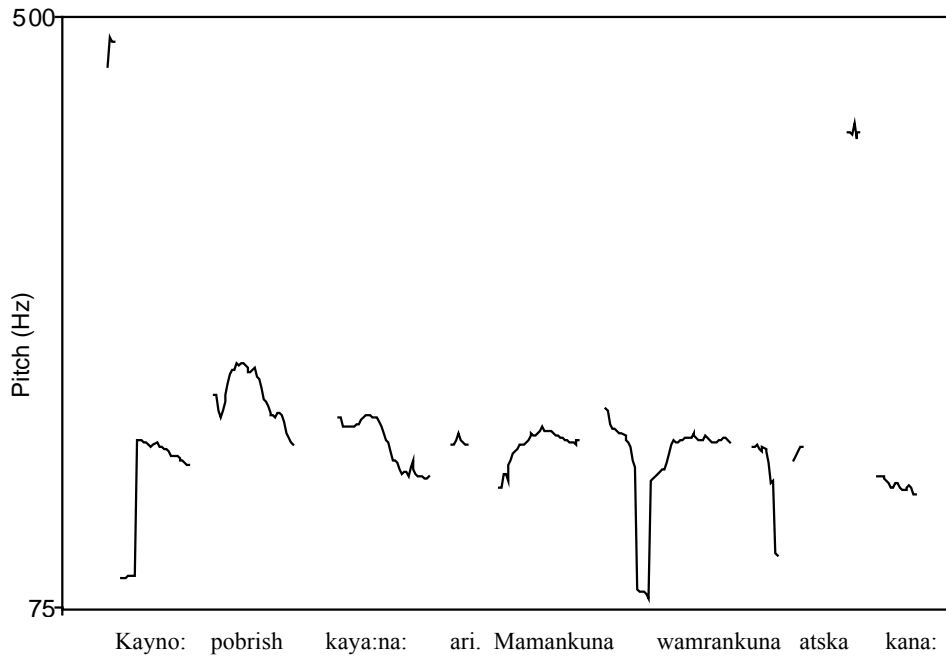
The data presented in chapter 5 showed that when the narrative past occurs in abstracts, complicating action and climaxes, it can help to communicate negative affect, while in orientations, asides and resolutions, it helps to indicate that the information was reported. A comparison of the prosody in complicating action, (95), and in an orientation, (96), adds support to that finding.

An extensive study of intonation is beyond the scope of this project. From what I have observed so far, I believe it is safe to say that intonation can help to communicate both positive and negative affect in SCQ. Elevating the pitch dramatically can help to communicate excitement, a positive affect. A markedly high pitch followed by a drop to a markedly low pitch helps to communicate suspenseful apprehension and is used when something bad begins to happen to someone. A

steady intonation pattern with little fluctuation in pitch does not seem to indicate affect.

Though pitch may be dramatically marked to help communicate affect, intensity does not follow these same marked patterns. Intensity traces corresponding to marked pitch traces show very little variation in amplitude.

7.3 Marked voice quality

In addition to pitch shifts, marked voice quality may also be used together with verbal tense forms to help convey affect. Two representative examples are provided below.

7.3.1 Glottal stop, suspenseful apprehension

In the *Achikay* story, the antagonist, the witch, is introduced in line 53. The glottal stop at the start of *Achikaylla* gives a special forceful quality to this word and sets it apart. This prominent glottal stop, in combination with the use of the narrative past, helps to communicate suspenseful apprehension and indicates to the listener that something bad will happen related to this character. A 2.7 second pause follows the intonation unit in line 53, adding impact to the words that were just spoken.

(97) Glottal stop, suspenseful apprehension (A53) qoshtaamuptinqa.mp3

51 L: Then because smoke was rising over there,
     "Come on," they **said HABITUAL PAST**   [repeated action]
     to each other, "Let's go" saying,
52   they **went**. **RECENT PAST**   *interest*
53   The witch, **was NARRATIVE PAST**...there.   *suspenseful apprehension*

51   L: *...Tsa qoshta:-mu-pti-n-qa, || "Aku"   nina-ku-__q__   "Aywa-shun" ni-r,*
       then emit.smoke-FAR-DS-3-TOP   come.on say-RECP-**PST.H**   go-FUT1ᵢ   say-SS

52   *aywa-ya-__sha__.*
      go-PL.V-**PST.R3**

53   *...%Achikay-lla ka-__na:__   ...tsay-chu:.*
      witch-DLM   be-**PST.N**   that-LOC

This same pattern, of a glottal stop in combination with the use of the narrative past, occurs in line A5 as well, where it also helps to communicate suspenseful apprehension.

7.3.2   Lowered pitch and narrowing of range, shame and disapproval

In the conversation Rita has with Guillermo, they finish a discourse topic in lines 27-29 of example (98). Rita then begins the abstract to a narrative centered on finding out who stole some belongings from a drunken person. Her tone, starting with the last word of line 31, conveys hurt, shame and disapproval. She lowers her pitch and also narrows her pitch range as she tells what happened, using the narrative past. The sound clip includes lines 27-30 so that the contrast in voice quality can be heard. To protect their identity, the names of two people have been muffled in this sound clip and in two of the clips in §7.4.

Pitch traces of line 27 and line 33 show the contrasting patterns (Figure 7.4). Both lowered pitch and narrowing of pitch range are apparent. (The audio for lines 28-32 was removed for this figure, due to space constraints.)

(98) Voice quality of hurt, shame and disapproval (S31-33) <u>shinqiruwan.mp3</u>

27   Due to the alcoholic beverage (the night before),
           on the main day of the festival
           people **greeted** <u>**PAST**</u> the morning   CLOSING
           all sprawled out,
28   sleeping in the corners.
29 G: Oh my. How awful.
30 R: And in addition um [word search] um,
31   they **stole** <u>**NARRATIVE PAST**</u> Walter's shoes.   *shame*
32   Also a man, Ernesto Garay's son,
33   from him someone **stole** <u>**NARRATIVE PAST**</u>   *shame*
         his jacket and his poncho.

27   *Shinqiru-wan   runa   pas diya-man-na-qa   wara:-mu-**ra**-n*
       hot.drink-COM   person very day-ALL-NOW-TOP dawn-FAR-**PST**-3

       mashta-ra-r-ra:-cha:,
       spread.out-DUR-SS-YET-MUT

28   *[…kuchu-kuna-chu punu-r].*
       border-PL.N-LOC sleep-SS

29   G: *[Achya: bes=cha:].*
       surely   how.awful

30   R: *...I= nirkur   a na-pa-ta   este=,*
      and in.addition um thing-GEN-OBJ um

31   *Walter-pa-ta   sapatu-n-ta   suwa-ska-pu-ya:-**na:**.*
       Walter-GEN-OBJ   shoe-3-OBJ   steal-PFV-BEN-PL.V-**PST.N**

32   *...Nirkur   huk runa-sh   Ernesto Garay-pa tsuri-n,*
       in.addition one person-RPT Ernesto Garay-GEN child-3

33   *...tsay-pa-ta-na   kasa:ka-n-ta ponchu-n-ta suwa-ya:-**na:**   mas,*
       that-GEN-OBJ-NOW jacket-3-OBJ poncho-3-OBJ steal-PL.V-**PST.N** more

FIGURE 7.4.— PITCH TRACE COMPARING LINES S27 AND S33

Shinqiruwan runa pas diyamannaqa wara:muran mashtararra:cha ….tsaypatana kasa:kanta ponchunta suwaya:na: mas
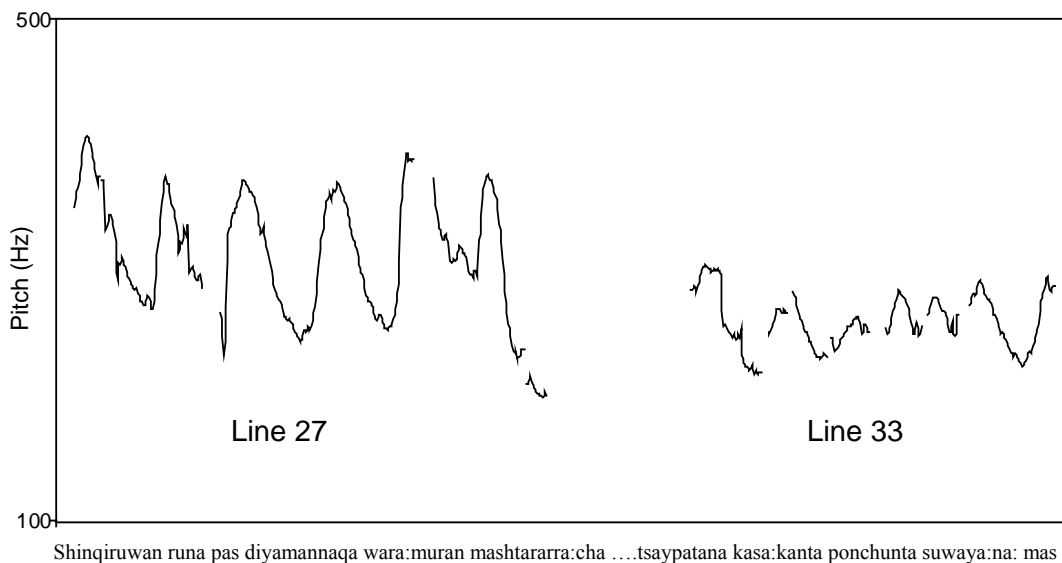
In sum, these data have shown that special voice qualities can be used together with the narrative past to help convey negative affects in SCQ. I did not observe the use of special voice qualities, other than the pitch changes already discussed, to convey positive affects.

7.4   Laughter

What affect is associated with laughter? Is it positive or negative? Chafe (2007) writes that the feeling behind laughter and humor has to do with *nonseriousness*, with *not being earnest*. He explains (2007:13), "People may experience it as a reaction to situations that are unpleasant or abnormal as a way of mitigating the undesirability of such situations. But because people are always looking for ways to feel good, they have found many ways to elicit it deliberately, ways that constitute what we know as humor." He also writes that pleasure is a major component of this

236

feeling, but that it is a certain type of pleasure, that which is associated with the appraisal of nonseriousness, and that it contrasts with other experiences that bring pleasure (2007:65). He references the work of Ruch, who uses the term *exhilaration* as a way of referring to "an emotional construct denoting a temporary increase in a cheerful state that is observable in behavior, physiology, and emotional experience, and that occurs in response to humor, but also to other stimuli" (Ruch 1993:606). Chafe explains that in this context, *exhilaration* can be seen as focused on the pleasantness component of nonseriousness (2007:65).

I believe we can conclude that while many of the situations people react to with laughter are unpleasant or abnormal, laughter itself expresses a "good" feeling, one of pleasure. Laughter somehow downplays the uncomfortableness of a situation. It makes the situation seem lighter, not so serious.

In SCQ, laughter generally occurs together with the use of the present as a historical present. I present several illustrative examples, followed by statistical analysis that shows a significant correlation between the choice of this verbal tense form and laughter.

From the *Achikay* narrative, (99) is the last part of the climax in which the witch discovers that she has eaten her own child. The witch does something unpleasant in lines 87-89, followed by mitigating laughter from the storyteller. The historical present is used to talk about it. The associated affect is excitement, or to use Ruch's term, exhilaration, a positive affect.

(99) Historical present, laughter mitigating unpleasantness, excitement
        rumi hananman.mp3

87   Defecating on top of a rock,
88   "Take the form of a child, take the form of a child,   CLIMAX,
89   Antuktupay," saying, the witch   *excitement*
            is kneading PRESENT it @@
            (into a human shape).

87   *...Rumi hana-n-man   ishpa-ski-r-qa,*
         rock   on.top.of-3-ALL urinate-PFV-SS-TOP

88   *"Wawa-tuku-y   wawa-tuku-y,*
         child-PARTIAL-IMP2 child-PARTIAL-IMP2

89   *Antuktupay" ni-r   lluyllu-yka-**Ø**-n   @@ || ...Achikay.*
         Antuktupay say-SS knead-CONT-**PRS**-3   witch

Rita's abstract of the 'Donkey' narrative is found in lines 12-18 of (100). Rita

uses the historical present throughout the abstract and laughs at the end. She

continues to laugh as Guillermo responds, probably to mitigate the abnormalness of

the situation she had begun to describe. Guillermo uses the present tense in the

habitual sense in lines 22-29 and does not laugh as he argues that this is *not* an

abnormal situation, because it happens every year. He did not yet know of the

tremendous difficulty they had in finding the donkey. The difficulty in finding it,

rather than losing it, was what was abnormal about the situation.

(100) Historical present, laughter mitigating abnormalness, excitement (D12-29)
 qaykuskiipistsu.mp3

12 R: And I **don't** even **shut** <u>**PRESENT**</u> them in
13   "It's still early" saying,
14   we **lose** <u>**PRESENT**</u> the donkey in the night.   ABSTRACT*,*
15 G: uh huh,   *excitement*
16 R: All of us, Niko,
17   all of us **look** <u>**PRESENT**</u> and **look** <u>**PRESENT**</u>
          for the donkey in the night.
18   We **don't find** <u>**PRESENT**</u> it. @@
19 G: (unintelligible)
20   But,
21 R: @@
22 G: that's <u>**PRESENT**</u> typical.
23 R: @@
24 G: Year after year during the time of the
          festival the donkey is lost. **PRESENT**
25 R: @@@
26 G: It disappears, <u>**PRESENT**</u>   (present)
27 R: @
28 G: The children don't pay attention, <u>**PRESENT**</u>
29   and we ourselves don't even think <u>**PRESENT**</u>
          about it.

12   R: ... *I= noqa-pis mana qayku-ski-**Ø**-:-pis-tsu,*
          and I-EVEN   no   enclose-PFV-**PRS**-1-EVEN-NEG

13   *"Tempra:nu-lla-ra:-cha:"   ni-r,*
          early-DLM-YET-MUT   say-SS

14   *oqra-yku-ya-**Ø**-:   tsaka-y   bu:rru-ta-qa.*
          lose-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-1 darkness-INF   donkey-OBJ-TOP

15   G: *uh huh,*
          uh huh

16   R: *Llapa-:-kuna, || Niko,*
          all-1-PL.N   Niko

17   *llapa-:-kuna tsaka-y   ashi-ya-**Ø**-:   ashi-ya-**Ø**-:   bu:rru-ta-qa,*
          all-1-PL.N   darkness-INF seek-PL.V-**PRS**-1 seek-pl.v-**PRS**-1 donkey-OBJ-TOP

18   *.. (H) Mana-na ☺tari-yku-[ya-**Ø**-:-na-tsu].*   @ @
          no-NOW   find-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-1-NOW-NEG

19   G: *[#-tsu]*
                                        -NEG

20   G: *[Peru,]*
          but

21   R: *[@ @]*

22   G: *... kostumbri-m tse:. **Ø***
          custom-DIR   that **PRS**

23   R: *@ @*

24   G: *Wata wata tsa:* *[fyesta-cho:-qa]*   *oqra-ka-**Ø**-n*   *[₂burriku-qa,]*
          year year then   festival-LOC-TOP   lose-PASS-**PRS**-3   donkey-TOP

25   R: *[@   @]*   *[₂@]*

26   G: *Illa-ka-ski-**Ø**-n,*
          be.absent-PASS-PFV-**PRS**-3

27   R: *@*

28   G: *Wamra-pis ka:su-**Ø**-n-tsu*
          child-EVEN pay.attention-**PRS**-3-NEG

29   *ni   noqa-ntsik-pis yarpa-ski-**Ø**-ntsik-tsu,*
          nor   I-1₁-EVEN   think-PFV-**PRS**-1₁-NEG

    In the climactic part of 'Work' (101), the historical present is used by

Guillermo, accompanied by several episodes of laughter from Rita. David and

Debora could have been unhappy with Guillermo because he came to work three

weeks late, but they were happy. Rita may be laughing to mitigate tension related to

this situation that could have been difficult, but turned out to be fine. Another

alternative is that she is laughing simply because she is delighted, happy.

(101) Historical present, laughter, happiness and excitement (W32-40)
    kushiykun.mp3

32	As soon as I go in I **find PRESENT** David.	
33	He **gets happy PRESENT** too.	CLIMAX,
34 R:	Very much so? @	*happiness, excitement*
35 G:	Mrs. Debora too.	
36 R:	@@	
37 G:	They all **get happy**. **PRESENT**	
38 R:	Ah.	
39 G:	In my heart I also **get even happier**. **PRESENT**	
40 R:	About the festival you **don't** even **think PRESENT** now@@@.	

32   *Pa:sa-ra-mu-r   don ...David-ta-qa   tari-ri-Ø-:,*
        pass-PUNC-FAR-SS Mr.   David-OBJ-TOP find-PUNC-**PRS**-1

33   *...Pay-pis   kushi-yku-Ø-n,*
          he-EVEN happy-PFV.O-**PRS**-3

34   R: *Alla:pa ka-q? @*
        very   be-AG

35   G: *Seño:ra [Debora-pis].*
        Mrs.   Debora-EVEN

36   R: *[@@]*

37   G: *Kushi-yku-ya-Ø-n   llapa-n.*
        happy-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-3 all-3

38   R: ... ☺ *A=,*
           ah

39   G: *Noqa-pis kushi-ku-Ø-:   shonqu-:-chu mas-ra:,*
        I-EVEN   happy-MID-**PRS**-1 heart-1-LOC   more-YET

40   R: *...Fyesta-pa: ni [yarpa-Ø-nki-na-pis-tsu.   @@@]*
        festival-PURP nor think-**PRS**-2-NOW-EVEN-NEG

In the data in the appendix, there are 20 episodes of laughter. Sometimes the

speaker of the utterance laughed, sometimes the listener laughed, and sometimes

both laughed. Whenever one or more people were laughing during an utterance

and/or immediately following it, I counted it as an episode of laughter. Of the 20

episodes, 12 occurred in association with the use of the historical present. Table 7.2

shows that laughter occurs predominantly in association with the use of the present

as a historical present.

TABLE 7.2.   LAUGHTER IN ASSOCIATION WITH TENSE FORMS

Tense forms used with past events in the appendix	Finite verbs with laughter in the same sentence or immediately following, with expected frequencies in parentheses to the right	Total of finite verbs
historical present	**12 (4.1)**	38
recent past	**1 (8.1)**	75
past	3 (4.1)	38
narrative past	3 (3.0)	28
habitual past	0 (0.2)	2
mirative (from a past perfect)	1 (0.3)	3
Grand Total	20	184

In §7.1, a significant correlation was discovered between the choice of verbal

tense form and reported discourse. Might a significant correlation also exist between

the choice of verbal tense form and laughter?

The expected frequencies in Table 7.2 are too low for a standard chi-square test.

Hence, a bootstrapping approach was used to provide a chi-square and a p-value.

10,000 samples were taken randomly from the data (with replacement). This was

done in order to determine how many of these 10,000 results obtained by chance deviate more extremely from chance than the results expected from the marginal totals of the observed distribution. The test showed a significant correlation between the choice of verbal tense form and laughter occurring in the same sentence or immediately subsequent ($\chi 2 = 23.2$, p<0.01).

A check of the residuals showed that the exploratorily significant result is largely due to the fact that finite verbs used in conjunction with laughter prefer the present used as a historical present and disprefer the recent past. The residual value for the historical present occurring with laughter is 3.87, which is >1.96 and therefore exploratorily significant. The residual value for the recent past occurring with represented speech in the same sentence is -2.50, which is <-1.96 and exploratorily significant.

As discussed above, laughter is associated with positive affect (excitement, exhilaration and pleasure). Like the results in §7.1 on represented discourse, these statistical findings support the hypothesis that the historical present is used when speakers are emotionally involved in a positive way in what they are talking about, while the recent past is used when the speaker is less emotionally involved.

7.5   Conclusions

In SCQ legendary narrative and conversational narrative about past events, some of the indicators of involvement discussed in this chapter are observed to be connected with positive affect, while others are associated with negative affect.

Indicators of involvement associated with *positive* affect include:

- use of the present tense as a historical present,

- represented discourse,

- marked elevation in pitch,

- laughter.

Indicators of involvement when the affect is *negative* include:

- the use of the narrative past,

- lowered pitch with a narrowing of the range,

- very high pitch across several words followed by an abrupt drop,

- use of the glottal stop to create forceful voice quality.

Chi-square tests showed significant correlations between choice of verbal tense form and represented discourse and also between choice of verbal tense form and laughter. Specifically, finite verb forms used in conjunction with represented discourse and those occurring together with laughter prefer the present used as a historical present and disprefer the recent past. These findings support the hypothesis that the historical present is used when speakers are more emotionally involved in what they are talking about, while the recent past is used when the speaker is less emotionally involved, when the affect is less intense.

Marked pitch changes and marked voice quality did not occur in sufficient numbers to permit statistical analysis. The use of these indicators of involvement in SCQ speech as presented in this chapter provides support for the hypothesis that

verbal tense in SCQ can help to indicate affect, but statistically significant correlations cannot be made between verbal tense and these indicators of involvement.

Verbal tense can be used together with other indicators of affect, including context, lexical items, prosody and represented discourse, to convey a particular emotion or stance. For example, in (93), represented discourse, laughter and the historical present are used together, along with the context, to convey the positive affect of excitement. In (94), another set (elevated pitch, the historical present and the context) conveys excitement. In (95), markedly high pitch followed by a drop, together with the context and the use of the narrative past, helps to convey suspenseful apprehension. In (98), lowering of the pitch and narrowing of the pitch range together with the use of the narrative past help to communicate hurt, shame and disapproval. Verbal tense is one of a collection of linguistic resources SCQ speakers have for conveying positive and negative affect.

8 Subjectivity and the speaker's perspective

> The configuration of material in a narrative reflects experience AS FILTERED THROUGH AN INDIVIDUAL CONSCIOUSNESS. This subjective viewpoint will be injected into the chronicle of events. —Fleischman (1985:860)

SCQ speakers may use distinct tenses when discussing the same situation if one of them is personally emotionally involved in the situation and the other is not. This type of observation has led researchers to realize that forms, structures that have grammatical functions, can be used subjectively to indicate speaker point of view (e.g., Fleischman 1985 on Old French; Fleischman 1991 on French; Iwasaki 1993 on Japanese; Scheibman 2002 on English; Stein and Wright 1995, a volume of papers on many languages; Traugott 1989 on English). Finegan (1995:2) observes that we are witnessing a renaissance of interest in subjectivity in discourse "as a critical fact of language: language not strictly as form nor as the expression of propositional thought...but language as an expression ... of perceiving, feeling, *speaking subjects*." In the first part of this chapter, I show that a speaker of SCQ who is personally involved with a situation may use one tense, while a speaker who is emotionally detached from that situation may use another tense.

In the second part of the chapter I show that SCQ speakers have the option of looking through different 'lenses' as they use verbal tense in the process of communication. Placement in time, indication of source of evidence, expression of

affect and indication of narrative structure could all be thought of as 'lenses'
speakers look through, as perspectives they are coming from as they communicate.
A person speaks from one or more of these perspectives in a particular act of
communication, depending on his or her focus. S/he can change 'lenses', shift
perspectives, as needed. At one point s/he may feel the need to establish the source
of evidence, while at another point s/he may want to express how s/he feels about
the situation.

While Table 4.3 shows what factor governs the choice of tense marker in a
particular component of narrative, the basis for the choice is not always so clear-cut.
Speakers can differ as to which tense to use with a situation at a given point in
discourse. For instance, in the process of transcribing some of Lita's narrative
material, Elí, a native speaker helping with the transcription, sometimes told me that
it was incorrect for her to have used a certain tense. He would then tell me which
tense he felt to be correct. A plausible explanation for this difference is that Elí and
Lita were looking through two different lenses; they were looking from different
perspectives at the same situation.

8.1   Involvement with or detachment from the situation

In chapter 2 we saw that objective placement in time plays a role in determining
the choice between different tenses in SCQ, as in many languages. Dahl (1984:110)
notes that it also seems to be possible for a speaker to treat something as close even
if it is objectively remote and vice versa. He suggests that personal involvement of a

247

speaker can influence his or her judgment of temporal distance, making the

judgment subjective. SCQ data illustrate this.

In an early part of the conversation between Guillermo and Rita, they talk about

who came and who did not come to the festival. In line 1 of (102), Guillermo uses

the past *-r(q)a* to ask a question. In line 2, Rita responds to that question using the

recent past *-sh((q)a)*. Recall from chapter 2 that the past *-r(q)a* normally places

events in time as previous to events marked with the recent past *-sh((q)a)*. In this

instance, Guillermo is more removed from the situation. He was not there and was

not personally involved. He speaks quietly. In contrast, Rita was personally involved

in the situation. It is more immediate to her because she has just come from the

festival. She is talking quickly and with higher pitch than is typical for her.

Objective placement in time cannot be the factor influencing the choice of tense

markers in lines 1 and 2. The two speakers are talking about the same situation. I

propose that Rita's emotional involvement and Guillermo's lack of emotional

involvement influenced their choices of tense marker.

(102)   Guillermo not emotionally involved, Rita emotionally involved

1   G: **Didn't** our uncle Gomer **come PAST**?
2   R: No. They **didn't come RECENT PAST**, not one of them.

1   G: *Mana-ku aywa-**ra**-n tiyu-ntsi: Gumi:chu?*
           no-Q.P   go-**PST**-3 uncle-I$_1$ Gomer

2   R: *Mana.|| Aywa-ya-**sha**-tsu   tsay-kuna.|| ni   pi-pis,*
           no   go-PL.V-**PST.R3**-NEG that-PL.N   nor who-EVEN

Mithun (1998:261-2) also shows that choices among tense categories are

subjective in some other Native American languages. For instance, she cites Silver

(1966), who shows that tense choice in Shasta depends on the speaker's point of view. Silver (1966:127) notes, "The near past is used in conversation and anecdote to describe events relatively recent in time from the speaker's point of view; for example, in an anecdote involving himself, SS [speaker Sargent Sambo, who was in his 90's] might use the near past to refer to an event that happened any time from the day before to fifty or sixty years ago."

Comrie (1985:90-91) provides an example from Sotho, a Bantu language, in which the speaker used the recent past to relate an event that happened long ago. *Morena Moshoeshoe **ofalletse** Thaba Bosiu ka-1824* 'Chief Moshoeshoe **moved** (RECENT PAST) to Thaba-Bosiu in 1824.' We might infer, as Fleischman (1989:21) writes, that Chief Moshoeshoe's legacy was and still is highly significant. It may be that memories of him and his actions are in the forefront of the minds of people living today. What he did must have had a profound impact on the culture or well being of his people.

Chafe (1973) suggests that levels of memory may be related to use of temporal components such as tense and temporal adverbs in English. In his view, we hold in SURFACE MEMORY information that is at the surface of our consciousness (1973:265), and that though what is in surface memory tends to be that which was perceived a short time before, the length of time it stays in surface memory seems to depend on the salience of the information to the individual. Trivial material stays in surface memory for a short time, while material that has a more profound impact persists longer (1973:266). The idea of impact seems to me to refer to emotional impact.

Something that we have perceived that affects us personally, that impacts our emotions, either negatively or positively, stays in our consciousness longer than material that has no impact on us personally.

Like speakers of other languages, SCQ speakers can use the recent past with events that happened many years ago. Chafe's ideas aid in understanding why. In SCQ, generally the events marked with recent past have happened recently. However, a highly emotional event that happened a long time ago may remain at the forefront of the mind of the speaker and s/he may use the recent past in describing it. For instance, Guillermo used the recent past *-r(q)u* in talking about events related to his marriage, which occurred some 15 years previous to the time of his speaking.[23] His eloping and escaping to the coast with his new wife were highly emotional events. These events that would normally go into DEEP memory were close to the surface, or at the surface, due to the emotional impact they had on him. The recent past *-r(q)u* was used in describing the events, rather than the past *-r(q)a*, which is generally used for events that happened a long time ago.

Another example, (103), comes from a conversation that took place in 2006 between Rita, her husband, and a friend about events that had taken place 14 years prior. Rita was telling a true story as part of the conversation. She told how a couple who planned to be gone for a few months had stored their belongings in one room of a neighbor's house in the community. When two years had passed and the couple still had not returned, the people of the community assumed that the wife, who had

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[23] Dan Hintz (p.c.)

been sick, must have died. The people decided to take the couple's belongings out of

the storage room to use for themselves. Just after the padlock had been removed and

the items were being carried away to various houses, the couple arrived on the

scene! Rita switched from the past *-r(q)a* in line 9 to the recent past *-sh((q)a)* in line

10 with this event that had such a strong emotional impact on her and the other

people of the community.

(103)   Use of the recent past *-sh((q)a)* with an emotional event of 14 years prior

9   R: "Poor thing, his wife died" they **said PAST** now,
10   Then the two **arrived. RECENT PAST** (with laughter from all participants)

9   R: *"Allaw   warmi-n-lla-sh   wanu-sh" ni-ya-**ra**-n-na,*
             poor.thing wife-3-DLM-REP die-PST.R3 say-PL-**PST**-3-NOW

10   R: ☺*Tsay-pita-ra:*   ☺*ishka-n*   ☺*cha:-ya:-mu-**sh***   *[@@]*
             then-ABL-YET   two-3   arrive-PL-FAR-**PST.R3**

  Howard-Malverde (1988) also recognizes the role of speaker subjectivity in the

recounting of past events in Pariarca (Huamalies) Quechua. She writes, "Many

linguists investigating tense relations in discourse have distinguished between two

'modes of description', one lending itself to the so-called objective description of

events and the other admitting the participation of the speaker's subjectivity"

(1988:127). She notes that Lyons (1977:688) uses the terms 'historical' and

'experiential' to draw the distinction, typifying the former as: "the narration of

events, ordered in successivity and presented dispassionately with the minimum of

subjective involvement", and the latter as "the kind of description that might be

given by someone who is personally involved in what he is describing."

Howard-Malverde (1988) finds it necessary to distinguish these two modes of

description in her work on tense variation in Huamalies Quechua, just as I see the need for the distinction in SCQ as well.

In sum up to this point, grammatical temporal remoteness distinctions used to place events in time in an objective way can also be used subjectively. When the speaker is personally involved in the situation, a recent past may be used, though the event may have taken place some time ago. Additionally, if the speaker is emotionally detached from a situation, though it may have taken place recently, a remote past marker may be used.

These hypotheses can be further verified in another way. In (104), from the conversation between Guillermo and Rita, they used the recent past *-r(q)u* in discussing the work he had done the previous week. Later, Rita and I set up a scenario in which we supposed that she was asking Guillermo about the events of the previous week not because she was interested, but because she was obligated to write a report. She said that in that case she would say *Ima-kuna-ta-ta: rura-ya-**ra**-yki*, with the past, instead of *Ima-kuna-ta-ta: rura-ya-**ru**-yki,* as she said in line 43. This shows that for reasons of emotional distance, when speaking from a detached perspective, she would use the past *-r(q)a*, rather than the recent past *-r(q)u*.

(104)   Events marked with the recent past *-r(q)u* (W42-44)

42 G: From that point we **worked** <u>RECENT PAST</u> with um,
43 R: What things **did** you (pl.) **do**? <u>RECENT PAST</u>
44 G: First I **was doing** <u>RECENT PAST</u> a check of that story I myself had done.

42   G: *...Tsa tse:-pita aru-ya-**ru**-:   ari ka-: [₂na-wan,]*
            then that-ABL work-PL.V-**PST.R**-1 yes be-1 thing-COM

43   R: *[₂Ima-kuna-ta-ta:] rura-ya-**ru**-yki?*
                                      what-PL.N-OBJ-Q.C do-PL.V-**PST.R**-2

44   G: *...Punta-ta-qa || ..komprobasyun-ta-m rura-yka-**ru**-:*
            front-OBJ-TOP   check-OBJ-DIR   do-CONT-**PST.R**-1

        ..tse: kiki-:   kwentu-ta   ...rura-sha-:-ta.
        that   self-1   story-OBJ   do-NMLZ.R-1-OBJ

In the next section I shift gears somewhat to show that tense choice can depend

on the perspective taken by the speaker in another way.

8.2   Different perspectives, different tense markers

Narrations of the "Pear" story show that a speaker can choose to speak in 'report

format', presenting what s/he has observed, or in 'story format', focusing on the

communication of affect. The "Pear" video (Chafe 1980) is a film without words of

a man picking pears, a boy carrying away a basket of the pears on his bicycle, then

taking a spill and being helped by other children.[24] It is designed to depict situations

that people of any culture could understand and talk about. Several SCQ speakers

watched this film and then told me individually the content of what they had seen.

After transcribing these narrations, I color-coded the tense markers following the

same color scheme as in chapter 6.

One of the speakers, Andrés, primarily used the past *-r(q)a* in his Pear story,

with variation for the pragmatic purposes described in chapters 5 and 6. María

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[24] The six-minute video can be viewed at http://pearstories.org and at
http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/faculty/chafe/pearfilm.htm.

mainly used the recent past *-sh((q)a)* in hers, while Gustavo used the zero-marked present as a historical present in his. Each person had seen the same video, yet each of the three chose a different tense marker as the primary marker for the story.

    I let Rita, a native SCQ speaker who had not helped with the transcription of these stories, look through the printouts to see:

- the predominantly green highlights with Andrés' use of the past *-r(q)a*,

- the mostly yellow highlights as María used the recent past *-sh((q)a)*, and

- the extensive blue highlights with Gustavo's zero-marked present as a historical present.

Rita also saw that each speaker had varied from the tense form that s/he had chosen to use primarily. I told Rita I was hoping to learn what meanings the tense markers convey.

    Rita then watched the Pear film. After that, she listened to each of the narrations from the three speakers as she followed the transcription.

    After she had listened to Andrés' story, I asked her to tell me what his use of the past *-r(q)a* indicated to her, how she felt about it. She said, "*Te está contando lo que ha visto directamente*". In English, 'He is telling you what he saw directly' (what he himself saw). After she had listened to María's story, which uses primarily the recent past *-sh((q)a)*, I asked her to tell me how she felt about it, what it indicated to her. She said, "*Suena mejor*". In English, 'It sounds better'. As she listened to Gustavo's story, which mainly uses the zero-marked present as a historical present, she laughed several times. She had not laughed during the other narrations. I asked her how she

254

felt about it, what it indicated to her. She said, *"Da más alegría"*. In English, 'It gives more happiness'.

With his use of the past *-r(q)a*, Andrés was apparently focusing on source of evidence, on 'giving a report' of what he had seen. In contrast, María and Gustavo were both focusing on communicating affect, on telling a story. María used the recent past *-sh((q)a)* to communicate interest in the events, while Gustavo chose to make the story more lively by using the zero-marked present as a historical present, which conveys happiness and excitement.

The Pear story data corroborate the findings in chapters 5 and 6, that the past *-r(q)a* is used when speakers want to give their observations from their perspective, that the recent past *-sh((q)a)* is used to communicate interest, and that the zero-marked present as a historical present is used to convey happiness and excitement. The Pear story data also show that at least to a certain extent, tense choice is dependent on the perspective the speaker takes.

I turn now to a segment of the conversation between Rita and Guillermo in order to show that a speaker can choose to focus on giving a report of recent events or on objectively placing those events in recent time. In (105), Guillermo used the past *-r(q)a* in lines 19, 20, 21 and 25 with events that had happened a few days previously. I asked Rita how it would change the meaning to use the recent past *-r(q)u* in these lines in place of the past *-r(q)a*. She said that she would have used the recent past *-r(q)u* in the first place, and that for her, the use of the past *-r(q)a* would be incorrect in this context. She could not give a reason for Guillermo's use of it.

My current hypothesis is that Guillermo used the past *-r(q)a* due to the fact that nothing interesting or exciting happened on the trip. He had made this trip dozens of times before. In contrast, the situations that he talked about subsequently, beginning in line 27, were interesting and exciting to him. He used the recent past *-r(q)u* and the zero-marked present as a historical present with those events. While he was emotionally detached from the events of the trip and talked about them in 'report format', he switched to 'story format' to tell about events that were interesting and exciting.

Lines 19, 20, 21 and 25 show that a speaker can choose to focus on giving a report of recent events (Guillermo's perspective) or on objectively placing those events in recent time (Rita's perspective).

(105)   Guillermo used the past *-r(q)a*, Rita would have used the recent past *-r(q)u* (W19-26)

```
19  G:  And then, I came PAST to Catac.
20        After eating lunch in Catac,
               I traveled PAST to here.              no excitement
21        I got here PAST about five thirty.
22  R:  In the afternoon?
23  G: Yes, in the afternoon.
24  R:  At the time it was starting to get dark, right?
25  G: I came PAST in a small bus from Catac.
26  R:  Oh.
27  G: From there I got here RECENT PAST quickly.      interest
               (faster than he thought he would)
28        Antonio was NARRATIVE PAST out in the street
29  R:  Uh huh,
30  G:  supervising workers.
```

31		Then he **opens** <u>**PRESENT**</u> (the door) for me.			*happiness, excitement*

31 Then he **opens** <u>**PRESENT**</u> (the door) for me. *happiness, excitement*
32 As soon as I go in I **find** <u>**PRESENT**</u> David.
33 He **gets happy** <u>**PRESENT**</u> too. CLIMAX,
34 R: Very much so? @ *happiness, excitement*
35 G: Mrs. Debora too.
36 R: @@
37 G: They all **get happy**. <u>**PRESENT**</u>
38 R: Ah.
39 G: In my heart I also **get** even **happier**. <u>**PRESENT**</u>
40 R: About the festival you **don't**
    even **think** <u>**PRESENT**</u> now@@@.
41 G: About the festival I **didn't**
    even **think** <u>**RECENT PAST**</u> now. *interest, less intense*

19 G: *I= tsa: ...um, || ...Ca:tac-yaq sha-mu-**ra**-:,*
    and then um Catac-LIM come-FAR-**PST**-1

20 *Ca:tac-cho: ...almorsa-ski-r-na pa:sa-mu-**ra**-: ke:-pa.*
    Catac-LOC dine-PFV-SS-NOW pass-FAR-**PST**-1 this-GEN

21 *Cha:-mu-**ra**-: kay-man la-s sinku i medya-chi,*
    arrive-FAR-**PST**-1 this-ALL the-PL.SP five and half-CNJ

22 R: *..De la tardi.*
    of the afternoon

23 G: *Aha de la tardi.*
    yes of the afternoon

24 R: *Tsaka-na-yka-pti-n-na   aw?*
    darkness-DES-CONT-DS-3-NOW yes

25 G: *Mikru-wan-na-m   cha:-mu– sha-mu-**ra**-: Ca:tac-pita-qa,*
    small.bus-COM-NOW-DIR arrive-FAR (MS) come-FAR-**PST**-1 Catac-ABL-TOP

26 R: *A=.*
    oh

27 G: *...Tse:-pita ...cha-ska-mu-**ru**-:,*
    that-ABL arrive-PFV-FAR-**PST.R**-1

28 *...don Antonio ka-yka:-**na:** ka:lli-chu ...waqta-cho:,*
    Mr. Antonio be-CONT-**PST.N** street-LOC back-LOC

29 R: *uh huh,*
    uh huh

30 G: *...aru-tsi-ku-r,*
    work-CAUS-MID-SS

31   *...Tse:-na   kicha-pa:-ma-**Ø**-n,*
          that-NOW open-BEN-1OBJ-**PRS**-3

32   *Pa:sa-ra-mu-r   don ...David-ta-qa   tari-ri-**Ø**-:,*
          pass-PUNC-FAR-SS Mr.   David-OBJ-TOP find-PUNC-**PRS**-1

33   *...Pay-pis kushi-yku-**Ø**-n,*
          he-EVEN happy-PFV.O-**PRS**-3

34   R: *Alla:pa ka-q? @*
         very   be-AG

35   G: *Seño:ra [Debora-pis].*
         Mrs.   Debora-EVEN

36   R: *[@@]*

37   G: *Kushi-yku-ya-**Ø**-n   llapa-n.*
         happy-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-3 all-3

38   R: ... ☺*A=,*
           ah

39   G: *Noqa-pis kushi-ku-**Ø**-:   shonqu-:-chu mas-ra:,*
         I-EVEN   happy-MID-**PRS**-1 heart-1-LOC   more-YET

40   R: *...Fyesta-pa: ni [yarpa-**Ø**-nki-na-pis-tsu.   @@@]*
         festival-PURP nor think-**PRS**-2-NOW-EVEN-NEG

41   G: *[Fyesta-pa:-qa   yarpa-**ru**-:-na-pis-tsu.]*
             festival-PURP-TOP think-**PST.R**-1-NOW-EVEN-NEG

In (106), which comes from the *Achikay* story, Lita used the habitual past *-q* in line 3 to indicate that the children remained trapped on the mountain day after day. Elí, in the process of transcribing this, said she should have used the past *-r(q)a*. Use of the past *-r(q)a* would indicate that this sentence is a side comment from the speaker and not part of the story. My current hypothesis is that Elí and Lita were each viewing this situation from his or her perspective. Lita was focusing on the 'day after day' element of meaning. Elí was taking into consideration that Lita's comment about the children's remaining trapped was not part of the story.

(106) Lita used the habitual past *-q*, Elí would have used the past *-r(q)a*

1 L: Then,
2   the children **kindled the fire**, **RECENT PAST**
         kindled the fire RECENT PAST because of their hunger,
3   How many days would they **have** already **been HABITUAL PAST** on that
         mountain.

1   L: *Tsay-ta-qa,*
         that-OBJ-TOP

2   *wayku-ya-__sha__*   *wayku-ya-__sha__*   *wamra-kuna-qa*   *malla-q-pa:-pis,*
         kindle-PL.V-**PST.R3**   kindle-PL.V-**PST.R3**   child-PL.N-TOP   hunger-AG-PURP-EVEN

3   *... ayka*   *diya-na-ra:*   *tsa*   *qaqa-chu*   *ka-ku-ya-__q__-si.*
         how.many   day-NOW-YET   then   mountain-LOC   be-MID-PL.V-**PST.H**-EVEN

    The data in this section have shown that use of tense markers can be dependent

on the speaker's perspective, on which lens they are looking through as they

communicate. Speakers can differ in perspective in relation to each of the factors

upon which tense choice is based, italicized in the summary below.

• One speaker told his Pear story in 'report format' with mostly the past *-r(q)a*,

   while the others told theirs in 'story format' with mostly the recent past *-sh((q)a)*

   or the zero-marked present as a historical present. Stated another way, the first

   speaker told his story looking through the lens of *indication of source of*

   evidence while the others told theirs looking through the lens of *expression of*

   affect.

• As Guillermo told about his trip, he was using 'report format'. Using the past

   -r(q)a, he gave his own perspective on the trip, with himself as *source of*

   evidence. Rita thought he should have used the recent past *-r(q)u*, to *place the*

   events in time.

259

- In the Achikay story, Lita used the habitual past *-q* to indicate a *habitual* situation. Elí thought she should have used the past *-r(q)a* to indicate that the side comment was not part of the story, which is a *narrative structure* function.

8.3   Conclusions

In addition to placing events in time in an objective way, temporal remoteness distinctions can also be used subjectively in SCQ, as in other languages. When a SCQ speaker is personally involved in the situation, the recent past *-r(q)u* or *-sh((q)a)* may be used, though the event may have taken place some time ago. Additionally, if the speaker is emotionally detached from a situation, the more remote past *-r(q)a* may be used, even if the event took place recently.

Placement in time, indication of source of evidence, expression of affect and indication of narrative structure can be thought of as 'lenses' speakers look through, as perspectives they are coming from in the process of communicating. The tense marker used at a given point in discourse can depend on which lens the speaker is looking through. Different speakers may see the same situation from a different point of view and hence, use a different tense form to talk about it.

PART FOUR – Conclusions

9   Conclusions and ties to other languages

> Many, if not most, units of linguistic
> structure can be used for far more than one
> communicative purpose at the same time, and
> successful communicators in particular speech
> communities constantly exploit this polysemy.
> —Besnier (1993:177)

In this discourse-based study we have seen that a number of factors come into
play in the choice of tense forms in SCQ: placement in *time*, identification of *source
of evidence*, expression of *affect*, and indication of *narrative structure*. Scholars have
long agreed that tense is used to place events in time. A number of researchers have
also found connections between narrative structure and the use of tense. Others have
documented a link between source of evidence and verbal tense. Finally, a few have
detected a relationship between expression of affect and tense. In SCQ, all of these
factors play a part.

In this chapter I first present an overview of the principle findings of this work. I
then discuss the relationship between pragmatic extension and semantic change as
applied to use of verbal tense in SCQ. Then, I make an inference about the use of
tense in written language. After that, I briefly describe how some patterns of SCQ
tense usage are replicated in Andean Spanish. Following that, I give a glimpse into
the diversity of usage of tense across Quechua languages, with a particular focus on

Ecuadorian Pastaza Quechua. Finally, I present findings and hypotheses for tense

form usage in other languages, especially in relation to the expression of affect.

9.1　Principle findings

In this section I briefly summarize the findings of this work, organized

according to the factors that influence the choice of tense forms in SCQ.

9.1.1　Placement of events in time

Several SCQ tense forms place events relative to each other in past time. The

relationships are summarized in Figure 9.1, reproduced from chapter 2.

FIGURE 9.1.— SCQ TENSE FORMS PLACE EVENTS RELATIVE TO EACH OTHER IN TIME

PAST PERFECT *-sh ka-na:*　◄——NARRATIVE PAST *-na:*

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　RECENT PAST *-sh((q))a/-r(q)u* ◄—— PRS *-Ø*

PAST PERFECT *-sh ka-r(q)a-*　◄—— PAST *-r(q)a*

PAST　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　PRESENT

Other markers place events in past time without placing them in time in relation

to other past events. The mirative *-sh ka-sh((q)a)* indicates that a past event was

surprising. The habitual past *-q* indicates that an event happened repeatedly or

habitually.

9.1.2　Interaction of tense and evidentiality

Choices between the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* are further

determined by evidentiality. The past *-r(q)a* is used when the source of evidence is

firsthand or when the situation is being talked about from the speaker's perspective.

In contrast, the narrative past *-na:* is used when the source of evidence is secondhand or when the speaker would like to give a reported perspective. The choice between the past *-r(q)a* and the narrative past *-na:* is based on these evidential factors.

The evidential suffixes that pair with the past *-r(q)a* indicate the speaker's perspective on a piece of knowledge (or the mutual perspective shared by the speaker and someone else). They indicate whether this knowledge is seen as certain, marked with the direct *-mi* or the mutual *-cha:*, or not so certain, marked with the conjectural *-chi* or the appeal *-chir*. Contrastively, the narrative past *-na:* only occurs with the reportative *-shi*, the evidential suffix that marks some 'other' person's perspective on a piece of knowledge.

9.1.3 Indication of narrative structure

Orientations, asides and results form a set and are marked with the narrative past *-na:* or with the past *-r(q)a*. Source of evidence and speaker perspective is the basis for the choice between the members of this first set.

Abstracts, complicating action and climaxes form another set and are marked with the narrative past *-na:*, the recent past *-sh((q)a)* or *-r(q)u*, or the zero-marked present as a historical present. Affect is the basis for the choice in this second set.

A variety of tense forms are used in codas, placing situations in time.

9.1.4 Expression of affect

In the abstracts, complicating action and climaxes of narratives, tense is used to express affect. The recent past *-sh((q)a)* and *-r(q)u* mark the positive affect of

interest, while the zero-marked present as a historical present marks very positive affects including excitement, joy and happiness. The narrative past *-na:* marks negative affect, such as shame, distress and apprehensiveness. It can also mark surprise when occurring with the continuous aspect marker *-yka:*.

Surprise, which can occur in the complicating action, asides, results and climaxes, can be indicated by several tense forms, including the former past perfect *-sh ka-shqa* and the narrative past *-na:* together with the continuous aspect marker *-yka:*. The recent past *-sh((q)a)*, which is descended from a perfect, can be used to indicate surprise as well.

In the next section I return to the concept of temporal distance as a metaphor introduced in chapter 4 and discuss in more detail how this concept is illustrated by the SCQ data.

9.2   Pragmatic extension and semantic change

Building on ideas originating with Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Traugott (1982), Fleischman (1989) introduces the concept that the scalar nature of temporal distance can be a metaphor for the expression of distance along other conceptual or cognitive axes. She presents a functional model of language in which sentences have meaning in three interdependent components, listed below. She also gives examples from a variety of languages showing that it is possible for each of these three components of meaning to be conveyed through the use of tense.

- REFERENTIAL component (referential meanings, grammatical functions)

- TEXTUAL component (including the organizing of discourse)

- EXPRESSIVE component (relating to the social, affective functions of language, its ways of expressing attitudes)

The SCQ data presented in this dissertation provide a complete illustration of this functional model. Verbal tense in SCQ conveys not just one or two, but all of these components of meaning. SCQ tense forms place events in time (a referential component of meaning), they help to structure discourse (a textual component of meaning), and they help to convey affect (an expressive component of meaning).

Shifting tracks just slightly now, the SCQ data can also tell us something about semantic change. Traugott (1989:31) proposes that "meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief state or attitude toward the proposition." She cites her 1982 paper, the essence of which is that meanings with ideational content can gain either textual or expressive meanings, or both, in the following order. (This paper is foundational to Fleischman's work, above.)

propositional > ((textual) > (expressive))

This would indicate that over the course of time, the affective meanings conveyed by SCQ tense forms in the abstracts, complicating action and climaxes of narratives may semanticize to the point that communication of certain types of affect is part of the inherent meanings of the tense forms. In the use of the term "semanticize" I follow Hopper and Traugott (2003:82) who use it to mean, "become

part of the semantic polysemies of a form". They cite Dahl (1985:11) who characterizes the process as follows: "if some condition happens to be fulfilled frequently when a certain category is used, a stronger association may develop between the condition and the category in such a way that the condition comes to be understood as an integral part of the meaning of the category." In a sense then, the pragmatic meaning conveyed by a form in a certain context can gradually be blended into the semantics of the form. The pragmatic meaning can semanticize. This brings us to the view held by Hopper and Thompson (1993) on the relationship between semantics and pragmatics.

Hopper and Thompson (1993:372) propose that "semantics *is not an autonomous level* of language", but rather that "what is called semantics and what is called pragmatics are an integrated whole". They promote the idea that to the extent that distinctions are possible between semantics and pragmatics, these are attributable to something more like 'global' and 'local' domains of relevance rather than to a conceptual dividing line between them. They propose that semantic and pragmatic dimensions together constitute a unified set of explanations for grammar (1993:358). This is particularly true for tense in SCQ. In this work, the semantic dimensions are described in Part II (chapters 2-3), while the dimensions that are more pragmatic, that is, the extensions of the semantic dimensions, are in Part III (chapters 4-8). When put together it is a unified whole, an explanation for the grammar of tense in this language.

It appears that the pragmatic extension of placement in time to the expression of affect in SCQ has a 'local' domain of relevance. That is, it applies to the abstract, complicating action and climax of narratives. It has not yet semanticized in SCQ, and does not have a 'global' domain of relevance. Intuitions from native speakers about the meanings of the forms and the substitutions that are allowable lend support to this hypothesis. When attempting to give the meaning of a form in context, speakers refer to placement in time before anything else. They may also mention source of evidence, if that is appropriate for the form. If placement in time or specification of source of evidence is the factor determining the tense form use, speakers will not allow the substitution of another form. However, when affect is the factor influencing the choice, speakers are more willing to accept the substitution of another form. These reactions from speakers indicate that the affective meanings conveyed by SCQ tense forms have not yet semanticized. The scalar nature of the expression of time in SCQ is simply serving as metaphorical vehicle for the expression of affect.

9.3   An inference for written language

Though this study has focused on oral discourse, my current hypothesis is that the findings also apply to written language, at least to some extent.

Fleischman's (1990) comparison of tense use in early Romance texts with its use in modern French fiction is helpful in thinking about this issue. Based on an analysis of early Romance texts (medieval epics and romances that were performed and subsequently written down, probably much as they were sung or recited),

Fleischman infers that the "ontogenesis of tense switching is located in the pragmatic structure of oral story performance" (1990:10). In comparing tense switching phenomena in medieval oral performance with that in modern and post-modern French fiction, she finds that tense-aspect morphology is also pressed into service for textual and expressive purposes in planned written narratives by highly literate authors. These findings provide evidence for the hypothesis that the communicative functions of SCQ tense markers, including the indication of narrative structure and the expression of affect, apply to written language as well as spoken language. Additional study is necessary to determine to what extent written SCQ follows the patterns of tense use observed for oral language.

Next, I make mention of how some of the patterns discovered for SCQ are replicated in Andean Spanish.

9.4 Replication of the patterns in Spanish

In Hintz 2007, which I plan to amplify in a future publication, I show that the narrative structure functions of the past *-r(q)a* and the recent past *-sh((q)a)* are replicated in the Spanish of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals. Speakers use the Spanish preterite, as in *llegó*, with orientations, resolutions and asides, just as they use the SCQ past *-r(q)a*. Likewise, the Spanish present perfect, as in *ha llegado*, is used with the events of the narrative, just as the recent past *-sh((q)a)*, a former perfect, is used.

Additionally, just as the recent past that came from a perfect *-sh((q)a)* can be used to express surprise in SCQ, the present perfect in the Spanish of these Andean people can be used to express surprise. They can also use the Spanish past perfect as

a mirative, just as they use the SCQ mirative *-sh kashqa.* The use of the perfects as miratives has been reported for the Spanish of other Andean areas as well (Bustamante (1991:205-6, 209) for Ecuador, Calvo (2001:112) for Cuzco, Kany (1947:197) for Bolivia, and Kany (1951:166-170) for Bolivia, Argentina, Peru and Ecuador).

Quechua speakers utilize the discourse-pragmatic patterns of verbal tense that originated in their first language when communicating in their second language. The fact that they do this indicates that the patterns must be deeply ingrained in their minds.

In the next section I present a sampling of the ways Quechua languages are different from each other in their uses of tense, with a particular focus on the variety of Pastaza Quechua spoken in the jungle of Ecuador.

9.5   Diversity of usage of tense across Quechua languages

Verbal tense markers that are cognate between Quechua languages are not necessarily used in the same ways in those languages. Hence, when adapting reading material from one Quechua language to another, some tense forms may need to be replaced by a form other than the cognate one in order to convey the intended meaning. A few illustrations follow.

9.5.1   Differences between several Quechua languages

While the SCQ *-sh((q)a)* carries no evidential meaning, in Southern Peru this marker is associated with reportative meaning (Calvo 2001, Cusihuaman 1976,

Escobar 1997, Faller 2002, Klee and Ocampo 1995 and Sanchez 2004).

Furthermore, in SCQ, though the form *-sh kashqa* is a mirative and cannot be used to

narrate events, in the neighboring Pariarca (Huamalies) Quechua, this marker serves

as a narrative past tense (Howard-Malverde 1988:147). Additionally, in the variety

of Colombian Inga Quechua spoken in San Andrés, the past *-rca* is used with

introductory information and the zero-marked present as a historical present is used

with main events, but in the variety spoken in Santiago, the use of the markers is

exactly the opposite (Levinsohn 1991:160). These illustrations cover only a little of

the diversity that can be observed in tense marker usage across Quechua languages.

In the next section I highlight in some detail the differences and the similarities

between the ways tense is used in SCQ, a Quechua B language, and the ways it is

used in the Pastaza Quechua spoken in the Ecuadorian jungle (henceforth PQ), a

Quechua A language.

9.5.2   A comparison of tense use between SCQ and PQ

Fewer tense forms are used to talk about past events in PQ than in SCQ. The PQ

forms are listed below. Nuckolls (1996:50-2, 281-2) provides further specification as

well as paradigms. For instance, she indicates that both *-shka* and *-ra* can be used as

narrative pasts.

-Ø	zero-marked present used as a historical present
-shka	perfective past
-ra	past
-shka-ra	past perfect (the perfective past *-shka* with the past *-ra*)

271

Two narratives collected and transcribed by Nuckolls are ideal for examining

the uses of these tenses. 'Canoe of death' is a personal narrative published in

Nuckolls 2000. The other, 'How in beginning times people didn't used to die', is a

legendary narrative presented in Nuckolls 2003.[25] In a study of these two PQ

narratives, I discovered that tense is used for the same four communicative functions

in PQ as in SCQ, but with less elaboration. I also found that the form/function

relationships of PQ tense forms do not correspond completely to those of the cognate

SCQ forms. While a full presentation of the analysis awaits publication in the future,

I give a summary here of my findings to date on the uses of tense in PQ as compared

with the uses discovered for SCQ. The languages have differences in relation to the

first two factors presented below, while they are similar in relation to the second two

factors.

In regards to *placement in time*, the PQ past perfect *-shka-ra* places an event as

prior to an event marked with the past *-ra*. In the data I examined, the past *-ra*

(cognate with the past *-r(q)a* in SCQ) and the perfective past *-shka* (cognate with the

recent past *-sh((q)a)* in SCQ) do not place events in time in relation to each other as

they do in SCQ. This is a point where the two languages differ.

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[25] I am indebted to Janis Nuckolls for these data and for answering some of my questions on
this language that I do not speak. Audio recordings and interlinear transcriptions of the two
Ecuadorian Pastaza Quechua narratives, 'Canoe of Death' (4½ minutes) and 'How people came to
grow old and die' (5½ minutes), which is the same narrative as 'How in beginning times people
didn't used to die', can be found under her name at the site of the Archive of the Indigenous
Languages of Latin America: http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/welcome.html.

The two languages also differ in relation to the forms used in association with indication of *source of evidence*. The PQ past *-ra* may be used both with witnessed and reported events, while the SCQ past *-r(q)a* is never used with reported events. Another difference is that the PQ perfective past *-shka* can only be used with non-witnessed events, while in SCQ the recent past *-sh((q)a)* can be used with both witnessed and non-witnessed events.

In relation to indication of *narrative structure*, the PQ past *-ra* is used with orientations, asides and resolutions, while the perfective past *-shka* and the zero-marked present as a historical present are used with complicating action. The same type of pattern occurs in SCQ.

In relation to expression of *affect*, the PQ zero-marked historical present is associated with the positive affect of excitement, as in SCQ. Additionally, like the SCQ past perfect that has become a mirative *-sh kashqa*, the PQ past perfect *-shka-ra* can be used to indicate surprise, and can also indicate admiration.

In sum of §9.5.2, several similarities can be noted between PQ and SCQ in the ways tense forms are used to indicate narrative structure and convey affect, but there are differences in the ways they place events in time and in connection with indication of source of evidence.

9.5.3 What this means for Quechua

Overall, we have observed both similarities and differences among Quechua languages in the meanings and functions of the tense forms that are cognate (§1.4 and §9.5). The fundamental commonality amidst considerable difference is that the

past tense forms are used to place situations in the past in all the languages. The data examined to date also provide evidence of a certain basic set of *functions* common to all the Quechua languages, though the functions may be served by distinct forms in the different languages. It appears that across the Quechua language family, speakers use tense to place events in time and indicate source of evidence, and they also extend the temporal meaning of tense to indicate narrative structure and communicate affect.[26]

Further discourse based studies of naturally occurring speech in additional Quechua languages are necessary to fully discover the patterns of tense use in this language family.

9.6   Implications for other languages

Looking at tense use in other languages takes us further. It may not be so unusual for tense to be used in the ways SCQ and other Quechua languages use it. This section gives a glimpse of findings and observations on non-temporal uses of tense in English, Japanese and Dolakha Newar.

9.6.1   English

In a study on reporting discourse, tense and cognition, Sakita (2002a) finds that the past and present forms of the English verb "say" convey divergent stances and levels of certainty. She shows that use of the past tense *said* communicates strong

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[26] I have examined SCQ data in detail, and Corongo and Pastaza Quechua in some detail. Data presented and observations made in publications on Cuzco Quechua, Huamalies Quechua, Colombian Inga Quechua, Tarma Quechua, and Lambayeque Quechua (referenced in §1.4 and §9.5) also lend support for this hypothesis.

positioning, firmness, and assuredness. In contrast, use of the present as a historical present *say* conveys weak positioning, non-assuredness and that the speaker is emotionally upset (2002a:115). Fludernik (1991) also observes that use of the historical present in English can convey affect, with particular reference to the *says/said* alternation. She notes, "the function of the historical present is to highlight tellable events and their emotional impact on the narrator" (1991:391).

These analyses show that verbal tense in English can be used to communicate affect and that there is a connection between tense and certainty. Evidentiality, when considered in its broad sense, includes indication of certainty (§3.1). English then, uses verbal tense in some of the same ways SCQ does. Tense can convey affect and evidential meaning in both languages.

9.6.2   Japanese

Iwasaki (1993:32) reports that use of tense in Japanese has been a long-standing puzzle for linguists; a PAST tense form can represent a present or future situation, and a NON-PAST tense form can represent a past situation. He shows that while tense in Japanese is principally used to give deictic temporal information and aspectual information, it also has non-temporal functions (1993:31-56). The PAST seems to be linked to statements in which the speaker is "strongly involved" and is giving his or her own perspective, while the NON-PAST occurs with "more detached" statements, when the speaker is giving some other perspective (1993:33). For instance, when the speaker is predicting the victory of his own team or the team for which he feels a strong affiliation he may say, *kondo no shiai wa katta!* [next LINKER game TOP

win:PAST] 'We'll win the next match.'[27] In contrast, the speaker can make a more detached statement about the victory of any team, including his own, using the NON-PAST form.

This shows that perspective can be conveyed by tense in Japanese. Along with perspective, emotional involvement and emotional detachment are also related to tense use. All these are factors in the use of tense in SCQ as well (chapter 8).

9.6.3   Dolakha Newar

Dolakha Newar also uses tense in fascinating ways. Genetti (2007:354-373) presents the Dolakha Newar four-way inflectional tense system, comprised of a PAST ANTERIOR, a PAST, a PRESENT and a FUTURE. The PAST ANTERIOR differs from the PAST in that the PAST ANTERIOR functions as either a past habitual or as a remote past, while the PAST simply indicates that the events occurred prior to a reference point, which is most commonly the moment of speech.

Genetti demonstrates that the tenses can be used to help structure narrative. While the PAST ANTERIOR is used for settings and asides, the PAST marks mainline events in narrative. Some speakers use the PRESENT as a historical present only at the climax of the story, while others use it in a more broad way to help structure the narrative. This pattern of tense use in narrative is much like that of SCQ.

Additionally, the Dolakha Newar PAST can be used with future events, if the speaker holds a strong conviction that they will happen (2007:363). In one example,

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[27] Iwasaki utilizes this example from Matsumoto (1985:97).

a speaker sees a ghost. Certain that her death is at hand, she says, *syāt-cu ka!* [kill-3sPST ASS] "I'm killed!" (2007:363). This is much like the Japanese example above. In both languages the past is used to mark a future event about which the speaker feels strongly. In Dolakha Newar the emphasis is on certainty, an evidential function, while in Japanese, the emphasis is on strong personal involvement, an affective function.

9.6.4   Summary and a question for future research

Sakita (2002a) and Fludernik (1991) indicate that tense in English can be used to convey affect and express different levels of certainty. Iwasaki (1993) shows that in Japanese, tense can be used to indicate perspective and convey emotional involvement or detachment. Genetti (2007) finds that in Dolakha Newar, tense is used to structure narrative and that it can also convey strong conviction.

English, Japanese, Dolakha Newar and SCQ are spoken in different parts of the world and are members of unrelated language families. The observations presented here point to the possibility that verbal tense may serve these types of non-temporal functions in many languages. Hence, a question emerges for future research: To what extent is tense used in language to 1) indicate source of evidence and level of certainty, 2) convey speaker perspective, 3) communicate affect, and 4) structure narrative? Tense may be used in these ways much more than we have known.

9.7　Closing

Waugh and Monville-Burston (1986:846) note, "recent work on the use of verbal grammatical categories has suggested that the function of tense, aspect, and mood…is basically within the discourse: that these categories are to be understood principally with respect to the question of how the verb with which they occur is related to, and contributes to, the larger discourse of which it is a part." This present work has shown Waugh and Monville-Burston's statement to certainly be true for tense in SCQ.

In this study I hope to have answered the question: "Why is one tense form, rather than another, chosen at a given point in SCQ discourse?" In answering the question for SCQ, I hope to have provided insights that enlighten future research on this topic for other languages of the world as well.

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Appendix of Transcriptions

Donkey

Source: Conversation between a brother and sister about events of the previous week. She had participated in their community festival, while he had been working in Huaraz.
Speakers: Guillermo and Rita, in their late 20's
Duration of this segment: 4 minutes, 35 seconds - minute markers 2:58 - 7:33
Duration of the whole conversation: 21 minutes, 17 seconds
Recorded: August 20, 1993 in Huaraz, in a cottage at the linguistics center in Huaraz
Speakers' community: Huaripampa, District of San Marcos, Ancash, Peru

1   *(H) Tsay alba   tsaka-y, || tsay-kaq-ta-ra: willa-yku-shayki-qa,*
        that   first.night darkness-INF that-DEF-OBJ-YET inform-PFV.O-FUT1>2-TOP
     That opening night, I will tell you about that.

2   *Este= ... tsay kampyuna:tu-ta organisa-ya-__rqa__-n,*
     um   that tournament-OBJ organize-PL.V-__PST__-3
     They __organized__ that tournament.'

3   G: *Eskwela.*
     school
     'The school.'

4   R: ... *mhm,*
      mhm
     'mhm,'

5   G: *uh huh,*
     uh huh
     'uh huh,'

6   R: ...(H) *Tsay o:ra-qa-m, || ...Ninfi:tu ari bu:rru-ntsi:-qa,*
        that hour-TOP-DIR   Ninfa   yes donkey-1I-TOP
     'At that time, Ninfa, our donkey,

7   *pi   pri:ma-ntsi: Dina-pa   ka-q   wayi-n-kaq-chu   ka-yka:-mu-__rqa__-n.*
     who cousin-1I   Dina-GEN be-AG   house-3-DEF-LOC   be-CONT-FAR-__PST__-3
     __was__ over by our cousin Dina's house.'

8   G: *uh huh,*
     un huh
     'uh huh,'

9　　R:　*...I=　　Negra-wan　　Kapcha-qa　　kay-la:-pa-na*
　　　　　and　Blacky-COM　Capcha-TOP　this-SIDE-GEN-NOW

　　　　*sha-mu-**sh**　　　ka-**ra**-n　wayi-kaq-pa-na.*
　　　　come-FAR-PTCP　be-**PST**-3　house-DEF-GEN-NOW

　　　　'And Blacky and Capcha **had already come** over to this side of the house.'

10　　G:　*uh huh,*
　　　　uh huh
　　　　'uh huh,'

11　　R:　*...I=　la-s　　　kwatru　sinku-na-chir　ka-**ra**-n-qa.*
　　　　　and　the-PL.SP　four　　five-NOW-APP　be-**PST**-3-TOP

　　　　'And it **was** about four or five o'clock.

12　　　　*... I=　noqa-pis　mana　qayku-ski-**Ø**-:-pis-tsu,*
　　　　　and　I-EVEN　no　　enclose-PFV-**PRS**-1-EVEN-NEG

　　　　And I **don't** even **shut** them in,

13　　　　*"Tempra:nu-lla-ra:-cha:"　　ni-r,*
　　　　early-DLM-YET-MUT　　　　　say-SS

　　　　"It's still early" saying,

14　　　　*oqra-yku-ya-**Ø**-:　　　tsaka-y　　　　bu:rru-ta-qa.*
　　　　lose-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-1　darkness-INF　　donkey-OBJ-TOP

　　　　we **lose** the donkey in the night.'

15　　G:　*uh huh,*
　　　　uh huh
　　　　'uh huh,'

16　　R:　*Llapa-:-kuna, || Niko,*
　　　　all-1-PL.N　　　Niko
　　　　'All of us, Niko,

17　　　　*llapa-:-kuna　tsaka-y　　　ashi-ya-**Ø**-:　　　ashi-ya-**Ø**-:　　　bu:rru-ta-qa,*
　　　　all-1-PL.N　　darkness-INF　seek-PL.V-**PRS**-1　seek-pl.v-**PRS**-1　donkey-OBJ-TOP
　　　　all of us **look** and **look** for the donkey in the night.

18　　　　*.. (H) Mana-na　☺tari-yku-[ya-**Ø**-:-na-tsu].　　　@ @*
　　　　　no-NOW　　find-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-1-NOW-NEG
　　　　We **don't** find it.'

293

19   G: *[#-tsu]*
                                         -NEG
       (unintelligible)

20   G: *[Peru,]*
          but
          'But,

21   R: *[@ @]*

22   G: ... *kostumbri-m tse:.* **Ø**
          custom-DIR   that **PRS**
          that**'s** typical.

23   R: *@ @*

24   G: *Wata wata tsa:* *[fyesta-cho:-qa]*   *oqra-ka-**Ø**-n*   *[₂burriku-qa,]*
           year year then   festival-LOC-TOP   lose-PASS-**PRS**-3   donkey-TOP
           Year after year during the time of the festival the donkey **is** lost.

25   R: *[@   @]*   *[₂@]*

26   G: *Illa-ka-ski-**Ø**-n,*
          be.absent-PASS-PFV-**PRS**-3
          It **disappears**,

27   R: *@*

28   G: *Wamra-pis ka:su-**Ø**-n-tsu*
           child-EVEN pay.attention -**PRS**-3-NEG
           The children **don't pay attention**,

29   *ni   noqa-ntsik-pis yarpa-ski-**Ø**-ntsik-tsu,*
          nor   I-1₁-EVEN   think-PFV-**PRS**-1₁-NEG
          and we ourselves **don't** even **think** about it.'

30   R: *Tsa: tsay o:ra-lla-na   ari arpa-kuna-pis   @[cha:-ya:-mu-**ra**-n,]*
          then   that hour-DLM-NOW yes harp-PL.N-EVEN   arrive-PL.V-FAR-**PST**-3
          'At just that time the band **arrived** too.

31   G: *[@   @]*

32   R: *Tsay-chu [₂ pas kushi-sh   ka-ku-ya:-sha-:-yaq]*
         that-LOC   very happy-PTCP be-MID-PL.V-NMLZ.R-1-LIM

         While we were very happy there,

33   G: *[₂ @*   *@ @ @]*

34   R: *@oqra-ka-ski-__na:__.   [₃@@@]*
         lose-PASS-PFV-__PST.N__

         it **got** totally **lost**.'

35   G: *[₃ @]*

36   *...<CRK>Ay   kara: </CRK>.*
                      what.a.deal gosh

          'What a deal, gosh.'

37   R: *Ari tsay-pita-qa tsa: Niko nirkur, || ...Elsa [Chini:tu] &*
         yes that-ABL-TOP then Niko in.addition   Elsa Chinitu

         'Yes so then Niko and, Elsa and Chino'

38   G: *[wak-pa]   kay-pa ashi-r.*
                                                       beyond-GEN this-GEN seek-SS

         'Looking here and there,'

39   R: *& pas ashi-ya:-__ru__-:   maytse:-pa,*
           very seek-PL.V-__PST.R__-1 everywhere-GEN

         'we **looked** all over the place,

40   *Asya-q   Pukyu kinray-pa   cruz-kaq-pa,*
         Stink-AG Spring vicinity-GEN cross-DEF-GEN

         in the vicinity of Stinky Spring, by the cross,

41   *... n   ashi-ya:-__ru__-:   tsaylaya ni   ☺tari-ya-__ru__-:-na-tsu,*
              um seek-PL.V-__PST.R__-1 so.many nor   find-PL.V-__PST.R__-1-NOW-NEG

         we **looked** so many places and we **didn't find** it.

42   *☺tsa: ☺fyesta-na   ☺qalla-pti-n-na   ☺bu:rriku*
            then   festival-NOW   begin-DS-3-NOW   donkey

          [☺ashi-y-ta-pis]   @haqiri-yku-r,
            seek-INF-OBJ-EVEN   abandon-PFV.O-SS

         Then, because the festival had already started, abandoning the donkey search,

43   G: *[@]*

295

44   R: *… "☺Wara:-ka-mu-nqa-na-chi"   ni-r,*
               dawn-MID-FAR-FUT3-NOW-CNJ say-SS

          "It will appear at dawn" saying,

45   *waki-n-kaq-ta   qayku-yku-lla-r,*
          some-3-DEF-OBJ enclose-PFV.O-DLM-SS

          just shutting the rest of them in,

46   *fyesta-cho:-na   warat   [tushu-ku-ya-**rqu**-:.]*
          festival-LOC-NOW all.night dance-MID-PL.V-**PST.R**-1

          we **danced** all night at the festival then.'

47   G: *[I   tsay-no:-chu]   runa   apa-ski-pti-n-qa,*
                                         and   that-SIM-LOC   person take-PFV-DS-3-TOP

          'And like that if somebody takes it,'

48   R: *…"Mana-m   ka:si"   ni-r-cha: ni-**ra**-n   Tiya-ntsi: Viki-pis.*
             no-DIR   almost say-SS-MUT   say-**PST**-3   Aunt-1I   Victoria-EVEN

          ' "I don't think so" saying, our Aunt Victoria **said** as well.

49   *"Tsay   kinray-lla-chi   wara:-mu-nqa.*
          that   vicinity-DLM-CNJ   dawn-FAR-FUT3

          "It will appear at dawn somewhere over there.

50   *[May   tamya–] tamya-ra-n-cha: ferti   byentu-ra-n.*
          surely rain   rain-PST-3-MUT strong be.windy-PST-3

          It surely rained hard. It was windy.'

51   G: *[#I   #tsay–]*
           and   that
          (unintelligible)

52   R: *Tsay-mi llantu-ku-q-chir   may-pa-pis   (H).. aywa-ski-shqa".*
          that-DIR   make.shadow-MID-AG-APP   where-GEN-EVEN   go-PFV-PST.R3

          'For that reason surely it went somewhere to shelter itself,"

53   *ni-r-nin ni-pti-n-na   tsa=,*
          say-SS-3 say-DS-3-NOW then

          saying. After she had said that then,

54   *... "Tsa wara:-mu-nqa-na-chi"   ni-ya-__ru__-:.*
           then dawn-FAR-FUT3-NOW-CNJ say-PL.V-__PST.R__-1
        we __said__, "So hopefully it will appear at dawn".

55   *.. Tsa waray-nin qoya-q   mama-ntsi:-qa ari,*
          then tomorrow-3 morning-AG mom-1_I-TOP   yes
        Then the next morning mother, sure enough,

56   *... tsaka-q-lla-na   ashi-q   sharku-__sh__,*
          darkness-AG-DLM-NOW   seek-PRMT   stand.up-__PST.R3__
        __got up__ at dawn to search.

57   *was– Asya-q Pukyu kinray-pa   Ongup-pa   ashi-mu-__sh__,*
        (MS) Stink-AG Spring vicinity-GEN   Ongup-GEN   seek- far-__PST.R3__
        She __looked__ in the vicinity of Stinky Spring and around Ongup.

58   *Bu:rru-qa   ka-__sha__-tsu.*
        donkey-TOP be-__PST.R3__-NEG
        The donkey __wasn't__ there.

59   *...Noqa-pis qoya-lla-na   rikcha-ska-mu-__ru__-:,*
         I-EVEN   morning-DLM-NOW wake.up-PFV-FAR-__PST.R__-1
        I also __woke up__ very early,

60   *"Mama-y   ka-sha-ku"   ni-r,*
         mom-VOC be-PST.R3-Q.P say-SS
        "Mother, was it there?" saying.

61   *... Ni-pti-:,*
          say-DS-1
        When I said that,

62   *"Mana-m ka-Ø-n-tsu"   ni-r,*
         no-DIR   be-PRS-3-NEG say-SS
        "It isn't," saying,

63   *mama-qa pas ari "Runa-na-chir   suwa-ski-sh"   ni-r,*
        mom-TOP very yes   person-NOW-APP steal-PFV-PST.R3 say-SS
        "Somebody must have already stolen it," mother saying,

64   *pase:pa [waqa-na-r-na]   ka-yka-__rqa__-n.*
        very   weep-DES-SS-NOW be-CONT-__PST__-3
        __was__ almost to cry.'

65   G: *[ari tsay—]*
               yes that
          'Yes that—

66   *Achya:-pIs   porki   fyesta-cho:-qa,*
          surely-EVEN   because   festival-LOC-TOP
           Surely so because in the festival,

67   *lluta runa   puri-**Ø**-n   ari,*
          lazy person walk-**PRS**-3 yes
          people **walk around** up to no good.

68   *huk-pis   huk-pis   [pasa:da-ski-pti-n-qa],*
          one-EVEN one-EVEN walk.about-PFV-DS-3-TOP
          One or another could take it as he walks by.'

69   R: *[uh huh]   ari,*
                      uh huh   yes
          'Uh huh, right.'

70   G: *Otru [₂ alli-tsu]   **Ø**.*
          other   good-NEG **PRS**
          'That **is** not good.'

71   R: *[₂ Tsay-pita-qa] tsa: pas   maytse:-pa-na   Niko-pis*
                 that-ABL-TOP   then   very   everywhere-GEN-NOW   Niko-EVEN

          *sharku-rku-r   ashi-**sh**,*
          stand.up-PFV.M-SS   seek-**PST.R3**
          'So then Niko also, after he got up, **looked** everywhere,

72   *Wanac-pa   hana (H) Munti   Pukyu-pa, || despwes (H) Pillaw-pa&*
          Huanac-GEN above   Thicket Spring-GEN later   Pillaw-GEN
          by Huanac, above Thicket Spring, then by Pillau,'

73   G: *Wara-y-nin [qoya-na].*
          dawn-INF-3 morning-NOW
          'the following day.'

74   R: *&[Pakpak-pa].*
                  Pacpac-GEN
          'by Pacpac.

75   *Aha= pas.. um [₂pas] maytse:-pa-na   ashi-ya-**ru**-:.*
        yes   very um very   everywhere-GEN-NOW seek-PL.V-**PST.R**-1
        Yes, we **looked** absolutely everywhere.'

76   G: *[₂I],*
                            and
        'And,

77   *…"Runa-na-chir   [₃apa-sh" ni-r].*
          person-NOW-APP take-PST.R3 say-SS
        "Somebody must have already stolen it" saying.'

78   R: *[₃A "Runa-na-chir] apa-sh"   ni-r   noqa-pis,*
                                yes person-NOW-APP take-PST.R3 say-SS I-EVEN
        'Yes, "Somebody must have already stolen it," saying I too,

79   *Waro:ya-pa   Acorma-pa   Orqush-pa*
        Huaroya-GEN   Acorma-GEN Orcush-GEN

        *maytse:–   crus-kaq-pa   tuma-ra-mu-**Ø**-:,*
        everywhere cross-DEF-GEN turn-PUNC-FAR-**PRS**-1
        make a pass through Huaroya, Acorma, Orcush, everywhere, by the cross.

80   *↑na:da   ni   [huk ima-n-pis].   **Ø***
          nothing nor one   what-3-EVEN   **PRS**
        Nothing **is** there, not even its tracks.'

81   G: *[Ay be=scha:].*
                          oh what.a.deal
        'Oh, what a deal.'

82   R: *I   qam-pa-pis   ka-**ra**-n,*
           and you-GEN-EVEN be-**PST**-3
           'And yours **was** there too.

83   *Bu:rru-yki-ta ☺ ka:su-ya:-**na:**-tsu.*
        donkey-2-OBJ   pay.attention -PL.V-**PST.N**-NEG
        They **hadn't paid any attention** to your donkey.

84   *…Tsay-pis [wara:-ya:-mu-**sh**   ka-**sh**]&*
          that-EVEN dawn-PL.V-FAR-**PTCP** be-**PST.R3**
        It turns out that it also **woke up** at dawn'

299

85   G: *[Tsay hunta-chu]*.
                  that   fill-LOC
          'in that group (of donkeys that had gotten lost)'

86   R: *&Tiyu-ntsi: Santos-pa   e:ra-n-kaq-chu   Cachca*
           Uncle-1$_I$ Santos-GEN   threshing.floor-3-DEF-LOC   Cachca

          [₂Raqra-chu. @@@].
            Canyon-loc
          'at Uncle Santos' threshing floor in Cachca Canyon.'

87   G: *[₂@@]*

88   R: *(H) I   tsay-pita-qa   mama qoya-lla-na   aywa-r-nin-qa=,*
              and that-ABL-TOP   mom   morning-DLM-NOW go-SS-3-TOP
          'So when mother went in the early morning,

89   *..tsa rastru-ta-qa   tari-__shqa__   ari washa   Tiyu-ntsik Santos-pa*
             then rastro-OBJ-TOP find-__PST.R3__ yes over.there Uncle-1$_I$ Santos-GEN

           e:ra-n-kaq-chu   qoshpa-ri-sha-n-ta   llapa-n-pis.
           threshing.floor-3-DEF-LOC wallow-PUNC-NMLZ.R-3-OBJ all-3-EVEN
           she __found__ its tracks over there on Uncle Santos' threshing floor, the imprints of its
           wallowing and everything.'

90   G: *uh huh,*
           uh huh
           'uh huh,'

91   R: *...Kay– tsay-pita-qa,*
            (MS)   that-ABL-TOP
           'Then,

92   *ni   may-pa   aywa-sha-n-pis   ka-__sha__-tsu,*
            nor where-GEN go-NMLZ.R-3-EVEN be-__PST.R3__-NEG
           there __was__ not even an indication of where it went. (There were no tracks leading
           away.)

93   *"Bu:rru-:tsura:-pis" ni-__sh__,*
           donkey-1-DUB-EVEN say-__PST.R3__
           "Maybe it's my donkey," she __said__.

94   *ni-ka-sha-n-ta-qa,   "Ari bu:rru-yki washa-chu   ka-sh   ka-pti-n,*
           say-PASS-NMLZ.R-3-OBJ-TOP   yes donkey-2 over.there-LOC be-PST.R3 be-DS-3
           Having said that (mother said to me), "Because your donkey was over there,

300

95   *(H) ... pay-pa-chir ka-sh"   ni-r.*
             he-GEN-APP be-PST.R3 say-SS
             it might have been his (Guillermo's)" saying.

96   *Kuti-ka-mu-__sh__   pas hunaq-na,*
             return-MID-FAR-__PST.R__3 very day-NOW
             She __came back__ well into the day,

97   *la-s   o:chu tsay-no:-na-chir.*
             the-PL.SP eight   that-SIM-NOW-APP
             eight o'clock (a.m.) or about then.

98   *(H) Ashi-ya-__ru__-:   pas pase:pa.*
             seek-PL.V-__PST.R__-1 very very
             We __searched__ very hard.

99   *Tsa cha-ski-ya-__ru__-:-na   ari,*
             then arrive-PFV-PL.V-__PST.R__-1-NOW yes
             Then we all __arrived__,

100   *"Mana-m ka-Ø-n-tsu,*
            no-DIR   be-PRS-3-NEG
            "It's not anywhere.

101   *Mana-m ka-Ø-n-tsu"   ni-r   ☺[llapa-:-kuna-pis].*
            no-DIR   be-PRS-3-NEG say-SS   all-1-PL.N-EVEN
            It's not anywhere" saying, all of us.'

102 G: *[uh huh],*
                                      uh huh
             'uh huh,'

103 R: *(H) Noqa-qa ari ni   mantsa-ka-__Ø__-:-pis.*
             I-TOP   yes nor be.afraid.of-PASS-__PRS__-1-EVEN
            'I __don't__ even __get scared__.

104   *"Runa-qa   suwa-ski-n-man-ra:-ku,*
            person-TOP steal-PFV-3-COND-YET-Q.P
            "How could somebody steal it?

105   *tsay kinray-lla-chir" ni-r,*
       that vicinity-DLM-APP say-SS
       It must be just over there," saying.

106   *Chini:tu-wan,|| (H) Ongup Raqra kinray washa,*
       Chino-COM   Ongup Canyon vicinity   over.there
       With Chino, over by Ongup Canyon,

107   *tsay Shayan Tuna kinray pas ashi-yku-ya-Ø-:,*
       that Shayan Tuna vicinity very seek-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-1
       and in the vicinity of Shayan Tuna we really **search**.

108   *(H) ...Tsay-pita-qa tsa= ,|| (H) mana-na na-r-na-cha:,*
           that-ABL-TOP then   no-NOW uh-SS-NOW-MUT
       After that then, not [word search]-ing now,

109   *noqa-pis mana-na may-cho:-pis tari-r-na mantsa-ka-r-na,*
       I-EVEN no-NOW where-LOC-EVEN find-SS-NOW be.afraid.of-PASS-SS-NOW
       because even I hadn't found it anywhere, getting scared now,

110   *@pri:ma-ntsi: ☺Dina-kaq-pa ☺aywa-**ra**-: ☺kuka-ta*
       cousin-1ᵢ   Dina-DEF-GEN   go-**PST**-1   coca-OBJ

       ☺apa-rku-r ☺chaqcha-tsi-ku-q.
        take-PFV.M-SS   chew.coca-CAUS-MID-PRMT
       I **went** to our cousin Dina, taking along coca to have her chew.' (for divining)

111 G: *uh huh.*
       uh huh.
       'uh huh.'

112 R: *"Bu:rru-:-kuna-ta Pri:ma runa-ku apa-ski-sh o ima-m,*
        donkey-1-PL.N-OBJ Cousin person-Q.P take-PFV-PST.R3 or what-DIR
       ' "Cousin, did somebody take our donkey or what?

113   *Pase:pa-cha: ashi-r kay o:ra-yaq tari-yku-ya-Ø-:-na-ta:ku",*
       very-MUT   seek-SS this hour-LIM find-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-1-NOW-NEG.EMPH
       Searching hard until now, we **haven't found** it,"

114   *... ni-r-nin ni-pti-:-qa,*
        say-SS-3 say-DS-1-TOP
       saying. At the time I said that to her,

115   *...Chi:nu-qa ari,|| "Shikip-pa-tsura:-pis   aywa-ski-shqa=,*
        Chino-TOP yes   Shiquip-GEN-DUB-EVEN go-PFV-PST.R3
        (Mother had already said to) Chino surely, "Maybe it went to Shiquip.

116   *(H) ...Wilma-m   tutay   qewa-ku-q   apa-ra-n,*
        Wilma-DIR day.before pasture-MID-PRMT take-PST-3
        The other day Wilma took it to gather pasture grass.

117   *I= tsay-pa alli qewa-ta   rika-mu-sh   ka-r,*
        and that-GEN good pasture-OBJ see-FAR-PTCP be-SS
        And having seen good pasture there,

118   *tsay-pa-tsura:-pis   aywa-sh,*
        that-GEN-DUB-EVEN go-PST.R3
        maybe it went there.

119   *Ma: aywa-y tapu-paku-r",*
        lets.see go-IMP2 question-DISTR.V-SS
        Let's see. Go, asking along the way,"

120   *(H) ni-r   mama-ntsi: kacha-sh ka-pti-n,*
        say-SS mom-1$_I$ send-PTCP be-DS-3
        saying. When mother sent him,

121   *Chi:nu-qa aywa-__ra__-n-na.*
        Chino-TOP go-**PST**-3-NOW
        Chino **went** then.' (before R. talked to Dina)

122 G: *[uh huh],*
        uh huh
        'uh huh,'

123 R: *[Tsay-na],|| (H) "Ma: chaqcha-tsi-ka-ska-mu-sha:-ra:,*
        that-NOW   lets.see chew.coca-CAUS-MID-PFV-FAR-FUT1-YET
        So, "Let's see, I'm still going to have her chew coca,

124   *may-pa   ashi-q   aywa-ya:-na-:-pa:-pis"   ni-r,|| aywa-__ru__-:,*
        where-GEN seek-PRMT go-PL.V-NMLZ.I-1-PURP-EVEN say-SS go-**PST.R**-1
        in order for us to go look where (she indicates) too," saying, I **went**.

125   *(H) Tsay ni-ma-__sh__   "Kapas Chi:nu ima-m   qati-yka:-mu-Ø-n.*
        that say-1OBJ-**PST.R3**   maybe Chino what-DIR follow-CONT-FAR-PRS-3
        So she **said** to me, "Maybe Chino is herding him towards here.

126   *Sino:-qa   da:ñu-cho: ka-q-ta-m   may   (H) wichqa-ya-sh,*
            but.rather-TOP damage-LOC be-AG-OBJ-DIR where   close-PL.V-PST.R3
            If not, because he damaged some crops, they shut him up somewhere.

127   *Qelle:-wan-ra:-mi   hipi-ya:-mu-nki.*
            money-COM-YET-DIR take.out-PL.V-FAR-2
            With money still (not until you pay a fine) will you get him out.

128   *Chura-naku-ypa empeñu ashi-ya-y.*
            put-RECP-ADV   rapidly   seek-PL.V-IMP2
            Look quickly all over the place.

129   *O runa-ku   rasun-pa-pis   apta-ski-sh".*
            or person-Q.P reason-GEN-EVEN gather.in.fist-PFV-PST.R3
            Or did somebody really steal him?"

130   *(H) Ni-pti-n-qa   pase:pa ko:rri-kacha-r aywa-yka-**ru**-:   cruz-pa-na   ari,*
               say-DS-3-TOP   very   run-ITER-SS   go-CONT-**PST.R**-1 cross-GEN-NOW yes
            When she said that, running quickly I **was going** towards the cross,

131   *"Aywa-sha: konse:hu-pa-ri   marka-pa" ni-r,*
            go-FUT1   council-GEN-SURE town-GEN   say-SS
            "I'm going to the town council" saying.'

132 G: *Koma: Dina-chir ni-**Ø**-n.*
            godmother Dina-APP say-**PRS**-3
            'Godmother Dina **says**.'

133 R: *mhm,*
            mhm
            'Mhm.

134   *Ni-ska-ma-pti-n-qa*
            say-pfv-1obj-ds-3-top
            After she said this to me,

135   *Niku-ta-pis   willa-ski-pti-:=,*
            Niko-OBJ-EVEN inform-PFV-DS-1
            when I told Niko too,

136   *...Ni:ku-pis (H) aywa-**ra**-n Wanac-pa   ashi-q   ari,*
           Niko-EVEN   go-**PST**-3 Huanac-GEN seek-PRMT yes
        Niko also **went** to Huanac to look.

137   *...Mama-ntsi:-qa   tsa   hina-lla-pis   ari,*
          mother-1$_I$-TOP   then   same-DLM-EVEN yes
        Mother then, just the same, sure enough,

138   ☺ *mundongu-ta-qa*   *@hichka-ku-yka:-**na:**,*
          tripe-OBJ-TOP   scrape-MID-CONT-**PST.N**
        was cleaning tripe,

139   ☺ *mantsa-ka-sha-lla-pis.*   *@*
          be.afraid.of-PASS-PTCP-DLM-EVEN
        even though scared.

140   ☺ *Nirkur [☺ asi-pa:-ya-**Ø**-:].*
          So   laugh-BEN-PL.V-**PRS**-1
        So we **laugh** (at her).'

141   G: *[Hatun-ta-chi] pishta-ya-**ru**-yki?*
                 large-OBJ-CNJ slaughter-PL.V-**PST.R**-2
        '**Did** you **butcher** the big (ram)?'

142   R: *mhm.*
        yes
        'Yes.

143   *...Noqa aywa-**ra**-: ari,|| ...hallqa-pa   u:sha-man apa-mu-q.*
         I   go-**PST**-1 yes   high.grassland-GEN sheep-ABL take-FAR-PRMT
        I **went** to the high grasslands to bring the sheep back.'

144   G: *Taqta Raqra   kiki-lla-yki? || Chi:nu-wan.*
        Taqta Canyon self-DLM-2   Chino-com
        'To Taqta Canyon by yourself or with Chino?'

145   R: *Mateu-wan kompaña-ya-**ra**-:.*
        Mateo-COM accompany-PL.V-**PST**-1
        'Mateo **accompanied** me.'

146   G: *A=.*
        oh
        'Oh.'

147 R: *Ari.*
      yes
      'Yes.

148   *...I= tsay-pita-qa cruz-kaq-pa   ko:rri ko:rri tuma-ski-na-:-pa:-qa*
         and that-ABL-TOP cross-DEF-GEN run   run   turn-PFV-NMLZ.I-1-PURP-TOP

      Chi:nu munta-sh   @witsa-yka:-tsi-mu-__na:__,   @
      Chino mount-PTCP   go.up-CONT-CAUS-FAR-__PST.N__

      And then when I turned the corner running by the cross, Chino __was coming up__
      mounted.

149   *...Tsay-ran [@mantsa-ka-yku-ya-__ra__-:-qa].*
         that-YET   be.afraid.of-PASS-PFV.O-PL.V-__PST__-1-TOP

      Hey, we __were__ so __afraid__.'

150 G: *[Tsa: fyesta-qa.]* __Ø__
                   then festival-TOP __PRS__

      'That's (the way) the festival __is__.'

Stolen shoes

Source: Conversation between a brother and sister about events of the previous week. She had participated in their community festival, while he had been working in Huaraz.
Speakers: Guillermo and Rita, in their late 20's
Duration of this segment: 2 minutes, 38 seconds - minute markers 8:40 - 11:18
Duration of the whole conversation: 21 minutes, 17 seconds
Recorded: August 20, 1993 in Huaraz, in a cottage at the linguistics center in Huaraz
Speakers' community: Huaripampa, District of San Marcos, Ancash, Peru

1   G: *[Ketal   ketal.]*
        how.about.that how.about.that
        'How about that, how about that.'

2   R: *[Ko:sa-m   fyesta] ka-__sh__qa.*
        very.good-DIR festival be-**PST.R3**
        'The festival **was** really great.

3   *...Ayash banda-cha: aq ura-kaq   aywa-__sh__   ...na-man. ‖ Juanitu-man.*
         Ayash band-MUT oh below-DEF go-**PST.R3**   thing-ALL Juanito-ALL
        The band from Ayash **went** down below to [word search], to Juanito's.

4   G: *uh huh,*
        uh huh
        'uh huh,'

5   R: *...Hana-kaq-na-cha: na-chu   tuka-__sh__.*
         above-DEF-NOW-MUT thing-LOC play.instr-**PST.R3**
        'The other **played** up above where [word search].

6   G: *Pisa:rru-chu.*
        Pizarro.dancer-LOC
        'Where the Pizarro dancers (were).'

7   R: *mhm.*
        mhm
        'mhm.'

8   G: *Ko:sa-ku   pisa:rru-kuna-qa   ka-ya-__sh__?*
        very.good-Q.P Pizarro.dancer-PL.N-TOP be-PL.V-**PST.R3**
        '**Were** the Pizarro dancers good?'

9   R: *Aw.*
       yes
       'Yes.'

10   G: *Pi: pi-ta: tushu-ya-**sh**.*
       who who-Q.C dance-PL.V-**PST.R3**
       'Who, who **danced** (as Pizarros)?'

11   R: *...Tushu-**shqa**   Manuel,|| ...Vidal Sancho,|| ...sobri:nu-n,*
        dance-**PST.R3** Manuel   Vidal Sancho   nephew-3
       'Manuel **danced**, Vidal Sancho, his nephew,

12   *Nirkur   uh= tushu-yka-**ra**-n   na-pis.*
       in.addition uh   dance-CONT-**PST**-3 thing-EVEN
       In addition what's his name (Arturo) **was dancing** too.

13   *...Arturo-pis ni-ka-sha-n-ta-qa   qeshya-na-r-shi   aywa-ku-**na:**,*
        Arturo-EVEN say-PASS-NMLZ.R-3-OBJ-TOP be.sick-DES-SS-RPT go-MID-**PST.N**
       Then because Arturo got sick, he **left**.

14   *I= tushu-**sh**   ka-**shqa**   tiyu-ntsi: Mariu-pa tsay papi-n-lla-na.*
       and dance-**PTCP** be-**PST.R3** uncle-1ᵢ Mario-GEN that papi-3-DLM-NOW
       And then our Uncle Mario's son **danced**.'

15   G: *A=.*
       oh
       'Oh.'

16   R: *...Ari,*
        yes
       'Yes,

17   *Na-kuna-ta   qaya-pa:-ya-**ra**-n   palla-ta-no: yuriwa-kuna-lla-ta.*
       thing-PL.N-OBJ call-BEN-PL.V-**PST**-3 dancer-OBJ-SIM dancer-PL.N-DLM-OBJ
       'They **insisted** that the yuriwa dancers were palla dancers, as if they were palla dancers.'

18   G: *@@@.*
19   R: *@*
20   G: *... ☺Palla-cha: ☺ka-**sh**-tsu-qa.*
         dancer-MUT   be-**PST.R3**-NEG-TOP
       'There **were** no palla dancers.'

21   R: *uh huh.*
      uh huh.
      'Right.

22   *...I= ko:sa   [ka-**sh**.]*
          and very.good   be-**PST.R3**
          And it **was** very good.'

23   G: *[Ketal]   ketal   lindu [₂fyesta-qa].*
                            how.about.that how.about.that pretty festival-TOP
          'How about that, how about that, pretty festival.'

24   R: *[₂Ari.]*
                                                             yes

          'Yes.'

25   G: *Borrache:ra-chir alla:pa ka-**sh**?*
          drunkenness-APP   very   be-**PST.R3**
          '**Was** there a lot of drunkenness?'

26   R: *Pase:pa.*
          very
          'Too much.

27   *Shinqiru-wan   runa   pas diya-man-na-qa   wara:-mu-**ra**-n*
          hot.drink-COM   person very day-ALL-NOW-TOP   dawn-FAR-**PST**-3

          mashta-ra-r-ra:-cha:,
          spread.out-DUR-SS-YET-MUT
          Due to the alcoholic beverage (the night before), on the main day of the festival
          people **greeted the morning** all sprawled out,

28   *[...kuchu-kuna-chu punu-r].*
             border-PL.N-LOC sleep-SS
          sleeping in the corners.'

29   G: *[Achya: bes=cha:].*
           surely   how.awful
          'Oh my. How awful.'

30   R: *...I= nirkur   a   na-pa-ta   este=,*
          and in.addition um thing-GEN-OBJ um
          'And in addition um [word search] um,

309

31 *Walter-pa-ta sapatu-n-ta suwa-ska-pu-ya:-**na:**.*
    Walter-GEN-OBJ shoe-3-OBJ steal-PFV-BEN-PL.V-**PST.N**

    they **stole** Walter's shoes.

32 *...Nirkur huk runa-sh Ernesto Garay-pa tsuri-n,*
    in.addition one person-RPT Ernesto Garay-GEN child-3

    Also a man, Ernesto Garay's son,

33 *...tsay-pa-ta-na   kasa:ka-n-ta ponchu-n-ta suwa-ya:-**na:** mas,*
    that-GEN-OBJ-NOW jacket-3-OBJ poncho-3-OBJ steal-PL.V-**PST.N** more

    from him someone **stole** his jacket and his poncho.

34 *I=... "Pi-ra: pi-ra:" ni-ya-**shqa**,*
    and who-YET who-YET say-PL.V-**PST.R3**

    And "Who would it be? Who would it be?" they **said**.

35 *Punta-ta-qa "Ni:ku-m apa-sh" ni-ya:-**na:**,*
    first-OBJ-TOP Niko-DIR take-PST.R3 say-PL.V-**PST.N**

    At first they **said**, "Niko stole them."

36 *I Damian-wan Kuru Miguel-lla tsay-ta-qa rura-ku-ya:-**na:**.*
    and Damian-COM Insect Miguel-DLM that-OBJ-TOP do-MID-PL.V-**PST.N**

    And it turned out that Damian and Miguel **had done** it.'

37 G: *...A= be.*
    oh how.awful

    'Oh, how awful.'

38 R: *[Tsay-ran],*
    that-YET

    'So,'

39 G: *[I tari-ya-**sh**-chir].*
    and find-PL.V-**PST.R3**-APP

    'And they **found** (the things), I assume.'

40 R: *Uh huh=.*
    uh huh.

    'Uh huh.'

41 *...I= tsay-pita-qa este=,|| .. ari ashi-**sh** runa-qa,*
    and that-ABL-TOP um   yes seek-**PST.R3** person-TOP

    'And so, the man **looked**.

42   *Reqi-**na:*** *tsay cho:lu,*
      know-**PST.N** that young.man
      That young man **had become acquainted** with him (Damian).

43   *Damian-wan-shi huntu estudya-**na:,***
      Damian-COM-RPT together study-**PST.N**
      He **had gone to school** with Damian.

44   *Tse: reqi-**sh*** *bos-nin-ta,*
      that know-**PST.R3** voice-3-OBJ
      He r**ecognized** his voice.

45   *Tsay-na aywa-**sh*** *tsay-man,||* *...tsa papa:-nin-ta willa-pti-n-qa,*
      that-NOW go-**PST.R3** that-ALL   then father-3-OBJ inform-DS-3-TOP
      After he **told** his dad, he (his dad) went over there,

46   *Tsay ..a Ernesto Garay-qa aywa-**sh*** *don Benito-man-qa ari= ni-q-nin,*
      that um Ernesto Garay-TOP go-**PST.R3** sir Benito-ALL-TOP yes say-PRMT-3
      So Ernesto Garay **went** to Benito's to say to him,

47   *"Wamra-yki suwa-pa-sh* *wamra-:-pa ro:pa-n-kuna-ta.*
      child-2   steal-BEN-PST.R3 child-1-GEN clothes-3-PL.N-OBJ
      "Your son stole my son's clothes.

48   *...Tsay-rikoq-ta wamra-ta ashma-Ø-nki",*
      that-CLASS-OBJ child-OBJ raise-PRS-2
      Is this the way you raise your son?"

49   *Ni-pti-n-qa qeru-wan ka:si wiru-ska-mu-**na:*** *na-qa.*
      say-DS-3-TOP wood-COM almost hit-PFV-FAR-**PST.N** thing-TOP
      When he (Ernesto) said this, he (Benito) almost **hit** him with a stick.'

50   G: *Benito-qa.*
      Benito-TOP
      'Benito.'

51   R: *Benito-qa.*
      Benito-TOP
      'Benito.'

311

52   *"Noqa tsay-no:-ta-ku   ashma-Ø-: wamra-:-ta ima-m,*
      I   that-SIM-OBJ-Q.P raise-PRS-1 child-1-OBJ what-DIR
      ' "As if I raise my son like this,

53   *o noqa-ku manda-ra-:", || ...ni-r,*
      or I-Q.P   send-PST-1   say-SS
      or I sent him (to do it)," saying.

54   *Tsay-na doña   Ado:ra-qa ari,|| um "Kay-cho:-cha: ka-yka-Ø-n.*
      that-NOW madame Adora-TOP yes   um   this-LOC-MUT be-CONT-PRS-3
      Then Mrs. Adora, "Here it is.

55   *Ama-ri   pi-ta-pis   willa-ku-yku-ya-y-tsu". || ni-r-nin,*
      no-SURE   who-OBJ-EVEN inform-MID-PFV.O-PL.V-IMP2-NEG   say-SS-3
      Don't you tell anybody," saying,

56   *...hipi-mu-**na:**   chachak   qepi-sha-ta   tsay-chu Walter-pa*
      take.out-FAR-**PST.N**   very.tight   wrap.up-PTCP-OBJ   that-LOC Walter-GEN

      sapatu-n-ta-pis.
      shoe-3-OBJ-EVEN
      she **took out** a tightly tied bundle with Walter's shoes inside too.'

57   G: *[Bes=cha:].*
      how.awful
      'How awful.'

58   R: *[I= Walter-pa   sapatu-n-pa:-qa] "Paqash-kuna-sh apa-sh"*
       and Walter-GEN shoe-3-PURP-TOP   Pacash-PL.N-RPT take-PST.R3

      *ni-ya-**ra**-n-cha:.*
      say-PL.V-**PST**-3-MUT
      And about Walter's shoes they **had said**, "Those people from Pacash stole them".

59   *...I= tsay-lla ka-ku-**na:**   mana-ku.*
        and that-DLM be-MID-**PST.N** no-Q.P
      So it turned out it **was** just him after all.

60   *I   tsa tsay-no:-pa musya-ka-**sh**   [chip].*
      and then that-SIM-GEN know-PASS-**PST.R3** total
      And so like that everything **was known**.'

61   G: *[Tse:-ran-qa] aw?*
                                              that-YET-TOP yes
      'That's bad, isn't it?'

312

62   *Tsa   musya-ka:-ri-__sh__*.
      then know-PASS-PUNC-__PST.R3__

      'So it __became known__ (to everyone).

63   *[Ronda-qa   tse:-pa:]   ba:li-__Ø__-n-tsu.*
      guard.force-TOP that-PURP worth-__PRS__-3-NEG

      'The guard force __is no good__ for that.'

64   R: *[Tsay-ran-qa]*.
      that-YET-TOP

      'That's bad.

65   *..Keha-__sha__-sh   ka– keha-ya-__sha__-sh   ari,*
       complain-__PST.R3__-RPT (MS) (MS) complain-PL.V-__PST.R3__-RPT yes

      They __reported__ him,

66   *peru kanan [aywa-ku-ya-__sha__-na],*
      but   now   go-MID-PL.V-__PST.R3__-NOW

      but today they (Damian and the others) __left__ already (for Lima, before they could
      be taken to the police station),'

67   G: *[Pwestu-man]*.
                      police.station-ALL

      '(reported him) at the police station.'

68   R: *A:.*
      yes

      'Yes.

69   *...Mana mana na-man-chir. || ...[ronda-man-chir.]*
        no   no   thing-ALL-APP   guard.force-ALL-APP

      No, not there, to the guard force.'

70   G: *[Ronda-man.]*
                                   guard.force-ALL

      'to the guard force.'

71   R: *...Kanan-qa aywa-ka-ya:-mu-__sh__-na-chir-pis.*
       now-TOP   go-MID-PL.V-FAR-__PST.R3__-NOW-APP-EVEN

      'Today they (the visitors, including Damian) must __have come__ (towards Huaraz on
      their way to Lima).

72   *Kanan atska-q-cha: sha-ya:-mu-**Ø**-n.*
     now   many-HUM-MUT come-PL.V-FAR-**PRS**-3
     Today many people **are** surely **coming** (towards Huaraz on the way to Lima).

73   *...Aywa-ya-**sh**   biya:hi-chu&*
        go-PL.V-**PST.R3** trip-LOC
     They **went** on a trip (to Huaripampa)'

74   G: *Tse: mala [kostumbri-n] borra:chu-ta-qa. **Ø***
        that bad   custom-3   drunkard-OBJ-TOP **PRS**
     'That**'s** a bad way (to treat) a drunk person.'

75   R: *&[i   kuti-ku-ya-**sha**].*
                    and return-MID-PL.V-**PST.R3**
     'and they **returned** (to Lima).'

76   *Tsay-na ari, || [tiyu-ntsi: Adrian] ni-**na:**   "na-mi" este=,*
     that-now yes   uncle-1₁ Adrian   say-**PST.N** thing-DIR um
      So, our uncle Adrian (not knowing the items had been found) **said** (to Niko),

77   G: *[Na-yan   alli-tsu]. **Ø***
                       thing-DISTR good-NEG **PRS**
     'All that **is** not good'.

78   R: *...um= ""Ni:ku-m   apa-sh",*
        um   Niko-DIR take-PST.R3
     " "Niko stole,"

79   *ni-r-mi   ni-ya:-shu-ra-yki-qa."*
     say-SS-DIR say-PL.V-2OBJ-PST-2-TOP
     saying they commented about you,"

80   *Ni-r-shi   ni-**na:**,*
     say-SS-RPT say-**PST.N**
     saying he **said**.

81   *"Pi-ta: Tiyu-y   ni-ma-sh",*
      who-Q.C uncle-VOC say-1OBJ-PST.R3
     "Who said this about me, Uncle?"

82   *[ni-pti-n-qa   mana-sh ni rasuna-__na:__-tsu]*.
         say-DS-3-TOP no-RPT   nor give.answer-__PST.N__-NEG
         When he said this he __did not give him an answer__.'

83   G: *[Kiki-n-lla-na-chir   ni-__ra__-n]   [₂tse:-qa]*.
         self-3-DLM-NOW-APP   say-__PST__-3   that-TOP
         'I suppose he alone __thought__ that. (Adrian, that Niko had stolen the things).'

84   R: *[₂Arde:-pis]   ni-__ra__-n-chi   tse:-qa.*
                                      pretense-EVEN say-__PST__-3-CNJ that-TOP
         'He could even have __said__ it as a lie.'

85   G: *...Ni:ku-pa: ni-na-n-pa:-qa   #u-qa ma:,*
         Niko-PURP say-NMLZ.I-3-PURP-TOP or-TOP lets.see
         'How could he say that about Niko or hmm,

86   *ima-ta-pis   algu-ta   maya-r-chir peru ni-__Ø__-n,*
         what-OBJ-EVEN something-OBJ sense-SS-APP but   say-__PRS__-3
         maybe because he senses something he __talks__ (that way),'

87   R: *...Ari.*
          yes
         'Yes.'

88   G: *...<CRK>Adrian-pis   ko:sa-lla-m</CRK>*. __Ø__
                    Adrian-EVEN very.good-DLM-DIR   __PRS__
         'Adrian __is__ really good (at telling bad things about people).'

89   R: *...Sella:ma   ari.*
          abundantly yes
         'That's for sure.'

Work

Source: Conversation between a brother and sister about events of the previous week. She had participated in their community festival, while he had been working in Huaraz.
Speakers: Guillermo and Rita, in their late 20's
Duration of this segment: 3 minutes, 20 seconds - minute markers 11:25 - 14:45
Duration of the whole conversation: 21 minutes, 17 seconds
Recorded: August 20, 1993 in Huaraz, in a cottage at the linguistics center in Huaraz
Speakers' community: Huaripampa, District of San Marcos, Ancash, Peru

1   R: *...I= qam-qa tsay–   ..kay-pa sha-mu-na-yki   o:ra-qa,*
        and you-TOP that (MS)   this-GEN come-FAR-NMLZ.I-2 hour-TOP

        'And you, the day that you came here,

2   *kay Huaras-pa   sha-mu-na-yki   o:ra-qa, || Guillermo,*
        this Huaraz-GEN come-FAR-NMLZ.I-2 hour-TOP   Guilllermo

        the day that you came here to Huaraz, Guillermo,

3   *imay o:ra-ta: yarqa-mu-**ra**-yki,*
        when hour-Q.C leave-FAR-**PST**-2

        when **did** you **leave**?

4   *Noqa-qa heqa-ski-**ra**-: ...Acopa:ra-pa.*
        I-TOP   go-PFV-**PST**-1   Acopara-GEN

        (because) I **took off** for Acopara.'

5   G: *...Noqa-qa ...pase:pa ...qela-na-yka-r-mi   yarqa-mu-**ra**-:.*
        I-TOP   very   lazy-DES-CONT-SS-DIR leave-FAR-**PST**-1

        'I **went out** feeling totally lazy.

6   *...I tsay-pita-na-m   Tayta Dyus-nintsik-man maña-ku-**ra**-:,*
        and that-ABL-NOW-DIR Father God-1_I-ALL   ask-MID-**PST**-1

        But then I **asked** God (for help).

7   *"...Tayta Dyus qam-mi musya-yku-Ø-nki,*
        Father God you-DIR know-PFV.O-PRS-2

        "Father God, you know how it is.

8   *...Qam dispo:ni-yku-y   ima-no:-pis   ...ka-na-:-pa:"   ni-r,*
        you arrange-PFV.O-IMP2 what-SIM-EVEN   be-NMLZ.I-1-PURP say-SS

        You will have to arrange how I will be," saying,

9 *pay-man ya:ra-ku-r-na* ‖ *wayi-:-pita* *qela-na-yka-r*   *yarqa-mu-r,*
  he-ALL trust-MID-SS-NOW house-1-ABL lazy-DES-CONT-SS leave-FAR-SS
  trusting in him, going out of my house feeling lazy,

10 *...na:ni-cho:-na=* *..kushi-na-ski-**Ø**-:*   *[sha-mu-na-:-pa:]*   *ka-q-ta.*
   path-LOC-NOW happy-DES-PFV-**PRS**-1 come-FAR-NMLZ.I-1-PURP be-AG-OBJ
  on the path then I **start to get happy** about my coming.'

11 R: *[@ @]*

12 *...Tayta* *[₂Dyos-nintsi:-man maña-ku-sh* *ka-r-chir.]*
   Father God-1ᵢ-ALL   ask-MID-PTCP be-SS-APP
  'Surely because you had asked God.'

13 G: *[₂Entonsi "Pay-qa musya-ku-n-na-m"]* *ni-r-na,*
     then he-TOP know-MID-3-NOW-DIR say-SS-NOW
  'So, "He already knows," saying now,

14 *kushi-na-r* *kushi-na-r,*
  happy-DES-SS happy-DES-SS
  gradually becoming more content,

15 *...tsa* *karrete:ra-man cha-rpu-r*   *ka:rru-ta*   *shuya-ku-**ru**-:,*
   then road-ALL   arrive-COMPL-SS vehicle-OBJ wait-MID-**PST.R**-1
  getting down to the road, I **waited** for a bus.

16 *...Tsa=,* ‖ *cha:-ra-mu-**Ø**-n*   *San Martin-mi,*
   then arrive-PUNC-FAR-**PRS**-3 Saint Martin-DIR
  Then, San Martin (a bus) **arrives**.

17 *Tsay-wan heqa-ska-mu-**Ø**-:.*
  that-COM go-PFV-FAR-**PRS**-1
  I **take off** towards here in that (bus).'

18 R: *A=.*
  oh
  'Oh.' (admiringly)

19 G: *I= tsa: ...um,* ‖ *...Ca:tac-yaq sha-mu-**ra**-:,*
  and then um Catac-LIM come-FAR-**PST**-1
  'And then, I **came** to Catac.

20   *Ca:tac-cho: ...almorsa-ski-r-na pa:sa-mu-**ra**-:   ke:-pa.*
        Catac-LOC   dine-PFV-SS-NOW pass-FAR-**PST**-1 this-GEN

        After eating lunch in Catac, I **traveled** to here.

21   *Cha:-mu-**ra**-:   kay-man la-s   sinku i   medya-chi,*
        arrive-FAR-**PST**-1 this-ALL the-PL.SP five   and half-CNJ

        I **got here** about five thirty.'

22 R: *..De la   tardi.*
         of the afternoon

        'In the afternoon?'

23 G: *Aha de la   tardi.*
         yes of the afternoon

        'Yes, in the afternoon.'

24 R: *Tsaka-na-yka-pti-n-na   aw?*
        darkness-DES-CONT-DS-3-NOW yes

        'At the time it was starting to get dark, right?'

25 G: *Mikru-wan-na-m   cha:-mu–   sha-mu-**ra**-:   Ca:tac-pita-qa,*
        small.bus-COM-NOW-DIR arrive-FAR (MS) come-FAR-**PST**-1 Catac-ABL-TOP

        'I **came** in a small bus from Catac.'

26 R: *A=.*
         oh

        'Oh.'

27 G: *...Tse:-pita ...cha-ska-mu-**ru**-:,*
          that-ABL   arrive-PFV-FAR-**PST.R**-1

        'From there I **got here** quickly (faster than I thought I would).

28   *...don Antonio ka-yka:-**na:**   ka:lli-chu ...waqta-cho:,*
          Mr. Antonio be-CONT-**PST.N** street-LOC   back-LOC

        Antonio **was** out in the street,'

29 R: *uh huh,*
         uh huh

        'uh huh,'

30 G: *...aru-tsi-ku-r,*
          work-CAUS-MID-SS

        'supervising workers.

31   *...Tse:-na   kicha-pa:-ma-Ø-n,*
           that-NOW open-BEN-1OBJ-**PRS**-3
        Then he **opens** (the door) for me.

32   *Pa:sa-ra-mu-r   don ...David-ta-qa   tari-ri-Ø-:,*
        pass-PUNC-FAR-SS Mr.   David-OBJ-TOP find-PUNC-**PRS**-1
        As soon as I go in I **find** David.

33   *...Pay-pis kushi-yku-Ø-n,*
           he-EVEN happy-PFV.O-**PRS**-3
        He **gets happ**y too.'

34   R: *Alla:pa ka-q? @*
        very   be-AG
        'Very much so?'

35   G: *Seño:ra [Debora-pis].*
        Mrs.   Debora-EVEN
        'Mrs. Debora too.'

36   R: *[@@]*

37   G: *Kushi-yku-ya-Ø-n   llapa-n.*
        happy-PFV.O-PL.V-**PRS**-3 all-3
        'They all **get happy**.'

38   R: ... ☺*A=,*
            ah
        'Ah.'

39   G: *Noqa-pis kushi-ku-Ø-:   shonqu-:-chu mas-ra:,*
        I-EVEN   happy-MID-**PRS**-1 heart-1-LOC   more-YET
        'In my heart I also **get** even **happier**.'

40   R: *...Fyesta-pa: ni [yarpa-Ø-nki-na-pis-tsu.   @@@]*
        festival-PURP nor think-**PRS**-2-NOW-EVEN-NEG
        'About the festival you **don't** even **think** now.'

41   G: *[Fyesta-pa:-qa   yarpa-ru-:-na-pis-tsu.]*
                      festival-PURP-TOP think-**PST.R**-1-NOW-EVEN-NEG
        'About the festival I **didn't** even **think** now.'

42   *...Tsa tse:-pita aru-ya-**ru**-:   ari ka-: [₂na-wan,]*
          then that-ABL work-PL.V-**PST.R**-1 yes be-1 thing-COM
          'From that point we **worked** with um,'

43   R: *[₂Ima-kuna-ta-ta:] rura-ya-**ru**-yki?*
                                        what-PL.N-OBJ-Q.C do-PL.V-**PST.R**-2
          'What things **did** you (pl.) **do**?'

44   G: *...Punta-ta-qa || ..komprobasyun-ta-m rura-yka-**ru**-:*
          front-OBJ-TOP   check-OBJ-DIR   do-CONT-**PST.R**-1

          ..tse: kiki-:   kwentu-ta   ...rura-sha-:-ta.
          that   self-1   story-OBJ   do-NMLZ.R-1-OBJ
          'First I **was doing** a check of that story I myself had done.'

45   R: *A= ya=.*
          oh yes
          'Oh, right.'

46   G: *"Huk ri:ku runa   to:ru-n-ta oqra-Ø-n"?*
          one   rich person bull-3-OBJ lose-PRS-3
          ' "A rich man loses his bull." ' (story title)

47   R: *Aha tsay-ta   noqa-pis [liyi-**ra**-:-mi.]*
          yes that-OBJ I-EVEN   read-**PST**-1-DIR
          'Yes, I **read** that too.'

48   G: *[Tse:-ta.] || I= tse:-ta   rura-**ru**-:,*
                               that-OBJ   and that-OBJ do-**PST.R**-1
          'That. And I **did** that.'

49   *Nirkur-mi   rura-**ra**-: na-ta.*
          in.addition-DIR do-**PST**-1 thing-OBJ
          In addition I **did** something else.

50   *San Marcus-pa ...no:ta-s   no:ta-n-kuna tse: hawa-n-cho:,*
          saint mark-GEN   note-PL.SP note-3-PL.N that underneath-3-LOC
          In the notes for the book of Mark, in its footnotes,

51   *ima-pis   mana e–   runa-kuna   entyendi-ya-sha-n-ta,*
          what-EVEN no   (MS) person-PL.N   understand-PL.V-NMLZ.R-3-OBJ
          whatever people did not understand (during the comprehension checking),

52   *chaki-n-chu   entyendi-na-n-pa:,*
           foot-3-LOC   understand-NMLZ.I-3-PURP
           at the bottom so that they understand,

53   *...shumaq entyendi-tsi-ypa,*
            beautiful understand-CAUS-ADV
           making it beautifully understandable

54   *...hipi-ya-**ru**-:   Edgardu-wan,*
            take.out-PL.V-**PST.R**-1 Edgardo-COM
           Edgardo and I **brought out** the meaning.

55   *Tse:-ta-m   ...rura-**ra**-:,*
           that-OBJ-DIR do-**PST**-1
           I **did** that.

56   *I= glosaryu-ta-m   chik komproba-yka-**ra**-:,*
           and glossary-OBJ-DIR small test-CONT-**PST**-1
           And I **was checking** a little bit of the glossary.

57   *alli-tsa-yka-**ra**-:,*
           good-CAUS-CONT-**PST**-1
           I **was revising** it.

58   *[...Tsay-pita-qa] Edgardu-wan-na-m   aru-ya-**ru**-:.*
            that-ABL-TOP Edgardo-COM-NOW-DIR work-PL.V-**PST.R**-1
           Then Edgardo and I **worked** together.'

59 R: *[A=],*
       Oh,
       'Oh.

60   *...Huk sema:na-lla-m ka-yka-**ru**-yki-na   [aw]?*
            one   week-DLM-DIR be-CONT-**PST.R**-2-NOW yes
           You **have been** here for just a week now, right?'

61 G: *[Aw],*
                               yes
      'Yes,'

62   R: *kumpli-**ru**-yki-na?*
        fulfill-**PST.R**-2-NOW
        'You **have finished** (a week of work) now?'

63   G: *Komproba-ya-**ru**-: Edgardu-pa   komprobasyon-nin-ta,*
        test-PL.V-**PST.R**-1   Edgardo-GEN check-3-OBJ
        'We **went over** the results of Edgardu's checking

64   *i   noqa-pa komprobasyun-ni:-ta Huaripampa-pita.*
        and I-GEN   check-1-OBJ   Huaripampa-ABL
        and the results of my checking in Huaripampa.'

65   R: *...A= [ya=].*
        oh   right
        'Oh, right.'

66   G: *[apa-mu-sha-:-ta].*
           take-FAR-NMLZ.R-1-OBJ
        'what I brought here.

67   *I   tsa: ...lindu-m   ka-**sh**   ishka-:-kuna-pa-pis.*
        and then   pretty-DIR be-**PST.R3** two-1-PL.N-GEN-EVEN
        And what both of us did **was** good.

68   *...Tse:-ta-qa   rura-ya-**ru**-:   ishke: hunaq-mi   komprobasyun-ta.*
        that-OBJ-TOP   do-PL.V-**PST.R**-1 two   day-DIR   check-OBJ
        We **did** that for two days, the checking.

69   *don David noqa ...Edgardu kimsa-:-kuna.*
        sir David I   Edgardo three-1-PL.N
        David, I, Edgardo, the three of us.'

70   R: *...A=.*
        oh
        'Oh.'

71   G: *...Qanyan   hunaq ...kanan ..kanan hunaq-qa,*
        yesterday day   now   now   day-TOP
        'Yesterday and now today,

72   *...tse: ..glosaryu-ta-m   rura-ya-**ru**-:,*
        that   glossary-OBJ-DIR do-PL.V-**PST.R**-1
        we **did** the glossary.

73   *Diksyunaryu-no:-mi tse: glosaryu -Ø,*
           dictionary-SIM-DIR   that glossary **PRS**

           That glossary **is** like a dictionary.

74   *..Marcus-pa tse: kantu-n-chu   ni-Ø-n,*
            Mark-GEN that border-3-LOC say-**PRS**-3

           On the borders (of the printout) of Mark it **says**

75   *ima-pis   mana entyendi-ka-sha-n-kuna-ta,*
           what-EVEN no   understand-PASS-NMLZ.R-3-PL.N-OBJ

           what was not understood (by people during the checking),'

76   R: *Tse: ultimu-n-chu.*
           that   final-3-LOC

           'On the last one (the last page).'

77   G: *Aha=. || Tse:-chu entyendi-na-n-pa: willa-Ø-ntsik.*
           yes   that-LOC understand-NMLZ.I-3-PURP inform-**PRS**-1_I

           'Yes. In order for them to understand, we **explain** there (on the last page)

78   *tse: diksyonaryu-no:-mi.*
           that dictionary-SIM-DIR

           like a dictionary.

79   *...Tse:-nin-kuna-ta-na-m   rura-ya-**ru**-:.*
            that-3-PL.N-OBJ-NOW-DIR do-PL.V-**PST.R**-1

           We **did** those things.

80   *...I= usha-ya-**ru**-:-tsu   mana,*
           and finish-PL.V-**PST.R**-1-NEG no

           And we **didn't finish**.

81   *...Falta-Ø-n-ra:,*
           lack-**PRS**-3-YET

           It **is** still **incomplete**.'

82   R: *...A= mana-ku usha-ya-**ru**-yki.*
           oh no-Q.P   finish-PL.V-**PST.R**-2

           'Oh, you (pl) **didn't finish**.'

83   G: *Aw, || I   kanan noqa-qa aywa-ku-Ø-:.,*
           yes   and now I-TOP   go-MID-**PRS**-1

           'Right, and now I **leave**.

84   ...*Kuti-ku-**Ø**-:-qa* *waray*... *waray* *hwe:bis-qa,*
     return-MID-**PRS**-1-TOP tomorrow tomorrow Thursday-TOP

    I **go back** tomorrow, Thursday.

85   ...*"Tsay-yaq-lla-m* *sha-mu-Ø-:*   ... *sha-mu-ru-:"*
     that-LIM-DLM-DIR come-FAR-PRS-1(MS) come-FAR-PST.R-1

    *ni-**ra**-:-mi* ...*don David-ta,*
    say-**PST**-1-DIR don David-OBJ

    "I came only until then," I **said** to David.'

Achikay

Source: First part of the *Achikay* story, a legend
Speakers: Told by Lita (59 years old) to Elí (25 years old)
Duration of this segment: 2 minutes, 15 seconds - minute markers 00:00 - 2:15
Duration of the whole narrative: 8 minutes, 20 seconds
Recorded: July, 2002 in a bedroom of their home in Huari, at night before going to sleep
Speakers' community: Huari, District of Huari, Ancash, Peru

1   L: *Achikay-qa,*
         witch-TOP
         'The witch.

2   *...Kay-no: pobri-sh ka-ya:-__na:__ ari.*
         ...this-SIM poor-RPT be-PL-**PST.N** surely
         They **were** poor surely, like us.

3   *Mama-n-kuna wamra-n-kuna atska ka-__na:__.*
         parent-3-PL.N child-3-PL.N many be-**PST.N**
         There **were** many parents and many children.'

4   E: *I,*
         and
         'and,'

5   L: ... *Tsay %ashi-ku-q aywa-ya:-__na:__ mama-n-kuna-qa.*
         then look-MID-PRMT go-PL.V-**PST.N** parent-3-PL.N-TOP
         'Then the parents **went** to look (for food).'

6   E: *um hum.*
         um hum
         'um hum,'

7   L: *...Ima-hina-n-pa:-na-ra: ka-yku-__ra__-n mama-n-pis tayta-n-pis.*
         what-type-3-PURP-NOW-YET be-PFV.O-**PST**-3 mother-3-EVEN father-3-EVEN
         'What type of people **were** those parents? (What type of people must they have been?)

8   *...Tsay-qa,|| ..."Wamra-kuna punu-ka-sha-m may. -Ø*
         that-TOP child-PL.N sleep-PASS-PTCP-DIR I.think PRS
         So, "I think the children are asleep.

9   *... Anka-ku-ri-shun".*
       toast.corn-MID-PUNC-FUT1_I
     Let's toast some corn,"

10   *ni-ya-**Ø**-n-shi   tsay ashi-ku-ya-nqa-n-pita   cha-ski-r-qa.*
     say-PL.V-**PRS**-3-RPT that search-MID-PL.V-NMLZ.R-3-ABL arrive-PFV-SS-TOP
     they **say** after arriving from their searching.'

11   E: *Ni-y,*
      say-IMP2
      'Go on,'

12   L: *@@@ || ...Ni-pti-n-qa,*
          say-DS-3-TOP
     'After saying that,

13   *...wamra-qa peru mana-chi punu-**Ø**-n-tsu   wiya-ra-yka-**Ø**-n,*
      child-TOP but no-CNJ   sleep-**PRS**-3-NEG listen-DUR-CONT-**PRS**-3
     but apparently the child **does not sleep**, he **is listening**.

14   *"Kanalla   may-chu-ra: anka-ku-ri-shun"   ni-pti-n-qa,*
     toasting.pot where-LOC-YET   toast.corn-MID-PUNC-FUT1_I   say-DS-3-TOP
     When she said, "I wonder where the toasting pot is for us to toast corn,"

15   *..."Mama-y, || ...ulla   kuchu-lla-cho:-mi"   @ni-**Ø**-n,*
       Mother-VOC   below   corner-DLM-LOC-DIR   say-**PRS**-3
     "Mother, down below in the corner," he **says**,

16   *@wamra-qa.[@@]*
       child-TOP.
     the child.'

17   E: *[Ni-y],*
           say-IMP2
     'Go on,'

18   L: *Ni-pti-n-qa   "Riya-yka-Ø-n   aw lisu:-ra?"*
     say-DS-3-TOP wake.up-CONT-PRS-3 yes rude-YET
     'After he said that, "Oh, he's awake, isn't he, the little pest."'

19   *...ni-r-qa,|| ...qaqa-pa   apa-r,*
         say-SS-TOP   mountain.cliff-GEN take-SS
        After she said that, taking them to the mountain cliff,

20   *...china-n orqu-ta   wamra-n-ta qarpa-ska-mu-**Ø**-n.*
         female-3 male-OBJ child-3-OBJ push.down-PFV-FAR-**PRS**-3
        she (the mother) **pushes** her girl and her boy children down.

21   E: *...qaqa-pa?*
         mountain.cliff-gen
        'Over the cliff?'

22   L: *...qaqa-pa.*
         mountain.cliff-GEN
        'Over the cliff.'

23   E: *...@@..I?*
               and
        'and?'

24   L: *...Tsay qarpa-ska-mu-pti-n-qa,*
         that   push.down-PFV-FAR-DS-3-TOP
        'Then after she pushed them down over,

25   *...weqlla-chu: qeshqi-chu ke:da-ya:-**na:**   ishka-n.*
         weqlla-LOC qeshqi-LOC stay-PL.V-**PST.N** two.3
        the two of them **stayed** (trapped) in *weqlla* and *qeshqi* plants. (*Qeshqi* has thorny trunks.)

26   *...Tsay-qa=,*
         that-TOP
        Then,'

27   E: *Mana-chi wanu-ya-**rqa**-n-tsu.*
         no-CNJ   die-PL.V-**PST**-3-NEG
        'So they **didn't die**?'

28   L: *Mana pe:,*
         no   emphasis
         'No,

29   *ke:da-ya-__sha__*   *ari*   *mana*   *..cha:-ya-__sha__-tsu*   *patsa-ya:-qa.*
        stay-PL.V-**PST.R3**   yes   not   arrive-PL.V-**PST.R3**-NEG ground-LIM-TOP
        they **stayed** there surely; they **didn't get** to the ground.

30   *...pulla qaqa-chu.*
          half   mountain.cliff-LOC
        in the middle of the cliff.'

31   E: *hmm.*
        hmm
        'hmm.'

32   L: *...Tsay-shi kondor-ta=,*
         that-RPT condor-OBJ
        'Then to the condor,

33   *...imayka anka-ta ‖ imayka-ta,*
         whatever hawk-OBJ whatever-OBJ
        to whatever hawk, to whatever,

34   *"Hipi-yka-lla:-ma-y.*   *‖   Hipi-yka-lla:-ma-y"*   *ni-r,*
        take.out-PFV.O-DLM-1OBJ-IMP2 take.out- PFV.O -DLM-1OBJ-IMP2   say-SS
        "Please get me out of here. Please get me out of here," saying,

35   *qaya-ra:-ya-__q__. ‖   ...[hunaq-pa.]*
        call-DUR-PL.V-**PST.H**   sky-GEN
        they **called**, towards the sky.

36   E: *[um hum],*
                      um hum
        'um hum,'

37   L: *"Qarwa-raq papa-lla-man   hipi-yka-lla:-ma-y,*
         yellow-YET potato-DLM-ALL take.out-CONT-DLM-1OBJ-IMP2
         ' "Please get me out to the potato field ready to harvest,

38   *Tiyu-y   kondor, ‖ Tiyu-y   wiskur" ni-r,*
        Uncle-VOC condor   Uncle-VOC blackbird say-SS
        Uncle condor, Uncle blackbird" saying,

39   *...imayka   ashma pa:sa-q-ta.*
         whatever animal pass-AG-OBJ
        to whatever animal that passed by.'

40   E: *..um hum,*
           um hum
           'um hum,'

41   L: *...Tsay-shi   kondor-ku-sh   ima-shi   hipi-ski-**Ø**-n,*
           that-RPT   condor-Q.P-RPT   what-RPT   take.out-PFV-**PRS**-3
           'Then a condor or something **gets them out**,

42   *...qarwa-raq papa-man-qa.*
           yellow-yet potato-ALL-TOP
           to the potato field ready to harvest.

43   *...Tsay-qa oqti-ya-**sha**,*
           that-TOP dig-PL.V-**PST.R3**
           They **dug up** (some potatoes).

44   *...Oqti-ski-r, || yanu-ku-ya:-na-n-pa:,*
           dig-PFV-SS   boil-MID-PL.V-NMLR.I-3-PURP
           Having dug them up, in order to cook them,

45   *ni   nina ni   manka-na ka-**Ø**-n-tsu.*
           not fire not pot-NOW   be-**PRS**-3-NEG
           there **is** neither fire nor pot.'

46   E: *...um #,*
            um
           'um,'

47   L: *...Tsay-qa kay-no:, || may-nin-cho:-ra:,*
           that-TOP this-SIM   where-3-LOC-YET
           'Then like this, I wonder where,

48   *...karu-cho:-tsura: o prenti-lla-n-cho:-ku-sh   ima-sh,*
           far.away-LOC-DUB or in.front.of-DLM-3-LOC-Q.P-RPT what-RPT
           far away or right in front of them, something,

49   *...qoshta:-mu-**Ø**-n   ... tsuklla-qa.*
           emit.smoke-FAR-**PRS**-3   hut-TOP
           puts out smoke…a hut.'

50   E: @@

329

51   L: *...Tsa qoshta:-mu-pti-n-qa, || "Aku"   ni-naku-**q**   "Aywa-shun" ni-r,*
          then emit.smoke-FAR-DS-3-TOP come.on say-RECP-**PST.H**   go-FUT1_I   say-SS
      'Then because smoke was rising over there, "Come on," they **said** to each other,
      "Let's go" saying,

52   *aywa-ya-**sha**.*
      go-PL.V-**PST.R3**
      they **went**.

53   *...%Achikay-lla ka-**na:**   ...tsay-chu:.*
          witch-DLM   be-**PST.N**   that-LOC
      The witch **was** there.

54   *...(2.7)Achikay-qa=,|| ..."Apa-mu-y   kay-chu:,|| Kushi-naku-ri-shun.*
          witch-TOP   take-FAR-IMP2   this-LOC   happy-RECP-PUNC-FUT1_I
      The witch, "Bring them here. Let's be happy together.

55   *...Papa-yki-kuna-ta-qa   apa-mu-y, || Kay-chu yana-ku-ri-ya-y,*
         potato-2-PL.N-OBJ-TOP take-FAR-IMP2 this-LOC cook-MID-PUNC-PL.V-IMP2
      Bring your potatoes. Cook them here.

56   *Ka: tullpa-pis   yanta-pis",   ...ni-**Ø**-n-shi.*
      here hearth-EVEN firewood-EVEN   say-**PRS**-3-RPT
      Here is a hearth and firewood too," she **says**.

57   *...A:nir papa-n-kuna-ta   apa-r, || ...aywa-ya-**sha**.*
         So   potato-3-PL.N-OBJ carry-SS   go-PL.V-**PST.R3**
      So carrying their potatoes, they **went**.

58   *...A:nir, || "Churku-ska-tsi-r-qa   wayku-pa-rku-r,*
         So   put.on.to.cook-PFV-CAUS-SS-TOP   kindle-BEN-PFV.M-SS
      So, "After putting them on to cook and kindling the fire,

59   *aywa-y   yantaka-ra-ya:-mu-y". || ..ni-**Ø**-n.*
      go-IMP2   look.for.firewood-PUNC-PL.V-FAR-IMP2   say-**PRS**-3
      go and bring firewood," she **says**.

60   *...Yantaku-q   ↑aywa-ya-nqa-n-ya:-qa,*
         look.for.firewood-PRMT   go-PL.V-NMLZ.R-3-LIM-TOP
      While they went to look for firewood,

61   ↑*cha-ski-pti-n-qa*   ↑*miku-ski-r,*
        arrive-PFV-DS-3-TOP   eat-PFV-SS
        as soon as (the potatoes) were done, after eating them up,

62   *qolluta-ta*   *wiña-pa-rpu-__na:__.* || ...*manka-man.*
        round.rocks-OBJ pour-BEN-COMPL-__PST.N__   pot-ALL
        she __poured__ round rocks down into the pot.'