

**talking about the past**  
**TENSE AND TESTIMONIALS IN QUECHUA NARRATIVE DISCOURSE**

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Whilst the anthropologist and the field linguist have long shared oral narrative as a common object of study, their respective interests have usually led them in different analytical directions. An integrated cultural and linguistic approach to the study of Amerindian texts has been evolving in recent decades, however<sup>1</sup>. In this paper I shall examine some of the linguistic features that characterize Quechua narrative, with examples from a central Peruvian dialect. It will be shown that analysis of grammatical features of oral traditional texts provides a means of identifying and classifying types of discourse. Linguistic features can then be correlated with other criteria for classification such as subject matter, episodic structure, native exegesis, and so on - for our fuller understanding of the meaning of narrative in cultural practice.

In their published form, traditional narratives have often been severed from the surrounding social context in which they arose and were originally

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<sup>1</sup> In the Andeanist field this has been notably developed by Gerald Taylor in his historical and philological work on ancient Quechua texts (Taylor 1980), by Bruce Mannheim in relation to poetry and song (Mannheim 1986), and by Lawrence Carpenter, also in the area of ethnopoetics (Carpenter 1985). In a wider perspective, the anthropological linguistic techniques applied by Dell Hymes to North American Indian material (Hymes 1981), and the work of Dennis Tedlock on the methods and theory of translation and transcription of oral narrative (Tedlock 1983), to take but two examples, may be usefully considered in relation to Andean narrative material.

performed<sup>2</sup>. In Quechua culture, stories frequently crop up in the course of conversation (cf. Valderrama and Escalante (1982); Allen (1985); Mannheim & Becker (1986)). By comparing the grammatical features of the narrative with those of the conversational discourse within which it is embedded, it is possible to show how such narrative is an essentially separate speech type. When collected in its natural habitat - the stream of talk as people settle into bed at night, or gather to chew coca during a break from work in the fields, for example -, the distinction between ordinary talk and the story-telling idiom is more evident, and the definition of what comprises a story becomes easier. Also to be noticed are those passages of discourse which serve as "buffer zones" between conversation and narrative. Certain features of language characterize the transition from conversation to story and back again, and will be pointed out here.

I shall also demonstrate the flexibility of traditional tales in the situation of performance. Theoretically, such narrative demands a certain attitude of locution, and adherence to collectively recognized norms, in the telling. But it is not unusual for the particular narrator, on a particular occasion, and before a particular audience, to break through the conventional fabric of the tale, and weave into it something of his/her own individuality. This may take the form of commentary interlaced with the story as it is told. More frequently, the speaker adds his/her observations as he/she nears the end of the performance, repeating some of the events over again, this time in the register of personal comment, with its particular grammatical markers. Thus the distinction between narrative and metanarrative (cf. Hymes *op. cit.*; Babcock 1984) is marked at the linguistic level of analysis; the former lacking any indication of the speaker's subjectivity; the latter bearing person, tense, and modality markers that attest to the narrator's personal involvement in what he is saying.

I shall limit the discussion to the tense suffixes used for reference to past events in Quechua narrations, and the epistemic modal suffixes which optionally co-occur with the tense markers in the same utterance. The distribution and semantic function of these particular markers in traditional stories is most likely to reveal correlations with extra-linguistic criteria for the classifying and interpretation of narrative, as described above. For this purpose, I have analysed a total of eleven pieces of sustained discourse ("texts"), breaking each one down into its component utterances. As my focus is on reference to past events, I have laid aside analysis of those reported speech utterances that represent the

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<sup>2</sup> This is with some notable exceptions, for example Burns (1983), Hymes (*op. cit.*) and Tedlock (*op. cit.*).

dialogue of the actors in the narrated events, and concentrate on those utterances that refer to the events themselves, and those which come from the narrator as speaking subject. I shall use the term "narrative utterance" to refer to the utterances thus identified and analysed. The texts also include some life experience accounts, chosen to provide a point of comparison with traditional narrative discourse.

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 (cf. Lyons 1977:688)<sup>3</sup>, John Lyons uses the terms "historical" and "experiential" in drawing 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" (Lyons 1977:688). In these terms, the so-called "historical" mode relates to a non-deictic and objective locutionary attitude on the part of the speaker, the "experiential" to a deictic and subjective one. For the discussion of tense and testimonial use in Quechua, I shall adopt this distinction, preferring the terms "non-personalized" and "personalized" to refer to the two levels or "modes" of discourse.

Several studies of Amerindian languages have noted the grammatical marking of the type of knowledge, and/or the nature of the source of information, in discourse<sup>4</sup>. In Quechua a combination of verb tense/modality suffixes and class-free modal suffixes with epistemic value (evidentials), serve to mark both information source and the truth value attributed to the information, on the part of the speaker. This paper will attempt an interpretation of the way in which the modalization operates in practice in spontaneous extended discourse.

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<sup>3</sup> I use the term "subjectivity" in the linguist's sense, as defined for example by J. Lyons: "In so far as we are concerned with language, the term "subjectivity" refers to the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and of his own attitudes and beliefs." (Lyons 1982:102). The same author's distinction between the "historical" and "experiential" modes of description follows, with some variation in perspective, upon E. Benveniste (1966) and H. Weinreich (1973), among others.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Landaburu (1976) for Andoke; Drapeau (1986) for Montagnais; Gómez (1987) for Tatuyo; and Hardman (1972 and this volume) for Jaqi languages.

## Tense and evidential suffixes in Pariarca Quechua.

The discussion will centre upon the linguistic resources available for marking reference to past events in a Quechua I dialect spoken in the valley of the river Tantamayo, tributary of the Upper Marañón. I shall refer to it as Pariarca Quechua (PAQ). This dialect is typologically and geographically close to the sub-group denominated "Huaylas-Conchucos" by A. Torero (1974). The narratives were recorded in the peasant community (*comunidad campesina*) of San Pedro de Pariarca over a period between 1982 and 1984<sup>5</sup>. Descriptions of tense use supplied by the grammars rarely give examples beyond the level of utterance. They do not therefore generally record distributional factors or information on the interrelational operation of tenses in practice, in the context of sustained discourse. In what follows I shall put forward a descriptive definition of each of the tense and modality suffixes studied, based upon their function and semanticity as observed in spontaneous production at the level of the text.

### "Defined past" : **-rqa-**

Often referred to in the grammars as a preterite tense, **-rqa-** firstly indicates the pastness of an event where there is relatively specific reference to the point in time at which the event occurred. Beyond this, there appears to be sufficient evidence in the Pariarca material for attributing an epistemic ("personal knowledge") value to **-rqa-** in this dialect: this suffix tends to be attached to verb phrases referring to events at which either the speaker or the addressee (or both) was present, and contrasts in this function with **-naa**, to be dealt with below. **-rqa-** is inappropriate for the narration of traditional stories, and frequently co-occurs with the evidential suffix **-mi**, which asserts a personal knowledge source of information (see below).

### "Narrative present" or $\emptyset$ tense.

The  $\emptyset$  tense is the tense which occurs with the highest frequency in narrative discourse about past events. The pastness of the events related is established by the use of a past tense marker in the opening utterances, after

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<sup>5</sup> District of Tantamayo, province of Huamalies, department of Huanuco, Peru. The fieldwork was carried out with the financial support of the U.A. 1026 (C.N.R.S.) and the Fondation Fyssen, France. Special thanks are due to Eladio Marticorena Lloclla and Elena Lloclla who assisted me in my work on the language whilst in the field. I also thank Francisco Queixalós and Gerald Taylor for their valuable critical readings of an earlier version of this paper. All responsibility for the ideas expressed here remains with the author.

which tense marking is suspended for the main body of the narration, and only recurs in the closing utterances. This may be the case regardless of the mode of description ("non-personalized" or "personalized") in which it occurs, although there is a preference for the  $\emptyset$  tense in the personalized mode, in particular where the verb is marked for the first person. For example, in one text in which 45% of the total number of narrative utterances bear first person marking, 85% of these are unmarked for tense. This function of the  $\emptyset$  tense may be approximated to the so-called "historical present" of many languages; I prefer the term "narrative present". Some examples of its use will be given below.

"Sudden discovery modality"/"Narrative past 1": **-naa**

The distinction between the non-personalized and the personalized modes of description is particularly relevant for the definition of the function and semantic content of **-naa**. It operates differently in the two modes. In personalized discourse, for example in the recounting of first person life experience, **-naa** marks an event or state affairs of which the speaker was unaware at its moment of inception, of which he/she became suddenly aware, and which may or may not have come to an end by the time he/she became thus aware. The same function is performed by **-sqa-** and **-shka-** in Southern Peruvian and Ecuadorean Quechua respectively. It has been defined as a "sudden discovery" modality<sup>6</sup>. In the Quechua I dialects, variant forms of **-naa** have been noted by a number of researchers. For Tarma Quechua, Willem Adelaar records **-na**, which combines with person suffixes except for the third person which is unmarked. He tells us: "the sudden discovery series refers to events that have been going on unnoticed and which are suddenly discovered by the speaker or by another person playing a central role in the narrative (English "it turned out that ...")" (Adelaar 1977:96). The PAQ **-naa** differs from the Tarma **-na** on two points: (i) PAQ **-naa** never combines with person suffixes; **-naa** only refers to an unmarked third person; (ii) the PAQ variant only refers to past time, unlike the Tarma form which, depending on the context of utterance may refer to events "simultaneous with the speech act, or to events in the past, occasionally also in the future..." (Adelaar loc. cit.). The incompatibility of person marking and **-naa** also differentiates it from its cousins **-naq** and **-ña** of Ancash and Huanca Quechua respectively (cf. Parker 1976; Cerrón-Palomino

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<sup>6</sup> It is of interest that the Turkish inferential as described by Slobin & Aksu (1982) has semantic traits in common with the Quechua **-sqa** and **-naa**, likewise doubling up as both epistemic (inferential) modality and a narrative tense used in traditional tales.

1976). The latter two authors make no reference to a "sudden discovery" function for the suffix. Rather, they place emphasis on its use as a "narrative tense" or, in Parker's terminology, "delegatory mood" (*modo delegatorio*).

This brings me to the second use of **-naa** in PAQ discourse, as what I term a "narrative past 1". It features as such in the non-personalized mode of description. **-naa** is one of two verb suffixes used to fix events in the past, in the narration of traditional stories. In so marking the verb, the narrator signals that the event referred to is removed from his own experience. Like **rqa**, **-naa** is marked in contrast to the  $\emptyset$  tense. The latter frequently, but not always, replaces **-naa** once the pastness of events is established in the opening utterances. The evidential suffix **-shi**, marking an indirect, non-personal, source of knowledge (see below), is often present in the same utterance as **-naa**.

#### "Proximal past": **-shqa-**

Often described as a "perfect tense" in the grammars, the behaviour of **-shqa-** as a verb suffix invites its definition as an aspect rather than as a tense. In PAQ discourse three distinct functions of **-shqa-** have been observed: (i) it refers to a recent past; (ii) it operates for reference to past events whose location in past time is relatively undefined; (iii) it may carry with it the notion of a past event the effects of which are still to be felt in the present, in which use I refer to it as a "past in the present". **-shqa-** is not generally employed in the narration of traditional tales; when it does occur in such a context, this invites a particular interpretation of the significance of the story for the individual narrator, as I shall demonstrate.

#### "Narrative past 2": **-shqa kashqa**

The compound tense **-shqa kashqa** appears most frequently in the non-personalized mode of description, and serves as a narrative tense in a way similar to **-naa**. It is formally composed of V + **-shqa** (perfect participle suffix) followed by the auxiliary verb **ka-** ("be") + **-shqa** (perfect tense suffix). The auxiliary verb phrase is often omitted, rendering a form V + **-shqa**, homomorphic with **-shqa-** ("proximal past", see above). The long form **-shqa kashqa** alternates with the shorter form **-shqa** in discourse with stylistic effect: **-shqa kashqa** being used for key moments in the narrative, and **-shqa** marking events of lesser dramatic significance. **-shqa** is also used whenever there is repetition: **-shqa kashqa** marking the first mention of the event, and **-shqa** all repetitious mentions. This alternation, based on discourse and stylistic, rather

than semantic, considerations, may be compared with that between **-naa** and the *ø tense* in non-personalized narrative.

Bilingual speakers translating from Quechua to Spanish generally render these narrative tenses as the pluperfect, where standard Spanish would employ the preterite. However, **-shqa kashqa**, **-naa** and their regional variants are not to be taken as pluperfect tenses; their use reflects a category for which Spanish has no equivalent: lack of personal knowledge of the past event on the part of the speaker<sup>7</sup>. Reasons, of an apparently conceptual order, for speaker's choice between **-shqa kashqa** and **-naa** in narrative discourse, will be discussed below.

"Reiterative or habitual past": **-q ka-**

A compound form consisting in V + agentive nominal suffix (**-q**) followed by the auxiliary phrase **ka-** + P provides the "reiterative or habitual" aspect, used for past reference only in PAQ, and translatable as English "used to" or Spanish "soler". The form is unmarked for person in the third person, thus eschewing **ka-** (e.g. **aywaq /aywa-q/** /"go"-habitual past/ "he/she used to go". The form is of equal distribution in both the personalized and non-personalized modes of description.

### **Evidential suffixes in Pariarca Quechua.**

Quechua evidential suffixes operate as class-free enclitics with a modalizing function. The affirmative suffixes **-mi** and **-shi** are of contrasting epistemic value. **-mi** indicates that the affirmation is founded upon speaker's personal knowledge of the facts, and/or that the speaker takes responsibility for the truth value of the facts; **-shi** marks an indirect source of information, where the facts asserted are outside the speaker's own experience. In PAQ we also note the affirmative **-chaa** with a "sudden discovery" function, used in place of **-mi** where the fact or state of affairs attested to has only just come to the notice of the speaker. Parallel to this, the negativizing suffix **-su** (a regional variant of **-chu**) alternates with **-taaku**, the latter conveying the notion of on-the-spot realization. The modalizing function of the evidential suffixes **-chaa** and **-taaku** is isosemic with that of the verb inflection **-naa** in its "sudden discovery" role, as described above. In addition, the suffixes **-chir** (conjectural) and **-sura**

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<sup>7</sup> The "surprisal, indirect knowledge" function of the Aymara "remote non-personal knowledge" suffix **-tayna** has been observed to have a similar effect on the Spanish of Aymara bilinguals: the Spanish pluperfect conveys a non-personal knowledge data source, whilst the present perfect or preterite evoke direct knowledge (c.f. R.A. Laprade 1981:222-224; E.H. Martin 1981:205-206).

(speculative) are of frequent use in the personalized mode of description in PAQ discourse.

The tense and evidential suffixes described above are summarized in Table 1 below. Their presence or absence in the two modes of description is noted with + and - signs, respectively. Brackets placed around a sign indicate low frequency of occurrence in that mode.

Table 1

*Tense and evidential suffixes used in utterances referring to past events in Pariarca Quechua.*

<i>mode of description</i>	<i>personalized</i>	<i>non-personalized</i>
<i>tense / modality suffixes</i>		
<b>-rqa-</b> "defined past"	+	-
<b>∅</b> tense "narrative present"	+	+
<b>-naa</b> "sudden discovery"	+	-
<b>-naa</b> "narrative past 1"	-	+
<b>-shqa</b> "proximal past"	+	-
<b>-shqa kashqa</b> "narrative past 2"	(+)	+
<b>-q ka-</b> "reiterative past"	+	+
<i>evidential suffixes</i>		
<b>-mi</b> "assertion, personal knowledge"	+	-
<b>-shi</b> "assertion, non-pers. knowledge"	-	+
<b>-chaa</b> "assertion, sudden realization"	+	-
<b>-taaku</b> "negation, sudden realization"	+	-
<b>-su</b> "negation"	+	+
<b>-chir</b> "conjecture"	+	-
<b>-sura</b> "speculation"	+	-

### **Tense and evidential relations in PAQ discourse.**

I shall now look more closely at certain points regarding the interrelations of these tense/modality suffixes in discursive practice, with some illustrations from the texts. I shall look particularly at those suffixes which, by their distribution between the two modes of description, notably their mutual exclusivity one from the other, serve as defining features of the two levels in discourse, and, ultimately, constitute diagnostic features of discursive types. Their distinctive characteristics thus identified, it will be observed how the personalized and the non-personalized modes by no means remain separate in narrative discourse. In the practice of speaking, the two levels frequently intermingle, in a process of permeation the one by the other. It is of interest to

note the formal markers that reveal this permeation, and to consider what factors, arising from the situation of utterance, may have influenced and brought it about. With this intention, I shall focus in particular on the tense/modality suffixes **-rqa-**, **-naa**, **-shqa**, and **-shqa kashqa**, the evidentials **-mi**, **-shi**, **-chaa**, **-taaku**, **-chir** and **sura**, and their co-occurrence with proximal or non-proximal deictics.

Example (1) is taken from a first person account of a dream. It illustrates the interrelation between **-rqa-** "defined past", *ø tense* "narrative present", and **-naa** here in its function as "sudden discovery modality". Such a combination of tense markers is characteristic of a first person account of events pertaining to the realm of the personal experience of the speaker. The verb inflections represented in bold type mark either tense or person or both. Where evidential suffixes appear in the Quechua, the phrase on which they occur is marked with an asterisk in the translation. In the morphological breakdown that follows the free translation, /:/ represents grammatical vowel lengthening (first person subject or possessor), and capital letters mark vowels subject to morphophonological change in certain environments.

(1) **Swiñurqaa. Huk markaman charqaa. Intonsis markaman chaykuu. Markaman chaykuptiiqa kanaa awtoridaakunanuu.**

"I had a dream. I arrived in a village. So I arrived in a village. And upon arriving (I found that) there were people like village authorities there".

/swiñu-rqa-:/	/dream-defined past-IP subj./	"I dreamt"
/chaA-rqa-a/	/arrive-defined past-IP subj./	"I arrived"
/chaA-ykU-ø-:/	/arrive-inward direction-ø tense- IP subj./	"I arrive"
/ka-naa/	/be-sudden discovery/	"there was"

As is typical of a predominantly first person account, **-rqa-** only marks the opening utterances. Thereafter, tense marking is dropped until the final utterance of the whole text, where **-rqa** recurs. In the body of the text, as long as first person marking is present there is no tense marker. Where third person reference is made, the verb is marked by **-naa**, as in the fourth utterance of (1). In such a context, where the discourse is primarily a first person account, the function of **-naa** is to mark those events and states of affairs, external to him or herself, of which the speaker had not been aware at the moment referred to by the verbs describing his own actions, the latter being marked by **-rqa-** or unmarked for tense. It is for this reason that **-naa** is here defined as a sudden discovery modality. In this particular text, of a total of 45 narrative utterances,

37 (82%) bear first person subject or object marking; the remaining 18% bear **-naa**. Of those verbs marked for first person, 92% are unmarked for tense; the remaining 8% being accounted for by **-rqa-**. A tendency towards a mutual exclusivity of past tense and first person marking in discourse practice is therefore observed.

Where the speaker has in mind an event that happened in a relatively distant past, at a specific moment of time, preference is for **-rqa-**, as long as the event (action, process, state of affairs) belongs to the realm of the speaker's immediate awareness at the time it took place. (2) illustrates this further:

(2) **Sayranqa mamay huk sabado dia kaykurqa. Say dia nuqakunaq don Eladiowan yarqukuyaa. (...) Say oraqa nuqakunaq yantakuskirqa Wankaranparaa aywayaa. (...) Say oraqa Wankaranman chaskiyaanaapaaqa swigraa almuerzota yanukuykaanaa.**

"Se then it was one Saturday, mother. That day don Eladio and I went out. (...) So then we set out for Huancaran collecting firewood. (...) Then when we arrived at Huancaran, (we found that) my mother-in-law was cooking the lunch.

/ka-yku-rqa-ø/	/be-attenuative-defined past-ø Pers./	"it was"
/yarqu-ku-yaA-:/	/go out-reflexive-plural-1 P/	"we go out"
/aywa-yaA-:/	/go-plural-1 P/	"we go"
/yanu-ku-ykaA-naa/	/cook-reflexive-progressive-sudden discovery/	"she/he was cooking"

In (2), as in (1), the pastness of the event is established in the first utterance by **-rqa-**, unmarked for person in the third person. With the introduction of the first person in the second utterance, past tense marking is dropped. As soon as reference is made to third person events previously external to the speaker's awareness, this is marked by **-naa**.

Above, I noted three distinct functions of **-shqa-** "proximal past": as an undefined past, as a recent past, and as a past-in-the-present. In all three functions, **-shqa-** is in semantic contrast with **-rqa-** "defined past". We can look at them in term. The use of **-rqa-** in (2) is accounted for by the relative definition of the temporal reference ("one Saturday"), and contrasts with the choice of **-shqa-** in (3), where the temporal framing is less precise. Here, the speaker refers to an event that took place in her girlhood, without pinning it down more specifically:

(3) **Kanan kay biidachuumi kashqa nuqakuna wambra kaykaayaptii. Rikayashqaa nuqakuna wambra kaykar.**

"It happened in our lifetime\* when we were girls. We saw it when we were girls".

/ka-shqa-ø/            /be-undefined past-ø person/            "it was"  
/rika-yaA-shqa-:/    /see-plural-undefined past-1st person/    "we (excl.) saw"

The presence of **-mi** and of the proximal deictic markers **kanan** ("now") and **kay** ("this") in this extract, are concomitant with the personalized mode of description.

**-shqa-** is preferred to **-rqa-** in all contexts where the speaker has in mind a general fact, rather than a particular occasion. The particularity, or definedness, of the referent may be explicit, as in (1) where a temporal adjunct is used, or it may be left understood in the context. Definition may also be achieved not only by temporal, but also by spatial and personal coordinates. (4) illustrates the contrast between **-shqa-** and **-rqa-** in terms of this factor:

(4) **¿Aywashqanki saypachir aw mamay? ¿Kay uraypa aywar Añas Sakapa aywarqayki don Maurowan?**

"You've maybe been over that way\*, haven't you, mother? Down past this way, you went past Añas Saka with don Mauro, didn't you?"

/aywa-shqa-nki/        /go-undefined past-2nd person/            "you've been"  
/aywa-rqa-yki/        /go-defined past-2nd person/            "you went"

In the first utterance of (4), the event referent is vague, the non-definition being conveyed by the co-occurrence of **-shqa-** with the non-proximal deictic **say** ("that"), and the conjectural **-chir**. In the second utterance, a toponym ("Añas Saka") and an anthroponym ("don Mauro") are introduced as a means of expressing the greater specificity of the occasion the speaker has in mind. Concomitantly, the deictic shifts to the proximal **kay** ("this") and **-shqa-** (non-defined past) gives way to **-rqa-** (defined past).

(5) is taken from a piece of personal testimony regarding an event to which the speaker was witness, and illustrates the use of **-shqa-** as recent past:

(5) **Shipshimi runa chaamushqa. Huk choolumi chaamushqa. Saywanmi parlakuyashqa. Wambrayki mana mikuyta mikushqasu.**

"Last night\* a man came to the house. A cholo\* came by. They talked together\*, and your daughter did not eat her food".

/chaA-mu-shqa-ø/      /arrive-centripetal direction-recent past-ø person/ "he/she came"  
 /parla-ku-yaA-shqa-ø/ /talk-reflexive-plural-recent past-ø person/      "they talked"  
 /miku-shqa-ø-su/      /eat-recent past-ø person-negative/      "he/she did not eat"

The event here is located in recent time by means of a temporal adjunct **shipshi** ("last night"), although such lexical clues are not obligatory for **-shqa-** to be understood as referring to recent past. The correlating indices of the personalized mode to which this tense belongs are supplied by the 2P possessive marker **-yki** on /wambra-yki/ "your daughter", and by the presence of the personal knowledge evidential **-mi** in the first three utterances.

**-shqa-** may also carry the notion of a past event the effects of which are still to be felt in the present. Notice the interplay of the ø tense, **-shqa**, and **-rqa-** in the following extract from an account of changes in the politico-religious organization of the community, affecting present circumstances:

(6) **Kanan manami tesoreropis imapis kannasu. Kananqa markapaanami tikrasiyash. Birximpami unayq karqan, birximpa hutinchuumi karqan waakakuna.**

"Nowadays there is not\* even a treasurer any longer. Now they have turned (the cattle) over to the community\*. In the old days the cattle were in the name of the Virgin\*".

/ka-ø-n-na-su/      /be-ø tense- 3rd person-aspectual enclitic-negative/  
    "there is not any longer"  
 /tikra-si-yaA-shqa-ø/ /to turn over-causative-plural-recent past-ø person/  
    "they have caused (it) to turn over"  
 /ka-rqa-n/      /be-defined past-3rd person/      "it was"

The contrast is drawn between the present state of affairs, framed by the proximal temporal deictic **kanan** ("now", "nowadays"), and the state of affairs in the past, situated by means of **unay** ("in the old days"). In the first utterance, the unmarked tense, here a true "present", co-occurs with **kanan**, the aspectual enclitic **na** ("now, already"), and the personal knowledge evidential **-mi** in the assertion of present facts. In the second utterance, ø tense gives way to **-shqa-**, the latter making reference to a past process or action whose effects are to be observed in the present, as is characteristic of a perfect tense/aspect. **Kanan**, **na** and **-mi** are equally well compatible with **-shqa-**. In the third utterance, the

introduction of the temporal referent **unay** pushes the event into a concluded past no longer related in any way to the present, hence the shift from **-shqa-** to **-rqa-**. We note that, the events being of the domain of the speaker's personal knowledge, the **-mi** evidential is also appropriate here. The contrast between the three time frames represented by (6), and the grammatical markers that characterize their linguistic expression, is summarized in Table 2:

Table 2

	<i>temporal adverbial</i>	<i>aspectual enclitic</i>	<i>tense suffix</i>	<i>evidential suffix</i>
<i>timeframe</i>				
"true present"	<b>kanan</b> "now"	<b>-na</b> "now"	$\emptyset$ <i>tense</i>	<b>-mi</b> "pers. knowledge"
"past-in-present"	<b>kanan</b> "now"	<b>-na</b> "now"	<b>-shqa-</b>	<b>-mi</b> "pers. knowledge"
"concluded past"	<b>unay</b> "in the old days"	--	<b>-rqa-</b>	<b>-mi</b> "pers. knowledge"

So far, the examples have been taken from accounts of real life experience. The  $\emptyset$  *tense* "narrative present", **-rqa-** "defined past" and **-shqa-** "proximal past" are the preferred tenses, with **-naa** employed as a "surprise discovery" modality referring to a third person only. The epistemic modal enclitics **-mi** "affirmation, personal knowledge", **-chir** "conjectural" and **-sura** "speculative", and the proximal deictics **kay** "this" and **kanan** "now, nowadays", are compatible with these tenses and characterize the personalized mode of discourse.

We can now look at some examples from traditional narrative, a type of discourse which displays different traits. (7) are the opening utterances of a version of a local tradition regarding an ancestress figure thought to have lived during the precultural age, and to embody certain asocial and semi-cultural qualities<sup>8</sup>.

(7) **Unayshi ambruuna kanaa. Unay muchuy kanaa xweyupa. Sayshi warmi ish kay wawayuq kanaa warmi ullquta. Saypitaqa wambrakuna punuykaptin sakay xuk masurka tariykurqa anakuyaampa kallanata ashinaa.**

"Long ago\* they say there was a famine. Long ago there was a terrible scarcity of food. At that time\* they say there was a woman with two

<sup>8</sup> This figure, known as *Achkay*, is fully discussed in relation to the oral traditions of Pariarca in Howard-Malverde (1986) and Howard-Malverde (forthcoming); for two sample texts in a Quechua-Spanish bilingual edition see Howard-Malverde (1984).

children, a boy and a girl. Then one night as the children were sleeping, finding a corn cob they (the parents) looked for the toasting pan in order to grill it".

/ka-naa/	/be-narrative past I/	"there was"
/ashi-naa/	/look for-narrative past I/	"they looked for"

This text contains a total of 136 narrative utterances, 90% of which are marked by the suffix **-naa** in its function as a narrative tense. The evidential enclitic **-shi** "affirmation non-personal knowledge" co-occurs with **-naa** in the first two utterances, reinforcing the objective, non-personalized, locutionary attitude of the narrator during the opening stage of her narration. **-shi** is thereafter dropped, the non-personalized mode being sustained throughout the rest of the discourse by the constant use of **-naa**, marking all the verbs used to narrate the events of the story. Coherent with the type of discourse that this text represents, at no point do we find any evidence of the speaker's own subjectivity: never is there a proximal deictic marker, never a conjectural or speculative suffix, never a mark of first or second person except in those passages of dialogue in which the narrator puts words into the mouths of the story's protagonists<sup>9</sup>. Such a lack of personalization in the oral performance of traditional narrative is in theory to be expected, for such stories by their very nature belong to the fund of collective tradition rather than to that of individual reminiscence, recounting as they do the mythologized exploits of the ancestors in which the narrator is not supposed to have had any direct part.

In practice, however, it is rare for a narrator to display such a sustained degree of objectivity with regard to the events he or she describes. The text from which (7) is taken was unusual in the incidence of **-naa** "narrative past I" it displays. In oral performance, it is far more common for the storyteller to incline towards the personalization of his/her account. Elsewhere (Howard-Malverde (forthcoming)) I have identified different levels of such personalization in the narratives, demonstrating its effects upon the structure and the content of the stories, and putting forward reasons for such reshaping in terms of the social (extra-linguistic) parameters of the performance situation. Here, I focus upon the linguistic indices (here-and-now deixis; certain modalities; certain tense suffixes) that reveal the permeation of the so-called "objective" fabric of the

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<sup>9</sup> As I was going over the text with an assistant, the latter made an unsolicited comment on one isolated use of the personal knowledge enclitic **-mi** to be found in it, remarking that the narrator had "made a mistake" in using it, as "she had not been there at the time".

traditional narrative on the part of the narrator, who is likely to adopt, to some degree or another, a subjective locutionary attitude at the moment of his/her oral performance<sup>10</sup>.

(8) is extracted from another version of the same story, told by a storyteller who reveals a greater tendency to express her own feelings about the events she describes, and to speculate about the facts. This tendency has repercussions on the choice of past tense suffixes, as the example shows:

(8) Saypitaq shawaykuptinqa allawcha kriyaturakuna sakachuu kaynuushi hiruruykan. Sayshi kundurqa illuu kundur paasanaa. (...) Saypitaq aanir chakwas illaskinaa. Chakwas illaskiptinqa wawan hipashwan kiidanaa wambraq. Saypita imanuuraa kargan, hatunsura u takhasura kargan chakwaspa wawanqa.

"Then after (the father) had hung them there, they say the poor children were dangling like this\* from the bridge. Then\* a condor, I think it was a condor, passed by. (...) After that the old woman absented herself. When she went away, the child remained with her daughter. I wonder what the old woman's daughter was like, whether she was big\* or small\*?

/hiruru-ykaA-ø-n/ /to dangle, turn in the air-*progressive-ø tense-3rd person*/  
"he/she is dangling"

/paasa-naa/ /to pass by-*narrative past I*/

/illa-ski-naa/ /disappear-*unhindered action-narrative past I*/  
"he/she disappeared"

/kiida-naa/ /quedar-*narrative past I* "he/she remained"

/ka-rqa-n/ /be-*defined past-3rd person* "he/she was"

Rather than adhere to a constant use of **-naa**, as was the case with the narrator of (7), this storyteller personalizes her performance in different ways: with gesture (in saying **kaynuushi hiruruykan** "they were dangling like this" she made a circular movement with her hand), with epistemic modalizing expressions such as **illuu** "I think", and by speculating on the facts, as the presence of the suffix **-sura** indicates. With the introduction of the latter, the mode of description shifts from the non-personalized (in linguistic terms) to the

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<sup>10</sup> The correlation of the linguistic and the extra-linguistic evidence is altogether in order, and is planned for a future synthesis.

personalized: the tense marker **-naa** "narrative past 1" is incompatible with the speculative modality, and gives way to **-rqa-** "defined past".

Example (8) illustrated how the play of the speaker's subjectivity upon the events he/she describes is reflected at the linguistic level in the choice of tense and modality suffixes. Example (9) illustrates this permeation of the so-called non-personalized level of discourse by elements more common to the personalized level, precisely at those moments in the storytelling performance when the narrator is drawn towards a closer self-identification with the events recounted. It is taken from an allegedly true account of the kidnapping of a young girl by the hill deity (**hirka ruku**), said to have occurred in the narrator's youth but to which, for the most part, she was not personally witness. The story conforms to a type of tale common throughout the Andean region, regarding the often conflictual relationship between humans (**runa**) and the spiritual guardians of the land and natural resources which the **runa** occupy and exploit. The suffix **-naa** "narrative Past 1" marks the great majority of the narrative utterances, up until a point at which the narrator claims personally attested knowledge of the facts. The consequent shift in the epistemological status of her account is grammatically marked:

(9) **Say kaqchuu qishpishqanchuu hiqakurpunaa hipash. Intonsis say ...kay qunqurta takaskinaa. Kayllapa yanqallami karqan. Kaypa quyushqallami karqan. Say rikayarqaana.**

"The girl tumbled down in that place where she made her escape. Then she knocked that ...this knee. It was all damaged\* around here. It was all bruised\* here. We saw that".

/hiqa-ku-rpu-naa/ /fall-reflexive-downward direction-narrative past 1/ "she fell"  
 /taka-skI-naa/ /knock-unhindered action-narrative Past 1/ "she knocked"  
 /ka-rqa-n/ /be-defined past-3rd person/ "it was"  
 /rika-yaA-rqa-:-na/ /see-plural-defined past-1st person-concluded aspect/ "we saw"

The first utterance of the extract is typical of the non-personalized mode which the main body of this narrative displays up to this point: **-naa** "narrative past 1" combines with the non-proximal deictic **say** in the description of events at which the speaker was not present, and for whose truth value she cannot personally vouch. The second utterance contains a significant hesitation, as the speaker begins by re-employing **say** (non-proximal deictic), and then changes her mind, replacing it with the proximal deictic **kay**: during her performance, as she uttered the words **kay qunqurta takaskinaa** "she banged this knee", she

effectively patted her own knee as a means of dramatizing her words. The bruising of the victim's knee is a fact to which she can personally testify, having seen it for herself. What is of interest in terms of the enunciative process, is that the shift from a non-personal to a personal knowledge mode is only partially achieved in the second utterance: the verb **taka-** "to knock" retains the non-personal narrative tense suffix **-naa**. It is not until the succeeding utterance (**Kayllapa yanqallami karqan** "it was all damaged around here") that the shift is fully realized: in gesturing her own knee, and bringing her personal testimony to bear on the account, as is also marked by the personal knowledge evidential **-mi**, the speaker now substitutes **-rqa-** "defined past, personal knowledge" as the tense suffix most suitable for the marking of verbs referring to past events which took place at a specific moment in the past and, as the data would suggest, to which the speaker was personally witness.

It was noted above that **-naa** is not the only tense suffix used in the narration of traditional stories. The compound form V + **shqa kashqa** is also classed as a narrative tense, occurring frequently in discourse of the non-personalized type, and hence in traditional stories particularly. What semantic distinction, if any, may be drawn between **-naa** and **-shqa kashqa** in such usage, needs to be considered. Example (10) is extracted from another variant of the *Achkay* story, in which **-shqa kashqa** is used extensively:

**(10) Ishkay achkaykuna taanaa unay tyimpu Yaqa Willkachuu. Saypita huk seño<sup>r</sup>qa Numyaqpa aywash kashqa kay Pariarcapita simbraq hara simbraq. Sayman chash kash achkay huk kaq. Huk kaq simpachuu kiidamush rikachakur.**

"Two achkays lived long ago on Yaqa Willka mountain. Then a man went from Pariarca here, to Numyaq in order to plant corn. One of the *achkays* arrived there. The other one remained behind on the other side of the river to keep watch".

/taA-naa/	/reside, live-narrative past 1/	"lived"
/aywa-shQAka-shQA/	/go-narrative past 2/	"went"
/chaA-shQAka-shQA/	/arrive-narrative past 2/	"arrived"
/kiida-mu-shQA/	/remain-centripetal direction-narrative past 2 (short form)/	"remained"

**-naa** "narrative past 1" marks the verb in the first utterance. It does not recur. Of the 76 utterances that compose the narrative framework of this text, 46 contain main verb phrases marked by V + **-shqa kashqa**, thus classed as

"narrative past 2". Translation of these two tenses into Spanish by bilinguals reveals no substantial difference in their function, both being rendered as the Spanish pluperfect, which, as mentioned above, incorporates a "non-personal" knowledge modality in its use as a narrative tense in Andean Spanish (cf, note (6)). That Pariarca Quechua has two tenses suffixes for the narration of past events of which the speaker has only indirect knowledge, differentiates it from other varieties, such as Southern Peruvian Quechua, in which **-sqa** alone performs the task. Further investigation of the language, at the level of text analysis, would doubtless reveal other regional examples of semantic diversification in tense use, such as appears to be the case in Pariarca<sup>11</sup>.

To return to the question of the possibility of the **-naa** vs. V + **-shqa kashqa** alternation reflecting a distinction of a conceptual kind in the events referred to. From the analysis of the distribution and frequency of the tense suffixes in the eleven texts upon which the present argument is based, it was noticed that, as a general tendency, linguistic marks of narrator subjectivity are more likely to occur in those passages of narration where **-shqa kashqa** predominates as the narrative tense. As we have already seen, **-naa** is highly incompatible with personalization, and non-cooccurrent with linguistic indices of subjectivity (first and second person marking, proximal deixis, modalization). Whilst the combination of **-shqa kashqa** and person marking is systemically possible, in practice it is rare: **-shqa kashqa** is preferred as a narrative tense for the narration of events in a distant past outside the narrator's own experience. As soon as the speaker's own testimony enters the account, **-rqa-** "defined past" or **-shqa-** "non-defined past/past-in-the-present" are preferred.

What difference is there between **-naa** and **-shqa kashqa** in their use as narrative tenses? Their pattern of use leads me to observe that, as a general rule, **-naa** is preferred in those contexts where the action of the story is not only beyond the speaker's personal experience, but also unfolds within a spatial setting which bears no concrete, localized, marks of identity. Thus, in the *Achkay* tales from which examples (7) and (8) were taken, the spatial framework of the narrative events is generic (the parental home, a rock, a potato field, etc.). Nothing reveals a localization of the action in terms of place. In contrast, the

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<sup>11</sup> Ecuadorean Quichua also displays variations which deserve further attention: the Cañar variety, for example, makes alternate use of **-shka nin** (related to SPQ **-sqa**, but unlike the latter obligatorily followed by the citative phrase **nin** "one says" in traditional narrative), and **-na nin** (**-na** being interpretable as a non-personal form whose possible historical relationship with the Central Peruvian **-naq** ~ **-naa** could be considered). This matter will be taken up in detail on another occasion.

version of the story from which I drew example (10) situates the activities of the mythic ancestress within the concrete spatial surrounds of Pariarca territory, referred to by means of toponyms. It is noticeable how the narrator uses **-naa** "narrative past 1" in the first utterance, where she mentions the inaccessible mountain Yaqa Willka, which enjoys a mythologized status in the community as the place of origin and of refuge of the ancestors. As soon as the action moves onto the accessible, cultivated and inhabited confines of village land, the tense marker shifts to **-shqa kashqa** "narrative past 2". I noted above that in those passages of text where **-shqa kashqa** is the predominant narrative tense, there is higher incidence of intercalation of utterances in the subjective mode of description. I suggest that this familiarity of the spatial setting provides the psychological conditions that trigger a degree of personal identification with the events of oral tradition on the narrator's part, despite the fact that these are events in which he/she is not deemed to have participated. **-shqa kashqa**, whilst remaining strictly a narrative tense characteristic of the non-personal mode of description, serves to mark past events as less utterly remote from personal experience than those events marked by **-naa**. Moreover, the approximation to the narrator's world is felt in terms of spatial categories, rather than temporal ones. This is significant in view of the importance of space as an organizing principle in Quechua thought, as observed by anthropologists studying symbolic representations in many forms of cultural, religious and social activity.

In the Pariarca data, the contrast between the use of **-naa** "narrative past 1" and **-shqa kashqa** "narrative past 2" in narrative practice, in terms of the nature of the spatial setting of the action, ties in with a locally expressed distinction between two categories of narrative: the *kwintu* and the *leyenda* are two types of story, differentiated one from the other in terms of the spatial framing of the events they describe, rather than upon any criteria of hispanic origin, which the terminology might tempt us to suppose. The two versions of the *Achkay* story were distinguished from each other in these terms: the version in which the action unfolds in a relatively abstract space, without localizing toponyms, was referred to as "just a story; we don't know in what place it happened" (*es cuento no más; no se sabe en que sitio ha sucedido*), whilst, talking of the account in which *Achkay*'s activities are tied to a concrete, local, terrain my assistant remarked: "that one is well situated, it seems more like a legend" (*bien situado es eso, ese parece una leyenda ya*)<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> For a more detailed account of the Pariarquino classification of narrative see Howard-Malverde (forthcoming).

Native speaker's exegesis of the system of tense relations in narratives also helps us towards a clearer picture of the semantic distinctions between **-naa** "narrative past 1" and **shqa kashqa** "narrative past 2", on the one hand, and **-shqa** "non-defined past/ past-in the-present" on the other: of **-naa**, I was told "it's in a story" (*es en cuento*); of **shqa kashqa** "it's just about in a story" (*recién entra en cuento*); of **-shqa** "it is not in a story, it's almost in present time" (*no entra en cuento, es en un tiempo casi presente*). The definition of **-shqa kashqa** is of particular interest, as it seems to point to an intermediary position for the tense, marking events in a story which are only "just" in the story mode, leaving open the possibility of their appearing less totally "storylike" and removed from lived experience than those events marked by **-naa**. As the text analysis revealed, and as explained above, this is indeed the case.

I have examined the principle ways in which the past tense and evidential suffixes available to PAQ speakers are used in narrative. I include one further extract (example (11) below), in order to illustrate that the system as so far observed is not a closed one, but open to creative adaptation in narrative practice, according to the particular standpoint of the individual narrator. This is taken from a version of the village's oral history, telling of a conflict between a local *cacique* of olden times and the *Inka Pachakuti*. The latter is believed to have had the intention of building a "city" where the present-day village stands, but he met with hostility from the local leader and so decided against carrying out his urbanization plans. The narrator from whom I collected this particular version (don Eduardo), made extensive metanarrative comments during his performance, elaborating his own interpretation of the events of the past in view of his experience of present economic, social and political circumstances. The individualistic light cast upon this local version of history is also reflected in this storyteller's choice of tense and evidential suffixes, which does not conform to general usage<sup>13</sup>.

Of the other narrators of the oral history, most made use events thought to have taken place within a known space, but outside the realm of the speaker's personal knowledge (see above). Still others opted for the suffix **-naa** "narrative past 1", with the effect of the "narrative past 2" **-shqa kashqa**, suitable for recounting past of removing the story even further from the domain of familiar

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<sup>13</sup> The story of the rebellious *cacique* and its relation to other branches of the oral tradition is discussed in Howard-Malverde (1986a); the linguistic features of the oral historical text are described in more detail in Howard -Malverde (1986b).

experience. Don Eduardo's version in contrast, makes consistent use of **-shqa** "proximal past" frequently combined with the affirmative suffix **-mi** "personal knowledge", as example (11) illustrates. The phrases marked by the affirmative **-mi** "personal knowledge" bear an asterisk in the free translation:

(11) **Hwernando Ambray kasiki Lloklla kwintunta kananmi yapay willapaashayki qunqashqaykipita. Primeru kashqa istabili daaninqa Apu Raqaami. Qanyantin hwotografhya toomaykaamushqayki. Saychuumi tashqa Hwernando Ambray kasiki Lloklla. Saypitanami say inkakuna shamur konkistata rurar "Huk marka Lima chiikata palasyuta rurashun" nir kay Pariyarkapa shamur kachamushqa enbyaadunta Hweliipita.**

Now\* I'll tell you the story about Fernando Ambray cacique Lloclla again, as you have forgotten it. His first place of residence was Apu Raqa\*. You were taking photos over there the other day. In that place\* Fernando Ambray cacique Lloclla lived. Then after that\* the Inkas came to conquer saying "Let's build a town, a little Lima and palaces", and they sent their envoy Felipe here to Pariarca.

/willa-paa-shayki/	/tell, relate- <i>insistent action-future</i> 1pers. subj. 2 pers. obj./	"I'll tell you "
/ka-shqa/	/be- <i>proximal past</i> /	"it was"
/tooma-ykaa-mu-shqa-yki /	/take- <i>prog-centripetal dir.-proximal past-2 pers./</i>	"you were taking"
/taA-shq a/	/reside- <i>proximal past</i> /	"he lived"
/kacha-mu-shqa/	/send- <i>centripetal dir.-proximal past</i> /	"he sent"

In this extract, as throughout the text, **-shqa** marks utterances referring to the recent past, as is to be expected, but also appears on verbs referring to the actions of the Inka and the cacique. As far as the choice of tense suffix is concerned, no qualitative distinction is made between the time frame of the events of history, and that of the events of a few days ago. Both are presented as proximal past. Moreover, the narrator consistently validates the facts of his historical account with the personal knowledge suffix **-mi**. This use of **-shqa** and **-mi** is unusual for the description of events said to have taken place in a distant past and in which the speaker played no personal part. So what enables don Eduardo to make use of them here, and what is the effect thus achieved?

We notice that the events of the story -the actions of the Inka and the *cacique* to be precise-, are closely tied to points on the Pariarca landscape

referred to by means of toponyms. This topography is part of the everyday experience of the narrator and his audience. The storyteller calls upon his knowledge of this immediate environment, and that of his listeners, to corroborate and validate the facts of his account, digressing from the narration of the events themselves to point out the existence into the present of the places where the events occurred. The fact that "past happenings" took place in a "present space" provides the key to the use in this text of suffixes generally reserved for reference to proximal past and personal knowledge. To take the first and third utterances for example: **Primeru kashqa estabilidaaninqa Apu Raqaami. (...) Saychuumi tashqa Hwernando Ambray kasiki Lloclla** ("His first place of residence was Apu Raqaa\*. (...) In that place\* Fernando Ambray cacique Lloclla lived"). The use of the tense suffix **-shqa** and the personal knowledge validator **-mi** have the effect of blurring the dividing line between past event and present experience. Through their use the oral history is effectively related as a *past-in-the-present*: Apu Raqaa - the ruins of a colonial building close to his house - is part of the speaker's immediate reality, even though the *cacique* is of the past. Topography provides a cognitive bridge between past events and present experience which draws the narrator to use the **-shqa** form and allows him to assert the facts as personal knowledge by the use of **-mi**. I believe this usage in turn reflects the truth value with which don Eduardo wishes to endow the facts as he relates them; by thus underlining the veracity of his account he seeks to reinforce and confirm his particular interpretation of history.

That the past is ever latent in the present is an aspect of Andean thinking brought to light in numerous symbolic anthropological studies of cultural and religious forms of expression. The past perdures and is ever re-formulated in terms of the experience of the present. It has furthermore been noted how space and time operate as overlapping and interdependent organizational principles in the conceptual domain (cf. for example Fioravanti Molinié (1985) and Isbell (1985)). From the above discussion of tense and testimonial usage in discourse it can be suggested that space is inseparable from time, not only in the sphere of ideas (as observed in the symbolic anthropological literature), but also as a motivating principle in the constitution and application of certain grammatical categories of the language. For example, spatial definition or otherwise is found to be a systemic distinctive feature of the oppositions **-shqa** (non-defined past) versus **-rqa** (defined past), and **-naa** (narrative past 1) versus **-shqa kashqa** (narrative past 2). Moreover, the pragmatic choice of **-shqa** (proximal past) in place of the more usual narrative past suffixes, illustrated in example (11), is

made possible by the nature of the spatial framework of the narrated events. Don Eduardo's use of a tense suffix "normally" reserved in this dialect for reference to recent past or past-in-the-present, allows us to glimpse the potential for an interlocking of mythological and grammatical categories in certain uses of language, notably in the performance of traditional oral narrative.

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