

# Quechua Expressions of Stance and Deixis

*Edited by*

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## Pointing in Space and Time: Deixis and Directional Movement in Schoolchildren's Quechua

*Susan E. Kalt*

### 1 Introduction

In this chapter I will consider the grammar of Quechua verbal derivation at the interfaces of pragmatics, semantics and syntax in the developing mind. In particular, I will study rural highlands Quechua-speaking children's oral mastery of five verbal suffixes, *-yku*, *-rqu*, *-ku*, *-pu* and *-mu*, all but one of which currently have directional movement among their meanings attested in the literature on adult usage by Adelaar (1997), Bills (1972, 1975), Calvo (1993), Cerrón-Palomino (1987), Cusihuamán (1976), van de Kerke and Muysken (1990), van de Kerke (1996) and Torero (2005).

More specifically, I will examine the interaction of directional suffixes with the syntax and semantics of verbal roots, with other directional affixes, and with extra-linguistic elements. I will demonstrate that children as young as five years old have mastered a highly-nuanced system for expressing a range of objective and subjective meanings, and show that the distribution and significance of directional suffixes in their stories resembles those of adults. These findings have implications for linguistic researchers as well as educators in the Andes, because they document systems of mental representation children have already mastered by the time they reach school, intellectual capital that is too often ignored or mischaracterized.

Data from the experiment reported here come from the elicited narratives of ten children ages 5–11 and two adults ages 17 and 36 in Ccotatóclla and Jayubamba, communities in rural Cuzco, Perú. These narratives were elicited as part of a larger study of Quechua-speaking children's oral comprehension and production of sentences containing third person and reflexive arguments conducted in Quechua and Spanish among more than 200 children, beginning in 2000.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: section 2 contains an overview of the pragmatics and semantics of utterances containing historically directional morphemes in the adult grammar, with a discussion of controversies and unanswered questions about them in the literature, particularly relating

them to recent findings about evidential morphemes and other deictic elements (Hintz 2007, Howard 2012, Nuckolls 2008, Mushin 2001). Where needed, newly elicited adult data is introduced, illustrating in particular the interpretation of these elements in clusters of derivational suffixes as well as appearing singly. Section 3 considers the aesthetics of Andean narrative discourse and the contribution of directional morphemes thereto. Section 4 presents an original experiment investigating the distribution and meaning of these morphemes in child narratives, with conclusions and implications for further research in section 5.

## 2 Directional Movement in Cuzco-Collao Quechua

### 2.1 *Overview of the Directional Movement Suffixes*

Verbal suffixes encoding directional movement, especially the suffix *-mu*, appear in texts dating back to 1584 (Durston, 298) and are mentioned in many works on Southern Quechua, including Adelaar (1997), Bills (1972, 1975), Calvo (1993), Cerrón-Palomino (1987, 2003), Cusihamán (1976), Hintz (2011), van de Kerke and Muysken (1990), van de Kerke (1996) and Torero (2005), to name only those consulted most frequently for this study. Despite careful diachronic reconstruction and comparative synchronic work on some of these suffixes, a precise understanding of their multiple functions and meanings is extremely complex. As a class, derivational suffixes are considered to belong to the least understood part of Quechua morphosyntax (Hintz 2011, 8). Although Hintz' (2011) study is based on a Quechua I, Central Peruvian language variety which is mutually unintelligible with Cuzco-Collao Quechua, his insights on how derivational suffixes work within Quechuan languages can be applied productively here. Hintz (2011, 4) notes that the semantic features of Quechua derivational suffixes overlap with each other and with those of other suffixes. Similarly, there is no clear single meaning associated with a particular suffix.

Suffixes with current or historic directional meaning in Southern Quechua interact with the semantics of verb roots, other derivational, inflectional and evidential markers and with periphrastic elements to influence the interpretation of the verb's tense, mood, aspect and manner. No single one of these elements fully determines the expression of deictic and subjective meanings within a discourse, but rather, they act in concert with non-directional elements to do so. Although some of their meanings overlap, and they may appear in clusters with each other, affecting each other's phonological form, their meanings remain largely analytic. There are 31 logically possible combinations

of the five morphemes under consideration, whose order is fixed thus: *-yku*, *-rqu*, *-ku*, *-mu*, *-pu*. In principle, there is no semantic or pragmatic restriction on the co-occurrence of these morphemes in clusters within the same word.

The five morphemes *-yku*, *-rqu*, *-ku*, *-pu* and *-mu* (along with their allomorphs) are given the label ‘directional’ because among their meanings are the notions that the verb’s action moves inside/downward, outside/upward, away from or toward some entity.<sup>1</sup> The historically spatial meanings of *-yku* and *-rqu* (Cerrón-Palomino 1987, 283) have undergone semantic extension and are frequently used to express degrees of attention, intention, intensity, affection, emotion or energy with which actions are carried out (Cusihuamán 1976, 206–8). When interpreted in composition with first and second person inflectional elements, these latter meanings acquire what Levinson (2004) calls social deictic functions, such as heightening the urgency of a situation or softening commands, as well as describing the manner in which actions should be performed.

In the following sections I will examine the literature on each of these five morphemes, and add new insights from fieldwork and consultation with adult native speakers. A legend of abbreviations is found in Appendix A.

## 2.2 *Deixis, Directionality and the Morpheme -yku*

According to Peruvian Quechua native speaker linguist Cusihuamán (1976, 206–7) the intensifying suffix *-yku*, which he calls augmentative, has four allomorphs: *-yu*, *-yka*, *-ya* and *-y*: *-yku* and *-yu* stand in free variation but undergo a vowel change to *-yka* and *-ya* before inchoative *-ri*, assistive *-ysi*, causative *-chi* and before the morphemes *-mu* and *-pu*; the final allomorph *-y* is found before the dynamic *-ru* (see section 2.3) but not before *-ru*’s allomorphs *-rqu* and *-rqa*. Cusihuamán (ibid) states that the suffix *-yku* adds the following connotations: a) the intense manner in which an action is realized, b) the personal affection with which the realization of an action is offered or solicited, and c) the direction of an action toward something or someone, toward the interior or downward.

According to van de Kerke’s (1996, 20) survey of the literature and his own fieldwork in Bolivia, *-yku*’s directional meaning of ‘inward, toward, onto’ is not restricted to verbs indicating directional motion. Moreover, *-yku* also has interpretations including ‘completion’ and ‘decisiveness’.

<sup>1</sup> *-ku* is not typically considered a directional morpheme, but because of its semantic and phonological interaction with adjacent suffixes and its contribution to deictic and directional meanings, I consider it here.

An example of an intensifying affective interpretation of *-yku* is found in the following series of sentences elicited from and translated into Spanish by Janett Vengoa de Orós (JVO), a native speaker originally from Sicuani, Cuzco, Peru. All examples in this chapter are from JVO unless otherwise marked.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) *Wallata-qa apa-∅-n<sup>3</sup>*  
 goose-TOP carry-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The goose carries it.’
- (2) *Wallata-qa apa-yu-∅-n*  
 goose-TOP carry-INT-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The goose takes or brings it with emotion or conviction.’

Adults easily interpret and produce *-yku* in clusters of two, three, four and five derivational suffixes. Here *-yku* appears in a cluster of two:

- (3) *Sinchi-ta-n para-ya-mu-sha-n.*  
 hard-ADVL-DIREV rain-INT-CIS-PROG-3  
 ‘It’s raining really hard.’ (Cusihuamán 1976, 206, my gloss)

Cluster of three:

- (4) *Puñu-ya-ka-pu-sqa*  
 sleep-INT-BEN-MAL-3PST2  
 ‘(The duck) enjoyed sleeping deeply and I am/was not pleased by it.’

<sup>2</sup> All examples in this chapter are presented in official 1985 Peruvian orthography with the modification that the progressive morpheme is spelled *-chka* regardless of its pronunciation, which is [-ʃa] in Cuzco and [-χa] or [-ʃa] in rural Chuquisaca. The spelling of this frequently used morpheme is part of a normalization effort promoted in Plaza (2005) and elsewhere among colleagues in the Andean education sector. Further discussion and detail is found in Howard (2013, 3–5).

<sup>3</sup> Torero (2005, 71–4) argues that the silence of the third person object marker in Quechua can obscure important semantic details derivable from argument structure. Therefore, I add the symbol ‘∅’ to represent third person object inflection to transitive verbs in the position where the first person marker is normally found, for all examples and analyses in this study.

Cluster of four:

- (5) *Wallata-qa apa-ya-ka-m-pu-Ø-n*  
 goose-TOP carry-INT-REFL-CIS-REG-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The goose brought it back here and fervently considered it her own.’<sup>4</sup>

Here *-yku* appears in sentences exhibiting clusters of five such morphemes:

- (6) *Wallata-qa apa-ya-ra-ka-m-pu-Ø-n*  
 goose-TOP carry-INT-DYN-REFL-CIS-REG-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The goose quickly/forcefully brought it back here and fervently considered it her own.’
- (7) *Atuq-qa mikhu-ya-ra-ka-m-pu-Ø-n*  
 fox-TOP eat-INT-DYN-REFL-TRANS-MAL-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The fox eats it intensely/thoughtlessly and fast and elsewhere with pleasure/for himself and the speaker disapproves.’

In sentences (6) and (7) above, the distinction in the type of verb, *apay* (allowing for directional motion) vs. *mikhuy* (a non-motion verb), forces different interpretations for the morpheme *-m(u)*, corresponding to ‘here’ in (6) and ‘elsewhere’ in (7), but the interpretation of *-yku*’s allomorph *-ya* (intensity, fervor) is not affected by this distinction. It is also important to mention that the subtleties of interpretation of directional suffixes often do not get elaborated in initial translations from Quechua to Spanish by native speakers; this is relevant in that much of my own fieldwork and that of other linguists relies on the intuitions of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals such as JVO.

### 2.3 *Deixis, Directionality and the Morpheme -rqu*

The dynamic morpheme *-rqu* used to mean ‘movement toward the outside’ according to Cerrón-Palomino (1987, 283) and still does in some varieties of Quechua I, but this meaning is no longer among the interpretations mentioned by Cusihuamán (1976, 207–8) who lists the following for what he calls the hortative suffix: a) urgency or priority with which an action must be carried out, b) consummation of the action, c) sudden or unexpected realization

4 For all examples in this chapter, the fox’s gender is assumed to be male and the duck and geese are female. This is purely for convenience of distinguishing among pronouns in English, since Quechua has no grammatical gender.

of the action, d) expression of courtesy or respect for the interlocutor. *-Rqu* has an allomorph *-ru*; these two become *-rqa* and *-ra* respectively when they occur before *-ri*, *-ysi*, *chi*, *-mu/-m*, and *-pu*.

Pedro Plaza (pers. comm.), a native speaker of the Norte de Potosí variety of Southern Quechua, offers the following observations about the semantic extension of the archaic outside/upward meanings of *-rqu* as it interacts with the semantics of verb roots (glosses mine):

- (8) *apa-rqu-Ø-y*  
 carry-DYN-3OBJ-INF  
 ‘take it out/finish taking it’ (with some urgency and with the intention of pleasing someone, which could also be translated as ‘honorably’)
- (9) *chuqa-rqu-Ø-y*  
 hurl-DYN-3OBJ-INF  
 ‘throw out/away’ (can imply with certain care or action which is subject to evaluation)
- (10) *maqa-rqu-Ø-y*  
 fight-DYN-3OBJ-INF  
 ‘beat someone once and for all, for a short time’
- (11) *qhawa-rqu-Ø-y*  
 look-DYN-3OBJ-INF  
 ‘look what’s going on outside/glance’ (implies rapid evaluation)
- (12) *mikhu-rqu-Ø-y*  
 eat-DYN-3OBJ-INF  
 ‘eat with pleasure or grace/spread out a feast’ (implies honorably)

I offer the following examples of sentential uses of *-rqu* in order of levels of clustering with other derivational morphemes, provided by Vengoa:

Singleton use:

- (13) *Wallata-qa apa-ru-Ø-n*  
 goose-TOP carry-DYN -3OBJ-3  
 ‘The goose takes or brings it with force or speed.’

Cluster of two:

- (14) *Puñu-ra-pu-lla-n-taq*  
 sleep-DYN-MAL-LIM-3-EMPH  
 ‘She has fallen asleep again! (and I don’t like it).’

Cluster of three:

- (15) *Atuq-qa mikhu-ra-m-pu-Ø-n*  
 fox-TOP eat-DYN-TRANS-MAL-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The fox eats it fast and elsewhere and for his own egotistical benefit /  
 speaker disapproves.’

Although I do not have an example of *-rqu* in a cluster of four, *-rqu* participates in a cluster of five in examples (6) and (7) above. I assume that the contribution of *-rqu* to the interpretation of those utterances is that of an adverb of manner, with the values of speed and forcefulness.

#### 2.4 *Deixis, Directionality and the Morpheme -ku*

The morpheme *-ku*, which is the reflexive marker and indicator of middle voice (van de Kerke 1996, 30–31), has also acquired the modal meanings of heightened intensity, affection, and emotion in Cuzco-Collao Quechua. In (16) *-ku* can have both benefactive and modal meanings. For example:

- (16) *Atuq-qa mikhu-ku-Ø-n*  
 fox-TOP eat-BEN-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The fox eats it with pleasure/for himself.’
- (17) *Waswa-qa puñu-ku-chka-n*  
 duck-TOP sleep-BEN-PROG-3  
 ‘The duck is sleeping and I am pleased by it/she is pleased by it.’

Example (18) below, which contains the morpheme traditionally recognized as benefactive in Quechua, *-pu*, can be compared with *-ku* in examples (16) and (17) above.

- (18) *Wallata-qa apa-pu-Ø-n*  
 goose-TOP carry-BEN-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The goose took it and considered it her own/ took it for herself.’

Thus, it is clear that *-ku* has come to overlap with the benefactive and modal meanings of the suffix *-pu*, which will be considered next.

### 2.5 *Deixis, Directionality and the Morpheme -pu*

The morpheme *-pu* indicates that the verb's action is carried out "to or for another; another place, time or person" (Torero 2005, 71). Torero's view loosely captures the meanings attributed to *-pu* elsewhere in the literature, corresponding to the benefactive/malefactive, stative and regressive meanings (van de Kerke 1996, 32–3). The meaning 'toward another place' that Torero refers to is further specified by Cusihuamán as "toward the point of origin of the sentential subject or object" (1976, 215). The temporal meaning that Torero alludes to is further specified by van de Kerke (1996, 33): "The result of an action, or a certain state of affairs is considered to prevail for a least a relatively long period, or even to be irreversible." It is difficult to distinguish whether the speaker intends a regressive or stative meaning when affixing *-pu* to a verb, and in this corpus I have often glossed them as ambiguous. Regressive and stative meanings are found with both transitive and intransitive motion verbs, as in the following two examples from my query of Vengoa:

- (19) *Wallata-qa apa-pu-Ø-n*  
 goose-TOP carry-REG/STAT-3OBJ-3  
 'The goose took it/returned it.'

- (20) *Puri-pu-n*  
 walk-BEN/REG/STAT-3  
 'He walked for someone else's benefit/walked back to where he came from/ left for good.'

When *-pu* attaches to a non-motion verb, its interpretation tends to be benefactive or malefactive, regardless of whether the verb is transitive, as in (21), or intransitive, as in (22) below:

- (21) *Atuq-qa mikhu-pu-Ø-n*  
 fox-TOP eat-MAL-3OBJ-3  
 'The fox eats it for his own egotistical benefit/speaker disapproves.'
- (22) *Waswa-qa puñu-pu-chka-n*  
 duck-TOP sleep-MAL-PROG-3  
 'The duck is sleeping and I am not pleased by it.'

Benefactive *-pu* attains the illocutionary force of a request when used with a first person object marker, as in the following example:

- (23) *Alli-chu unu-man ri-rqa-pu-wa-y*  
 good- INTR water-DAT go-DYN-BEN-IOBJ-IMP  
 ‘Please go get water for me’ (Cusihuamán 1976, 215)

There is controversy in the literature as to whether *-pu* should be considered a translocative suffix in complementary distribution with *-mu*, meaning ‘away from the speaker’. Calvo claims that while *-mu* implies involvement of the speaker’s perspective, *-pu* is “focused on the location of the (argument), the separation of the ego or its lack of accompaniment” (Calvo 1993, 66, translation mine). Torero (2005, 72–74) argues that Calvo’s presentation of the data misses important detail, so I will be careful to clarify here the restricted contexts in which Calvo’s claim is true. Bills (1976, 71–4), by his own admission “somewhat hesitantly”, presents data in favor of a translocative meaning for *-pu*. He notes that a verb marked *-pu* may co-occur with the distal but not proximal demonstrative, as in (24) and (25) below:

- (24) *Haqay-man kuti-pu-nku*  
 yonder-DAT return-REG/STAT-3PL  
 ‘They returned to over there.’
- (25) *\*Kay-man kuti-pu-nku*  
 here-DAT return-REG/STAT-3PL  
 ‘They went back to here.’ (Bills 1976, 73, glosses mine)

The incompatibility of the proximal demonstrative *kay* with *kuti-pu* leads Bills to assert that “The translocative *-pu*, then, seems to function exactly like the translocative *-mu*, except it occurs with [+ Motion] verbs” (*ibid.*). This example may be problematic because the meaning of the verb overlaps completely with the meaning of regressive *-pu*; however, Vengoa (pers. comm.) confirms that the same restriction occurs with another intransitive verb of motion, *puriy* ‘to walk/travel’. In other words, at least two verbs of motion marked with *-pu* are incompatible with the proximal demonstrative, suggesting that *-pu* contributes an interpretation of ‘elsewhere’ from the deictic center.

The following type of opposition with transitive motion verbs also seems to indicate a cislocative/translocative opposition for verbs marked with *-pu*:

- (26) *Apa-mu-Ø-y!*  
 carry-CIS-3OBJ-IMP  
 'Bring it here!'
- (27) *Apa-pu-Ø-y!*  
 carry-REG/STAT-3OBJ-IMP  
 'Take it back/return it for me!'

Nevertheless, close examination of example (27) reveals that speaker-related reference could be established here not via the suffix *-pu* but rather by the imperative marker *-y*. Here, *-pu* could plausibly indicate nothing more than movement of the object back to its point of origin, which corresponds to the regressive interpretation established by Cusihuamán (1976, 215). I conclude that *-pu*, when combined with verbs of motion, should be considered a distancing element in the inventory of Quechua deictic devices, but only in the absence of first or second person object marking, and in the absence of imperative mood.

#### 2.6 *Deixis, Directionality and the Morpheme -mu*

The directional morpheme most commonly associated with the deictic center in Quechua is the verbal modifier *-mu*. Van de Kerke (1996, 165–6), building on an extensive literature, including Adelaar (1997), Bills (1972, 1975), Cusihuamán (1976) and especially van de Kerke and Muysken (1990), summarizes the essential character of *-mu* in the following way:

The suffix expresses the concept that two different locations are relevant in the speech act, one of which coincides with speaker. . . . The semantic content of *-mu* is sensitive to the distinction motion/non-motion verbs, since one of the Locations linked in the conceptual structure . . . coincides with the Direction argument of a motion verb. It is this location which results in the cis-locative interpretation. With non-motion verbs *-mu* introduces a second Location different from the one where 'ego' is located.

Below in examples (28)–(31) are two pairs of sentences with and without *-mu*, elicited to demonstrate the cislocative and translocative interpretations when *-mu* is affixed to the motion verb *apay* 'to carry' and the non-motion verb *mikhuy* 'to eat', respectively:

- (28) *Wallata-qa apa-Ø-n*  
 goose-TOP carry-3OBJ-3  
 'The goose carries it.'

(29) *Wallata-qa apa-mu-Ø-n*  
 goose-TOP carry-CIS-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The goose brings it to me/here.’

(30) *Atuq-qa mikhu-Ø-n*  
 fox-TOP eat-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The fox eats it.’

(31) *Atuq-qa mikhu-mu-Ø-n*  
 fox-TOP eat-TRANS-3OBJ-3  
 ‘The fox eats it elsewhere.’

The spatial meanings of *-mu* have been noted above. The implication of spatial displacement is strong, such that if the action of a non-motion verb derived by *-mu* is reported to have occurred in a particular location, the speech act must be happening in a different location, as in (32):

(32) *Wasimasi-y-pa wasi-n-pi wayk'u-mu-rqa-ni*  
 neighbor-1POSS-GEN house-3POSS-LOC cook-TRANS-PST1-1  
 ‘I cooked at my neighbor’s house.’ (and I am not there now)

In certain cases, *-mu* can have a temporal interpretation as well. When the location of the speech act and that of a non-motion event are known to coincide, then the implied spatial displacement must happen at a different time from the speech act, either in the past, future or in the habitual present, as the multiple meanings of example (33) demonstrate:

(33) *Wasimasi-y-pa wasi-n-pi wayk'u-mu-ni.*  
 neighbor-1POSS-GEN house-3POSS-LOC cook-TRANS-1  
 ‘I came to cook at my neighbor’s house.’ (where speech act is now occurring)  
 ‘I will come cook at my neighbor’s house.’ (where speech act is now occurring)  
 ‘I habitually come cook at my neighbor’s house.’ (where speech act is now occurring)

I have illustrated with new data that translocative *-mu* can force a ‘not now’ interpretation on a sentence otherwise unmarked for tense. This only happens when the place of the speech act and the verbal event are known to be the same.

As noted in Cusihuamán (1976, 213–14) and developed in van de Kerke and Muysken (1990), the [ $\pm$  motion] distinction is not the only one relevant to the interpretation of verbs derived with *-mu*. Atmospheric verbs and verbs indicating emergence from inside either a human body, object, the earth or a body of water all receive cislocative interpretations, which van de Kerke and Muysken attribute to the notion that “something that is happening in another place . . . comes into the perception field of the speaker” (1990, 160). For example:

- (34) *Para-mu-chka-n*  
rain-CIS-PROG-3  
'It's raining.' (speaker/hearer is affected) (Bills et al. 1969, 206)
- (35) *Yarqa-mu-wa-n*  
hunger-CIS-IOBJ-3  
'I was getting hungry.' (van de Kerke and Muysken 1990, 154)
- (36) *Pampa-manta-n k'allampa-qa phata-mu-n*  
earth-ABL-DIREV mushroom-TOP sprout-CIS-3  
'The mushrooms sprout from the earth.'

A final type of verb which triggers the cislocative interpretation with *-mu* also entails emergence into the perceptual field of the speaker. These verbs are described by Adelaar (1997, 141) as those which “imply some sort of a psychological approach to the speaker . . . (so that) the subject . . . becomes more visible or otherwise perceptible than it was before the event took place”; such verbs include *pacarimuy* ‘to come into existence’, *causarimuy* ‘to revive’, *yurimuy* ‘to be born’, *rimarimuy* ‘to speak up’, among others.

I have shown that spatial meanings of *-mu* extend to temporal and psychological meanings, contingent upon situational context and the semantics of the verb to which it attaches. The following table is a composite of insights about the meanings and contingencies associated with *-mu*, taken mainly from Cusihuamán (1976, 213–14) but also Adelaar (1997, 141) and van de Kerke and Muysken (1990); the latter attributed as K&M in the table.

Some intransitive verbs of motion, such as *riy* ‘to go’, do not allow a cislocative interpretation with *-mu* according to Cusihuamán (1976, 213) or allow both cislocative and translocative interpretations, as with *puriy* ‘to walk, to move’:<sup>5</sup>

5 Recall from example (20) above that the verb *puriy* also elicits multi-valued interpretations when suffixed with *-pu*.

TABLE 2.1 *Meanings and contingencies of -mu*

Verb types with <i>-mu</i>	Meaning
Verbs of motion, transfer, communication, shifting and projection, except <i>riy</i> 'to go'	Action originates elsewhere and moves toward the speaker or the verbal object
Non-motion verbs	Action takes place elsewhere from speech act
Atmospheric verbs	Condition originates elsewhere and moves toward the speaker, affecting him (K&M 1990, 153)
Verbs expressing actions which originate inside the body, an object, the earth or water, or imply a transition from less perceptible to more perceptible state	Action originates inside or outside the speaker's perceptual field and enters it, making the speaker aware (Adelaar 1997, K&M 1990, 158–160)

(37) *Puri-mu-n*

walk-CIS/TRANS-3

'She will walk towards us here, she will walk around elsewhere, she will go elsewhere to walk.'

The suffix *-mu* also functions in contexts of perspectival shift and deictic transposition. Transposition allows the speaker to change the domain of reference of the deictic center *I, here now* to some other set of coordinates relevant to a narrative or discourse. Example (38) from van de Kerke and Muysken (1990, 160) shows contemporary, adult usage of *-mu* in a context of deictic transposition. They note that the deictic center in the utterance is not indexed to the speaker's actual location at time of speech, but rather to one within the story.

(38) *Sukri-pi ka-chka-qti-y chaya-mu-rqa*

Sucre-LOC be-PROG-SEQ-1POSS arrive-CIS-3PST1

'When I was in Sucre he arrived there.'

Adelaar (1997, 143–6) contains a detailed account of deictic directional movement and multiple shifts in perspective signaled by *-mu* within the Huarochiri manuscript, an early colonial document dating back to 1608. He claims that uses of *-mu* remain essentially unchanged from contemporary usage. An example of simple cislocative use is found as follows (glosses mine):

- (39) *Cocha pata-pi chaya-spa-ca... Pachacamac-ñic-man*  
 ocean top-LOC arrive-GER-TOP Pachacamac-APPR-DAT

*cuti-mu-rca-n*

return-CIS-PST1-3

'Having reached the seashore, he turned back toward Pachacamac  
 (writer's direction).' (Adelaar 1997, 144)

An example of deictic transposition in the Huarochirí manuscript, or adoption of a vantage point within the story, is found after the orientation point changes to the spot where the character Huatyacuri is resting, and two foxes approach from either side (Adelaar 1997, 145, glosses mine):

- (40) *Huc hatoc-ca ura-manta amu-sca hoc-ri*  
 one fox-TOP below-ABL come.CIS-PST2 another-ADD

*hanac-manta amu-sca-tac...*

above-ABL come.CIS-PST2- CONTR

'A fox came from below and another one came from above...'

In summary, I have presented examples from the literature demonstrating that: (1) the directional marker *-mu* fulfills deictic functions related to person, place and time in adult Cuzco-Collao Quechua, serving to anchor the utterance's referential indices to the immediate or transposed center *I (and you), here, now*; (2) *-mu* has cislocative readings with transitive motion verbs and verbs indicating emergence from a physical or metaphysical body into the perceptual field, including atmospheric phenomena and phenomena such as birth; and (3) *-mu* has translocative readings when attached to some intransitive verbs and transitive verbs lacking a meaning of directional motion.

## 2.7 Summary of Deixis and Directionality among these Five Suffixes

In table 2.2, I present a summary of the meanings attributed to *-yku*, *-rqu*, *-ku*, *-pu* and *-mu* in the literature (Cusihuamán 1976, 206–7; Hintz 2011, 128, 130, 150;<sup>6</sup> van de Kerke 1996, 31–33) as well as those based on the new data presented above.

<sup>6</sup> Although Hintz' book focuses on a Quechua I dialect, I have only included information which he identified specifically as pertaining to Cuzco Quechua.

TABLE 2.2 *Deictic and directional meanings of -yku, -rqu, -ku, -pu and -mu*

	Spatial meanings	Temporal/Aspectual meanings	Psychological/Social meanings (Manner and Mood <sup>7</sup> )
<b>-yku</b>	into downward onto toward ingesting or taking in	completely decisively	thoughtfully thoughtlessly affectionately politely special attention or care, intensity intentional  with imperative: affectionate or polite request
<b>-rqu</b>	(archaic) out of upward	completely fast abruptly unexpectedly	forcefully with conviction with urgency honorably politely  with imperative: urgent request request that action be carried out with care
<b>-ku</b>	toward the subject		self-serving affectionate polite special attention or care intensity done of own free will  with imperative: affectionate or polite request

<sup>7</sup> Examples and further discussion of social deictic uses of directional suffixes are found in chapter 1.

TABLE 2.2 (*cont.*)

	Spatial meanings	Temporal/Aspectual meanings	Psychological/Social meanings (Manner and Mood)
<i>-pu</i>	away toward the point of origin	toward or attaining a permanent or enduring state	distant from speaker perspective doing something for another egotistical for another's benefit to the detriment of another self-serving  with 1 OBJ- <i>wa</i> plus imperative: polite request 'for me'
<i>-mu</i>	toward the speaker/hearer/object from elsewhere occurring elsewhere	emerging gradually or continuously into the perceptual field	speaker is affected personal involvement

Selection from among these shades of meaning, some of which are mutually exclusive, depends highly on the verb root as well as on other elements in the utterance, especially subject and object person inflection. In particular, the interpretation of *-mu* and *-pu* is determined primarily by whether the verb encodes movement or not, which is not always transparent. The transitivity distinction also affects interpretation in some cases.

All of the suffixes include a meaning which grammaticalizes affect or expresses the degree of speaker/hearer involvement (see table 2.2 above, under Manner and Mood). It is interesting to note that the grammaticalization of affect is found elsewhere in the literature on Quechua discourse. Hintz (2007) finds that speakers of South Conchucos Quechua use tense markers in narrative contexts to express distance and proximity not only in terms of time and position within the narrative structure, but also in terms of positive and negative affect.

Finally, many of the meanings associated with directional suffixes in table 2.2 above fulfill what Hanks (1992, 48) calls the communicative, characterizing, relational and indexical functions of deictic elements. In other words, they sig-

nal speech act value (as in ‘polite request’), describe referents (as in ‘abruptly’), signal the relation referent-to-origo (as in ‘emerging gradually into the speaker’s perceptual field’) and/or ground reference to the origo in a speech event (as in ‘distant from speaker perspective’).

I now turn to a discussion of the broader characteristics of Andean narrative discourse contexts in which these elements are used.

### 3 Subjectivity and Aesthetics in Andean Rhetorical Traditions

Speakers of Cuzco-Collao Quechua are heirs not only to a rich linguistic system for expressing subjective meanings, but also to a remarkably resilient narrative tradition that has persisted in the face of a colonial experience bent on its subordination or eradication. There is evidence that even in the delivery of historical accounts and social reckoning, Quechua-speaking communities traditionally value multiple rather than singular voices. This comes from anthropologist Frank Salomon in his study of modern day practices of the descendants of expert community storytellers in Tupicocha, a tiny community in the Huarochirí province of the department of Lima, Peru. The community has preserved many ancient traditions related to the Andean pre-alphabetic system for record-keeping and storytelling that are claimed to have directly influenced the Huarochirí manuscript mentioned in Adelaar’s (1997) analysis of narrative uses of *-mu* in section 2 above. Salomon notes that the *kipus*, or knotted cords used in the system, are never handled in solitude (2004, 145–6). Because the locals no longer speak Quechua, *kipus* are known as ‘quipocamayos’ in Tupicocha (*ibid.*):

Quipocamayo work is always done four-handed: one person holds the ends of the main cord while another arranges the pendant cords. If this continues an ancient practice, the practice seems a testimony to the profoundly social, rather than individually authorial, work of the quipocamayo master.

Multiple storytellers and shifts in perspective appear confusing or even undesirable to some Western audiences familiar with a different aesthetic. Scholars familiar with the ‘Mexican annals’, a Nahuatl rendition of history, considered them “disorderly”, “confusing,” “repetitive” and “choppy” until they were discovered to be intentional retellings of the same event, multiple times but from different perspectives (Townsend 2011, 6).

Adelaar (1997, 143) states that in the Huarochirí document mentioned above,

... the author is still very conscious about his 'place of writing' and seems confused as to which place should be chosen as an orientation point in individual instances. The use of *-mu* in relation to shifting orientation points is in fact quite inconsistent and unpredictable. This is symptomatic of an incipient literary tradition in which the role of the narrator cannot yet be duly disposed of.

I would like to suggest instead that shifts in orientation points may be intentional and even aesthetically pleasing to a native speaker audience for whom subjectivity and multiple perspectives add veracity, depth and a sense of contextually grounded participation. This is supported by the work of Nuckolls (2008) and Howard (2012), who offer accounts of the philosophical and aesthetic underpinnings of shifts in speaker perspective in Andean oral narratives. Both authors also mention the use of frequent dialogue and asides to the audience. It seems no accident that when written Quechua literature experienced its "golden age" between the late 17th and late 18th centuries, the primary literary genre was theatrical (Adelaar 1997, footnote 2, Mannheim 1991, 71–74), as theater allows for maximal subjective experience of a story and shifts in perspective.

In summary, dramatic dialogue and multiple shifts in perspective seem to be persistent aesthetic preferences in adult Andean narrative traditions. It remains to be seen whether children perceive this aesthetic and reproduce it in their own narratives, and to what extent directional morphemes play a role in their encoding the expression of subjective content.

## 4 Child Acquisition of Directional Morphemes

### 4.1 *Rationale*

Increasing attention has been paid to the pragmatics interface with syntax and semantics in the acquisition of grammar (see Rothman and Guijarro-Fuentes 2012 for a review of recent literature). The current study of schoolchildren's use of directional morphemes breaks new ground investigating the acquisition of deictic elements in Quechua, complementing work on the acquisition of evidential morphemes by Courtney (this volume). Courtney's work suggests that Quechua-speaking children have acquired perspectival meanings of the evidential and tense/aspect markers *-mi*, *-ra*, *-si* and *-sqa* by the time they are

four years old, although they have not yet learned to make distinctions of reliability of information source by age six, as adults do when using evidential and epistemic markers.

Courtney's finding that perspectival uses of evidential morphemes are acquired by the time children reach school age would lead me to predict that spatial uses of the directional morphemes, including uses in contexts of deictic transposition, should also be available to children, since these do not depend on assessments of reliability of information source.

However, the question remains as to whether schoolchildren have mastered the full semantic and pragmatic range of these suffixes, including abstract psycho-social meanings such as the 'egotistical' meaning of malefactive *-pu*. An additional question is whether children are able to derive verbs with directional markers at the same level of complexity as adults, as measured by level of suffix clustering.

If the answers to the above two questions are yes, then this study should offer a measure of first language vitality among schoolchildren in rural communities. There is concern about attrition in the use of Quechua by Andean children. In fieldwork since 2000, I have observed that communities are increasingly sending their elementary school-aged children away to study in towns and cities so that they can acquire Spanish and access more stable formal education conditions. The Peruvian national census (INEI 2007, 2.4.1) indicates that declaration of Quechua as the language learned in childhood declined from 16.6 to 13.2 percent nationally, a 3.3 per cent drop since 1993. Late mastery of these suffixes might signal that the nuances of Quechua discourse would be vulnerable to attrition; conversely, early acquisition would offer the hope of vitality.

#### 4.2 *Methods*

The experimental instrument consists of a six frame comic strip created specifically to elicit an original narrative from each participant. I drew initial sketches and planned speech content of the strip in consultation with indigenous research partners Hipólito Peralta, Martín Castillo, Rocío Macedo and well-known illustrator, Jaime Aráoz, whose final illustration is reproduced in Appendix B. The story line does not belong to the genre of local myths and legends, although the characters and sensibilities are Andean. In the first frame, an Andean goose sets up the story context by telling a duck via a speech bubble that she is going swimming and asks the duck to watch her eggs. The benefactive marker *-pu* is used honorifically in combination with first person object marker *-wa* to soften the request. Speech bubble content is as follows:

- (41) *Qucha-man-mi hayku-saq runtu-cha-y-ta*  
 lake-DAT-DIREV go-1FUT egg-DIM-1POSS-ACC

*qhawa-ri-pu-wa-nki*  
 watch-INCH-BEN-1OBJ2  
 'I'm going to the lake; please watch my little eggs for me.'

The duck falls asleep on her own nest in the second frame, and a fox can be seen running away with an egg in the third frame. In the fourth frame, the duck exclaims via another speech bubble that there are only two eggs left:

- (42) *¡Iskay runtu-lla-ña-taq!*  
 two egg-LIM-DISC-EMPH  
 'Only two eggs left!'

The duck puts one of her tiny eggs into the goose's nest in the fifth frame. The goose returns in the last frame and observes the scene; the story is open-ended. The sun and a nearby mountain are depicted as sentient beings with facial expressions that change in reaction to events in each frame, in keeping with the local belief that they embody life-giving and ancestral spirits (Allen 2002, team members pers. comm.).

It was hoped that this instrument would allow participants to reveal the role of derivational morphology in creating complex meanings within a discourse context larger than single sentences, which it did.

The research team arrived in each community and made contact with the school teachers and community leaders; usually at least one team member had a prior relationship with at least one member of the school or community beforehand. At morning assembly we engaged in games and introductions with the entire school community. Children were then sent by their teachers one by one to meet briefly with an interviewer in an empty room or school office during the school day.

Each interview consisted of three parts: elicitation of a brief sociolinguistic profile, administration of a picture selection and description task modeled after Deutsch, Koster and Koster (1986) and described in Kalt (2002, 2009), and finally, the narrative task.

The research partners who assisted with this inquiry are all fluent speakers of both Quechua and Spanish, known in the Andes as expert intercultural educators, researchers and curriculum developers who learned Quechua in infancy from parents or caregivers and continue to speak it regularly in their personal and professional lives. All of them assisted with community liaison and orien-

tation to the rural Andean context, and consulted on key issues of task design, as well as interpretation of results. Their roles are listed in Appendix D.

### 4.3 *Participants*

Narratives were selected from recordings of 105 interviews carried out in July and September of 2009 in four Peruvian and Bolivian communities. All experimental participants were Quechua-dominant, living in agro-pastoralist communities of less than 120 households, more than ten kilometers from the nearest town or city. Videos, permissions from regional and local community authorities, experimental instruments and transcripts related to each interview have been deposited at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (Kalt 2012) and the portions dedicated to narratives selected for this study constitute about 30 minutes of video-recorded speech out of the 17 hours archived in total.

Of 75 children and 5 adults given the narrative task in Bolivia and Peru, only 10 children from the two Peruvian communities succeeded in the creation of a narrative. These were from Ccotatóccella (elevation circa 3,679 m) and Jayubamba (elevation circa 3,475 m) in the department of Cuzco. The high number of unsuccessful narratives is hypothesized to be the result of the task being administered directly after a picture description task, in which there was a one-to-one correspondence between interviewer questions and child responses. Successful narratives were chosen by Vengoa and verified by Kalt; the criterion for success was that the interviewer limited his interventions to infrequent prompts rather than long explanations and frequent questions, and that the child did most of the talking. Unsuccessful narratives were characterized by long silences and a near one-to-one correspondence between the number of interviewer questions and child responses.

A summary of the narrators' characteristics, as well as the age group I assigned their observations to, is found in table 2.3. In keeping with local convention (Pedro Plaza, pers. comm.) pseudonyms are not used for participants.

### 4.4 *Results*

In this section I will present four types of results. First, I will give an overview of distribution and frequencies by suffix, comparing children and adults. Second, I will examine complexity of derivation by age group. Next, I will present sentences which exemplify the semantic and pragmatic range of directional morphemes in the corpus as compared to uses attested in the literature. Finally, I will present a portion of a child's narrative which illustrates the interplay of directional morpheme *-mu* and other non-directional deictic elements in the negotiation of perspectival shifts, and in the maintenance of joint attentional

TABLE 2.3 *Narrators' characteristics*

Narrator	Age (years)	Grade	Age group	Sex	Community	Length of narrative	Archive location
Nando	5	first	5-7	M	Jayubamba	1:39	MULo28Ro44I002.mp4 8:26-10:05
Yenni	5	first	5-7	F	Jayubamba	2:07	MULo28Ro45I002.mp4 7:53-10:00
José Luis	7	second	5-7	M	Jayubamba	2:01	MULo28Ro49I002.mp4 6:24-8:25
Yuselki	8	third	8-9	F	Jayubamba	4:15	MULo28Ro51I002.mp4 5:18-9:33
Verónica	8	third	8-9	F	Jayubamba	2:13	MULo28Ro53I002.mp4 5:30-7:43
Clara Luz	9	fourth	8-9	F	Jayubamba	1:42	MULo28Ro56I002.mp4 5:22-7:04
Adriel	10	fourth	10-11	M	Ccotatóccla	2:56	MULo28Ro54I002.mp4 5:10-8:04
Sudith	10	fifth	10-11	F	Ccotatóccla	1:50	MULo28Ro29I002.mp4 5:28-7:18
Hugo	10	fifth	10-11	M	Ccotatóccla	1:37	MULo28Ro31I002.mp4 7:14-8:51
Abelardo	11	sixth	10-11	M	Ccotatóccla	1:29	MULo28Ro38I002.mp4 5:50-7:19
Luz Marina	17	sixth <sup>8</sup>	17-36	F	Ccotatóccla	2:08	MULo28Ro39I002.mp4 5:38-7:46
Justino	36	finished sixth	17-36	M	Ccotatóccla	1:22	MULo28Ro43I003.mp4 0-1:22

<sup>8</sup> The age range in Andean rural schools is greater than in city schools and sometimes reflects the labor needs of families.

TABLE 2.4 *Distribution of directional morphemes in narrative corpus*

Suffix	Adults' use (n=2)	Children's use (n=10)	Total tokens
-yku/-yu/-yka/-ya/-y	0	38	38
-rqu/-ru/-rqa/-ra	3	55	58
-ku	3	10	13
-mu/-m	8	10	18
-pu	9	78	87
<b>Grand totals</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>214</b>

focus. These findings particularly relate to narrators' mastery of the discourse conventions discussed in section 3 of this chapter.

#### 4.4.1 Distribution and Frequency of Directional Morpheme Use

Narrators produced 214 tokens of directional suffixes on 142 derived verb roots in the narrative corpus as a whole, outlined in table 2.4.

I have excluded from these counts any instances of suffixes found on verbs in the speech bubble of the comic strip, including *qhawa-ri-pu-wa-y* 'please watch for me' and any suffixes obligatorily included within the verb, such as *haykuy* 'to go', *hamuy* 'to come' and *urquy* 'to remove'. I included nominalized verbs in the count, such as *baña-ku-q* 'bather' and *wacha-pu-y-ta* 'for egg-laying'.

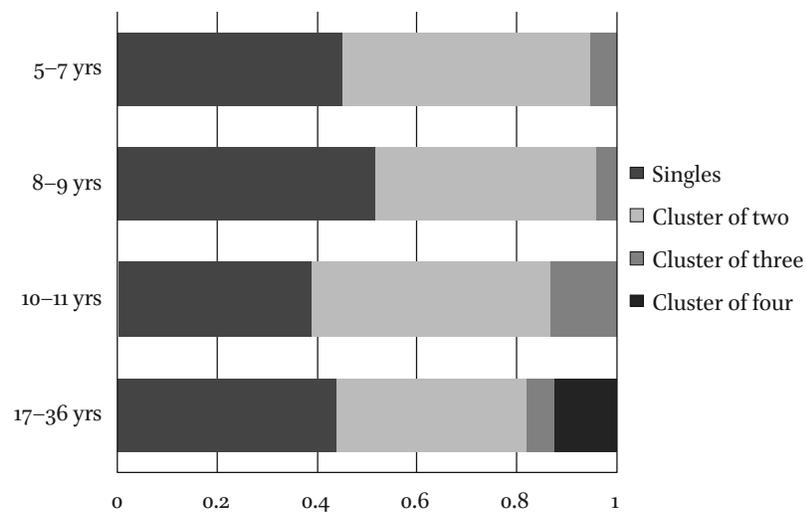
Given the open-ended nature of the task and the lack of comparable corpora, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the distribution of tokens, other than to note that the suffix *-pu* was greatly favored.

Complexity of derivation proved more conclusive. Child narrators produced 126 verbs derived by the suffixes *-yku*, *rqu*, *-ku*, *-mu* and *-pu*; with 48% occurring singly, another 46% in clusters of two, 6% in clusters of three and zero clusters of four. Adults produced 16 derived verbs; 44% occurring singly, 38% in clusters of two, 6% in clusters of three and 13% clusters of four. Complexity of clusters was remarkably stable across age groups, considering the small sample size, but no children produced four-part clusters. The distribution and frequencies are found in table 2.5:

TABLE 2.5 *Complexity of derivation with directional suffixes by age group*

Level of complexity	5-7 yrs (n=3)		8-9 yrs (n=3)		10-11 yrs (n=4)		17-36 yrs (n=2)		Total derived verbs in corpus
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Singletons	10	45	38	52	12	39	7	44	67
Clusters of two	11	50	32	44	15	48	6	38	64
Clusters of three	1	5	3	4	4	13	1	6	9
Clusters of four	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	2
<b>Total derived verbs by age group</b>	<b>22</b>		<b>73</b>		<b>31</b>		<b>16</b>		<b>142</b>

A graphic representation of the table 2.5 results is found in figure 2.1 below.

FIGURE 2.1 *Complexity of derivation with directional suffixes by age group*

Multiple occurrences of the same clusters on different verbs tended to be made by the same speakers, lending structural parallelism within narrations. According to Durston (2007, 233), semantic and structural parallelism is deeply characteristic of traditional Quechua poetics. An example of such parallelism is found below with the sequence *-ya-pu-sqa*:

- (43) *Anchay patu-qa qhawa-ya-pu-sqa may-taq*  
 there \$duck-TOP look-INT-REG/STAT-3PST2 where-CONTR
- huk runtuy-ri ni-spa ni-ya-pu-sqa*  
 one egg-1POSS-INTRCONJ say-GER say-INT-REG/STAT-3PST2  
 ‘That duck looked intently and ‘where is my egg’ saying she said intently’  
 (Adriel, age 10)

A table of all of the derived verbs found in the corpus, with the exception of those excluded because of their appearance in the speech bubbles, is found in Appendix E.

The most popular two-morpheme combination in the corpus was *-ra-pu*, especially on the directional verbal root *apay* ‘to carry’, with the connotations of suddenness and forcefulness for *-rqu* and malefactive (or possibly regressive) for *-pu* ‘snatch (away) greedily.’ Another popular use of the *-ra-pu* combination was on the non-directional verb root *mikhuy* ‘to eat’, with the connotations for *-rqu* of ‘eat with pleasure or grace/spread out a feast’ and malefactive ‘to feast at another’s expense.’

The second most popular two-morpheme combination was *-ya-pu*, with the first suffix (derived from *-yku*), signaling inward motion/attentiveness and *-pu*, signaling that the verb’s action marks either a return or an entry to a long-lasting state. An example of regressive/stative *-pu* is found in the following sentence:

- (44) *Chay-si na q’isa-pi uqlla-ya-pu-Ø-sqa*  
 DIST.DEM-INDEV uh nest-LOC incubate-INT-REG/STAT-3OBJ-3PST2  
 ‘And they say uh she went back to warming it in her nest.’ (Adriel, age 10)

Among the derived verb roots is the Quechua nonce or wildcard root *na-*, “a declinable and conjugatable root used to take the place of a forgotten or deleted word” (Hornberger 2008, 65). This appears in the corpus twice as *na-rapusqa*. In example (45), *na-* appears as a topicalized noun (*na-qa*), and as a conjugated verb derived with the suffixes *-ra-pu*:

- (45) *Ankiy na-qa qucha-lla-qa anchay*  
 PROX.DEM uh-TOP lake-LIM-TOP DIST.DEM

*na-ra-pu-Ø-sqa*

do.something-DYN-MAL-3OBJ-3PST2

'This one (points at the duck in frame 2) uh from the lake, that one did something really bad to her.' (Adriel, age 10)

The same child assumes the duck's perspective in his next utterance and demonstrates the use of derivational morphology on the borrowed verb root *cuida-* ('to care for') in (46) below:

- (46) *Imana-saq-taq kunan-qa yanqa-paq*  
 what.do-1FUT-CONTR now-TOP in.vain-BEN

*cuida-lla-Ø-y-man*

\$care-LIM-3OBJ-1POSS-IRR

*ka-rqa-n;*

be-PST1-3POSS

*ima-lla-paq*

what-LIM-BEN

*mana cuida-yu-ra-ni-chu*

no \$care-INT-PST1-1-NEG

*ni-spa*

say-GER

*ni-chka-n*

say-PROG-3

'And what will I do now? In vain (I was careless), I should have just taken care of it. Why didn't I take good care of it? She said.'

In example (46) above, the Spanish borrowing *cuida-* 'to take care of' is derived with the derivational suffix *-yku*'s allomorph *-yu*. Although the vast majority of derived verbs in the corpus are of Quechua origin, six Spanish borrowings are also derived, with instances of all four suffixes found on borrowings: *alcanza-pu-sqa-chu* 'to reach', *cuida-yu-ra-ni-chu* 'to take care', *iskapa-ra-ka-pu-sqa* 'to escape', used transitively as in 'to make an egg disappear', *pasa-pu-sqa* 'to go', *queda-pu-qtin* 'to stay', *tira-mu-chka-ra* 'to shoot, go fast'. Quechua equivalents of most of these roots are also found with directional suffixes: *qhawa-ya-pu-n* 'to look: take care', *chinka-yu-sqa* 'to disappear', *ri-pu-sqa* 'to go', *tiya-ya-pu-sqa* 'to stay', *phala-ri-ka-pu-sqa* 'to fly'. These findings relate to the vitality of Quechua verbal derivation and show that complex clusters of derivations are found even on borrowed roots, and that in rural areas Quechua roots still compete with Spanish borrowings.<sup>9</sup>

9 Van de Kerke (1996, 73) analyzed a corpus of oral narratives by adult monolingual Quechua speaking city dweller Gregorio Condori Mamani and found that in sentences with verb roots borrowed from Spanish, he omitted Quechua derivational affixes 49% of the time, while

#### 4.4.2 Semantic and Pragmatic Range of Directional Morphemes in the Corpus

Now I will give examples of sentential uses of each directional suffix, touching on the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the verb root when these have been mentioned as relevant in section 2. The composition of deictic interpretations in relation to other elements in the discourse is discussed where relevant as well. In choosing examples, I tried to find exemplars of as many of the types of uses of directional morphemes discussed in the adult literature as possible, and when choosing among multiple occurrences, to present uses by the youngest narrators.

I begin by examining the speaker-oriented suffix *-mu*.

- (47) *Chay-si*                      *apa-ra-pu-qti-n-si*                      *pay-qa*  
 DIST.DEM-INDEV      carry-DYN-REG/STAT-SEQ-3-INDEV      3-TOP
- waqa-yu-ku-spa*      *supay*      *apa-mu-y*      *chay*      *atuq-ta*  
 cry-INT-REFL-GER      devil      carry-CIS-IMP      DIST.DEM      fox-ACC  
 ‘They say after he snatched it away she was crying: ‘Devil, bring it to me’  
 to that fox.’ (Clara Luz, age 9)

The verb *apay*, ‘to carry’, is +transitive, +directional, requiring a cislocative interpretation.

The child’s use of cislocative *-mu* in example (47) and use of the imperative voice on the same verb indicates she has merged her perspective with that of the duck who is speaking to the fox inside the story. This is immediately preceded by an introduction in the narrative voice using evidential *-si*, highlighting a shift in perspective.

In (48), below, *-mu* is used with a literally spatial-deictic interpretation, although from within the perspective of two imaginary interlocutors:

- (48) *Ka-sqa-n-man*                      *kuti-ra-m-pu-sqa*  
 be-PST2-3POS-DAT      return-DYN-CIS-REG/STAT-3PST2
- runtu-cha-n-ta*      *chay*      *ka-pu-chka-sqa*      *iskay-lla-ña*  
 egg-DIM-3POSS-ACC      DIST.DEM      be-STAT-PROG-3PST2      two-LIM-DISC  
 ‘Having returned her little egg finally here to its own place, there were  
 only two left.’ (Sudith, age 10)

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omitting them with Quechua verbs only 28% of the time. I have not yet completed a similar comparison within this corpus.

The verb *kutiy*, ‘to return’, is +transitive, +directional in this context, requiring a cislocative interpretation. Because all of the verbal arguments are third person, the cislocative cannot be fulfilling a spatial deictic function in relation to the speaker. Instead, the child’s use of *-mu* could indicate movement toward a place previously referred to, or to the goal of movement of the verb’s object, the egg’s own place. She uses *-sqa* on the same verb as *-mu*, a narrative past tense marker.

*-Mu* is used on a verb of communication in the following example:

- (49) *Hina-s khuya-y-ta anchay mama-n-ta*  
 like-INDEV pity-INF-ADVL DIST.DEM mother-3POSS-ACC

*pusa-ra-mu-spa*  
 guide-DYN-CIS-GER

‘So they say, that one pitifully was calling her mother to come to her.’  
 (Veronica, age 10)

The verb *pusay*, ‘to guide’, is used here as a verb of communication (JVO, pers. comm.), which is +transitive and +directional, requiring a cislocative interpretation. The target of directionality for *-mu* is most likely the baby’s mother and the intended hearer of her call, the accusative object of *pusay*. Alternatively, *-mu* could indicate strong identification by the narrator with the character (verbal subject), who is crying in the story, or that the narrator hopes the listener will share the character’s perspective. This emotional engagement adds a layer of subtlety and contrast with the use of indirect evidential *-s* at the beginning of the sentence, a distancing device, and with the distal demonstrative pronoun *anchay*.

- (50) *Phawa-ya-ru-chka-n na, na surru-ña-taq phawa-y-lla*  
 run-INT-DYN-PROG-3 uh, uh \$fox-DISC-EMP fly-INF-LIM

*tira-mu-chka-ra-n*  
 \$shoot-CIS-PROG-PST1-3

‘She was flying hard and fast, uh, uh and already the fox also was shooting towards them rapidly.’ (Yuselki, age 8)

The verb *tiray* (‘\$to shoot:run’) in this context is -transitive, +directional. The child’s use of the experienced past tense marker, *-ra*, indicates the narrator’s identification with the duck’s perspective, and the fox, marked third person subject on the verb, is presented as running towards the duck because of

cislocative *-mu*. There is no first person object marked on the verb, so motion toward the narrator/audience is merely implied.

The next example shows a series of perspectival shifts in a very young speaker's narrative:

- (51) *Mama-n-wan*            *tupa-Ø-sqa-ku*            *hinaspa*    *chay-pi*  
 mother-3POSS-COM    meet-3OBJ-PST2-3PL    then            DIST.DEM-LOC
- umm*    *mama-n-mi*            *patu*    *chay-pi*            *inti*  
 umm    mother-3POSS-DIREV    \$duck    DIST.DEM-LOC    sun

*k'ancha-ri-mu-chka-n*  
 shine-INCH-CIS-PROG-3

'They met up with their mother, and then there umm, their mother is the duck umm, there the sun is beginning to shine on them' (Yenni, age 5)

The verb *k'an chay*, 'to shine', is +transitive, +directional, and also atmospheric, which is a special class that selects cislocative *-mu* and has an affected reading for its object, meaning that the experiencer is affected by the atmospheric condition (van de Kerke 1996, 31). The child shifts in perspective phrase by phrase, from a narrative perspective marked by the suffix *-sqa*, to an aside to the audience marked by direct evidential *-mi*, and then re-engaging inside the story with progressive aspect *-chka* on the same verb that is marked with the cislocative.

The following example displays a creative use of cislocative *-mu* to indicate heightened sensory awareness of a continuous outgrowth:

- (52) *Chay-sis*            *surru-qa ni-n*    *pay-ta-wan*    *mikhu-ra-pu-Ø-saq*  
 DIST.DEM-INDEV    \$fox-TOP say-3    3-ACC-COM    eat-DYN-STAT-3OBJ-1FUT
- wiksa-ra-ka-mu-sqa*            *pay-wan*  
 belly-DYN-REFL-CIS-3PST2    3-INS  
 'So (they say) the fox says 'I will also eat her up!' He made a belly full of her.' (Yuselki, age 8)

I have classified *wiksay*, 'to make a belly', as +transitive, +directional because it implies growth outward of the belly and it also belongs to the class of verbs which connote a development which comes into the perceptual field of the speaker (Adelaar 1997, 141; van de Kerke and Muysken 1990, 159). This kind of verb relates semantically to verbs which describe what Cusihuamán calls

“actions that proceed from the interior, whether from the body, an object, the earth or the water” (1976, 214). I would like to note that the action depicted in such verbs is perceived as continuous and imperfective rather than perfective, in harmony with a cislocative interpretation (toward the perceptual field of the self) rather than a translocative one (after completion of displacement).

This sense of continuous movement or welling up into perceptual salience may explain why Vengoa commented during the analysis of a different task (picture description) that a different child’s use of *-mu* in the context of sheep-shearing was to indicate the action was ‘continuous, like the rain.’ One need only visualize wool welling up from the sheep and the naked skin emerging to understand Vengoa’s emphasis on continuous aspect:

- (53) *Q’ala-cha-mu-chka-Ø-n*  
 naked-VBLZ-CIS-PROG-3OBJ-3  
 ‘She’s leaving him naked.’ (Gregorio, age 6)

All of the examples above have demonstrated cislocative uses of *-mu* by children. Translocative uses of *-mu* in the narrative corpus were relatively few in number. Here is an example:

- (54) *Hina-s*      *atuq-qa*      *kunan*      *mikhu-ra-mu-saq-puni*  
 like-INDEV    fox-TOP    now      eat-DYN-TRANS-1FUT-CERT
- llapan-ta-puni-n*      *tuku-ru-saq*      *ni-spa*      *ni-n*  
 all-ACC-CERT-DIREV    finish-DYN-1FUT    say-GER    say-3
- ‘So the fox said ‘Now I will surely take it elsewhere and feast on it; I definitely will finish every bit’, he says.’ (Adriel, age 10)

The verb *mikhuy* is +transitive, -directional. The lack of directionality forces a translocative interpretation, meaning that the action takes place elsewhere. Displacement to elsewhere is a perfective event implied by *-mu*.

In summary, I have provided examples from the corpus, demonstrating that speakers use transitive, intransitive, motion and non-motion verbs, as mentioned in section 2. Children use *-mu* with a cislocative interpretation with transitive motion verbs and verbs indicating emergence from a physical or metaphysical body into the perceptual field, including the atmospheric phenomenon of the sun shining, and phenomena such as birth or hatching. They use *-mu* to express a translocative meaning by attaching it *mikhuy*, ‘to eat’, a

transitive verb lacking the meaning of directional motion according to the judgment of native speaker adults Vengoa and Plaza.

Now I turn to uses of *-yku* in the narrative corpus. A classic example of intensifying or attentive usage is the following:

- (55) *Chay-manta chay-pi qhawa-yu-chka-n*  
 DIST.DEM-ABL DIST.DEM-LOC look.at-INT-PROG-3  
 ‘Then she’s looking there intently.’ <pointing at the duck in frame 5> (José Luis, age 7)

Conversely, *-yku* is used to denote an intense lack of attention or consciousness, which is reinforced by the choice of *puñuy* ‘to sleep’ as well as the morpheme cluster *-ka-pu* indicating a benefit to the self while causing offense to another in the following example:

- (56) *Chay-qa ankay-qa puñu-ya-ka-pu-sqa*  
 DIST.DEM-TOP PROX.DEM-TOP sleep-INT-BEN-MAL-3PST2  
 ‘And then this one (points at the duck) had neglectfully fallen fast asleep.’  
 (Adriel, age 10)

*-Yku* is also used to indicate intensity of physical movement, as on both the verbs *asiy* ‘to laugh’ and *chinkay* ‘to disappear’ in (57):

- (57) *Chay-si chay atuq-qa asi-yku-spa-s*  
 DIST.DEM-INDEV DIST.DEM fox-TOP laugh-INT-GER-INDEV  
  
*chinka-yu-sqa*  
 disappear-INT-3PST2  
 ‘Then that fox disappeared laughing heartily, so they say.’ (Clara Luz, age 9)

Additionally, *-yku* is used in polite requests, or to signify affection toward the hearer. In the following example from the corpus, the adult storyteller reads the phrase *qhawaripuway* from the speech bubble and adds *-yku* to the verb, increasing the politeness or affection of the request, even though the morpheme *-ri* directly precedes it and also indicates politeness, and *-pu-wa* ‘for me/please’ directly follows it. No similar example is uttered by a child in this corpus.

- (58) *Huk kutin-si patu-cha-qa runtu-cha-y-ta*  
 one time-INDEV \$duck-DIM-TOP egg-DIM-1POSS-ACC

*qhawa-ri-ya-pu-wa-y ni-sqa wallata-ta*  
 look.at-INCH-INT-BEN-1OBJ-IMP say-3PST2 goose-ACC  
 ‘Once upon a time, the little duck said to the goose, please watch my little egg for me.’ (Justino, age 36)

In sum, we see that *-yku* is used in this corpus to express an intensification of attention, consciousness or unconsciousness, energetic movement and (by an adult) polite requests. These are all subjective uses attested in the literature and discussed in section 2.

Next, I consider *-rqu*, which historically has the directional meaning ‘to produce from inside’ and is used to describe the production of an egg in the following example:

- (59) *Patu-s runtu-ta runtu-ru-sqa hina-s anchay*  
 \$duck-INDEV egg-ACC egg-DYN-3PST2 like-INDEV DIST.DEM

*baña-ku-q ri-pu-sqa*  
 \$bathe-REFL-AG go-BEN-3PST2  
 ‘They say that the duck had laid an egg, so they say, then she went swimming.’ (Veronica, age 10)

Another directional usage with the added connotation of intensity is the following:

- (60) *Kunan yacha-nqa p’ana-yu-Ø-saq-puni ucha*  
 now know-3FUT beat-INT-3OBJ-1FUT- CERT or

*ñawi-n-ta urqu-ru-Ø-saq ni-spa ni-sqa*  
 eye-3POSS-ACC extract-DYN-3OBJ-1FUT say-GER say-3PST2  
 ‘Now he’ll know I will always beat him or poke out his eyes,’ she said.  
 (Clara Luz, age 9)

I found no uses of *-rqu* on verbs in imperative mood in this particular corpus. When *-rqu* is not used by a speaker addressing a second person directly, it often indicates speed, suddenness, unexpectedness or completion of an action (Cusihuamán 1976, 207–8). *-Rqu* was used frequently to describe the fox’s eating or stealing of the egg in these stories, as in the following two examples:

- (61) *Surru-s runtuta mikhu-ra-pu-Ø-sqa*  
 \$fox-INDEV egg-ACC eat-DYN-MAL-3OBJ-3PST2  
 'They say the fox greedily gobbled up the egg.' (Yenni, age 5)
- (62) *Hina-s allqu runtun-ta qichu-ra-pu-Ø-sqa*  
 like-INDEV dog egg-3POSS-ACC seize-DYN-MAL-3OBJ-3PST2  
 'So they say the dog seized her egg.' (Veronica, age 10)

In sum, *-rqu* is used in this corpus to express directionality of movement from inside to outside, as well as sudden, forceful and completive action.

The reflexive suffix *-ku* plays some of the same semantic roles in the corpus as the directional morphemes. In (63) below, it is used on the noun *runtu* 'egg' as *-rqu* was in example (59) above, meaning to lay eggs. In the following example, the narrator appears to assume that the duck is an offspring of the goose, hence the notion that a parent is laying eggs with her child:

- (63) *Wawa-n-kuna-wan runtuku-sqa*  
 child-3POSS-PL-COM egg-REFL-3PST2  
 'With their children they laid eggs.' (Clara Luz, age 9)

Most uses of *-ku* in the corpus are reflexive. However, in the following example, *-ku*'s allomorph *-ka* is used in a function that cannot be reflexive because the verb's subject (*surru* '\$the fox') and object (*runtunta* 'her egg') are clearly two distinct entities. The transcriptionist noted that the narrator seemed to omit causative *-chi* from the verb *iskapay* 'to escape':

- (64) *Surru iskapa-ra-(chi)-ka-pu-sqa runtun-ta*  
 \$fox \$escape-DYN-(CAUS)-REFL-MAL-3PST2 egg-3POSS-ACC  
 'The fox quickly and nastily made her egg disappear.' (Luz Marina, age 17)

It could be that in (64) *-ku* indicates that the action of making the egg disappear was completed for the fox's own benefit, or directionally toward himself.

Finally, I turn to a discussion of the uses of *-pu* in the corpus. In examples (61), (62) and (64) above, it is possible to observe malefactive uses of *-pu*, which are frequent in these narratives. In this final section delineating the interaction of directional morphemes with the semantics of verbal roots, I return to the consideration of spatial and perspectival deictic meanings, which are particularly found when the suffix *-pu* is attached to a verb indicating movement. In the following example, *-pu* is used with transitive verbs of movement *hap'iy* 'to grab' and *apay* 'to carry', to indicate directional movement away from the

protagonist's point of reference. The protagonist occupies the speaker's center of attention and is the object of both of these verbs; she is the one being grabbed and carried away. Despite being the center of attention, marking the verbs with *-pu* rather than *-mu* shows the speaker's intent to distance herself from the protagonist, which is supported by the use of indirect evidential *-s* on *hina* 'like', and by the use of the narrative rather than experienced past.

- (65) *Askha-ta wacha-yu-sqa hina-s huk kundur-wan*  
 a.lot-ADVL give.birth-INT-3PST2 like-INDEV one condor-INS

*hap'i-chi-ka-pu-sqa hina-s*  
 capture-CAUS-REFL-REG/STAT-3PST2 like-INDEV

*apa-chi-ka-pu-sqa*  
 carry-CAUS-REFL-REG/STAT-PST2

'She had nurtured it for a long time and in that way they say she had allowed herself to be trapped by a condor, so they say, she allowed it to carry her away.'<sup>10</sup> (Veronica, age 10)

Children also used *-pu* together with first person object *-wa* in the grammaticalized form of the benefactive to indicate an entreaty ('for me/please') along with the honorific address form *cumpari*, *cumpariy* '\$godfather, buddy' and inflection indicating direct address to a second person:

- (66) *Chay-manta surru, cumpari-y surru cumpari-y*  
 DIST.DEM-ABL \$fox \$godfather-1POSS \$fox \$godfather-1POSS

*surru mana-chu riku-pu-wa-ra-Ø-nki mana-chu*  
 \$fox no-INTR see-BEN-1OBJ-PST1-3OBJ-2 no-INTR

*riku-pu-wa-ra-Ø-nki*  
 see-BEN-1OBJ-PST1-3OBJ-2

'Then fox, my friend fox, my friend fox, haven't you watched it for me? Haven't you watched it for me?' (Yuselki, age 8)

Thus, in this and previous sections, children and adults use *-pu* to express a nearly complete range of benefactive, malefactive, regressive and stative meanings as well as socially deictic meanings.

<sup>10</sup> Use of causative *-chi* connotes a meaning stronger than 'allowing' as I have glossed it, indicating that the child believes the duck was fully responsible for her own misfortune.

#### 4.4.3 Interaction of Directional Markers with other Deictic Elements

As discussed in section 3, directional elements are used by adults in composition with evidential suffixes, demonstrative pronouns and gesture to produce shifts in perspective and engage the listener according to an especially Andean aesthetic. In this corpus, the open-ended nature of the task led to the creation of narratives, which differ from each other stylistically; some employ slapstick humor, others are quite earnest, yet all share an engaging and multi-vocalic aesthetic. One narrative is found in its entirety in Appendix C; I selected it as an exemplar because it offers a clear illustration of the use of directional morphemes and the other elements mentioned to create a dramatic deictic space in which the listener is led through a series of shifts in perspective. This story was created by a seven-year-old named José Luis. He was one of four children ranging from ages 5–10 (and no adults) to use gesture as an integral part of the story, and only he created a spatio-temporal path through the frames of the story, even venturing with his index finger outside the frame into the world of the story teller and listener. Directional morphemes *-pu* and especially *-mu* played a key role in expressing this path. Here I will repeat only excerpts from the beginning and end of his narrative to analyze the interaction of directional morphology with other deictic elements in his usage.

In concordance with the observations of Hintz (2007), Nuckolls (2008) and Howard (2012), evidential and tense morphemes are used here to mark stylistic distance and proximity rather than truth value or information source; the interviewer knows that the child is creating this story himself, and yet the child introduces it as if it had been told to him, using the indirect evidential morpheme *-s* and the narrative past marker *-sqa* to report events from a perspective of personal distance.

Although there is no car depicted in the comic strip, the child decides to begin this story with his own innovation:

- (67) *Karru-pi-s*                      *puri-sqa*  
       \$car-LOC-INDEV      move-3PST2  
       ‘They say she traveled by car’ <points at the goose>. (José Luis, age 7)

After he has nearly finished the story, when the interviewer asks how it ends, the child uses a pointing and tracing gesture to bring the goose outside the frame of the comic strip and move her towards himself. Cislocative *-mu* combined with his gesture indicates that the narrator has become the deictic center:

- (68) *Ankay lluksi-mu-chka-n*  
 PROX.DEM exit-CIS-PROG-3  
 ‘Here she’s coming out.’ <traces out of the frame towards himself from the nest in frame 6>

He then reintroduces his initial innovation in the story as a way of introducing its summary and conclusion:

- (69) *Karru-pi-s puri-sqa*  
 \$car-LOC-INDEV move-3PST2  
 ‘They say she traveled by car.’

Then, with a combination of gesture and the regressive morpheme *-pu*, the child indicates a return to the deictic world inside the perspective of the comic strip, adding his own witness (direct evidential *-mi*) to a proximal demonstrative morpheme (*ankay*), which lends immediacy to the story’s perspective. In other words, the child uses both distancing directional and approximating evidential morphemes as well as distancing gesture and an approximating demonstrative pronoun to add depth within the deictic field, seen in the following excerpt:

- (70) *Ankay-mi chaya-pu-sqa*  
 PROX.DEM-DIREV arrive-BEN-3PST2  
 ‘I see she arrived back here.’ <traces an arc up to stop at the nest in frame 4>

After being prompted once more by the interviewer, the child finishes the story by moving sequentially through the frames of the comic strip, using the sequential morpheme *-qti* and cislocative *-mu* plus gesture; at this point, his perspective and the perspective of the protagonist of his story are aligned and yet maintain their depth of distance:

- (71) *Queda-pu-qti-n-mi ankay-man kuti-chi-mu-n*  
 \$stay-REG/STAT-SEQ-3-DIREV PROX.DEM-DAT return-CAUS-CIS-3  
  
*aqna kuti-ya-m-pu-sqa*  
 like.this return-INT-CIS-REG/STAT-3PST2  
 ‘I see when she stayed she made this one return toward here, she returned back home toward here like this.’

In his final statement above, the child reinforces the sense of alignment in perspective by combining cislocative *-mu* (towards here) with regressive *-pu* (towards the place of origin). At this point the child has used the cislocative four times in the course of six utterances, a device that can be considered to engage the listener by orienting the action in his direction. Thus we see that a seven year old has spontaneously created a summary to his story, which operates in multiple dimensions. He engages the listener on a journey in which the listener is made aware of the narrator's own contributions to the story as well as the perspectives of its protagonists, combining directional morphemes *-mu* and *-pu* with other devices to highlight shifts in space onstage, narrative time and vantage point. The cislocative renders this telling extremely compelling in terms of attentional focus, and works in conjunction with the evidential marker *-mi* plus gesture to shift the perspective clearly. Within this corpus, I have found no clearer illustration of the use of directional markers as contributors to the expression of spatio-temporal path and the highlighting of shifts in perspective, as well as of the negotiation of shared attentional focus. It stands to reason that verbally placing the speaker and hearer at the center of action and indicating that events or arguments are moving toward or away from them should engage the listener's attention, yet this claim is hard to illustrate without video that includes gesture. The URL to view this video, along with a glossed transcript of the child's entire narrative, is found in Appendix C.

## 5 Conclusions

This chapter fulfills the dual purpose of presenting a systematic view of derivational marking as it relates to directionality and deixis in adult uses of Cuzco-Collao Quechua, as well as documenting the use of the suffixes *-yku*, *-rqu*, *-ku*, *-pu* and *-mu* and other deictic elements within the elicited narratives of rural schoolchildren's speech. I have shown that the complexity and semantic range of children's use of these morphemes is remarkably comparable to that of adult usages attested in the literature. Children use directional suffixes to express spatial and temporal relations, signal their vantage point and negotiate joint attentional focus, and to evaluate and induce a variety of psychological states and social roles. Within the corpus, *-pu* (benefactive/malefactive, regressive, stative) was the directional morpheme that appeared most frequently, accounting for 40% of usage of such morphemes. The suffixes *-rqu* (dynamic) and *-yku* (intensifier) occurred 18% and 27% of the time that directionals were used. *-Mu*

(cislocative, translocative) and *-ku* (reflexive) were least frequent. The complexity of clusters of these morphemes was remarkably stable across all age groups.

This work complements recent findings of other linguists, most recently the insight of Hintz (2011) that complex derivational morphology must be viewed holistically as part of an array of devices for expressing related and overlapping meanings in the domain of manner, aspect, tense and mood, and the work on shifting perspectives in Quechua narrative as explored within the realm of tense-marking and evidentiality by Hintz (2007), Howard (2012) and Nuckolls (2008). This study also supports and extends the Quechua child language acquisition findings of Courtney (this volume) from the evidential domain to that of the directional suffixes, suggesting that there are no obvious maturational delays in school-age children's use of Quechua directional morphemes to convey deictic, perspectival and social meanings.

I have demonstrated that by the time Quechua speaking children reach school and during their elementary school years, they have mastered all of the characteristics of a highly nuanced deictic system for representing a range of objective and subjective meanings in discourse. This system is part of the intellectual foundation upon which their subsequent acquisition and schooling in their native and non-native languages may build. Language acquisition in any context requires the interaction of pragmatic, semantic and syntactic systems; in a bilingual context this interaction is more complex. It is my hope that the current study contributes to an increased awareness of the rich linguistic system that rural Quechua speaking children bring to the mix.

As a next step for this research, comparable data should be collected from a larger population of children and adults, with particular attention to including Bolivian participants. The documentation of Bolivian children's acquisition of their L1 Quechua in rural areas is inadequate, considering the large number of communities that would benefit from their language being represented accurately in written and video form.

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### Appendix A

\$	borrowing from Spanish	EMP	emphatic
1	first person subject	EUPH	euphonic
1FUT	first person future	GEN	genitive
1OBJ	first person object	GER	gerund
1POSS	first person possessive	IMP	imperative
2	second person subject	INCH	inchoative
3	third person subject	INDEV	indirect evidential
3FUT	third person future	INF	infinitive
3OBJ	third person object	INS	instrumental
3POSS	third person possessive	INT	intensifier
ABL	ablative	INTR	interrogative
ACC	accusative	IRR	irrealis
ADD	additive	LIM	limitative
ADVL	adverbializer	LOC	locative
AG	agentive	MAL	malefactive
APPR	approximative	NEG	negative
BEN	benefactive	OBL	obligative
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
CERT	certainty	PROG	progressive
CIS	cislocative	PST1	simple past
COM	comitative	PST2	narrative past
CONJ	conjunction	REFL	reflexive
CONTR	contrastive	REG	regressive
DAT	dative	SEQ	sequential
DIM	diminutive	STAT	stative
DIREV	direct evidential	TOP	topic
DISC	discontinuative	TRANS	translocative
DYN	dynamic	VBLZ	verbalizer

## Appendix B

Narration instrument illustrated by Jaime Aráoz Chacón

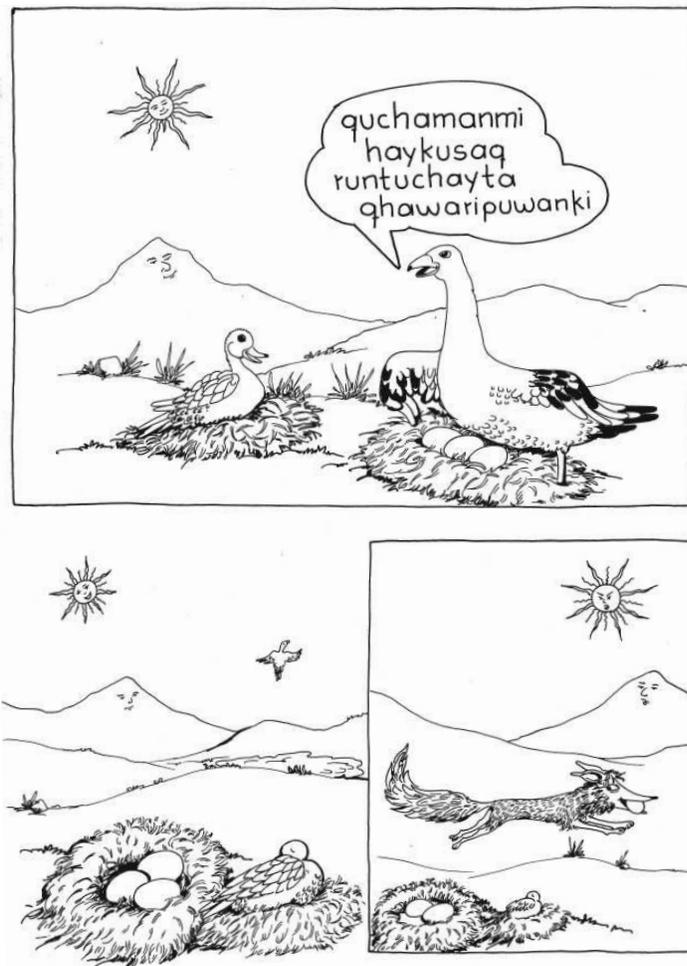


FIGURE 2.2 Frames 1–3 of instrument, read counter-clockwise

Speech bubble in frame 1 reads:

*qucha-man-mi hayku-saq runtuchayta qhawa-ri-pu-wa-nki*  
 lake-DAT-DIREV go-1FUT egg-DIM-1POSS-ACC watch-INCH-BEN-1OBJ-2  
 'I'm going to the lake, please watch my little eggs for me.'

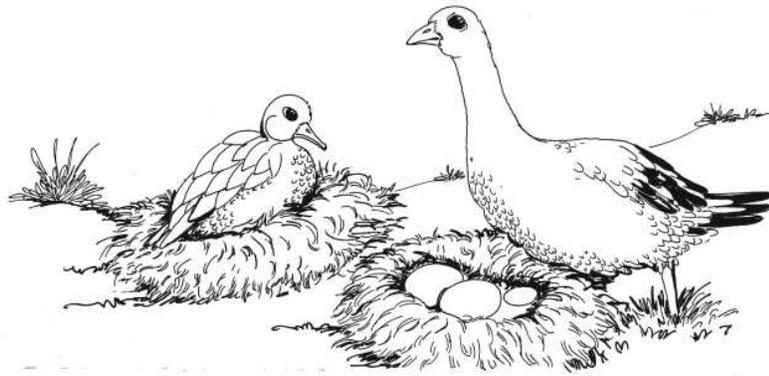
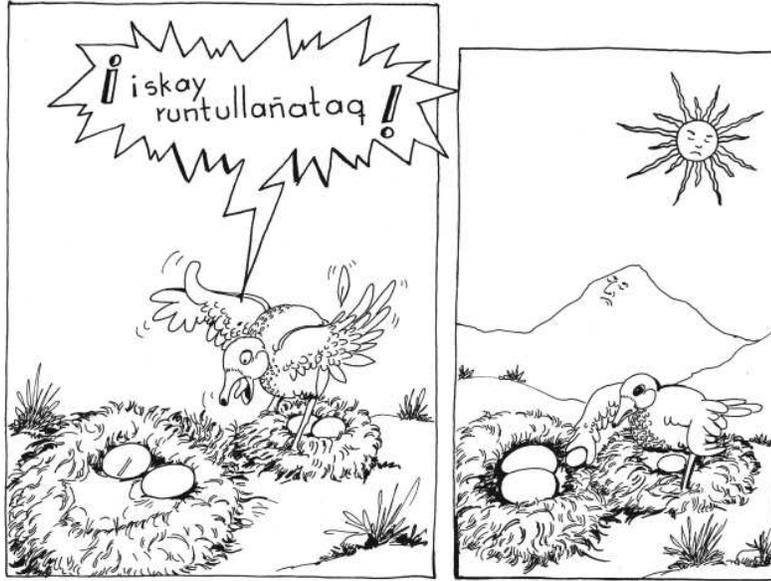


FIGURE 2.3 Frames 4–6 of narration instrument, read clockwise

Speech bubble in frame 4 reads:

*iskay runtullañataq!*  
 two egg-LIM-DISC-EMPH  
 'Only two eggs left!'

### Appendix C

Transcript of interview with José Luis, age 7

Hipólito Peralta Ccama (HPC) interviews José Luis (JL), Jayubamba, Cuzco, Peru, Sept. 28, 2009, video *www.ailla.utexas.org* MULO28R049, 6:24–8:25. Parenthesis indicates that SK has added a meaning to the gloss not found explicitly in Vengoa's Spanish translation of the Quechua.

HPC: *Kunanqa kayta qhawasunchis, kaymi huk willakuycha kachkan. Kaypi kachkan waswa, kaytaq kachkan wallata. Chaymanta paqarirachiwaqchu huk riy-, huk willakuyta umallaykimanta.* 'Now we're going to look at this. This is a little story. This is the duck <points> and this, the goose <points>. From that you could produce a . . . a story right from your head.'

JL: *Arí.* 'Yes.'

HPC: *A ver paqarirachiy.* '\$Let's \$see, make it up fast.'

JL:

*Karru-pi-s puri-sqa hina-s sayk'u-sqa-ña*  
\$car-LOC-INDEV move-3PST2 LIKE-INDEV tire-3PST2-DISC

*naq'u-y-ta-lla-ña puri-sqa*  
exhaust-INF-ADVL-LIM-DISC walk-3PST2

'They say she traveled by car' <points at the goose> 'Then already tired, exhausted, she walked.'

HPC: *Chayri?* 'And after that?'

JL:

*Puri-qtin unu-ta tari-spa puytu-pi nada-sqa*  
move-SEQ-3 water-ACC find-GER hollow-LOC \$swim-3PST2

'After walking, finding water she swam in the pond.'

HPC: *Chaymantari?* 'And then?'

JL:

*Chay nada-qti-n kuti-ya-pu-sqa wasi-n-man*  
 DIST.DEM \$swim-SEQ-3 return-INT-REG/STAT-3PST2 house-3POSS-DAT  
 ‘Then after swimming she returned (intently) to her house.’

HPC: *Chaymantari?* ‘And from there?’

JL:

*Chay-manta runtu-ta wacha-sqa chay-manta wacha-spa-ña mm*  
 DIST.DEM-ABL egg-ACC give.birth-3PST2 DIST.DEM-ABL give.birth-GER-DISC mm  
 ‘Then she produced an egg, after producing it mm. . .’ <he expressed all of this pointing at the goose>

HPC: *Kaypi iman, ima kasqa chaymanta?* ‘Here what, what happened next?’ <Points at the other drawings to show the story should go on>

JL:

*Phala-ri-ka-pu-sqa*  
 fly-INCH-REFL-REG/STAT-3PST2  
 ‘She started to fly away.’

HPC: *Umm chaymantari?* ‘Umm and then?’

JL:

*Phala-ri-ya/-lla<sup>11</sup>-q-ni-n pampa-man tiya-ya-pu-sqa*  
 fly-INCH-INT/LIM?-GEN-EUPH-3POSS earth-DAT sit-INT-REG/STAT-3PST2  
 ‘She sat her flyer (right) down on the ground. (meaning her behind)’Alt ‘The one who had started to fly and kept hovering around her sat right down on the ground.’

HPC: *Umm* ‘Umm’

11 An anonymous reviewer notes that analyzing *-ya* as an allomorph of *-yku* in the word *phalar-iyaqnin* is ungrammatical since there is no subsequent suffix that would condition this sound change. Based on video review and correspondence with native speakers JVO and MCC, I would offer the following alternatives: a) child said *-ya* meaning *-yku* and hasn’t mastered sound change rule, or b) the child said *phala-ri-lla-q-ni-n* with the limitative *-lla*; in any event JVO and MCC both find the construction creative, pleasing and difficult to analyze.

JL:

*Chay-taq-si*                      *puri-sqa*              *puri-sqa*              *luma-lla-n-ta*.  
 DIST.DEM-CONTR- INDEV    move-3PST2    move-3PST2    \$hill-LIM-3POSS-ACC

*puri-sqa*              *ankay-wan*              *tupa-pu-sqa*  
 move-3PST2    PROX.DEM-COM    meet-REG-3PST2

'Then she walked and walked among the hills. <points to the hills> She walked and she ran into this one.' <points to the fox>

HPC: *Imatan chayrí sutin?* 'What is this one's name?'

JL: < no response >

HPC: *Imata ima-, imata chayrí rurasqa?* 'What, what, what did this one do?'

JL: *Surru.* '\$The fox.'

HPC: *Imata rurasqa?* 'What did he do?'

JL:

*Runtu-ta*    *apa-ra-pu-sqa*  
 egg-ACC    carry-DYN-REG/STAT-3PST2  
 'He snatched away the egg.'

HPC: *Ah, chaymantari?* 'Ah, and then?'

JL:

*Simi-n-pi-ri*                      *ni-yu-chka-n*              *Pin-mi*              *apa-ru-n*  
 mouth-3POSS-LOC-INCH    say-INT-PROG-3    who-DIREV    carry-DYN-3  
 'In her mouth she's saying Who took it without my noticing?! <roaring voice>'

*Chhayna*    *qapari-chka-n*  
 like.this    shout-PROG-3  
 'That's what she's shouting.'

HPC: *Ya chaymantari?* 'OK. And then?' <shows him figure 2.3 frame 5>

JL:

*Chay-manta chay-pi qhawa-yu-chka-n*  
 DIST.DEM-ABL DIST.DEM-LOC look.at-INT-PROG-3

'Then she's looking there intently.' <pointing at the duck in figure 2.3 frame 5>

HPC: *Umm chaymantari imapi tukupun?* 'Umm and then, how did it end?'

JL:

*Ankiy ankay-cha-pi run-, q'isa-cha-lla-pi ka-chka-n*  
 PROX.DEM PROX.DEM-DIM-LOC egg nest-DIM-LIM-LOC be-PROG-3

'Here, right here the egg-, is right in the little nest.'

HPC: *Umm chaypi tukupun?* 'Umm does it end there?'

JL:

*Chay-man xxx ankay llusqi-mu-chka-n.*  
 DIST.DEM-DAT(unintelligible) PROX.DEM exit-CIS-PROG-3

'Afterwards ...' <unintelligible> 'Here she's coming out.' <traces out of the frame towards himself from the nest in figure 2.3 frame 6>

*Karru-pi-s puri-sqa. Ankay-mi chaya-pu-sqa*  
 \$car-LOC-INDEV move-PST2 PROX.DEM-DIREV arrive-REG/STAT-PST2

'They say she traveled by car. I see she arrived back here.' <traces an arc up to stop at the nest in figure 2.3 frame 4>

HPC: *Chaymantari?* 'And then?'

JL:

*Queda-pu-qti-n-mi ankay-man kuti-chi-mu-n*  
 \$Stay-REG/STAT-SEQ-3-DIREV PROX.DEM-DAT return-CAUS-CIS-3

'I see when she stayed she made this one return toward here,'

*aqna kuti-ya-m-pu-sqa*  
 like.this return-INT-CIS-REG/STAT-PST2

'she returned back home toward here like this.'

HPC: *Kusa wawqiy, munay.* 'Excellent my brother, nice.'

## Appendix D

TABLE 2.6 *Role of native speakers in this study*

Community	Ccotatóccla, Peru	Jayubamba, Peru
Interviewer	HPC	HPC
Videographer	SK	RMP
Transcriber	RMP	RMP
Translator to Spanish	JVO	JVO
Glossing	JVO, SK and students	JVO, SK and students
Verification, translation to English and data analysis	SK	SK

Native speakers of Quechua are marked with an asterisk.

\*Hipólito Peralta Ccama (HPC) originally from Paruro, Peru

\*Jaime Aráoz Chacón (JAC) originally from Cuzco, Peru

\*Janett Vengoa Zúñiga de Orós (JVO) originally from Sicuani, Peru

Rocio Macedo Portillo (RMP) originally from Cuzco, Peru

Susan Kalt (SK) originally from Greenwich, Connecticut

Bolivian portion of the study and further consultation involved the following native speakers:

\*Alfredo Quiroz Villarroel (AQV) originally from Valle Alto, Bolivia

\*Martin Castillo Collado (MCC) originally from Apurímac, Peru

\*Maria Cristina Parackahua Arancibia (MCP) originally from Chuquisaca, Bolivia

\*Pedro Plaza Martínez (PPM) originally from Siglo XX, Bolivia

## Appendix E

TABLE 2.7 *Derived verbs by level of complexity, nominalizations in parentheses*

Level of complexity	Clusters	Numbers found	Derived verbs
Clusters of four	<i>ra-ka-m-pu</i>	2	chaskirakampusqa, tarirakampusqa
Clusters of three	<i>ya-m-pu</i>	1	kutiyampusqa
	<i>ra-m-pu</i>	3	kutirampu-, mikhurampusqa, kutirampusqa
	<i>ra-ka-mu</i>	1	wiksarakamusqa
	<i>y-ka-pu/ya-ka-pu</i>	2	laqaykapusaku, puñuyakapusqa
Clusters of two	<i>ra-ka-pu</i>	2	churarakapusqa, iskaparakapusqa
	<i>y-ru</i>	3	phawayruchkan, tirayruchkan, (urayruspa)
	<i>ya-ku/yu-ku</i>	1	(waqayukuspa)
	<i>ya-mu</i>	2	kutiyamuchkallasqa, kutiyamusqa
	<i>ya-pu</i>	15	qhawayapusqa, niyapusqa, uqllayapusqa, waqayapusqa x 3 mikhuyapusqa x 2, saqiyapusqa, qhawayapun, waqayapuqtin, tiyayapusqa, chanqayapusaku, waqayapuqtin
	<i>ra-mu</i>	3	mikhuramusapuni, (pusara- muspa), pusaramusqa
	<i>ra-pu</i>	33	qichurapusqa, wañurapusqa, aparapusqa x 12, aparapuchkan x 3, aparapuqtin, puñurapusqa x 2, mikhurapusaq, aparapuran, puñurapuranmi, mikhurapusqa x 7, aparapun, narapusqa, tukurapusqa
	<i>ka-pu</i>	6	phalarikapusqa, phiñarikapusqa, puñukapusqaku, hap'ichikapusqa, apachikapusqa, iskaparakapusqa
	<i>m-pu</i>	1	hampuchkanñan

TABLE (cont.)

Level of complexity	Clusters	Numbers found	Derived verbs
Singletons	<i>-yku/-yu/-yka/-ya</i>	15	(asiykuspas), saqiyusqa, wachayusqa, wachayusqa, chinkayusqa, p'anayusqa, hap'iyusqa, chinkayusqa, cuidayuranichu, niyuchkan, qhawayuchkan, chinkayachin, phalapayasqa, pikalayasqa, yarqayuwachkan, yarqayuwachkan
	<i>-rqu/-ru/-rqa/-ra</i>	13	urqurusqa, urqurusqa, runturusqa, wacharusqa, (rikuruspa), waturukun, (riruspa), phawayruchkan, tukurusqa, aparusqa, aparun, (urayruspa), (qhawarukunanpaq)
	<i>-ku/-ka</i>	4	tiyakusqaku, runtukusqa, (manchakuspa), (bañakuq)
	<i>-mu/-m</i>	8	tiramuchkaran, apamuy, k'ancharimuchkan, kutimusqa, (uqarimuspa), willamusqa, llusqsimuchkan, kutichimun
	<i>-pu</i>	27	ripusqa x 2, kawsapuchkasqa, kapuchasqa, alcanzapusqachu, pasapusqa, apusqa, pasapusqa, kapuchkasqa, mikhupusqañachu, kapunchu, kapusqachu, rikupuwaranki, rikupuwaranki, kapusqachu, qhawapusqachu, kapuchkasqa, kapuchkasqa, kapusqachu, tapusqa, kapunchu, kapunchu, kapuchkasqa, uqllapun, kapusqa, quedapuytinmi, (wachapuyta)

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