

Because of the artificial character of the experiment, it must be considered as an exploratory venture into Quechuan performance style. The conclusions I arrive at are tentative, providing a first glimpse into the nature of verbal artistry in its Quechuan setting. Further intensive research will be required to validate, extend, or contradict the inferences I draw from this experiment.

The two versions of the tale will be compared at three analytical levels, the super-linguistic, the para-linguistic, and the linguistic. While these categories are not entirely mutually-exclusive, they do seem to partition out the data in a somewhat useful fashion.

The super-linguistic level consists of conversational moves deriving from concerns of rhetoric or drama (see Goffman 1967). These moves reflect basic strategies and organizational tactics utilized by the speaker in the effort to enhance his narrative. While they necessarily have a linguistic substance, they are considered separately here by virtue of their source exterior to the linguistic code.

The most striking innovation of this kind in the performed version is the intrusion of the narrative first person. The narrator places himself in the thick of the action. Not only is he present in the church, and later at the site of the miracle (lines 5 and 12), but he becomes centrally involved as the individual to whom the priest turns in his bewilderment (lines 24-27). The main dialogue of the tale, which occurs between the priest and *uk runa*, a man, in the reported version, reputedly involves the priest and the narrator here.

In the course of this intrusion of the narrative first person, a momentary meta-narrative detail is inserted. Speaking of his taking communion on the day of the apparition, the narrator alludes to the fact that now (presumably a meta-narrative *now*) he really takes communion often. This allusion momentarily shatters the narrative frame, and reinforces the identity of the narrator as a person maintaining continuity beyond the narrative itself.

The effect of the intrusive narrative first person is to render an impersonal narrative personal. The events are by implication removed from the realm of fictional possibility, and firmly planted within that of reputed history. Much the same function is served by such common story-telling devices as, "I was there," "I saw this with my own eyes," "My friend really saw this," or "This is a true story." Note that each member of this paradigm of *validations* carries with it a specific validation weight. A narrator can imply varying degrees of commitment to his tale through these expressions.

In the case of the performed version of this tale, the narrator doesn't openly assert the truth quality of his tale, but rather inserts it along with his own person. Since the truth value is not asserted, it is likely not to be challenged, at least not at the outset. Later, as events take a more spectacular turn, the implied truth value of the tale will come into question. At that point, the narrator retains at least the gratification of having fooled his audience at the outset.

Validation techniques are, of course, not limited to Quechuan storytelling. They are common to a great many cultures, and presumably function

John H. McDowell

SOME ASPECTS OF VERBAL ART IN
BOLIVIAN QUECHUA

The following pages present the results of a laboratory experiment in anthropological linguistics. The experiment was designed to throw into relief some of the features associated with verbal performance in Quechua, the major Amerindian language of the Andes region of South America.

Although a great deal of work has been done with Quechua, most of this is of a linguistic or pedagogical nature, and little deals with questions of a socio-linguistic nature. The single exception to this generalization is the work of Xavier Albó (1970), which will be considered in some detail below. It is vital to continue testing out the assumptions and inferences of the ethnography of speaking in different ways and in different communities. Towards this goal the experiment to be discussed here is directed.

I propose to afford a preliminary glimpse into the nature of verbal performance in the narrative vein in Quechua. To do this I have performed an experiment with a single Quechua informant, Crisólogo Baldelomar, a native Quechua speaker currently enrolled at the University of Texas, Austin. This informant is a bi- or tri-lingual speaker of Quechua, Spanish, and English. In his home town of Clise, Bolivia, he first learned Quechua from his grandparents until the age of five or six. At that time he entered school and soon became fluent in Spanish as well.

The experiment derives from Dell Hymes' distinction between the reporting and performing of a myth (1974). Working with Indian informants in the Northwest coast area, Hymes found that some informants considered themselves incapable of performing the myths they had heard the elders perform. Nonetheless, in some cases these same informants did feel competent to report the content of these myths to Hymes.

Using this distinction as a model, I asked Crisólogo to think of a story which he first heard in Quechua. I asked him first to report the content to me, and secondly to perform it as he would perform it among friends or relatives in Bolivia. He seemed to have no difficulty understanding the purpose of the experiment.

Nonetheless, what I obtained was simply two sorts of performance style, one quite drab, and the other rather flamboyant. As I will argue later, this does not vitiate the conclusions that I will draw. I did in fact obtain two quite different versions of a single tale.

similarly to dignify the tale as a real occurrence. Interestingly, Quechua has a validational suffix *min*, which marks the content of the utterance as factual. The narrator avoids this, perhaps for the same rhetorical logic mentioned above, that he wished to imply rather than assert the truth value of his narrative.

Under the super-linguistic category I want to mention two other features of the performed version lacking in the reported version. The latter does not explicitly treat the introducing of the news of the apparition into the church; it is merely stated that the people were leaving the church. In the performed version, this moment is treated at some length (lines 7-11). The narrator simulates his own alleged surprise by using and repeating the expression *piĉā* (who could it be?). In the following lines, the narrative captures something of the sensation quite probably associated with a scene such as the one described: the hushed surprise, the stirring of the congregation as the word spreads around. This moment is productive of considerable dramatic interest, and the narrator exploits this potential in the performed version.

Finally, along the same lines, the performed version expands considerably the moments of dialogue. The reported version contains only one incident of reported dialogue (lines 13-15), comprising some eight words. The performed version contains three such incidents, using in all some 26 words (lines 8-9, 12-13, 24-27). While the performed version is longer, this increase in the amount of dialogue is nonetheless disproportionate. As in the case of the news of the apparition, the narrative dwells on those themes or moments capable of stimulating audience involvement.

Turning now to the para-linguistic category, I want to consider a variety of features associated with the narration of the two texts. By para-linguistic, I mean essentially those features discussed by Trager (1964). These include things like pitch range, tempo, vocal channel (to interpolate Hymes' term), and so on. These are features largely absent from the transcription, which is pretty routinely linguistic. It will therefore be necessary to report on them here, since they do constitute perhaps the most productive resources of verbal performance.

The reported version is characterized throughout by a sort of dead-pan intonation. At some points the narration subsides into a virtual mutter. The ends of phrases drop off and are barely intelligible; accentuation and stress is extremely weak. The voice throughout has a very thin quality; articulation is relaxed. The tempo is leisurely, with little or no acceleration to differentiate specific sections of the tale.

Nonetheless, even the reported version does revive itself at a few points, notably, when the man reports the miracle to the padre (lines 13-14). This single episode illustrates what Dell Hymes (1974) has called a "break-through into performance." The dramatic interest of this episode is such that the narrator could not resist the performance dimension, even though he knew that he should be simply reporting on the content of the tale.

Most of the performed version contrasts strikingly in terms of the para-linguistic features present. For the most part, the intonation has a richer, more intense voice quality. The tempo is faster, with fewer pauses. Accentuation is precise and strong, especially at certain points in the narrative.

Certain local effects are quite striking. At the outset, the first four lines or so are virtually chanted. Voice pitch is palpably higher than at any point in the reported version. Several of the vowels in these lines are greatly lengthened, as follows:

(1) uk kuti maañĉay hatun iglesyapi, maañĉay
hatun misapi, (2) diosniñĉaq wasinpi aa, caypi
padresituuu... (etc.)

In each of these vowel lengthenings, the pitch falls from beginning to end, something like this:

maaañĉay

This falling pitch no doubt contributes to the definite perception of a song-like quality to these first lines.

At certain points the narrative makes socio-linguistic cross-references, by imitating speaking styles with specific situational associations. Thus the *piĉā*, *piĉā*, and following words of line 7, occur in the channel of a sort of mysterious whisper, such as might indeed be appropriate to speech taking place within the social environment of the mass. Similarly, the reporting of the miracle to the padre (lines 25-27) is quite theatrical, occurring in a tone of voice suggestive of reverent awe and mild censure. The voice channel is again that of whispered, or moderately voiced speech, and the accentuation is quite precise and clipped.

Interestingly enough, the performed version subsides noticeably at points between lines 15 and 22. In this section, the para-linguistic features are rather like those of the reported version in general. By inverse analogy with Hymes' breaking into performance, this portion of the performed version might be called a falling out of performance. These lines are strictly narrative, without any reported speech, and they fall in between the tale's foci of dramatic interest. It might also be mentioned that by this point the informant had already told the tale three complete times, since he practiced each telling once before I recorded him.

The para-linguistic character of the two versions, but for the two crossings of performance boundaries, stands in virtually total contrast. These contrasts are summed up in the following chart:

Feature	Reported Version	Performed Version
resonance	thin	thick
accentuation	relaxed	strong
articulation	loose	precise
pitch range	narrow	wide
tempo	leisurely	insistent

In addition to the features mentioned in the chart, the two versions contrasted in terms of local effects such as vowel lengthening, and the imitation of the para-linguistic constellations of certain situated speaking styles.

It remains to consider contrasts in the two versions of a purely linguistic nature. These I will organize in terms of the conventional levels of language.

At the lexical level, some interesting observations can be made. The reported version contains virtually no descriptive adjectives, if words such as *q'ala*, all, *tukuy*, all, and *day*, that, are ruled out. The performed version, on the other hand, contains something like nine descriptive adjectives, including *manday*, very (technically an adverb), *hatun*, large, *diosnin-day*, our God, *bueno* (Spanish), good.

A great number of Spanish loan words occur in both versions, mostly relating to matters of religion. The proportion of Spanish loan words in the reported version is slightly higher, 33%, than the proportion in the performed version, 31%. However, in such a small sample this difference is probably not significant.

It is interesting to note, however, that the performed version contains a bi-lingual sentence retracking, in lines 10 and 11:

(10) ...kay noticyaya korerqa, kay

(11) noticyaya rirqa

In these lines, the Spanish loan for *run* (correr) is balanced by its Quechua equivalent (*ri*, literally *go*). Since this is a unique occurrence, it could reflect either chance or a greater sensitivity to language usage in the performed version.

Two other observations along these lines are in order. First, the performed version contains the single Spanish loan to maintain its native Spanish inflection in either of the two texts. This word is *mandan*, in line 22, which in this context requires the Quechua suffix *-nku*, indicating third person plural subject.

Secondly, the performed version contains the single instance of the substitution of a Spanish loan for a Quechua equivalent which is perfectly current in the informant's speech. Thus, line 3 contains *bueno* rather than *waliq*. These last two examples indicate that Spanish might have a more penetrating influence in the Quechua of the performed version, even though the total ratio of Spanish loans to Quechua words is lower. However, these data are too isolated to be interpreted with any confidence here.

At the morphological-syntactic level, a few more reliable contrasts emerge. Notably, a wider range of suffixes is utilized in the performed version. All those occurring in the reported version also occur in the performed version, and the performed version uses these additional suffixes: emphatic *pani*, perfective *ña*, additive *pis*, benefactive *pu*, object marker *wa*, imperative *y*, and gerundive *spa*. The occurrence of these additional suffixes is tangible evidence of the elaborated use of language in the performed version. Just as more descriptive adjectives are called into play, so too a wider range of morphological resources are exploited. Note also that the expressive morph *a*, associated with market transactions among other things, and probably a persuasive morph, occurs twice, only in the performed text. Likewise an apparent reduplicative morph (line 18) of intensification occurs only in the performed version.

Xavier Albó (1970) has done some work with ways of speaking in Bolivian Quechua. Using substantial word samples, he compares three speaking styles, formal, informal, and story telling, on the basis of several

marked linguistic variables. On the basis of these variables, he finds story telling to be a well-differentiated speaking style (321).

While his purposes are quite different from mine, it might nonetheless prove interesting to compare some of his data with data derived from the two versions of the tale I am working with. The following chart does this.

Style	order V O %	ratio between modal/verb	ratio between suffix/word
1. Reported Version	62	.18	1.18
2. Performed Version	80	.18	1.24
3. Albó's Formal	37	.39	1.15
4. Albó's Informal			
a) to researcher	27	.42	1.09
b) not to researcher	26	.49	1.11
5. Albó's Story Telling	23	.84	1.35

The chart reveals very little correlation between my own findings and those of Xavier Albó. Only in the suffix/word ratio are my figures roughly comparable and in the same relation to one another. In the modal/verb ratio, my figures are quite low compared to Albó's, and show no progression from one version to another. In the V O order, my figures are high and show an inverse progression to that shown in Albó's figures.

These discrepancies can be attributed to two factors. First, the sample my figures are based on is some 267 words, a very small sample indeed. Secondly, it is quite possible that my statistics define a Quechua idiolect somewhat divergent from those studied by Albó. The informant I worked with was not only assimilated to the national culture in Bolivia, but had been residing for over a year in the United States, and during that time using almost exclusively Spanish and English.

At the phonological level, the main contrast between the two versions, vowel lengthening, has already been discussed. Other contrasts, if they exist, are subtle and difficult to pick up on the tape.

The foregoing exercise has juxtaposed two versions of a single tale. The first version, called the reported version here, represents at the least a version less saturated with performance techniques. The performed version, naturally, represents an intensification of performance techniques. It will not be necessary to assign the reported version to a specific speech register; it simply stands as a mild variety of narrative performance, comparatively speaking.

Bearing in mind the limitations of this exercise, I will suggest a few tentative parameters of verbal performance indicated by contrasts between the two versions of the tale. At the super-linguistic level, verbal performance involves certain dramatic and rhetorical strategies designed to engage the attention of the audience. These include a validation claim, and the development of themes conducive to dramatic tension.

Verbal performance draws upon a whole slew of para-linguistic devices, at the general and local levels. These include channel modification, voice quality, utterance tempo, and so forth. The para-linguistic features of situated speaking genres are sometimes brought into play.

Finally, verbal performance involves a variety of linguistic alterations. The linguistic resources of the code are more fully exploited. The language betrays more self-consciousness, as language-interference phenomena become a focus of attention.

These tentative features of narrative performance in Quechua are summarized in the following chart.

Level	Feature	Impact
super-linguistic	1) 1st person intrusion 2) development of specific themes	implicit validation dramatic tension
para-linguistic	1) voice qualities 2) vowel lengthening 3) socio-linguistic play	engage attention; establish and maintain performance frame implicit validation; drama
linguistic	1) wider range of suffix use 2) higher suffix density 3) vowel lengthening 4) greater adjective density 5) presence of expressive morphs	fuller exploitation of linguistic resources for more effective rhetorical, dramatic, and artistic impact

Quechua Phonology (after Bills et al. 1969)

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
S simple	p	t	č	k	q	
t aspirated	pʰ	tʰ	čʰ	kʰ	qʰ	
o glottal	pʰ	tʰ	čʰ	kʰ	qʰ	
s						
Fricatives		s				h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ			
Flap		r				
Laterals		l	ɭ			
Semivowels	w		y			

Vowels

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Low	a	

Transcription Key

1. Three lines of text are given: the top line transcribes the text in Quechua, with morphological breaks indicated by dashes; the middle line translates all stems, and identifies each morph isolated in the first line; the bottom line represents a somewhat free translation of the text into English.

2. The following abbreviations and symbols are used in the middle line:

a) independent suffixes

per	---perfective (ɲa)
emp	---emphatic (puni)
conj	---conjunctive (taq)
add	---additive (pis)
top	---topic marker (qa)
neg	---non-factual (ču)
cj	---conjunctural (čá)
dub	---dubitative (čus)

b) nominal suffixes

dim ---diminutive (itu, situ, ito, sita)
 pl ---plural (s, es)
 conn---connective (ni)
 pos ---possessive: pos₁ --our (n̄caq)
 pos₂ --his (n)
 acc ---accusative (ta)
 dat ---dative (man)
 alb ---ablative (manta)
 loc ---locative (pi)
 caus ---causal (rayku)
 inst ---instrumental-comitative (wan)

c) verbal suffixes

ext ---extemporaneous (rpa)
 inc ---inceptive-polite (ri)
 ref ---reflexive (ku)
 dir ---directional (mu)
 ben ---benefactive (pu)
 cont ---continuative (sa)
 past ---past tense (rqa)
 sub ---subject markers: sub₁ --he/past...(rqa)
 (all mark sub₂ --he/present...(n)
 indicative sub₃ --they/past, elliptic...(ñ)
 voice except
 sub₇)

past or { sub₄ --they...(nku)
 present { sub₅ --I...(ni)
 { sub₆ --we (exc)...(yku)
 { sub₇ --you/imperative...(y)

ob ----object marker: ob₁ --to me...(wa)

d) derivational suffixes

op ----objective-participial (sqa)
 ag ---agentive (q)
 ger ---gerundive (spa)
 ant ---anteriority adverbial (qti)

3. Pronouns enclosed in parenthesis in the bottom line are not overtly expressed in the Quechua text.

4. Three points in the text are marked with stars in the middle line due to their ambiguous character:

- * (a) --an expressive morph with indeterminate semantic content
- ** (yu) --apparently a sort of reduplication signifying intensity
- *** (man) -- most likely an abortive (mana), or (mançay), the product of sentence retracking

5. This transcription key draws heavily on the analysis of Quechua in Garland Bills et al. (1969).

1. Reported Version

(1)uk kuti uk ðacta-pi predika-sa-rqa padre-situ misa-ta
 one time one town-loc preach-cont-past; sub₁ father-dim mass-acc
 one time in a town was preaching the father mass

(2)tata kura misa-ta predika-sa-rqa. çay-pi-taq
 father priest mass-acc preach-cont-past,sub₁ that-loc-conj
 the father priest mass was preaching. And there

(3)predika-sa-qti-n-ta umiã-ta qu-sa-rqa
 preach-cont-ant-sub₂-acc sermon-acc give-cont-past, sub₁
 as (he) was preaching the sermon (he) gave

(4)q'ala feligres-es-man. pero pay...umiã-ta qu-sa-qti-n-ta
 all congregation-pl-dat but he sermon-acc give-cont-ant-sub₂ -acc
 to all the congregation. But he...the sermon as (he) was giving

(5)tukuy runa-s, tukuy runa-s ðuqsi-sa-rqa-nku kaë-man
 all person-pl all person-pl leave-cont-past-sub₄ street-dat
 all the people, all the people were going out into the street.

(6)ðuqsi-sa-rqã-n kaë-man uk-manta uk. pero-qa padre-situ-qa
 leave-cont-past-sub₃ street-dat one-abl one but-top father-dim-top
 (They) were going out into the street one by one. But the father

(7)mana yaça-rqa-çu ima-rayku-çus çay runa-s
 not know-past,sub₁-neg what-caus-dub that person-pl
 didn't know why those people

(8)ðuqsi-sa-rqã-n kaë-man. çay-manta-taq padre-situ-qa
 leave-cont-past-sub₃ street-dat that-abl-conj father-dim-top
 were going out into the street. And then the father

(9)predika-rqa misa-ta, eh, pay tuku-rqa misa-ta
 preach-past,sub₁ mass-acc () he finish-past, sub₁ -acc
 preached the mass, eh, he finished the mass.

(10)çanta-taq tukuy-ta-wan-taq ðuqsi-rqa kaë-man
 then-conj finish-acc-with-conj leave-past,sub₁ street-dat
 And then, having finished (he) went out into the street.

(11)kaë-pi ka-sa-qti-n rik"u-rqa q'ala runa-s-ta
 street-loc be-cont-ant-sub₂ see-past, sub₁ person-pl-acc
 In the street being (he) saw all the people

(12)qunquri-ku-sqa-s-ta. çay-manta-taq pay tapu-rqa
 kneel-ref-op-pl-acc that-abl-conj he ask-past,sub₁
 kneeling. Then he asked

(13)uk runa-ta, --ima-ċus pasa--. --Ah-- ċay runa-taq ni-rqa
one person-acc what-dub happens ah that person-conj say-past, sub₁
a person, "What's going on?" - "Ah," that person said,

(14)padre-situ milagro, virgen-sita rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-ni
father-dim miracle virgin-dim see-inc-ext-inc-sub₅
"Father, a miracle, the Virgin I just suddenly saw."

(15)--ima-taq-- ni-rqa. padre-situ mana kre-rqa-ċu
what-conj say-past,sub₁ father-dim not believe-past,sub₁-neg
"And what?" (he)said. The father didn't believe...

(16)tata kura ċay rato-qa...pero pay-qa...q'al-itu runa-s
father priest that moment-top but he-top all-dim all person-pl
the father priest that moment...but he...all the people

(17)qunquri-sqa-s ka-sa-rqa-nku. uk-ta-wan virgen-sita
kneel-op-pl be-cont-past-sub₄ one-acc-with virgin-dim
were kneeling. Again the Virgin

(18)rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-mu-rqa padre-situ-taq yaċa-rqa
see-inc-ext-inc-dir-past,sub₁ father-dim-conj know-past,sub₁
suddenly appeared and the father knew.

(19)ċanta-taq padre-situ yaċa-rqa ima-rayku-ċus ċay
then-conj father-dim know-past,sub₁ what-caus-dub that
Then the father knew why those

(20)runa-s ħuqsi-rqa-nku kaie-man.
person-pl leave-past-sub₄ street-dat
people went out into the street.

2. Performed Version

(1)uk kuti manċay hatun iglesya-pi, manċay hatun misa-pi,
one time very large church-loc very large mass-loc
One time in a very large church, at a very large mass

(2)dios-ni-nċaq wasi-n-pi a, ċay-pi padre-situ
god-conn -pos₁ house-pos₂-loc (*) that-loc father-dim
in our God's house, there the father

(3)ka-rqa manċay bueno padre-situ. q'ala runa-s ri-q
be-past,sub₁ very good father-dim all person-pl go-ag.
was a very good father. All people go-ers

(4)ka-rqa-nku ċay misa-man, komulga-q ka-rqa-nku ima
be-past-sub₄ that mass-dat commune-ag be-past-sub₄ also
were to that mass, communion takers (they) were also;

(5)nuqa-pis komulga-q ka-rqa-ni, kunan-pis komulga-ni-puni
I-add commune-ag be-past-sub₅ now-add commune-sub₅-emp
I also took communion, and now really take communion.

(6)pero padre-situ-qa predika-sa-rqa misa-n-ta, umiia-ta
but father-dim preach-cont-past,sub₁ mass-pos₂ -acc sermon-acc
But the father was preaching his mass, the sermon

(7)qu-sa-qtí-n-ta. pi-ċá pi-ċá hamu-rqa ċay misa-man.
give-cont-ant-sub₂ -acc who-cj who-cj come-past,sub₁ mass-dat
as (he) was giving who might have come into that mass?

(8)ċanta-taq ni-rqa uk lado-pi, --ay milagro tiya-n kay-pi,
then-conj say-past,sub₁ one side-loc ay miracle exist-sub₂ this-loc
And then said on one side, "Ay, a miracle exists here,

(9)kay plasa-pi tiya-n milagro; virgen-sita rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-ni.--
this plaza-loc exist-sub₂ miracle virgin-dim see-inc-ext-inc-sub₅
in this plaza exists a miracle;(I) just suddenly saw the Virgin."

(10)ċay-manta-taq uk-manta uk kay noticya-qa kore-rqa, kay
that-abl-conj one-abl one this news-top run-past,sub₁ this
And then from one to one this news ran, this

(11)noticya-qa ri-rqa. q'ala runa-s ħuqsi-sa-rqa-nku,
news go-past,sub₁ all person-pl leave-cont-past-sub₂
news went. All the people were leaving,

(12)ħuqsi-sa-rqa-nku. nuqa-pis ħuqsi-rqa-ni. --ima-ċus pasa,
leave-cont-past-sub₂ I-add leave-past-sub₅ what-dub happen(s)
were leaving, I also left. "What's going on,

(13)ima-ċus pasa-- ni-spa. mana uyari-rqa-ċu padre-situ
what-dub happen(s) say-ger not hear-past,sub₁-neg father-dim
what's going on?" being said. Didn't hear the father

(14)ima-ta-ċus ni-sa-rqa, ni-sa-q-ta. mana-puni
what-acc-dub say-cont-past,sub₁ say-cont-ag-acc not-emp
that which (he)was saying, was being said. Definitely not

(15)uyari-rqa-ċu padre-situ-qa. pero q'al-itu runa-s
hear-past,sub₁-neg father-dim-top but all-dim person-pl
heard the father. But all the people

(16)ri-pu-rqa-nku misa-manta ċay plasa-pi ka-sa-rqa-yku.
go-ben-past-sub₄ mass-abl that plaza-loc be-cont-past-sub₆
went out for (her) from the mass to that plaza we (exc) were.

(17)ċay-pi virgen-sita rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-mu-rqa. q'al-itu
that-loc virgin-dim see-inc-ext-inc-dir-past,sub₁ all-dim
There the Virgin suddenly appeared. All,

(18)q'al-itu-yu qunquri-ku-rqa-yku: ċay-pi riqsi-sa-rqa-yku
all-dim (**)kneel-ref-past-sub₆ that-loc know-cont-past sub₆
each one [we(exc)] kneeled ourselves: there [we(exc)] were knowing.

(19)dios-ni-nċaq-man mana ka-sa-rqa-yku porque-cus nuqayku-qa
god-conn-pos₁-dat not be-cont-past-sub₆ because-dub we(ex)-top
Into our God [we(exc)]didn't go because we(exc)

(13) uk runa-ta, --ima-ċus pasa-- --Ah-- ċay runa-taq ni-rqa
one person-acc what-dub happens ah that person-conj say-past, sub₁
a person, "What's going on?" - "Ah," that person said,

(14) padre-situ milagro, virgen-sita rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-ni
father-dim miracle virgin-dim see-inc-ext-inc-sub₅
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what-conj say-past, sub₁ father-dim not believe-past, sub₁-neg
"And what?" (he) said. The father didn't believe...

(16) tata kura ċay rato-qa...pero pay-qa...q'al-itu runa-s
father priest that moment-top but he-top all-dim all person-pl
the father priest that moment..but he...all the people

(17) qunquri-sqa-s ka-sa-rqa-nku. uk-ta-wan virgen-sita
kneel-op-pl be-cont-past-sub₄ one-acc-with virgin-dim
were kneeling. Again the Virgin

(18) rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-mu-rqa padre-situ-taq yaċa-rqa
see-inc-ext-inc-dir-past, sub₁ father-dim-conj know-past, sub₁
suddenly appeared and the father knew.

(19) ċanta-taq padre-situ yaċa-rqa ima-rayku-ċus ċay
then-conj father-dim know-past, sub₁ what-caus-dub that
Then the father knew why those

(20) runa-s iuqsi-rqa-nku kaċe-man.
person-pl leave-past-sub₄ street-dat
people went out into the street.

2. Performed Version

(1) uk kuti manċay hatun iglesya-pi, manċay hatun misa-pi,
one time very large church-loc very large mass-loc
One time in a very large church, at a very large mass

(2) dios-ni-nċaq wasi-n-pi a, ċay-pi padre-situ
god-conn-pos₁ house-pos₂-loc (*) that-loc father-dim
in our God's house, there the father

(3) ka-rqa manċay bueno padre-situ. q'ala runa-s ri-q
be-past, sub₁ very good father-dim all person-pl go-ag.
was a very good father. All people go-ers

(4) ka-rqa-nku ċay misa-man, komulga-q ka-rqa-nku ima
be-past-sub₄ that mass-dat commune-ag be-past-sub₄ also
were to that mass, communion takers (they) were also;

(5) nuqa-pis komulga-q ka-rqa-ni, kuman-pis komulga-ni-puni
I-add commune-ag be-past-sub₅ now-add commune-sub₅-emp
I also took communion, and now really take communion.

(6) pero padre-situ-qa predika-sa-rqa misa-n-ta, umiia-ta
but father-dim preach-cont-past, sub₁ mass-pos₂ -acc sermon-acc
But the father was preaching his mass, the sermon

(7) qu-sa-qti-n-ta. pi-ċá pi-ċá hamu-rqa ċay misa-man.
give-cont-ant-sub₂ -acc who-cj who-cj come-past, sub₁ mass-dat
as (he) was giving who might have come into that mass?

(8) ċanta-taq ni-rqa uk lado-pi, --ay milagro tiya-n kay-pi,
then-conj say-past, sub₁ one side-loc ay miracle exist-sub₂ this-loc
And then said on one side, "Ay, a miracle exists here,

(9) kay plasa-pi tiya-n milagro; virgen-sita rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-ni.--
this plaza-loc exist-sub₂ miracle virgin-dim see-inc-ext-inc-sub₅
in this plaza exists a miracle; (I) just suddenly saw the Virgin."

(10) ċay-manta-taq uk-manta uk kay noticya-qa kore-rqa, kay
that-abl-conj one-abl one this news-top run-past, sub₁ this
And then from one to one this news ran, this

(11) noticya-qa ri-rqa. q'ala runa-s iuqsi-sa-rqa-nku,
news go-past, sub₁ all person-pl leave-cont-past-sub₂
news went. All the people were leaving,

(12) iuqsi-sa-rqa-nku. nuqa-pis iuqsi-rqa-ni. --ima-ċus pasa,
leave-cont-past-sub₂ I-add leave-past-sub₅ what-dub happen(s)
were leaving, I also left. "What's going on,

(13) ima-ċus pasa-- ni-spa. mana uyari-rqa-ċu padre-situ
what-dub happen(s) say-ger not hear-past, sub₁-neg father-dim
what's going on?" being said. Didn't hear the father

(14) ima-ta-ċus ni-sa-rqa, ni-sa-q-ta. mana-pini
what-acc-dub say-cont-past, sub₁ say-cont-ag-acc not-emp
that which (he) was saying, was being said. Definitely not

(15) uyari-rqa-ċu padre-situ-qa. pero q'al-itu runa-s
hear-past, sub₁-neg father-dim-top but all-dim person-pl
heard the father. But all the people

(16) ri-pu-rqa-nku misa-manta ċay plasa-pi ka-sa-rqa-yku.
go-ben-past-sub₄ mass-abl that plaza-loc be-cont-past-sub₆
went out for (her) from the mass to that plaza we (exc) were.

(17) ċay-pi virgen-sita rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-mu-rqa. q'al-itu
that-loc virgin-dim see-inc-ext-inc-dir-past, sub₁ all-dim
There the Virgin suddenly appeared. All,

(18) q'al-itu-yu qunquri-ku-rqa-yku: ċay-pi riqsi-sa-rqa-yku
all-dim-(*) knell-ref-past-sub₆ that-loc know-cont-past sub₆
each one [we(exc)] knelled ourselves: there [we(exc)] were knowing.

(19) dios-ni-nċaq-man mana ka-sa-rqa-yku porque-cus nuqayku-qa
god-conn-pos₁-dat not be-cont-past-sub₆ because-dub we (ex)-top
Into our God [we(exc)] didn't go because we (exc)

(20)rik"u-rqa-yku ċay, ċay milagro-ta. pero padre-situ-qa
see-past-sub₆ that that miracle-acc but father-dim-top
saw that, that miracle. But the father

(21)tuku-rqa misa-n-ta predika-rqa misa-n-ta
finish-past, sub₁ mass-pos₂-acc preach-past, sub₁ mass-pos₂-acc
finished his mass, preached his mass,

(22)dios-ni-nċaq aqna-ta ley-es-ni-n mandan hina. ċay-manta-taq
god-conn-pos₁ thus-acc law-pl-conn-pos₂ order thus that-abl-conj I
our God in this way his laws order. And then

(23)padre-situ hamu-rqa plasa-man, ċay-pi-taq nuqa
father-dim come-past,sub₁ plaza-dat that-loc-conj I
the father came to the plaza, and there I

(24)ka-sa-rqa-ni. tapu-wa-rqa --imá pasa--
be-cont-past-sub₅ ask-ob₁-past,sub₁ what happen(s)
was being. (He) asked me "What's happening?"

(25)ni-wa-rqa. nuqa-taq ni-rqa-ni a, --padre-situ
say-ob -past,sub₁ I-conj say-past-sub₅ (*) father-dim
(he) said to me. And I said, "Father

(26)qunquri-ku-y, qunquri-ku-y. kay milagro tiya-n
kneel-ref-imp,sub₇ kneel-ref-imp,sub₇ this miracle exist-sub₂
kneel yourself, kneel yourself. This miracle exists

(27)kay-pi. virgen-sita rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-ni.-- --Ima-ta-ña--
this-loc virgin-dim see-inc-ext-inc-sub₅ what-acc-per
here. The Virgin I just suddenly saw. --"What's this?"

(28)mana virgen-sita-qa ċay-pi-ċu ka-sa-rqa. pero
not virgin-dim-top that-loc-neg be-cont-past,sub₁ but
The Virgin wasn't being there. But

(29)ċay-pi-taq uk-ta-wan virgen-sita rik"u-ri-rpa-ri-mu-rqa.
that-loc-conj one-acc-with virgin-dim see-inc-ext-inc-dir-past, sub₁
there again the Virgin suddenly appeared.

(30)padre-situ-taq ni-rqa, ah, qunquri-ku-rqa
father-dim-conj say-past,sub₁ ah kneel-ref-past,sub₁
And the father said, ah, (he) kneeled himself

(31)man---.q'ala, q'ala qunquri-sqa-s ka-sa-rqa-nku.
(***)all all kneel-op-pl be-cont-past sub₄
.... All, all kneeling down were being.

(32)padre-situ-taq yaċa-rqa ċay kuti ima-rayku-ċus
father-dim-conj know-past,sub₁ that time what-caus-dub
And the father knew that time because of what

(33)misa-n-manta q'ala runa-s ñuqsi-rqa-nku.
mass-pos₂-abl all person-pl leave-past-sub₄
from his mass all the people left.

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