

**Forms and Functions of Negation in Huaraz Quechua  
(Ancash, Peru):  
Analyzing the Interplay of Common Knowledge and  
Sociocultural Settings**

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To Ani and Leonel

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## **Abstract**

Analyzing a selection of negative constructions in Huaraz Quechua (Ancash, Peru), this study contributes to examine the tangled link between language and culture. The work shows how the investigation of the sociolinguistic background and the dynamic sociocultural environment of the HZQ speakers is key to understanding how people interact with each other and their individual linguistic choices. In particular, the selection of negative markers by the participants to a linguistic interaction is presented as driven, among others factors, by the interplay of common knowledge and specific sociocultural settings.

Based on a large corpus of data that consists of the anthology *Cuentos y relatos en el quechua de Huaraz* and three hours of self elicited video material, the approach applied here integrates the formal and functional description of negation with an analysis of the speakers' expectations in the use of negative markers.

The study presents negative constructions that are new discoveries in the Quechua literature and others that are unique constructions within the HZQ dialect, differing from related structures described for other Quechua dialects so far.

That expectations play a major role in the function of negation has been noted in previous works (see Bernini & Ramat 1996). The present study takes this further and analyzes these expectations in the context of the specific sociocultural environment. In particular, the interplay of habitual understanding, common knowledge, social hierarchies and specific sociocultural values are found to be the basis for how the functions of negation are determined.

This importance of the sociocultural environment can be seen in several functions of negation. One function of negation that arose from the analysis of the video material recorded is to minimize the knowledge of the storyteller, and this can be traced directly to years of exclusion, which have embedded the belief among Quechua speakers that their language and their knowledge have no value. Another function of negation, that of contradicting the listener's possible incorrect expectation of the story plot, is motivated by the intertextual references characteristic of the traditional Quechua narrative (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998) and the related habitual understanding and common knowledge of storytellings. The function of negation in expressing moral judgments and evaluative comments in HZQ is driven by the specific sociocultural values and common ideal discourses about good behavior, i.e. discourses about how people should behave.

By showing how sociocultural settings shape the linguistic interaction and in particular the functioning of negation, this work contributes to the refinement of a methodology of linguistic description interlacing descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics, together with linguistic anthropology

and cultural anthropology. In this way, it contributes to a deeper understanding of the inextricable nexus of *linguaculture* (Risager 2015).

## **Zusammenfassung**

Die vorliegende Studie stellt eine Analyse der linguistischen Negativ-Konstruktion im Huaraz-Quechua (Ancash, Peru) dar und trägt gleichzeitig zur Untersuchung des oft nur schwer entwirrbaren Geflechts von Sprache und Kultur bei. Die Arbeit zeigt, wie wichtig die Erforschung des soziolinguistischen Hintergrunds und des dynamischen, soziokulturellen Umfelds von HZQ-Sprechern für das Verständnis linguistischer Interaktionen und individuellen, linguistischen Entscheidungen ist. Im Folgenden wird dargestellt, dass insbesondere die Wahl der Negativmarker durch die Partizipanten an einer linguistischen Interaktion neben anderen Faktoren vor allem durch das Zusammenspiel von Allgemeinwissen und spezifischen, soziokulturellen Rahmenbedingungen bestimmt wird.

Der zugrundeliegende Ansatz basiert auf einem großen Datensatz, der sich aus der Anthologie *Cuentos y relatos en el quechua de Huaraz* sowie drei Stunden an eigens aufgenommenem Videomaterial zusammensetzt und die formale und funktionale Beschreibung der Negation mit einer Analyse der Erwartungen des Sprechers bei der Verwendung von Negativmarkern vereint.

Die Studie präsentiert Negativ-Konstruktionen, von denen einige Neuentdeckungen in der Quechua-Literatur darstellen und andere einzigartige Konstruktionen innerhalb des HZQ-Dialekts sind und sich von verwandten Strukturen unterscheiden, die bislang für andere Quechua-Dialekte beschrieben wurden.

Bisherige Veröffentlichungen belegen bereits, dass Erwartungen eine grundlegende Rolle bei der Funktionsweise von Negationen spielen (vgl. Bernini & Ramat 1996). Die vorliegende Studie geht einen Schritt weiter und analysiert diese Erwartungen im Kontext des spezifischen soziokulturellen Umfelds. Insbesondere das Zusammenspiel von gewohnheitsmäßigem Verständnis, Allgemeinwissen, sozialen Hierarchien und spezifischen soziokulturellen Werten stellen sich als Grundlage dafür heraus, wie sich die Funktionen der Negation bestimmen.

Diese Bedeutung des soziokulturellen Umfelds lässt sich an verschiedenen Negationsfunktionen ablesen. Eine Funktion der Negation, die sich bei der Analyse des aufgenommenen Videomaterials herausbildete, besteht darin, das Wissen des Erzählers zu minimieren. Dies lässt sich direkt auf jahrelange Ausgrenzung zurückführen, die bei Quechua-Sprechern den festen Glauben verankert hat, dass die eigene Sprache und das eigene Wissen keinen Wert haben. Eine weitere Funktion der Negation lässt sich als Widerspruch zu den möglicherweise falschen Erwartungen des Zuhörers in Bezug auf die Handlung des Erzählten bezeichnen. Dies ist

durch die intertextuellen Referenzen, die charakteristisch für traditionelle Quechua Erzählungen sind (vgl. Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998), und durch das damit verbundene gewohnheitsmäßige Verständnis und Allgemeinwissen des Erzählens motiviert. Die Funktion der Negation, die moralische Urteile und wertschätzende Kommentare im HZQ-Dialekt ausdrückt, wird durch die spezifischen soziokulturellen Werte und den Diskurs über gemeinsame Ideale bezüglich guten Benehmens, also wie man sich zu verhalten habe, bestimmt.

Indem die Studie aufzeigt, wie soziokulturelle Rahmenbedingungen linguistische Interaktionen und insbesondere die Funktion der Negation beeinflussen, stellt sie einen Beitrag zur methodischen Verfeinerung der linguistischen Beschreibung dar, die deskriptive Linguistik und Soziolinguistik mit linguistischer Anthropologie und Kulturanthropologie vereint. Auf diese Weise fördert die vorliegende Arbeit das tiefere Verständnis der untrennbaren Verknüpfung von *linguaculture* (Risager 2015).

## Glossing abbreviations

1	-:	1 <sup>st</sup> person (verbal/non verbal)
1FUT	- <i>shaq</i>	future, 1 <sup>st</sup> person subject
1INCL	- <i>ntsik</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> person inclusive (verbal/non verbal)
1OBJ	- <i>ma/-maa</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> person object
1>2	- <i>q</i>	present, 1 <sup>st</sup> person subject on 2 <sup>nd</sup> person object
1>2FUT	- <i>shqayki</i>	future, 1 <sup>st</sup> person subject on 2 <sup>nd</sup> person object
12COND	- <i>shwan</i>	conditional, 1 <sup>st</sup> person plural inclusive
2	- <i>nki</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> person verbal
2FUT	- <i>shun</i>	future/imperative, 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> person inclusive subject
2IMP	- <i>y</i>	imperative, 2 <sup>nd</sup> person
2P	- <i>yki/-ki</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> person non verbal, 2 <sup>nd</sup> person with past, 1 <sup>st</sup> person subject on 2 <sup>nd</sup> person object
3	- <i>n</i>	3 <sup>rd</sup> person (verbal/non verbal)
3FUT	- <i>nqa</i>	future, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person subject
3IMP	- <i>tsun</i>	imperative, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person
3>12FUT	- <i>maashun</i>	future, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person subject on 1 <sup>st</sup> person inclusive object
3>2	- <i>shunki</i>	3 <sup>rd</sup> person subject on 2 <sup>nd</sup> person object
ABL	- <i>pita</i>	ablative
ADV	- <i>pa</i>	adverbializer
AG	- <i>q</i>	agentive
ALL	- <i>man</i>	allative
BEN	- <i>pa</i>	benefactive
CAUS	- <i>tsi</i>	causative
CHALL	<i>maa</i>	challenge
CIS	- <i>mu</i>	cislocative

CNJ	<i>-ch/-chi</i>	conjunctural
CNTRD	<i>-taq</i>	contradicting the participants expectations, contrastive
COM	<i>-wan</i>	comitative
COMPL	<i>-rpu/-rpa</i>	completive aspect, downward direction
COND	<i>-man</i>	conditional
CONT	<i>-yka/-ykaa</i>	continuous aspect
DIR	<i>-m/-mi</i>	direct evidential
DIR.UP	<i>-rku/-rka</i>	directional upwards
DLM	<i>-lla/-llaa</i>	delimitative, just, only, courtesy, respect
DS	<i>-pti</i>	adverbial, different subject
DUR	<i>-ra/-raq</i>	durative aspect
FAR	<i>-mu</i>	cislocative/translocative, action at a distance/from afar
HAVE	<i>-yoq</i>	possessor, have, with
HAVE.BIG	<i>-sapa</i>	have, big quantity, physical characteristics
HAVE.NOT	<i>-nnaq</i>	privative, without having
HUM	<i>-q</i>	human numeral or quantifier
INF	<i>-y</i>	infinitive
ITER	<i>-kacha/-kachaa</i>	iterative
LIM	<i>-kama</i>	limitative
LIM1	<i>-yaq</i>	limitative
LOC	<i>-chaw</i>	locative
LOC1	<i>-pi</i>	locative in few HZQ expressions
MID	<i>-ku/-ka</i>	middle voice, reflexive
NEG	<i>-tsu</i>	negative
NEG.PRT	<i>mana</i>	negative particle

NMLZ	-y	nominalizer
NMLZ.I	-na	nominalizer, irrealis
NMLZ.R	-nqa	nominalizer, realis
NOR	ni	nor, not even, negative coordination
NOW	-na	now, already, from now on, not anymore
OBJ	-ta	object
PASS	-ka	passive
PFV	-yku/-yka	perfective aspect
PL.N	-kuna	plural nominal
PL.V	-ya/-yaa	plural verbal
PRMT	-q	purpose complement with motion verb
PROH	ama	prohibitive particle
PST	-rqu/-rqa	perfective past, remote past
PST.H	-q	habitual past
PST.N	-naq	narrative past
PTCP	-shqa	past participle
PUNC	-ri/-ra	punctual
PURP	-paq	purposive case
Q.C	-taq	content question
Q.P	-ku	polar question (yes/no)
Q.T	aw	tag question in spoken language
Q.U	-kush	question with uncertainty
RECP	-naku	reciprocal
RPT	-sh/-shi	reportative evidential
SIM	-naw	similative

SS	<i>-shpa</i>	adverbial, same subject
SS1	<i>-r</i>	adverbial, same subject
THIS	<i>na</i>	searching for a word
TOO	<i>-pis</i>	additive, too, even
TOP	<i>-qa</i>	topic
VERB	<i>-tsaa</i>	verbalizer
VERB1	<i>-ya/-yaa</i>	verbalizer
VOC	<i>-y</i>	vocative
WARN	<i>yo</i>	warning word
WARN1	<i>paqtataq/paqtaraq</i>	warning word
WARN2	<i>kwuidadu</i>	warning word
WELL	<i>maa</i>	well, discourse marker
WITH	<i>-ntin</i>	with, accompaniment, additive
ZERO	<i>-ni</i>	zero suffix

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**PART I –**  
**CONNECTING LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: MY THEORETICAL APPROACH,**  
**RESEARCH QUESTIONS, DATA AND METHODS**

## 1 Theoretical approach and research questions

In the kitchen of a house in the periphery of Huaraz (Ancash, Peru) lives a family of three generations: grandmother, parents and four grandchildren. During my 2013 field work, I witnessed the following dialog between the Spanish speaking grandchild (27) and the grandmother (83) monolingual in Huaraz Quechua (from now on HZQ). The grandchild Pedro (P) wanted to ask his grandmother Benedicta (B) about the use of water in her time. He was expecting to be told stories from her youth about the availability of water in her village: how it was before the mine was set up, how much water did they have in her village, how did they use it to cook, wash themselves and their clothes, irrigate the fields, etc... However, Pedro was not fluent in HZQ and had difficulties in being understood by his elderly monolingual grandma. The subsequent funny misunderstanding is emblematic for the presentation of my theoretical approach and research questions. The original HZQ version is presented first, followed by the Spanish and English translations.

HZQ original version (followed by my analysis with glosses):

P: *Tapushqeeki estee yakupita. Imanootaq qam estee kawashqanki yakuwan?*

B: ### (pointing at something outside the kitchen)

P: *Noo yaku, yaku, yaku.* (making the hand gesture of drinking)

B: *Tsukuta?*

P: *Yakuta a ver vamos a ver yakupita.* (filling a cup of water)

Pedro goes to his grandmother with a cup filled of water in his hand. Pointing inside it, he screams into her ear:

P: *YAKUPITA.*

B: *Yakuta?*

P: *Aha.*

B: *Manam, yakunaatsu.*

P: *LAUGH*

B: *LAUGH*

*Tapu-shqayki estee yaku-pita*  
ask-1>2FUT this water-ABL

*Ima-naw-taq qam estee kawa-shqa-nki yaku-wan*  
what-SIM-Q.C you this live-PTCP-2 water-COM

*Noo yaku yaku yaku*  
no water water water

*Tsuku-ta*  
hat-OBJ

*Yaku-ta a ver vamos a ver yaku-pita*  
water-OBJ let's see let's see water-ABL

*Yaku-pita*  
water-ABL

*Yaku-ta*  
water-OBJ

*Aha*  
right

*Mana-mi yaku-na-:-tsu*  
NEG.PRT-DIR water-NOW-1-NEG

*@@@*  
LAUGH

*@@@*  
LAUGH

Spanish translation:

P: Te voy a preguntar sobre el agua ¿cómo vivías tu con el agua?

B: #### (pointing at something outside the kitchen)

P: Noo agua, agua, agua. (making the hand gesture of drinking)

B: ¿El sombrero?

P: El agua a ver vamos a ver sobre el agua. (filling a cup of water)

Pedro goes to his grandmother with a cup filled of water in his hand. Pointing inside it, he screams into her ear:

P: SOBRE EL AGUA.

B: ¿El agua?

P: Aha (sí).

B: No, no tengo sed.

P: LAUGH

B: LAUGH

English translation:

P: I am going to ask you something about water. How did you live with water?

B: #### (pointing at something outside the kitchen)

P: Noo water, water, water. (making the hand gesture of drinking)

B: The hat?

P: Water, let me show you, about the water. (filling a cup of water)

Pedro goes to his grandmother with a cup filled of water in his hand. Pointing inside it, he screams into her ear:

P: ABOUT THE WATER.

B: Water?

P: Aha (right).

B: No, I am not thirsty.

P: LAUGH

B: LAUGH

A negation is the answer Pedro would have expected least!

This example demonstrates that the analysis of an utterance cannot overlook the specific pragmatic and communicative context as well as the sociocultural settings of the participants of the linguistic interaction. In line with this approach, I purposely distance myself from the view of language “as an abstract system of rules reproduced by an ‘ideal speaker’” (Muehlmann 2014: 577). On the contrary, I analyze language as it is actually used by individuals in their spaces of interaction.

The tight correlation between the study of language and the methodology of the sociocultural anthropology is evident in this funny misunderstanding. The negative answer of the grandmother can be understood only by analyzing the context with the methodology of the visual cultural anthropology. Indeed, I was only able to understand the meaning of negation in this specific linguistic act thanks to the analysis of the pragmatic context in the video. Let’s try to disambiguate this negative answer out of context: it would be very hard.

QUESTION: “How did you live with water?”

ANSWER: “No, I am not thirsty”

If my approach had been an analysis of pure linguistic data, the grandma’s negative utterance “No, I am not thirsty” would have led me to look into the co-text searching for the yes/no question “Are you

thirsty?” or “Would you like some water?” As a matter of fact, the grandma’s answer was a reaction to the understood offer “Would you like some water?” based on the fact that Pedro repeated the word *yaku* (water) getting close to her with a cup of water in his hands. He was hoping that showing the water itself could help his grandma undertake a process of abstraction in order to understand his question. But his attempt to solve his language deficiency through the use of a tool (cup) was unfortunate. It led instead to the misunderstanding between “showing water” and “offering water”.

In fact, for the grandmother the question about the use of water during her time came out of the blue and, consequently, it was difficult for her to undertake the process of abstraction. Thus, the lack of contextualization in the dialog played a role in the speaker’s misunderstanding. A linguistic context such as a dialog about old traditions or the actual use of water would have helped the speakers in understanding each other. At the same time a spatial context, such as being in the grandma’s old village or close to the fields while they were irrigated as well as a rainy day would also have helped (see the Go-along Interview method in Singer & Villari 2016).

Furthermore, Pedro’s limited Quechua knowledge not only led to difficulty in communicating the abstract concept of water use but also led him to have problems asking his grandma about her past cultural customs. This point shows us how intimately connected are language and culture. Problems of communication render difficult, often impossible, the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge even among family members. This is one of the ways that indigenous knowledge gets lost. As well, it is worth noting the psychological side of this process: how sad must it be for the grandmother not to be understood by her own grandchild? And how sad must it be for the grandchild not to be able to communicate with his grandma? This topic of not being able to share one’s own stories in one’s own language has been also dealt with, among others, by Mandana Seyfeddinipur, director of the Endangered Languages Documentation Program at SOAS (University of London), during a TED Talk about endangered languages in 2015.

According to the HZQ-Spanish bilingual speaker Leonel (see § 2.3), in order to understand the topic of past customs, the question about the use of water in the past should have been made this way:

- (1) *Yakupaq tapushqeeki. Uneekuna imanootaq yakuta iñishiyaq kanki?*

<i>Yaku-paq</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>tapu-shqayki</i>
water-PURP	ask-1>2FUT

<i>Unay-kuna</i>	<i>ima-naw-taq</i>	<i>yaku-ta</i>	<i>iñishi-ya-q</i>	<i>ka-nki</i>
long.ago-PL.N	what-SIM-Q.C	water-OBJ	use-PL.V-PST.H	be-2

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<sup>1</sup> Both *-paq* (PURP) and *-pita* (ABL) can be used in this construction.

Te voy a preguntar acerca del agua. Antiguamente ¿cómo utilizaban el agua?  
I am going to ask you something about water. In the past, how did you use water?  
(Leonel)

Language is intimately linked to people's reactions and behaviors. Miscommunication, misunderstanding, lack of understanding as well as the "wrong" reactions of the listeners, among others, depend on the speakers' mutual understanding and their interactions with each other. In particular, mutual understanding among participants to the interaction depends on their cultural specific common knowledge.

Within this view, this study aims to show how forms and functions of negation are driven by the specific common knowledge and sociocultural settings. More precisely, I will focus on the role of the participants' expectations in the functioning of negation. Even though I am aware that I cannot explain all occurrences of negation by analyzing the participants' expectations, I will show how these play a major role in the selection of negative makers and, consequently, can explain much of the data I present. Figure 4 visualizes my view of linguistic interaction and provides the conceptual ground for the analysis of the functions of negation I carry out in PART IV. A linguistic interaction is based on a common ground that encompasses specific habitual understanding, sociocultural values, common knowledge and social hierarchies. These make up the basis for the participants' expectations and the consequent uses and functions of negation.

In wider terms, this *linguaculture* (Risager 2015) background influence the way people interact with each other. Thus, sociolinguistic background and the cultural anthropological background are mandatory prerequisites for the assessment of linguistic data.

The grandmother in the example above had spent almost her entire life in a HZQ speaking village in the rural area of Huaraz (Chontayoq) and is monolingual in Quechua. Her interlocutor Pedro, on the other hand, the 27 year-old Spanish speaking grandchild, grew up in the city and possesses limited Quechua knowledge. His Quechua consists of a basic vocabulary and his syntax is mostly a calque of Spanish. His limited Quechua knowledge permits him to roughly understand his grandmother, but he has difficulties in expressing himself: creating a long word in HZQ, adding more than one or two suffixes to a root<sup>2</sup>, is a real challenge for Pedro. Thus, the different sociocultural backgrounds of the grandmother and the grandchild account for their different ways of speaking.

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<sup>2</sup> Compare Pedro's HZQ with the following example from the anthology *Cuentos y relatos*, where 8 suffixes are added to the root *posada-* (lodge):

*Manaku posadakeekatsillaayaamankiman?*

*Mana-ku      posada-ka-yku-tsi-lla:-yaa-ma-nki-man*

Furthermore, language practices are influenced by individual choices. Pedro and his siblings (two boys and a girl) told me that they feel sad not being able to talk fluently with their grandma. Out of the three siblings, only the granddaughter can speak with the grandma in HZQ. This shows the individual high motivation of the girl in maintaining the heritage language of her grandma. Also family dynamics and family choices influence language practices. In the case of Pedro's family, they play a major role in the limited Quechua knowledge of the third generation of grandchildren. Indeed, the HZQ-Spanish bilingual parents (second generation) decided not to talk in HZQ at home. They speak HZQ only with the grandma and Spanish with the children.

This scenario fits well with Eckert's concept of selective adoption of different *personae* according to the different contexts (2014: 652 – my cursive). Another example of this can be seen in the use of Spanish by teachers in the rural schools. Many of them are actually HZQ speakers and some still speak HZQ with their parents at home. However, when they are at school, they repress being Quechua speakers. They interact only in Spanish with other teachers as well as with the children and their parents. The psychological and historical motivations that stand behind the choice of a speaker of adopting Spanish upon HZQ will be dealt in PART II. Within this framework, I want to underline the importance of PART II in the present work, which deals with the HZQ speakers in their dynamic sociocultural environment.

Analyzing the linguistic interaction between the three generations of family members (grandma, parents and grandchildren), the example above illustrates the replacive language contact (Aikhenvald 2007) between Spanish and Quechua. It also shows how the cultural and linguistic consequences of this contact play a major role in the analysis of the linguistic data. Social interactions over time shape the synchronic structure of language. In line with this assumption, any study on HZQ cannot overlook the long-term contact situation between Spanish and Quechua.

Individual choices in the use of languages are associated with an incessantly changing social environment that shapes new spaces of interaction. According to Eckert, the mechanism of the spread of language change is “not simply a matter of contact between static populations” (2014: 652) but that “language development continues through life as we move through the social world and as that world changes around us” (2014: 650).

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NEG.PRT-Q.P lodge-MID-PFV-CAUS-DLM-PL.V-1OBJ-2-COND

¿No podría darnos alojamiento?

Couldn't you give us lodging?

(Viaje de catequistas al Departamento de Huánuco, 102-129: 14-16)

The language change and, in many cases, the interruption of the intergenerational language transfer, as in the case of Pedro's parents, is considered a means to rescue themselves and their children from the negative image of a Quechua speaker as an illiterate *campesino* (peasant). In fact, language variation always indexes stances (Kiesling 2005). The choice of a language, and of a particular linguistic form, is not random but strictly connected to social life. Speakers "index" their cultural group membership by the use of language (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). An example of the use of language in indexing stances and dynamically creating cultural membership can be observed in the bilingual speakers that live and work in the urban area of Huaraz: they mostly speak Spanish at work as well as with their children, whereas they speak HZQ when they visit their family and friends in their home village. Additionally, in the fictive dialogues of the storytellings that I was told by the HZQ monolingual Doña Augusta (around 90-100 years old), the few words in Spanish are used to personify the Spanish speaking *patrón* (owner) who gives home duties to the subjugated Quechua speaking *campesino*.

Languages are used to recognize and create social distinctions. As noted by Eckert (2014: 646), competing linguistic forms and their patterns of occurrence are socially determined as well as "potentially socially meaningful". Through the choice of a language or a particular linguistic form, speakers incessantly create places for themselves (and for the characters of their stories) in the social order. As a matter of fact, the cultural specific context motivates the use of a specific linguistic form. Marra (2015: 373) points out that "among the complex array of components that comprise context, 'culture', especially in the form of cultural background and culturally based practices, offers potential explanations for many linguistics choices". This is the case of the functions of negative forms that I analyze in PART IV of the present work. The main research question that motivated me in the data analysis was: how does the specific sociocultural settings influence the function of negation in HZQ?

One example is the use of negation with the function of minimizing the knowledge of the storyteller. The common attitude among HZQ speakers of positioning themselves at the bottom of an imaginary scale of social hierarchies and thinking that their culture and their local knowledge have no value, explains the common use of negative expressions in the process of telling a story. The data show how negation carries a social function mostly at the beginning and the end of a narration. While the start<sup>3</sup> of a narration refers to the moment in which the storyteller affirms not to know or not to remember any stories, the end of a narration refers often to the very last sentence of the story, in which the speaker minimizes what they have just told. Elevating one's own knowledge and skills in front of others as well as show-off behavior is systematically avoided in the Quechua cultural context,

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<sup>3</sup> In the present work I intentionally avoid terms specific of the narrative analysis (such as *abstract* and *coda*) because they are not apt to describe the dialogic nature of the Quechua narrative. I use instead the more general terms "start/beginning and end" as well as "initial and final sequences" of a narration.

at least among the HZQ speaking older generation. Years of colonial history, abuse and exclusion have psychologically marked all Quechua speakers such that they are convinced of Quechua's inferiority to Spanish. The historical and sociocultural backgrounds account for the HZQ speakers' tendency to minimize their knowledge and motivate the use of negative forms in the process of telling a story.

In this context, the concepts of social identity and culture are viewed in a dynamic perspective that strictly depends on the social interactions. Together with the concept of *personae* (Eckert 2014) explained above, I refer to the theory of social constructionism. According to this theory, social identities are considered as “discursively constructed in negotiation with others” (Marra 2015: 377). They depend both on how a speaker wants to present himself and on the evaluation of his interlocutor. Within this theory, my analysis of negative markers focused on the participants' expectations fits particularly well. With Marra's words (2015: 377), language is used “to construct, maintain and modify particular social identities”. Thus, instead of considering culture as a *a priori* category, I consider that “it comes into being through interaction with others”, emerges in a conversation and “*become[s]* relevant” (Marra 2015: 378).

Within this framework, culture is regarded “as a set of negotiated group practices which dynamically contribute to normative constraints on talk” (Marra 2015: 379). The habit of concluding a storytelling in HZQ by the use of fixed expressions such as *heenoollam* (no more than this, Sp. *eso nomás*), for example, seems to be a normative constraint on the speech of HZQ speakers, in particular when they relate in front of a western researcher such as I. It even occurred that one of the storytellers ended telling her story with the formulaic expression *heeno usharin hee cuentu* (this story ends like this) by moving her index finger as if saying “no” (222). The need of the speaker to minimize what she had just told was evident in her movement, hiding the implicit sentence “I do not know more than this”.

Within the sociocultural framework presented so far, the only linguistic approaches that render possible the analysis of what is relevant to me, i.e. the interconnection between grammar, language use and culture, are the functionally based theories of grammar. I assume cultural conventions to be essential in the organization of language. As has been remarkably expressed by Du Bois (1985: 363), “grammars code the best what speakers do most”. This idea traces back to the Boasian cultural semantics, for which “a crucial aspect of people's life [receives] a richer and more specific vocabulary than might be expected among people in other circumstances” (Leavitt 2015: 55). In line with this assumption, “[...] many of the categories which we are inclined to consider as essential may be absent in foreign languages, and [...] other categories may occur as substitutes” (Boas 1911: 42).

In fact, not only the vocabulary but the entire grammatical structure of a language depends on a specific culture. The way speakers behave, what they say and the way they say it, are intimately linked to their culture. For example, in the Quechua cultural context, speakers are obliged to be explicit in how they know things through the use of evidential suffixes (direct information, conjecture and reported speech). If this cultural convention is not followed, the speaker risks being judged a liar or a madman within the community<sup>4</sup> (Aikhenvald 2007: 29). Weber (1996: 551), for example, reports that a man in Huallaga (Huánuco) who always uses the direct evidential *-mi*, is considered a “loco” (crazy man) by members of his community. Weber’s Quechua consultant affirms that nobody believes what this man says because “he speaks always as he was present to what he tells”<sup>5</sup>. So, the necessity of evidentials in Quechua demonstrates how a linguistic category correlates with behavioral requirements.

In this work, I aim to answer the question of how some uses of negation correlate with cultural specific behavioral requirements. An example is the use of the negative word *mana* (no) in correcting a misunderstanding of the listener. Whereas rejecting an invitation or an offer by using a direct negation is considered impolite and even an act of disrespect in the Andean cultural context, a direct use of negation such as *mana* (no) to correct someone’s incorrect assumption or misunderstanding is culturally accepted and even culturally requested. My findings are supported by Bolin’s (2006: 7 – my cursive) fieldwork with the herders of the highlands in Chillihuani (Cusco). The author affirms that “They feel that facts must be stated in the appropriate way. Whenever I misunderstood what was said or done, people immediately corrected me in a friendly but *decisive manner*”.

Within this theoretical framework, the present study intends to investigate the grammatical expression of negation in HZQ using the methods of the linguistic anthropology. With this approach I intend to purposely distance myself from a prescriptive approach which characterizes many Quechua grammars. At the same time, by this approach I differentiate the present study from a mere descriptive linguistic work. Indeed, my research questions require an anthropological frame of reference to be considered, such as how does the use of a negative marker depend on the cultural specific context? Which are the extra-grammatical factors that influence the phenomenon of negation? These questions can only be answered by analyzing a wide textual context and avoiding focus on a single negative sentence out of context. Indeed, only by the analysis of a broad context and co-text was I able to explain the functions and meanings of different negative markers, both in

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<sup>4</sup> In the present work, I use the term “community” as a synonym of “village”. My choice is based on the Spanish terms *comunidad* and *pueblo* used in Huaraz to refer to the peripheral areas where HZQ is spoken. The respective administrative entity in Spanish is *centro poblado* (<http://proyectos.inei.gob.pe/web/biblioineipub/bancopub/Est/Lib0017/ANEX2.htm>).

<sup>5</sup> “siempre habla como si hubiera presenciado lo que cuenta”

literary texts and in self elicited video material<sup>6</sup>. The videos, in particular, have been useful to disambiguate some confusing passages (such as in the above example about the use of water), and to explain the function of negation (such as in the video of the speaker moving her index finger to negate her knowledge of more storytellings). For this reason, in the examples cited in this dissertation, I present an enlarged textual segment, as well as visual information, when these are useful for the reader to grasp the meaning of the specific linguistic marker.

The importance of the context and co-text in the analysis of data carries even more significance in the study of negation. As noted by Bernini & Ramat (1996: 3) “the pragmatic presuppositions in the co-text and in the context of the communication seem to be what determine the functioning of negation”. Indeed, negation is anchored in the grammar but it is at the same time intimately related to the social environment of communication. Thus my research questions are: How does the use of negative markers depend on the discourse context? What do the participants assume is known by each other in their interaction? What are the common knowledge, habitual understanding, sociocultural values and social hierarchies that make up the basis for the participants’ expectations?

As shown in PART III and PART IV, expectations about common knowledge among the participants to the interaction play a major role in the selection of suffixes and, in particular, of negative markers. For example, both the suffix *-ku* (Q.P) and *-kush* (Q.U) can be used to build negative alternative questions. The choice of which to use depends on the speaker’s expectations about what the interlocutor can actually answer with certainty. Thus, *manaku* (no?) is used by the speaker in negative alternative questions when they are sure that their interlocutor knows the answer, while *manakush* gives a hint of uncertainty to the linguistic interaction. This is the reason why in the anthology *Cuentos y relatos*, *-kush* (Q.U) is used in the formulaic expression *allikush kashaq o manakush?* (will I be good or not?) (85) when reading the future in coca leaves (a cultural practice nowadays less common in the village of Chontayoq).

The functional approach is particularly helpful to analyze the phenomenon of negation in an area of language contact. Indeed, part of this approach is the assumption that both synchronical and diachronical analyses of the language are decisive for linguistic explanations. In order to understand the synchronic grammatical HZQ structures and the linguistic changes between generations it is important to look at the diachrony. As noted by Gladkova (2015: 48) “studies in ethnosyntax in a historical perspective can contribute to the research on the issues of grammatical variation and change in relation to cultural values”. For this reason, part of my data consists of video recordings of elderly people and texts from the 1960s of the anthology *Cuentos y relatos*. As observed above, the HZQ

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<sup>6</sup> I use the terms “self elicited video materials”, “self elicited data” and “elicited data” as synonyms to refer to the visual recordings I made during my field works in 2011 and 2013.

used by Pedro's grandma is different from the one used by her grandchildren. Many words connected to the HZQ culture are becoming lost and young HZQ-Spanish bilingual speakers that are not fluent in HZQ can barely add 2 or 3 suffixes to a root.

Within this context, some negative constructions in HZQ find their explanations only when considering the replacive language contact Quechua-Spanish. This is the case of the use of the warning word *kwuidadu* in HZQ and the disappearance of old term *paqtataq* (§ 17.1.1). And this is also the case of the Spanish disjunction *o* in the alternative question *alliku o manaku?* (good or bad?), whereas in an older HZQ *alliku manaku?* would be simply juxtaposed. A specific study about the communicative function of Spanish elements in the HZQ discourse would be an interesting area of research. Potential questions to consider could be: When and where are Spanish and Quechua used? What is the communicative function of the insertion of Spanish elements? Which are the social factors that motivate their use? Does the use of Spanish carry social prestige and consequently strengthen the statement?

Together with the diachronical and language contact motivations, the functional approach is based on the theoretical assumption that *use* plays an essential role in the organization of the language itself. In line with this assumption, the data assessment can be carried out only through the analysis of a large corpus of data which entails different occurrences of negation. Indeed, as I will discuss in the following chapter, previous Quechua studies overlook important phenomena of negation, that can only be understood by analyzing hundreds of examples. The choice of a certain linguistic form over others is motivated, among others, by diverse communicative goals, shared common knowledge and cultural conventions. What people say and the way they say it is intimately linked to their culture and their context of use. When considering grammatical or lexical variations, the functional researchers ask themselves: why is a specific form used instead of another? What is its *function* in a given conversational context? What is the *communicative goal* of the speaker? (Daniel Hintz 2012 – my cursive) And what are the *pragmatic presuppositions* that influence a linguistic choice? What are the *cultural specific practices* that motivate the use of a negative marker? These are the questions that I kept in mind when analyzing the negative markers in the present work.

Within this theoretical context, the aim of this dissertation is to describe the current state of negation in HZQ and contribute to the understanding of negation cross-linguistically. It is generally understood that negation is a linguistic universal, reflecting cognitive processes common in every natural language. Nevertheless, I present negation as a linguistic phenomenon related to cultural conventions, focusing on the interplay between language and culture. The way people negate what they know or what they believe their interlocutor may think or may have understood, among others, is intimately related to culturally specific practices. In line with Bernini & Ramat (1996: 2), given the

cognitive universality of negation “we need to ask what strategies the various languages make use of to give it concrete realization” and, I add, which are the specific sociocultural and communicative motivations behind them.

## 2 Data and methods

The data used in the present work are both written and oral data. The written data consist of a two volume anthology, *Cuentos y relatos en el quechua de Huaraz* (from now on *Cuentos y relatos*), written in the 1960s in HZQ and Spanish by Santiago Pantoja Ramos, a HZQ-Spanish bilingual speaker from the village of Chontayoq (Huaraz). The oral data consist of almost three hours of video recordings elicited in 2011 and 2013 in the city of Huaraz as well as in the peripheral villages of Chavin and Chontayoq.

In line with the functional approach, I assume that the assessment of linguistic data can be carried out only through the analysis of a large corpus of data which entails different occurrences of the phenomena under study. The combination of the anthology data and the field work data make up a large corpus of around 10,800 sentences, which I analyzed using the linguistic program Toolbox. Of the 10,800 sentences, more than 1,500 examples possess a verbal or nominal negation. As a rule, in order to describe the uses and functions of each negative marker of this study, I have analyzed its multiple occurrences in Toolbox and examined the different contexts in which it occurs in the texts<sup>7</sup>. Previous studies overlook important phenomena of negation, that can be explained only by analyzing this large corpus with hundreds of examples.

To my knowledge, there is no oral material, recorded at the time the anthology *Cuentos y relatos* was written, that I could have used for this research. Consequently, my decision to use both written data from the 1960s and more recent oral data was considered the best solution in obtaining enough data and the relative time periods was taken into account in the analysis. Besides, in order to better understand the type of written data I am dealing with, it is worthwhile understanding the nature and background of the anthology and its author, especially in light of the functional approach of this study. The author wrote many chapters taking field notes while asking his fellow *campesinos* for stories, beliefs and life memories. He then translated these into Spanish. For example, Part II of *Cuentos y relatos* (Biografías) is written as if the portrayed persons were speaking themselves, talking in first person. This part has an oral nature, as do the numerous fictive dialogues between the characters of the stories. During my field work, the author Santiago Pantoja Ramos, known in the village of Chontayoq as Don Shanti (from now on Don Shanti), explained the methodology he used in writing *Cuentos y relatos* to me.

The fact that the Quechua language was born as an oral language is apparent in the disparate attempts to write it down. The few authors that write stories in HZQ let their characters mostly speak themselves, maintaining the oral nature of the language. Repetitions, formulaic expressions and other

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<sup>7</sup> In the present work, with the term “text” I refer to both oral texts as well as written texts from the anthology *Cuentos y relatos*.

linguistic devices typical of the oral tradition are also to be found in the written anthology *Cuentos y relatos*. What exactly are written texts in Quechua and what are the differences between written and oral storytellings in HZQ would also be worth an extra study. For now, I can say that in the case of *Cuentos y relatos*, the linguistic education of Don Shanti potentially influenced the writing process of the stories. In particular, his passion for the orthography norms instilled in him by the German Benedictines (see § 2.1) may have tended to standardize the field notes he collected. Furthermore, another factor that has probably influenced the writing process is the fact that Don Shanti is a bilingual speaker. The influence of Spanish in the lexical and morpho-syntactical structures is present in all HZQ parts of the anthology and conversely, the Spanish versions of the stories show HZQ influences (see Chapter 8 The *continuum* between Quechua and Spanish). These phenomena of language contact will be taken into account in the analysis.

In sum, the anthology *Cuentos y relatos* and the self-recorded videos were both analyzed systematically by the Toolbox program. The analysis of this large corpus of data enabled me to discover the uses and functions of negation in HZQ that I will present in this study. In addition to these two sources, I include in the present work examples taken from articles and grammars of different Quechua varieties as well as examples offered by my consultant Leonel. The hours-long discussions with Leonel, fluent speaker in both HZQ and Spanish, have played a crucial role in understanding many of the phenomena presented in the dissertation. To follow, in view of the variety of the data used, I consider worthwhile to individually illustrate each data and the methods.

## **2.1 The anthology *Cuentos y relatos en el quechua de Huaraz* and the author Santiago Pantoja Ramos**

The bilingual two volumes anthology *Cuentos y relatos en el quechua de Huaraz* is a priceless ethnological work and linguistic source of the use of HZQ and Spanish in the 1960s. It was written approximately between 1964 and 1970 by Santiago Pantoja Ramos under the supervision of the German Benedictine scholars José Ripkens and Germán Swisshelm. The Estudios Culturales Benedictinos of Huaraz published it in 1974. Swisshelm had a major role in the edition of the work. He wrote the introduction, edited footnotes and appendices and modified the orthography of the work according to the orthography system used by the Benedictine Quechua scholars.

The anthology is made up of 114 stories, divided into six sections:

Part I Relatos históricos y experiencias del autor (Historical tales and author's experiences)

Part II Biografías (Biographies)

Part III Prácticas y costumbres (Practices and habits)

Part IV Creencias y supersticiones (Beliefs and Superstitions)

Part V Humorismo (Humor)

## Part VI Cuentos de animales (Animals' stories)

While reviewing the linguistic structures within the different sections, I found no significant differences in the negative linguistic forms adopted among them. For this reason, I do not go into further details on the differences between the text genres<sup>8</sup>. However, for clarity and in order to let a future scholar work on this, for every example I cite in this dissertation, I indicate from which story of *Cuentos y relatos* it comes from (see § 3.2 Data references).

As Swisshelm states in the introduction, the texts of this anthology not only “constitute a very valuable source for the future scholars of the Quechua of the Callejón [de Huaylas]”<sup>9</sup> but also “will be interesting and useful for the history scholar (see for example the story about the earthquake [31.05.1970], the alluvium in Huaraz [1941], the construction of the road [1921]), for the sociology scholar (for example the superstitions, habits and practices, rules during fiestas), and for the folklore scholar”<sup>10</sup> (Vol. I: VII). The different stories present a record of the sociocultural changes described in the sociolinguistic chapter of the present study. The text about the construction of the road (“Construcción de la carretera”), for example, captures the moment Chontayoq became more accessible from the city of Huaraz and vice-versa. Together with the reduction in time in reaching the city, the construction of the road started a process of acceleration of language contact between HZQ and Spanish. The combination of text genres within the anthology possess a high ethnological value. They offer an anthropological description of the region in the Twentieth century and particularly of the village of Chontayoq. As expressed by the author himself at the very beginning of the work, his native village of Chontayoq is “the focal point of many stories” of the anthology<sup>11</sup>. As well as “Mi pueblo Chontayoc”, the work includes many other stories about the village (“Construcción de la iglesia de Chontayoc”, “La Legión de María en Chontayoc”) and life stories of its peasants (Biografías).

Don Shanti put a lot of effort in writing the anthology and is still very proud of his masterpiece. In the introduction of the book, Swisshelm observes that he produced “an astonishing quantity of work writing often until midnight, by lantern light, in his home in Chontayoq” (Vol.I: VI)<sup>12 13</sup>. He

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<sup>8</sup> Other possible factors that could be taken into consideration for a future study could be gender, age and origin of the characters of the stories, among others. I did not find any observable differences I want to focus on in the present work.

<sup>9</sup> “constituyen una fuente muy valiosa para los futuros estudios del quechua del Callejón” (Vol.I: VII)

<sup>10</sup> “será interesante e útil para el historiador (ver por ejemplo el relato sobre el sismo, el aluvión de Huaraz, la construcción de la carretera), para el sociólogo (por ejemplo las supersticiones, costumbres y prácticas, las observaciones en las fiestas), y el folklorista” (Vol.I: VII)

<sup>11</sup> “El pueblo de Chontayoq, el punto focal de muchos de los relatos” (Vol.I: IV)

<sup>12</sup> “[...] esta cantidad asombrosa de trabajo escribiendo a menudo hasta la medianoche, con luz de linterna, en su casa de Chontayoq”

<sup>13</sup> According to what Swisshelm explains in the introduction of *Cuentos y relatos*, only 70% of the stories written by Don Shanti have been included in the anthology. However, the entire material has been used to write Appendix I “Los sufijos de derivación verbal en el quechua de Huaraz” and Appendix II “Suplemento al diccionario del quechua de Huaraz de 1972” at the end of the work. In 1972 Swisshelm has published “Un diccionario del quechua de Huaraz: quechua-

was and still is motivated by an authentic passion and interest in his mother tongue Quechua. During his whole life he has been engaged in the diffusion of the Quechua language, working as a Quechua teacher both at the UNASAM (Universidad Nacional Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo) in Huaraz and at the UNIFÉ (Universidad Feminina del Sagrado Corazón) in Lima. During my stay in Huaraz in 2011, he took part in a conference on Quechua at the UNASAM. Here, he sang the national anthem that he had translated into HZQ, and distributed copies of it to the audience. The engagement of Don Shanti in the study and diffusion of the Quechua language is strictly connected to his religious commitment. His interest in studying Quechua started in the 1960s when he occasionally met the Benedictin José Ripkens walking from Chontayoq to Huaraz. Ripkens found in Don Shanti a consultant for his own Quechua studies and a meticulous translator of the New Testament from Spanish into HZQ. Along with his written works on Quechua, Don Shanti also worked as a catechist in the city of Huaraz and Chontayoq. Nowadays, he is in charge of the direction of the church of Chontayoq. Every Sunday, he flanks the Spanish speaking priest during the mass and translates parts of it into HZQ, in order to include the old monolingual *campesinos* in the understanding of the message of *Tayta Dios* (Father God).

I also mention the religious commitment of Don Shanti because it helps contextualize some examples cited in the present work. Indeed, part of the self elicited video material are two video recordings of Don Shanti's sermons. Thus, for example, the negative similitude *Manam heenootsu nishqa Jesús* (Jesus did not speak like that) used by Don Shanti during one of his sermon find its explanation in his religious commitment. He reports that some people in the village prefer to talk directly to God, without confessing themselves to the priest. But Don Shanti is convinced that, contrary to what they think, this is not what Jesus said.

Don Shanti has played an essential role in my fieldwork and I am extremely thankful to all the help he has offered me. At the time of my first field work he was 85 years old and was still living in Chontayoq with his family. He warmly received me into his house and introduced me to the people of the village. He and his family were not simply hosts but friends and research partners. Thanks to their willingness to share their local cultural knowledge, I learned a lot about HZQ cultural practices as well as Andean values. These turned out to be essential for the understanding of negation in HZQ. The present work and specifically PART IV reflect this and show how habitual understanding and sociocultural values play a major role in the functioning of negation.

Due to Don Shanti's commitment to keeping alive and disseminating the Quechua language, he was enthusiastic in introducing me, a European scholar, to the people of Chontayoq. Thanks to him,

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castellano; castellano-quechua". In this dissertation, only the published stories of *Cuentos y relatos* make up the data I analyzed with Toolbox, not the rest of the work.

I got to know the few monolingual elderly women of the village who were wholehearted in sharing moments of their life with me and telling me traditional stories<sup>14</sup>. Don Shanti also introduced me to the director of the Spanish speaking school of Chontayoq, who in turn kindly helped me make contact with the school teachers and children. The work with the children has been the highlight of my fieldwork. Their joy and pride in writing storytellings in HZQ and creating colorful paintings to accompany every story motivated my work there<sup>1516</sup>.

To analyze the storytellings of the anthology, I made use of Toolbox, a common working format for data management and text annotation. For the data handling, I am thankful to David Weber and Kilu von Prince. In 2011 in Lima, David Weber offered me a digitalized version of *Cuentos y relatos*, speeding up and facilitating the process of data conversion that I initially started using an OCR (Optical Character Recognition) program. In Berlin, Kilu von Prince introduced me to the programming world of Toolbox and helped me insert the data into it. The archive contains three lines: the original text (or transcription in the case of the video material), a morpheme-by-morpheme glossing annotation that I have programmed by myself and a Spanish translation. In case of *Cuentos y relatos*, the Spanish translation was already part of the anthology. No modifications or extra clarifications to this translation were done in Toolbox.

The program has been particularly helpful in searching for concordances. This option helped me to discover whether a certain combination of markers exists in the language and if so, in what contexts and in which text it appears. I organized the data such that it was straightforward to distinguish between anthology data and video material as well as to recognize, in the case of *Cuentos y relatos*, to which text they belonged. The tool enabled me to answer questions such as: What is the co-text of the negative marker under study? Which suffixes frequently co-occur with a particular negative marker? What is the privileged word order of a particular negative construction? What is the communicative function of a particular negative marker or negative construction?

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<sup>14</sup> Depending on the point in question, in the present work I use the term “traditional” in expressions such as “traditional storytelling” and “traditional knowledge”. These expressions reflect respectively the Spanish emic terms “cuentos tradicionales” and “conocimientos tradicionales”. The HZQ counterparts are respectively *unay willakuykuna* and *unay yachaykuna* (*unay* “long ago”). With “traditional” I do not refer to a static indigenous knowledge, but to the way the existing knowledge is acquired and used. In particular, I refer to the social process of learning and sharing knowledge, as well as to the experience gained over the centuries and adapted to the changing local environment. Traditional knowledge permeates through languages in common knowledge, sociocultural values, habitual understandings, community laws and agricultural and herding practices and takes the form of storytellings, songs, folklore, proverbs, riddles, way of says, beliefs, among others. In addition, in the present work I also use the term “local” when I lay emphasis on the place of the specific cultural knowledge I refer to.

<sup>15</sup> According to the ministerial prescription, the school of Chontayoq should apply the Intercultural Bilingual Education program because of the use of Quechua in the village and because of its geographical location. However, the director and the teachers only speak Spanish with the children during classes and outside the school.

<sup>16</sup> The storytellings written by the children do not make part of the present work. The AWI association in Huaraz is in charge of printing them as a colorful small book to donate to the school and to the families of the village of Chontayoq. I have done the same work with the children of Chavin and a second book will be published for them. In Singer & Villari (2016) I have dealt with methodological issues on work with Quechua-Spanish bilingual children.

## 2.2 Self elicited video material

I recorded the video material during my eight months fieldwork conducted in 2011 and 2013.

2011 was my very first visit to Peru. After a period of acclimatization in Lima, I traveled alone to the Ancash region, without knowing in which city I wanted to conduct my field work. At that time, I did not know that Don Shanti, the author of the anthology I had been analyzing in Berlin, was still alive. When I first arrived in Huaraz, the only people I knew there were the Quechua scholars Diana and Daniel Hintz. They not only gave me precious practical advice for the fieldwork but also introduced me to the people that made my fieldwork time so fruitful. Firstly, my Quechua consultant Leonel (see § 2.3). Secondly, the AWI association, with whom I am now cooperating in publishing children's books in HZQ. Thirdly, Félix Julca, Quechua professor at the UNASAM and PUCP (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú). Thanks to the help of Félix Julca, I could start my fieldwork in the village of Chavin. In the present work, only four small stories told by an 8 year-old boy (Eladio) from Chavin are included. However, my time there was extremely useful in learning about the HZQ language and culture as well as understanding the different sociolinguistic scenarios of the periphery of Huaraz.

Chavin is located approximately 30 min. south from Huaraz, up in the Cordillera Blanca at an altitude of 3.400 meters above the sea level. There, I was hosted by a HZQ speaking family, with whom I regularly spent the first half of the week for a period of about two months. Together with the parents and two children (a 13 year-old girl and a 16 year-old boy), the 95 year-old grandmother also lived with them. In this village HZQ is still the first language spoken by most of the children<sup>17</sup>. Even when the school is a Spanish speaking school (as is the school in Chontayoq), Quechua is often spoken at home among the family members. Children communicate amongst themselves mainly in Quechua, although Spanish is also used. While children and men are Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers, old people and women in Chavin are mostly monolingual in Quechua and many of them are analphabet. During my stay, I experimented with different video recording techniques. One of them, with the permission of my host family, was to leave the video camera close to the cooker (*tullpa*) and record different hours of conversations between the family members. However, this family did not have an internal communal area, such as a kitchen, where they daily got together. Their communal area was the courtyard outside the house and inside the house were only the sleeping rooms and the warehouse. Unfortunately, this meant that the quality of the sound in such a windy outside context was not good enough to develop a linguistic analysis of the registered data and is why only very few oral texts from my stay there are included in the present study.

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<sup>17</sup> At the time of the publication of the present study, the sociolinguistic scenarios depicted here may have changed. With Anderson's words (2009: 24), "most of our investigations are a snapshot" ("la mayoría de nuestras investigaciones constituye una fotografía instantánea").

Only during the last month of my first field work, I found out that Don Shanti was still alive and living in Chontayoq. From that moment on, I decided to conduct the rest of the field work and the successive one in 2013 in Chontayoq.

Chontayoq presents a different sociolinguistic scenario than Chavin (see Chapter 9 The current use of Huaraz Quechua). It is located on the other side of the river, about 20 min. by *combi* (local bus) up on the Cordillera Negra. Due to its closeness to Huaraz and because it is well served by the *combis* thanks to the better road, most of the inhabitants of Chontayoq are bilingual, except for the elderly women, who are monolingual in Quechua. Families differ in the use of HZQ: the presence of a grandparent plays a crucial role in the use of HZQ at home. Children communicate amongst themselves both in Spanish and Quechua. The school is a Spanish speaking school. In Chontayoq I recorded different kinds of video material, during which I was mostly present. Some are storytellings I was told by *campesinos*: an old woman monolingual in HZQ (Doña Augusta), a bilingual man (Hernán) and two bilingual women (Modesta and Juanita). Worth mentioning is the fact that Doña Augusta, the old woman monolingual in Quechua, told me her stories in front of the bilingual Juanita, who repeatedly intervened during the stories. Her questions to Doña Augusta about the story plot, the feedback expressing her pity, anger or concern about the characters of the story as well as her frequent comments, give the recordings a mixed status between storytelling and dialogue. Indeed, Quechua storytellings often have a co-participation structure. The continuous interventions of the listener give the storytelling a highly interactive quality, such that the plot is jointly constructed in a dialogical manner by both participants (Mannheim & Van Vleet, 1998). As shown in Chapter 22, this dialogic structure and the need to express evaluative comments based on the local sociocultural values, motivate the use of negation particularly in the final sequences of storytellings. In addition to the storytellings told by Doña Augusta, Hernán, Modesta and Juanita, two other types of recordings make up the video material recorded in Chontayoq: two sermons told by Don Shanti and an interview about the use of water in Chontayoq carried out by the bilingual Anita with the bilingual Don Marino.

Along with the material recorded in the two villages of Chavin and Chontayoq, I also recorded some video material in the city of Huaraz. Here, I had the good fortune to meet the family I introduced in the theoretical chapter. At the time of my field work, the four children (20-30 years old), the parents (40-50 years old) and the paternal grandmother (83 years old) lived together in a house in the urbanized area of Sierra Hermosa, in the periphery of Huaraz. A few houses away lived the maternal grandmother (65 years old) together with the great-grandmother (105 years old). The parents speak HZQ with the monolingual maternal great-grandmother and paternal grandmother as well as with the bilingual maternal grandmother, whereas they speak Spanish with their children (who barely speak HZQ). Therefore, the languages used at home depend on the participants to the conversation, which

reflects Eckert's concept of selective adoption of different *personae* according to the different contexts (2014: 652 – my cursive). Part of the recorded material of the present work was elicited among this four generations of family members. Two storytellings are told by the 65 years old grandmother (Abuela Marina) to her daughter Elisa (40-50 years old) and life stories are told by the 105 years old great-grandmother (Bisabuela Amanda) to the granddaughter Elisa. This last recording again has a mixed status between storytelling and dialogue, due to the frequent interventions of the granddaughter. Finally, the material recorded in Huaraz includes three traditional storytellings told by a bilingual female teacher (Narciza) who lives in the city and works for the Ministry of Education on the Intercultural Bilingual Education (from now on EIB)<sup>18</sup> program. Most of the recordings date back to 2011.

In 2013 I conducted my second fieldwork. This time I decided not to live directly in the village of Chontayoq, since I had my 9 months old son with me. I lived in Huaraz and commuted daily to Chontayoq several days a week. This second field work was crucial for the data analysis. I worked with my two consultants Ana Julca de Menacho (from now on Anita) and Leonel Menacho López (from now on Leonel) on the transcription, translation into Spanish and analysis of the recorded data. At the same time, I inserted the elicited data into Toolbox.

To refer to Anita and Leonel as simple consultants does not reflect the full reality. They have been my reference point since my first fieldwork in 2011. Since then, they have continued to share their knowledge of the HZQ language and culture as well as their life stories of the times in which they were living in Quechua speaking villages and their experiences as EIB teachers. After my second field work, I had the chance to host them in Berlin for a period of three months in the summer of 2014<sup>19</sup> and regularly talked to them via Skype. I cannot imagine a better support for the analysis of my data and I am indebted to them for what they have taught me.

In sum, the video material was recorded in 2011 and 2013 in the villages of Chavin and Chontayoq, and in the city of Huaraz. It consists of 22 transcribed texts, translated into Spanish, from three hours of recorded material. The speakers consist of 4 men and 9 women, whose ages range between 8 and 105 years. I provide the age of the speaker when known, and a span of ten years when the exact age is uncertain. I did not have the chance to ask all speakers for their permission to use their names, so I use pseudonyms in place of their real names. My consultants Leonel and Anita as well as Don Shanti, Juanita and Don Marino explicitly gave permission to use their names. For any other person I do not provide personal data in order to respect their privacy.

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<sup>18</sup> The acronym EIB stands for “Educación Intercultural Bilingüe”.

<sup>19</sup> Leonel and Anita have granted a scholarship from the Institute of Integrative Geography of Hamburg (Germany). We all have cooperated in a project about climate changes and water issues in the peripheral villages of Huaraz.

The texts genres include mainly folktales and narratives of personal experiences as well as an interview about the use of water in Chontayoq and two sermons. My role during most of the video recordings was limited to one of listener (such as in the case of the sermons) or to give limited encouragement, what Backer and Mannheim (1995: 245) define as a “what sayer”. The interview about the use of water has more the character of a conversation: Anita, a bilingual 60-years-old woman, interviews the bilingual Don Marino about the use of water in his village. I was in the house during this interview but not close to the participants all the time. Table 1 presents a list of the recorded material with additional metadata.

Table 1 List of the self elicited video material of 2011 and 2013

Name and initials of the speaker	Gender of the speaker	Age (range) of the speaker	Place of recording	Title of the text in SPA	Title of the text in ENG	Duration	Text genre
Eladio (E)	M	8	Chavin	El cuento del alma	The story of the soul	35''	Folktale
				El diablo	The devil	30''	Folktale
				La muerte de mi tío	The death of my uncle	45''	Narrative of personal experience
				El puma y la mujer	The puma and the woman	30''	Folktale
Abuela Marina (AM) telling to Elisa (ELI)	F & F	65 & 40-50	Huaraz	El cuento del sapo	The story of the toad	1'15''	Folktale
				<i>Qeqe</i>	<i>Qeqe</i>	1'30''	Folktale
Narciza (N)	F	42	Huaraz	Una noche en Kitaflor	A night in Kitaflor	2'	Narrative of personal experience
				Una noche de miedo	A night of fear	1'30''	Narrative of personal experience
				<i>Ichick Ollqu</i>	<i>Ichick Ollqu</i>	1'15''	Folktale
				El puente de quenual	The quenual bridge	2''	Folktale
Doña Próspera (DP)	F	40-50	Chontayoc	Las bodas al tiempo de mis padres	Marriage at the time of my parents	8'	Narrative of personal experience

Name and initials of the speaker	Gender of the speaker	Age (range) of the speaker	Place of recording	Title of the text in SPA	Title of the text in ENG	Duration	Text genre
Don Shanti (DS)	M	85	Chontayoq	Misa 30agosto2011	Mass 30th August 2011	12'	Sermon
				Misa 18 septiembre 2011 (I-IV)	Mass 18th September 2011 (I-IV)	35'30''	Sermon
Bisabuela Amanda (BA) telling to Elisa (ELI)	F & F	105 & 40-50	Huaraz	Historias de vida (I-V)	Life Stories (I-V)	51'30''	Narrative of personal experience
Hernán (H)	M	30-40	Chontayoq	<i>Ashnu Tomás</i>	<i>Ashnu Tomás</i>	1'	Folktale
Hernán (H) & Modesta (M)	M & F	30-40	Chontayoq	Cuentos	Stories	3'	Conversation
Modesta (M)	F	30-40	Chontayoq	El cuento del zorro	The story of the fox	3'	Folktale
Doña Augusta (DA) telling to Juanita (J)	F	90-100	Chontayoq	<i>Achikee</i>	<i>Achikee</i>	13'	Folktale
				<i>Pedro Ordemal</i>	<i>Pedro Ordemal</i>	5'30''	Folktale
				El cuento de la piedra	The story of the stone	4'	Folktale
Anita (ANI) & Don Marino (DM)	F & M	60 & 40-50	Chontayoq	El agua en Chontayoq	The water in Chontayoq	12'30''	Interview about of the use of water
Juanita (J)	F	40-50	Chontayoq	El cuento del río	The story of the river	10'	Folktale

### 2.3 Examples offered by Leonel Menacho López

As illustrated above, only the texts of *Cuentos y relatos* and the self elicited video material make up the data I inserted into and analyzed with the linguistic program Toolbox. I will refer to these data as Toolbox data. With the help of my consultants Anita and Leonel, I transcribed and translated them into Spanish.

During the process of data analysis, Leonel regularly offered me useful examples in HZQ that helped me understand the uses and functions of the negative markers under study. In the present work I will similarly use his examples to make the relevant point clear to the reader, such as a clarification of possible or impossible constructions in the language. This can be seen, for instance, in the difference between the tag questions *oo* and *manaku* (Chapter 16). Leonel's examples help me show how *manaku* as a tag question can only be postponed to positive declarative sentences. Its use in the negative declarative sentences is ungrammatical and only *oo* as a tag question is admitted.

Moreover, I will use Leonel's examples to describe old HZQ terms that are disappearing, and not present in my Toolbox data, but are still relevant to this study – for example the warning word *paqtataq*. Using Leonel's examples, I will show that when the warning words *paqtataq* or *yo* co-occur, together with a negative conditional form (*-tsu*), they do not convey a negative recommendation. Indeed, the only possible reading of such a construction is a positive recommendation and not a negative one ((119) and (120)).

Finally, Leonel's examples will help demonstrate the tight correlation between language and culture by providing common sayings and reflect HZQ specific cultural values. This is seen in the common saying about a gossipy woman who spreads too many rumors and lies, that reflects one of the uses of negative existentials: *Tsee warmi kaqta mana kaqtapis rimakiikanmi* (This woman talks about what there is and what there is not) (37). It is also seen in terms used to refer to people that steal, *rukusnoo nuna* (man like a falcon), or people that treat others badly, *allqotsaakoq* (who treats people like dogs) (footnote 105).

The fact that Leonel spent his childhood with his grandmother means he possesses a deep knowledge of the Quechua language and culture. Born in the rural village of Pira (Ancash), Leonel grew up with his grandmother, who was monolingual in Quechua. However, he spent most of his adult life in Huaraz, and considers himself a HZQ-Spanish bilingual speaker. He worked as a school teacher in different villages of the Ancash region, teaching mathematics and communications in Spanish and HZQ. Moreover, he worked as a language consultant for the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). He received a linguistic training by the Quechua linguist David Weber and other members of the SIL. Since the '80s, he has been occasionally working as a consultant for the Ministry

of Education of Peru in bilingual teachers training programs and in the edition of Quechua school books. Nowadays, he is professor of Intercultural Bilingual Education at the UNASAM in Huaraz.

I include these details about his education because, as in the case of Don Shanti, his linguistic training potentially influences his perception of the HZQ language and therefore alters the HZQ examples he offers me. Conversely, through this linguistic education he has developed a vivid way of reflecting about the HZQ structures. This has allowed him to think about different contexts of use and different discourse-pragmatic functions of the linguistic markers under study. Indeed, I have discussed with him most of the examples presented in this dissertation.

Lastly, Leonel has occasionally taken note of negative sentences while listening to a Quechua radio program in Huaraz. I present some of these examples only in § 17.2 Prohibitives.

## 2.4 Other data

Examples, articles and grammars of different Quechua varieties are occasionally used as a comparison with the HZQ data. In § 17.1 Negative recommendation, examples taken from the New Testament of Huaylas Quechua (2007), kindly provided by Daniel Hintz, are employed to better explain the use of warning words. In § 3.2 Data references, I will explain how I cite these different data in the dissertation.

## 3 Conventions

In this chapter, I present the conventions I have adopted in the present work. After a general description on the format valid for all data (§ 3.1), I will illustrate the conventions used to cite the data references (§ 3.2). I will then present the orthography conventions used in the different data sources (§ 3.3).

### 3.1 Format

As a rule, every example consists of 6 lines:

(2) “*Keechoo nunakuna **allaapa manaallim.***”

<i>Kay-chaw</i>	<i>nuna-kuna</i>	<i>allaapa</i>	<i>manaalli-mi</i>
this-LOC	man-PL.N	very	bad-DIR

“Aquí la gente es **muy mala.**”

“Here people are **very bad.**”

(Viaje de catequistas al Departamento de Huánuco, 102-129: 129)

First and second lines appear in cursive.

Line 1 corresponds to the actual pronunciation in case of the video material or to the original source's transcription (mostly *Cuentos y relatos*). The orthography adopted here, is the same as the one used in the main text of the present work (for example, *Achikee* instead of *Achikay* – see § 3.3).

Line 2 is the outcome of my own linguistics analysis and represents an (approximate) phonemic form. It has no punctuation. Suffixes are separated by hyphens. Here I have used a writing system traditionally used by linguists who work on Quechua. For both the first and second lines, orthography conventions used on transcription of the video material are dealt below. Additionally, Table 2 shows the differences between the orthography conventions used in the rest of the data sources.

Line 3 is the glossing line. Lexical roots are not capitalized and suffixes appear in small caps. Lexical roots are glossed according to their most frequent meaning. For example, the word *patsa-* is glossed as “earth” in line 3, but according to the context it can be translated as “soil” in line 5. I follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, accommodated to the work of Daniel Hintz (2011) on South Conchucos Quechua. For example, the evidential suffixes are glossed as *-mi* (DIR), *-shi* (RPT) and *-chi* (CNJ); the suffix *-lla* is glossed as delimitative (DLM); the subordinative suffixes *-pti* is glossed as different subject (DS). Differently from Daniel Hintz (2011), I deal in HZQ with two adverbial suffixes used when the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the one of the main clause: *-shpa* (SS)<sup>20</sup> and *-r* (SS.1). Also different from Daniel Hintz (2011) are the glosses for *-kush* (Q.U) (question with uncertainty), which is used in HZQ by a speaker, who does not expect a certain answer from his interlocutor (§ 15.3) and the warning word *-yo* (WARN) (§ 17.1.1). Finally, I introduce the gloss CNTRD for the suffix *-taq*, which is specifically used in HZQ to contradict the participants' expectations (§ 20.2) and the gloss HAVE.NOT for the privative suffix *-nnaq* (§ 18.2). A list of glossing abbreviations is located in the front matter.

Lines 4 and 5 are the translations into Spanish and English, respectively.

Spanish translations were already present in the bilingual anthology *Cuentos y relatos* and in the few examples of the New Testament of Huaylas Quechua (2007) (limited to § 17.1 Negative recommendations). In all other cases, I undertook the Spanish translations with the help of Anita and Leonel. Our useful conversations about the examples presented allowed me to work on the English translations. In the specific cases of *Cuentos y relatos*, English translations help the reader to focus on the meaning of the relevant marker, which gets often lost in the free Spanish translations made by Don Shanti. English translations have been reviewed by an English native speaker. The aim of my Spanish and English translations is to offer a balance between literal translation and free translation, so that the reader can understand the relevant point under discussion.

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<sup>20</sup> The difference is that *-shpa* (SS) is never followed by a possessive suffix, while *-r* (SS.1) does (see § 14.1 Privative clauses with *-shpa* (SS)).

I have used square brackets to insert information that was mentioned previously in the context but not in the example presented, as in (84): Did the mountains look] like now or not?). Moreover, I have inserted a parenthesis close to the translations to better explain the meaning of the suffix under study or to offer a literary translation (in this case indicated as “lit.”). This is the case of the parenthesis added to specify the function of *-taq* (CNTRD) in (3). Different from the participants’ expectations, the men bought a *wiskur* (a bird that cannot be bred nor eaten) instead of a chicken:

(3) “*Kee wiskurtaq, sonsu,*” *nishpa*.

<i>Kay</i>	<i>wiskur-taq</i>	<i>sonsu</i>	<i>ni-shpa</i>
this	turkey-CNTRD	dummy	say-SS

“**Este es un gallinazo**, zonzó”.

“**This is a wiskur**, dummy,” he said. (Not a chicken!)

(Dos chuquis van a la montaña, 286-289: 38)

Line 6 consists of the data reference, whose conventions are explained in § 3.2. In the case of *Cuentos y relatos*, I will only indicate the lines of the HZQ version, since the Spanish translation did not appear in the digitalized version of the anthology I worked on. If an example consists of more than one sentence, these will be presented together in line 1, as well as in line 4 (Spanish translation) and line 5 (English translation). However, for matters of space, in line 2 and 3 the sentences will be presented separately. For example:

(4) *Imallash imallash: rinrin kantsu peru wiyán. Shimin kantsu peru parlan? Radyu.*

<i>Ima-lla-shi</i>	<i>ima-lla-shi:</i>	<i>rinri-n peru</i>	<i>wiya-n</i>
what-DLM-RPT	what-DLM-RPT	ear-3 but	listen-3

<i>Shimi-n</i>	<i>ka-n-tsu</i>	<i>peru</i>	<i>parla-n</i>
mouth-3	be-3-NEG	but	speak-3

*Radyu*  
radio

¿Qué será? ¿qué será?: **no tiene oído** pero oye. **No tiene boca** pero habla. La radio.  
What is it? What is it? **It has no ears** but it listens. **It has no mouth** but it speaks. The radio.

(Adivinanzas, 464-467: 24-26)

The relevant marker is always boldfaced and underlined in line 1 and in lines 4 and 5 (the translation lines). In this way, the reader can immediately identify the relevant marker in the context.

Due to space restrictions, in PART III I limit multi-clause examples to when they are specifically required by the reader to understand the relevant marker. Conversely, in PART IV I

mostly present multi-clause examples because there I deal with four particular functions of negation in linguistic interactions. This methodology is in line with my theoretical approach, for which only the analysis of a broad context and co-text allows to explain functions and meanings of different negative markers. At the same time, this is in order to allow other researchers to look for other linguistic phenomena in the data presented.

A multi-clause example of a dialogic interaction looks like the following one, where Hernán (H) speaks with Modesta (M). The speaker's abbreviations are omitted only in the analysis lines:

(5) H: *Manam cuentuta reqenki?*

M: **Maakutsu. Qonqaykurqu.**

H: *Upachi kanki ni.*

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>cuentu-ta</i>	<i>reqi-nki</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	story-OBJ	know-2

<i>Maaku-tsu</i>	<i>qunqa-yku-rqu</i>
realize-NEG	remember-PFV-PST

<i>Uupa-chi</i>	<i>ka-nki</i>	<i>ni</i>
stupid-CNJ	be-2	NOR

H: ¿No conoces un cuento?

M: **No me doy cuenta (No recuerdo). Me he olvidado.**

H: Eres una tonta, ¿no?

H: Don't you know a story?

M: **I don't remember. I forgot it.**

H: You are silly, aren't you?

(H & M, Cuentos, 47-50)

Many examples are contextualized and cultural information is provided just before or after the example. Moreover, visual information is added, in the text or in parenthesis close to the example, when it helps the reader grasp the meaning of the specific marker under study. This is the case of the intensifier *paseepa* (completely) which means “not at all” in negative contexts. It is used by Don Shanti during a sermon (202). Don Shanti's linguistic description of María Magdalena as an *allaapa mana alli warmi* (very bad woman), who lived a *todo mala vidallachoo* (very bad life), finds its physical counterpart in Don Shanti's movements. While pronouncing the intensifier *paseepa* in *punta Teeta Dios mana yarpanaqtsu paseepa* (at the beginning she [María Magdalena] did **not** remember about Father God **at all**) he moves his index finger as for saying *no*.

The examples are numbered consecutively in the present work. Finally, if no language name is specified, the example is from HZQ. In all other cases, the name of the Quechua variety is given in parenthesis together with the name of the cited author (see § 3.2).

### 3.2 Data references

Line 6 provides the data references between parentheses. Since many different data sources are used, it is useful to explain individually how they are cited.

- Examples taken from *Cuentos y relatos* are cited as follows:

Storytelling's title in Spanish, number of the storytellings's pages: line(s) of the cited sentence(s) that contain the relevant marker

(El perro y su compadre, 324-333: 87-89)<sup>21</sup>

- Examples offered by Leonel are simply indicated as:

(Leonel)

In a few cases limited to § 17.2 Prohibitives, Leonel transcribed sentences from a HZQ radio program.

In this case, the data references are cited as follows:

Name of the program: name of the speaker, date, time

(Radio OK: Fabián Rosales, 30.09.14, 5.25h)

- The few examples from the New Testament of Huaylas Quechua (2007)<sup>22</sup> (all circumscribed in § 17.1 Negative recommendations) are cited as follows:

(Mateo 6.1)

- Other authors' examples are indicated as follows:

Name of the Quechua variety, name(s) and surname(s) of the author(s), date of the book: page of the cited example

(Tarma Quechua, Willem F. H. Adelaar, 2007: 306)

- The references of the self elicited video material are cited as follows:

Initials of the speakers, title of the oral text, line(s) of transcription

(DA, Achikee, 224-226)<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Occasionally, in the digitalized version of *Cuentos y relatos* that I used for my data analysis in Toolbox, the numbers of the quoted lines do not correspond exactly to the original ones. In these cases, interested researchers can find the Quechua quoted example right few lines before or after the lines I quote in the present work. Moreover, the quoted lines only refer to the Quechua version of the anthology. Unfortunately, in the digitalized version, I don't have the numbers of the quoted Spanish translation, which is right next to the Quechua version in the original work.

<sup>22</sup> Kindly provided by Daniel Hintz.

<sup>23</sup> In the present work, I adopt the orthography which reflects the actual pronunciation of the titles of the traditional storytellings *Achikee* and *Qeqe* instead of the etymological orthography *Achikay* and *Qiqi*. The equivalent storytellings in *Cuentos y relatos* are *La bruja/Achikee* and *La quequi/Qeqi*, respectively in the Spanish and HZQ version.

### 3.3 Orthography conventions

#### Self elicited video material

Orthography conventions adopted in the transcription of the self elicited video material refer to line 1 and 2. As explained above, line 1 offers the pronunciation and line 2 represents an (approximate) phonemic form.

In both lines, consonants representation differs from IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) as follows. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is represented as *sh*. The voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ is represented as *ch*. The palatal lateral /ʎ/ is represented as *ll*. The palatal semi-vowel /j/ is represented as *y*. *q* represents a uvular that can be plosive or fricative. Furthermore, when the alveolar nasal *n* precedes the plosive bilabial *p*, it is pronounced as *m*. So, we will find *m* in line 1 (*maakunampaq*) and *n* in line 2 (*maakunanpaq*) (so that he gets it). Also evidential suffixes, i.e. *-m/-mi* (direct), *-ch/-chi* (conjectural) and *-sh/-shi* (reported) are represented as pronounced in line 1, while as *-mi*, *-chi* and *-shi* in line 2.

In addition, the representation of vowels differs between the first and the second line.

Long vowels are represented as long as they are pronounced in line 1, while they are represented as short in line 2. For example, the verbal plural suffix *-ya/-yaa* is always represented as *-ya* in line 2. In particular, long vowels whose meaning is the first person are represented as long vowels in line 1 and as *-:* (1) in line 2. In line 1 high vowels are represented as lowered as they are pronounced. The lowering can be due to different reasons. Among them, there are phonological conditions, as the case of *u* which is lowered to *o* before and after *q*. So, *nuqa* “I” is pronounced as *noqa* and *allqu* “dog” is pronounced as *allqo*. In line 1 we will find *noqa* and *allqo*, while in line 2 *nuqa* and *allqu*. Furthermore, high vowels can be lowered due to morphophonemic reasons. This happens, for example, when they are followed by a triggering suffix. Common triggering suffixes are *-mu* (FAR), *-tsi* (CAUS) and *-ma* (IOBJ). The triggering suffix does not have to be contiguous to the susceptible suffix. For example, the suffix *-ri* (PUNC) gets lowered to *-ra* when followed by *-mu* (FAR). So, *heqarayaamurqan* (they came to me) in line 1 is represented in line 2 as *heqa-ri-ya-mu-rqa-n*. Thus, the suffixes that present a lowered allomorph (see list of glossing abbreviation in the front matter), such as the punctual suffix *-ri/-ra*, are represented with their actual pronunciation in line 1, while line 2 show the lowered allomorph, i.e. *-ra*. In some previous works on Quechua, vowels susceptible to morphophonemic lowering are represented with a capital U and I, as *-rkU* (for *-rku/-rka*) and *-rI* (for *-ri/-ra*). I do not follow this convention here. Monophthongation also affects vowel quality. As outcome of historically complexity reduction, three monophthongs are pronounced as long vowels: *ay* is pronounced as long *e* [e:], *uy* is pronounced as long *i* [i:], *aw* is pronounced as long *o* [o:]. In this

case, I decided not to use the IPA symbol for vowel length (:) and to write the vowel as repeated instead, respectively <ee>, <ii> and <oo>. Two examples follow:

- the word *tseenootsu* “not like that” in line 1 (IPA transcription tse: no: tsu) is represented in line 2 as *tsay-naw-tsu* and glossed in line 3 as “that-SIM-NEG”<sup>24</sup>

- the word *shamii* “come!” in line 1 (IPA transcription ʃami:) is represented in line 2 as *shamu-y* and glossed in line 3 as “come-2IMP”

High frequency lexical items are also affected by monophthongation, as the words *kay* (this) and *aywa-* (to go) respectively pronounced as *kee* and *eewa-*. Mid vowels *e* and *o* are represented in line 1 when they reflect the speaker pronunciation<sup>25</sup>. Occasionally, as for the possessive suffix *-yoq*, the warning word *yo* (WARN) and for Spanish loans, they are also represented in line 2.

The choice of presenting two lines with different orthographies was carefully considered. Although it makes the cited example longer, it helps me remain loyal to the data, which I consider more important. In this way, I can show the actual pronunciation, in cases of self elicited data, and the original orthography adopted by Don Shanti in *Cuentos y relatos*. For a meticulous description of the Quechua phonology of the region, I refer to Gary Parker (1976) on Ancash-Huailas Quechua and Daniel Hintz on Corongo Quechua (2000). I also recommend David Weber (1996) on Huallaga Quechua (Huánuco).

### ***Cuentos y relatos en el quechua de Huaraz***

Orthography conventions used by Don Shanti in *Cuentos y relatos* are presented in Table 2, which compares the orthography conventions of the different data sources. These conventions presented in Table 2 refer to line 1. Orthography conventions used in line 2 are the same as described above in Self elicited video material.

Since the anthology is a bilingual work, I treat both Quechua and Spanish lines as quotations. Therefore, I decided neither to correct the writing mistakes in Spanish nor the ones in HZQ. For example, I did not modify the numeral *treintisinku* into “treinta y cinco” (thirty-five). In addition, I respect the use of inverted commas in fictive dialogues in *Cuentos y relatos*. For example, this is the case of (3) “*Kee wiskurtaq, sonsu,*”, that is a direct discourse of a fictive dialogue.

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<sup>24</sup> Some speakers pronounce *tseenootsu* as *heenootsu*. In line 1 I will write it as it is pronounced.

<sup>25</sup> There is a long controversy about considering *e* and *o* as Ancash Quechua phonemes or not. Compare Julca (2009a: 101) to Daniel Hintz (2011: 19). I align with Daniel Hintz (2011: 19) who affirms that Spanish loans introduced phonemes *e* and *o* to the native Quechua phonemes.

## Other authors

For the examples offered by Leonel I adopted the same orthography conventions used for the self elicited data. Table 2 shows the orthography conventions that differ in the data sources cited in the present work<sup>26</sup>.

Table 2 Different orthography conventions used in the data sources cited the most in the present work

IPA transcription <sup>27</sup>	Self elicited data and Leonel's examples	<i>Cuentos y relatos</i> (1974)	Weber (1996) <sup>28</sup>	New Testament of Huaylas Quechua (2007)
a: <sup>29</sup>	aa <sup>30</sup>	aa	ä	ä
ka	ka	ka	ca	ca
ko	ko	ko <sup>31</sup>	co	co
ku	ku	ku	cu	cu
ke	ke <sup>32</sup>	ke	que	que
ki	ki	ki	qui	qui
tʃ	ch	ch	ch	ch
ʃ	sh	sh	sh	sh
ʎ	ll	ll	ll	ll
g	q	q	j	q
j	y	y	y	y

## 4 Organization of the study

This dissertation consists of V parts.

In the present PART I, I introduced my theoretical approach of interplay of language and culture together with my research questions (Chapter 1). In line with the assumption that the assessment of linguistic data can be carried out only through the analysis of a large body of data which entails different occurrences of negation, in Chapter 2 I presented my data and the methodology. Then in Chapter 3 I explain the conventions adopted.

<sup>26</sup> A list of native phonemes of HZQ is presented in Table 6.

<sup>27</sup> International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

<sup>28</sup> Here I refer to line 1 of Weber (1996)'s examples. In line 2 (approximated phonemic form of the Quechua text) the author uses the following transcriptions: ä, ka, ko, ku, ke, ki, č, š, λ, q and y.

<sup>29</sup> The same conventions are valid for all other long vowels.

<sup>30</sup> As explained above in § 3.3, in line 2 I use *a:* to refer to the first person.

<sup>31</sup> Occasionally *co* in Spanish loans.

<sup>32</sup> The only exception is the word for Quechua. In Huaraz it is mostly pronounced as ketʃua, but I decided to write it as *quechwa* in the present work in order to stay close to the Spanish and English orthography "Quechua". There is a long controversy about how to write it. Other works write it as *kechua*, *kichwa* or *qichwa*. Interestingly, HZQ speakers and Spanish speakers from the urban area of Huaraz, use the uvular G in the word *qichwina* (IPA transcription Gitʃuina) to refer to the women from Caraz, Carhuaz and Yungay that sell their products at the market, which takes place in Huaraz on Monday and Thursday by the Santa River.

In PART II I analyze how the HZQ speakers make use of their language(s) in their dynamic sociocultural environment. Firstly, in Chapter 5 I introduce HZQ within the Quechua language family and in Chapter 6 I offer a sociolinguistic view of Quechua in Peru. Then in Chapter 7 I show how the historical and the sociocultural backgrounds play a central role in the language(s) attitudes of the HZQ speakers. The historical background and the dynamic sociocultural environment motivate both the way they use HZQ and Spanish for different functional areas and the different degrees of knowledge (*lingualism*) of HZQ speakers. In Chapter 8 I define this complex context as a *continuum* of scenarios between HZQ and Spanish and I extend this word to describe how HZQ and Spanish have strongly influenced each other as a result of a long-term contact. In Chapter 9 I describe the specific current uses of HZQ in the urban and rural areas of Huaraz. After a summary of the different sociolinguistic scenarios offered in Chapter 10, in Chapter 11 I present the typological features of HZQ.

PART III focuses on the uses and functions of a selection of negative constructions. In line with the functional approach (Daniel Hintz 2012), the questions that have driven my descriptions of the negative markers are: why is a specific form used instead of another? What is its *function* in a given conversational context? What is the *communicative goal* of the speaker? After positioning my work within the previous studies on negation in Quechua (Chapter 12), I deal with negative independent clauses (Chapter 13), negative dependent clauses (Chapter 14), negative questions (Chapter 15), tag questions (Chapter 16), negative imperative sentences (Chapter 17), negative possession (Chapter 18), different grades of negative adjectives (Chapter 19) and negation intensifiers (Chapter 20).

In PART IV I analyze the functions of negation that I determined through a comprehensive examination of the sociocultural settings. These are to minimize the knowledge of the storyteller (Chapter 21), to contradict the listener's expectation of the story plot and express a moral judgment at the end of the storytellings (Chapter 22), and to correct a misunderstanding of the listener in a direct way (*mana* "no") (Chapter 23). A common thread of these functions of negation are the expectations of the participants to the interaction. I will show how expectations are influenced by the sociocultural background where the interaction takes place. This part of the dissertation therefore intends to show how linguistic description cannot take place without interlacing descriptive linguistics and sociolinguistics together with linguistic anthropology and cultural anthropology.

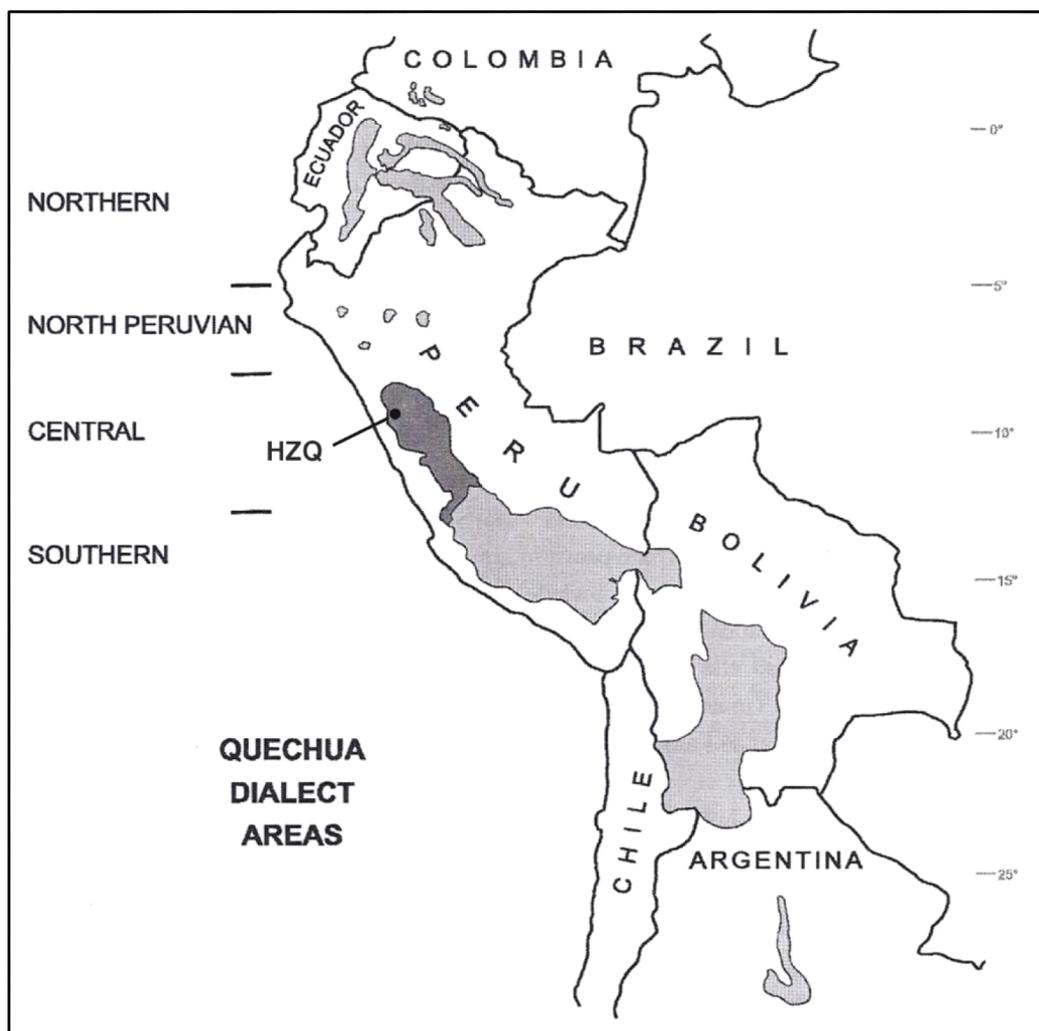
Finally, in PART V I present a summary and draw the conclusions of the dissertation.

**PART II –  
THE HUARAZ QUECHUA SPEAKERS  
IN THEIR DYNAMIC SOCIOCULTURAL ENVIRONMENT**

## 5 The Quechua language family

The Quechua language family is native to western South America and is mainly spoken in the Andean highlands as well as in some jungle areas. It is the most diffused native language in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. “If seen as a unity, Quechua is the most widely spoken Amerindian language today” (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 256). Nevertheless, the area in which Quechua is spoken is not continuous, as shown in Map 1.

Map 1 The four Quechua dialect<sup>33</sup> areas and the position of HZQ



(Map taken from Daniel Hintz (2011: 12) – position of SCQ replaced with the position of HZQ)

The number of Quechua speakers is difficult to determine and sources vary in their estimations. Sichra (2009: 517) counts 6 240 207 Quechua speakers for the whole Andean region, whereas according to

<sup>33</sup> As I will explain in § 7.1 Huaraz Quechua and its speakers, I use the term “dialect” in its linguistic acceptance, as a synonym of “language variety”.

the 16<sup>th</sup> edition of the Ethnologue (2009)<sup>3435</sup>, there are approximately 10 million Quechua speakers distributed throughout Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Within Peru itself, where my research is focused, according to the national census (INEI 2008)<sup>36</sup> there are 3 262 137 Quechua speakers, corresponding to approximately 12% of the total national population (27 412 157).

The estimated number of speakers is strictly connected to the method undertaken by the census takers (Weber 1996: 32). Census data in Peru should be considered a low approximation, due to the different problems often encountered. For instance, the census takers' difficulty in reaching remote rural places can impact estimations, as can the low prestige of Quechua which makes some Quechua speakers confirm they are bilingual even though their knowledge of Spanish may be limited.

Depending on definition and census methods, the number of Quechua languages varies widely. With regard to the number of Quechua languages in Peru, sources also vary extensively in their estimations. The biggest difference in the number of Quechua languages identified is between the Peruvian Ministry of Education and the Ethnologue. Giving particular importance to the dialectal differences and identity issues connected to them, the Ethnologue recognizes 32 Quechua languages in Peru and 46 in the whole of South America (<http://www.ethnologue.com/subgroups/quechuan>). In contrast to the Ethnologue is the Peruvian Ministry of Education, which counts and produces learning materials in 5 Quechua languages (Ancash, Ayacucho-Chanca, Cusco-Collao, Lambayeque-Cañaris, San Martín), clustering sub-varieties into macro-varieties (Villari & Menacho 2017)<sup>37</sup>.

Languages classification is a useful tool for linguists and language planners. However, in order to carry out a fine-grained linguistic analysis it is necessary to consider the peculiarities of a single variety and the speakers' awareness of their own language. By the way Quechua speakers talk and

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<sup>34</sup> [http://archive.ethnologue.com/16/ethno\\_docs/distribution.asp?by=family](http://archive.ethnologue.com/16/ethno_docs/distribution.asp?by=family). The Ethnologue is one of the most comprehensive sources of information of the world's known living languages, promoted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).

<sup>35</sup> The SIL is a Christian no-profit organization, who aids language communities worldwide in building their capacity for sustainable language development of their own native languages. SIL members organize workshops and training for local speakers on multilingual educations as well as on writing system and literature development. Between their main aims are the publishing of reading material on different subjects (such as folk stories, health and hygiene, farming and religious texts) as well as the worldwide Bible translation and its diffusion. In Peru SIL has been present since 1946, working on researches on language and culture on Peruvian's ethnic minority groups. The linguistic and sociolinguistic data on Quechua collected by the SIL members are published in the Ethnologue. In Ancash SIL has been present since 1966 (Villari & Menacho 2017).

<sup>36</sup> The census has been done in 2007 and published in 2008.

<sup>37</sup> The SIL and the Ministry of Education agree with the idea that linguistic issues are strictly related to ethnical identity issues. However, their ideas of how ethnicity relates to language are different. The Peruvian Ministry of Education believes in the importance for the Quechua speakers of feeling part of a unified Quechua family. For this reason, it promotes an etymological orthography as necessary to unify the members of the Quechua family. The SIL, instead, considers Quechua as "a symbol of a very local ethnic identity" (Weber 2005: 64). It is the use of a specific Quechua variety that strengthens the identity feeling inside an ethnic group, excluding all other Quechua speakers that talk differently. Sometimes speakers even give importance to linguistic differences that are insignificant for an outsider. Quechua speakers continue to use their language because "it serves to express solidarity with other members of one's local ethnic group" (Weber 2005: 83). For this reason, the SIL members are convinced that "promoting unification at this time only hastens the abandonment of Quechua" (Weber 2005: 64).

make their own estimations about how they talk, they construct a feeling of belonging to a certain language community, which may be different to the official classifications. Different language and cultural practices allow local groups to maintain and shape their identities as natives belonging to a particular area. These differences function as “markers of local and regional identity” (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 185). As observed in the theoretical approach, this feeling of belonging to a certain language community does not have to be seen as something static. Individual choices in the use of languages are associated with the incessantly changing social environment that shapes new spaces of interaction. In line with social constructionism (Marra 2015), I consider language as a tool to dynamically construct social identities. The very concept of language dialect is a social construction. From Quechua speaking local communities arises the concept of different Quechua varieties and consequently of different ethnic groups. Quechua speakers themselves are fully aware of the differences between the Quechua varieties. In § 7.1, I describe how HZQ speakers perceive the language differences of the speakers in the neighboring city of Caraz and make fun of them because of their different pronunciation. At the same time, they are aware of the mutual intelligibility between HZQ and Caraz Quechua, while not understanding Quechua speakers from the north and the south of Peru. This has been also examined by Adelaar & Muysken (2004: 168) who reports that “if the dialects are not closely related, there may be no mutual comprehension at all”<sup>38</sup>. Thus, in light of the unintelligibility between some Quechua varieties, there is scholarly unanimity in considering Quechua as a family and not a single language.

“Due to the complex character of the phonological and morphological facts and the often subtle formal and semantic shifts that separate the numerous dialects” (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 185), the study of Quechua varieties is of strong theoretical interest since the 1960s.

Two pioneering studies are the ones by Parker (1963) and Torero (1964) that proposed a two-fold division on the base of genetic principles. The first branch possesses a compact and continuous extension and has been called QB by Parker (1963) and QI by Torero (1964). To this branch belongs HZQ. The second branch, defined as QA by Parker (1963) and QII by Torero (1964), has a wider extension and covers the Quechua speaking areas located to the north and to the south of the first branch. In addition to this two-fold classification, Torero (1974) divides QII into three subgroups: QIIA, QIIB and QIIC. In 1991 a four-fold classification of the Quechua dialects was proposed by Landerman (1991: 36) on the basis of geography and typological features. In the following table, I

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<sup>38</sup> This linguistic scenario traces back to the period before the Inca Empire, where Quechua languages were “extended and fragmented” (Torero 1964: 477). According to Alonso de Huerta, also during the Spanish conquest, in 1615, the language diversity was so big that even neighboring villages could not understand each other: “Este nuevo reino del Perú es tan extendido y grande [...] tiene gran diversidad de lenguas, [...] que hay pueblos que con distar unos de otros más de media legua, y aún un cuarto de legua, los de uno no entienden lo que hablan en el otro.” (Toribio de Medina, *La imprenta en Lima*: t. I in Torero 2005: 204).

cite Landerman’s classification as presented by Daniel Hintz (2011: 14). According to this classification, HZQ belongs to Central Quechua.

Table 3 Landerman’s classification of Quechua dialects

<b>Northern Quechua:</b> The varieties spoken in Colombia, Ecuador, and in the Peruvian jungle along northern tributaries of the Amazon River
<b>North Peruvian Quechua:</b> The small and widely separated varieties spoken in Lambayeque, Cajamarca, Chachapoyas, and San Martín
<b>Central Quechua:</b> Twenty varieties spoken in central Peru, including SCQ
<b>Southern Quechua:</b> All varieties spoken south of central Peru

(taken from Daniel Hintz 2011: 14)

Recent studies, for instance Julca (2009a), simplify Landerman’s classification by proposing a three-fold division: “Central Quechua”, “Northern Quechua” and “Southern Quechua”. The last two belong to what Julca calls “Peripheral Quechua”. To summarize, I present in the table below the different Quechua dialects labels mentioned so far. All the labels presented here are in current use by Quechua scholars. I find it convenient to use the label “Central Quechua” in the present work.

Table 4 Different Quechua dialects labels introduced in the present work

Parker (1963)	Torero (1964)	Landerman (1991)	Julca (2009a)
QA	QII		<b>Peripheral Quechua</b>
	QIIA	<b>North Peruvian Quechua</b>	Northern Quechua
	QIIB	<b>Northern Quechua</b>	
	QIIC	<b>Southern Quechua</b>	Southern Quechua
<b>QB</b>	<b>QI</b>	<b>Central Quechua</b>	<b>Central Quechua</b>

As noted above, this classification does not correspond to a clear-cut division between Quechua languages. As reported by Daniel Hintz (2011: 14), “the Quechua language family could be further characterized as four regional dialect *continua*, with diverse linguistic patterns and structures distributed across a vast geographic expanse”. A good example of the impossibility of a clear-cut classification is the negative marker in different varieties. In HZQ the negative suffix is *-tsu*, while in Huanca Quechua and Huánuco Quechua it is *-chu*. Even though the three varieties belong to Central Quechua, they show two different negative markers. In addition, the negative suffix *-chu* is also characteristic of Northern and Southern Peruvian Quechua.

The speakers' attitude to their language(s) in the social interactions is relevant for my analysis of negation in the present work. Before focusing on forms and functions of negation in PART III, I offer below an overview of the sociolinguistics scenarios of HZQ on the base of my field work conducted in 2011 and 2013 as well as the typological features of HZQ in Chapter 11.

## **6 A sociolinguistic view of Quechua in Peru**

According to Adelaar & Muysken (2004: 258), "Throughout most of the twentieth century the number of Quechua speakers in Peru remained stable in absolute terms whereas the national population was growing explosively. At the same time, large parts of the country have undergone a language shift from Quechua to Spanish, mainly along generation lines."

The inferiority feeling of the Quechua speakers and the consequent underestimation of Quechua have been transmitted through the centuries from one generation to another in all Peru as well as in others Andean areas (Büttner 1993, Howard 2008, Sichra 2009, Valiente & Dürr 2013, among others). Most people are convinced that being a Quechua speaker obstructs the learning process of Spanish. Thus, parents interrupt speaking Quechua with their children and use Spanish instead. Schools are mostly Spanish speaking places and oriented towards Spanish culture. The Intercultural Bilingual Education (EIB) program is applied less than it should be in the country. For example, in villages where parents still speak Quechua with their children, many schools are monolingual in Spanish.

In the urban areas, Spanish is often the only prerequisite for employment. Public and private working places, such as hospitals, banks, shops are mainly Spanish speaking places. Quechua is needed in only a few exceptions.

In the rural areas, men and young people with scholar instruction tend to have a strong index of Quechua-Spanish substitution. On the contrary, it is often the case that analphabets and people with a lower education level (mostly older people and women) are more conservative in their language attitudes and speak Quechua.

Another common feature in the whole Quechua speaking Andean highlands is the phenomenon of migration and urbanization. Hornberger & Coronel-Molina (2004: 24) show how "Massive migration over the last fifty years has transformed all Andean countries, to a greater or lesser extent, from largely rural nations to primarily urban ones". Urban areas tend to be centers of hispanicization that are mostly unfavorable for the maintenance of Quechua.

Apart from these sociolinguistic features common to many Quechua speaking areas of the country, different geographical areas, favorable political circumstances, presence of engaged citizens in the diffusion of Quechua together with familiar and individual experiences and choices, among others, all influence the use of a specific Quechua variety.

## 7 A sociolinguistic view of Huaraz Quechua (HZQ)

Linguistic features and linguistic variability are closely tied to social life. In a situation of long-term contact, such as the one between Quechua and Spanish in the Andean area, economic activities, migration and social networks play a crucial role in the spread of linguistic changes.

Even if language is often considered as something learned by children and used by adults, Eckert (2014: 650) shows us how “language development continues through life as we move through the social world and as that world changes around us”. In line with this assumption, in this chapter I am presenting an overview of the main social factors that have characterized the city of Huaraz over the last decades. These are, among others, tourism, mining industry, mobility and migration. These factors have profoundly contributed to the social and linguistic changes of the area and the consequent changes in the use of Quechua and Spanish.

The individual choice of many people of the province to move to the city of Huaraz is intimately linked to their aspiration of becoming an urban resident and of no longer being considered a *campesino*. This term is used by inhabitants of the rural area of the periphery of Huaraz to auto-define themselves<sup>39</sup>. At the same time, it has negative connotations when used by the Spanish speaking urban residents when referring to them. Their idea of *campesino* is generally associated with an illiterate Quechua speaker from the rural area. As reported by Gleich (1987: 94) on the discrimination of Quechua speakers, “the cultural discrimination of an ethnic group often has the result that the majority’s image of the minority is adopted by that minority as a negative image of itself”. Strictly connected to this point is the concept of Eckert (2014: 655) on how “identity is as much about what the individual aspires to as what the individual ‘is’”. In this context, the daily commuting and migration of the *campesinos* to the city of Huaraz is often connected to their abandonment of the rural cultural practices and to the wish of hispanicization. A key in reaching this goal is the language change. “Linguistics of desire” is the term used by Eckert (2014: 655)<sup>40</sup> in considering the role of language in the creation of identity.

In the case of the HZQ speakers, a crucial factor in the abandonment of Quechua and the consequent language shift to Spanish is the historical background of centuries of discrimination (see § 7.2 Historical background). In particular, there is the decision of many parents to not let their children go through the same prejudice they themselves suffered for being Quechua speakers.

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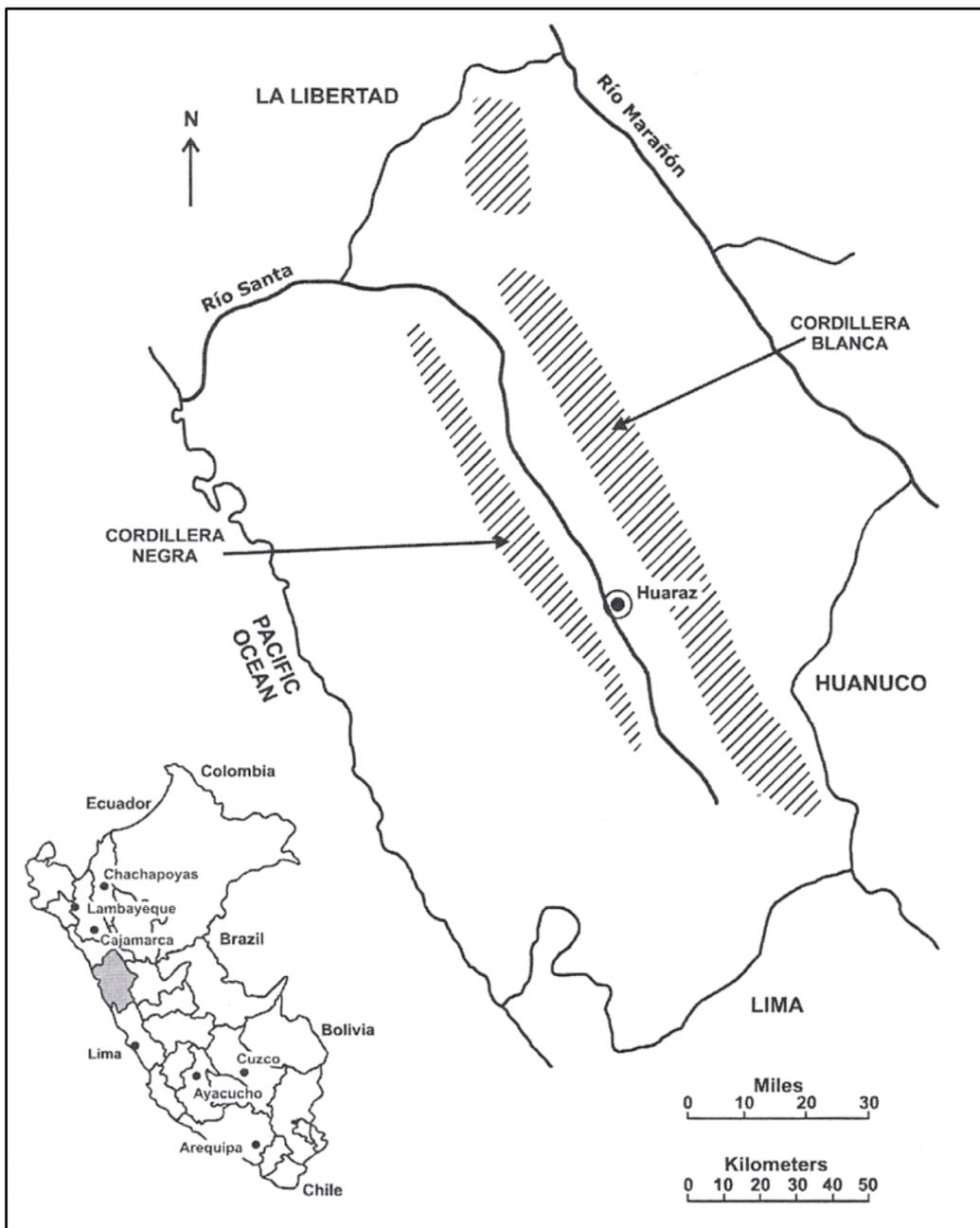
<sup>39</sup> In the highest rural communities, people define themselves as *comuneros* (commoners), as they co-possess, together with private properties, communal properties to take care of.

<sup>40</sup> As noted by Eckert (2014: 655), the term “linguistics of desire” was first used by Kulick (2000, 2003) in the context of linguistics of gender and sexuality.

## 7.1 Huaraz Quechua and its speakers

HZQ is spoken in the city of Huaraz and its province in the Ancash region. Huaraz is located in the northern-central Peruvian Andes at an altitude which ranges from 3050m (Huaraz downtown) to 3400 m (Quechua communities at the highest elevation).

Map 2 The position of HZQ in the Ancash region



(modified map from Daniel Hintz 2011: 15)

According to the national census of 2007, almost 147.000 (INEI Ancash 2008: 19) people live in Huaraz, 84,2% in the urban area. 62,8% of them are L1 in Spanish while 37,0% are L1 in Quechua.

10,5% of the population is illiterate (INEI Ancash 2008: 89). At a regional level, 68,1% are L1 in Spanish while 31,6% are L1 in Quechua (INEI Ancash 2008: 108).

HZQ belongs to the Huaylas Ancash Quechua language which is classified as a variety of the Ancash Quechua language. According to the Ministerio de Educación del Perú (2013: 234), the Ancash Quechua language is divided into six varieties: Huaylas Ancash Quechua, North Conchucos, South Conchucos, Sihuas, Corongo and Bolognesi-Cajatambo. As dealt in Chapter 5, depending on definition and counting methods, the numbers of the Quechua languages can vary. Julca (2009a: 47) proposes a different classification from the Ministerio de Educación del Perú (2013), unifying North and South Conchucos languages under the label “Quechua Conchucos” and defining the Bolognesi-Cajatambo as Bolognesi-Vertientes variety<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> I present here the map of Ancash Quechua from Julca (2009) because this is one of the newest maps in the literature on Ancash Quechua. However, I align with the Ministerio de Educación del Perú (2013) on classifying North Conchucos Quechua and South Conchucos Quechua as two different varieties (see also Daniel Hintz 2011 and Diana Hintz 2003).

Map 3 Map of Ancash Quechua



(Julca 2009a: 47)

According to INEI (2008: 107), the number of Quechua speakers in the Ancash region amounts around 302.000, which corresponds to the 31% of the all residents<sup>42</sup>. Of these, about 224.000 live in rural areas (INEI Ancash 2008: 108).

<sup>42</sup> These data on the Ancash Quechua speakers approximately correspond to Chirinos (2001: 53), who reports 300433 (36,0%) Quechua speakers in the Ancash region (*departamento*). The census has been conducted in 1993 and published

Sometimes the term “Huaylas Ancash Quechua” is used as a synonym of “Huaraz Quechua”, as noticed in <http://www.ethnologue.com/language/qwh>. This is not the case in the present work, in which I will refer to HZQ exclusively as the Quechua variety spoken in the city of Huaraz and its province. This is where I conducted my fieldwork. No other Quechua varieties spoken in the Callejón de Huaylas are included in the label HZQ.

Huaylas Ancash Quechua language includes the provinces of Carhuaz, Yungay and Caraz in the Callejón de Huaylas. Quechua speakers are aware of the differences between the Quechua varieties spoken in these provinces. It is common to listen to HZQ speakers imitating the pronunciation of Caraz Quechua speakers. For example, they often laugh about the absence of the initial aspiration in Caraz Quechua, as the case of the word *haka* “guinea pig” in HZQ, which is pronounced as *aka* in Caraz. However, there is mutual intelligibility between these two varieties. For this reason, there is scholar unanimity in defining HZQ and Caraz Quechua as varieties or dialects of a macro-variety, which is Huaylas Ancash Quechua. To pay attention to the language perceptions of the speakers in classifying languages and in analyzing specific linguistic forms is part of my theoretical approach. In line with social constructionism, I consider languages as used “to construct, maintain and modify particular social identities” (Marra 2015: 377). Thus, the use of a language or of a specific linguistic marker depends on how a speaker wants to present himself and on the evaluation of his interlocutor.

Within this view, the way I use the term “dialect” in the present work requires an explanation. It should be understood in its linguistic acceptance, as a synonym of “language variety”. A Quechua “variety” or “dialect” has its own vocabulary and grammar, which are no less valuable than the ones of the official Quechua languages. In the everyday language in Peru, the term “dialect” is often used with a negative connotation. In the city of Huaraz, it is associated with the low prestige of the language, motivated not only by the superiority of the dominant Spanish but also by the idea of a supposed inferiority of HZQ compared to Cusco Quechua. The next chapter will elucidate this situation.

## 7.2 Historical background

Quechua has notably less functional areas of use and lower prestige than Spanish. In the case of HZQ, the sociolinguistic prestige is particularly low, because it is not only positioned below the dominant Spanish but also below the Cusco Quechua language. Indeed, HZQ speakers locate their heritage

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in 2001. As a comparison with other Peruvian Quechua varieties, I offer here the numbers of Quechua speakers (5 years and more) in three more *departamentos* mentioned in the present work:

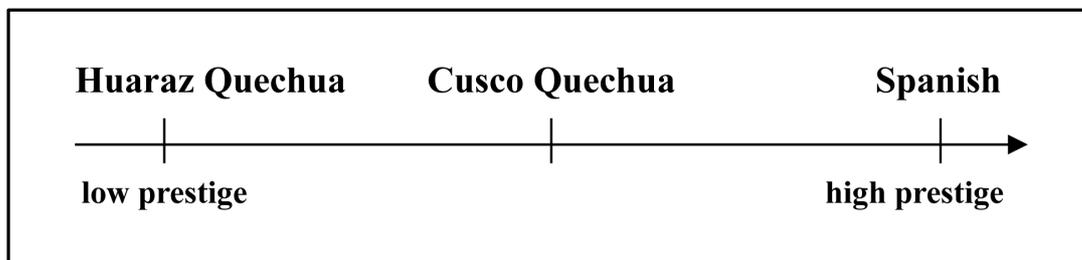
Ayacucho 297727 (70,6%) (Chirinos 2001: 71)

Cusco 560101 (63,2%) (Chirinos 2001: 81)

Huánuco 45139 (23,4%) (Chirinos 2001: 96)

language at the very end of an imaginary scale of sociolinguistic prestige, considering it just a “dialect” of the original and authentic Cusco Quechua.

Figure 1 The sociolinguistic prestige of Huaraz Quechua: its position compared to Cusco Quechua and Spanish



As a field researcher in Huaraz, it is common to be asked the reason why one decided to work specifically on HZQ, which is considered "just a dialect and not a language as Spanish"<sup>43</sup> (Julca 2009b: 29). By using the term “dialect” in the everyday language, HZQ speakers assign a negative connotation to their heritage language, positioning it below Spanish and Cusco Quechua. “To learn the real Quechua, you should go to Cusco” (“Para aprender el quechua verdadero tienes que ir a Cusco”), I was told many times during my field work. This idea of a supposed unoriginality of HZQ is so widespread in the society at all class levels that it is very difficult to eradicate.

In fact, recent interdisciplinary studies between archeology and linguistics (Heggarty & Baresford-Jones 2011: 44) confirm that the first stage of Quechua is an expansion from the central coast and through the northern-central highlands of Peru, from Ancash to Huánuco. This expansion gave rise to Central Quechua, to which HZQ belongs. The Southern Quechua (to which Cusco Quechua belongs) and Northern Quechua only developed later with the expansion of the population to the southern coast and highlands of Peru. Despite this, the myth of the superiority and authenticity of Cusco Quechua, considered as the real and first Quechua, has been handed down during centuries until the present day. As noted by Angélica Serna at the MERASA conference in Milan (18.04.2014), the ideology of assigning a low prestige to Ancash Quechua started during the colonial period, where the catholic missionaries wrote the first grammars based on the experience they had with the Quechua of the South (see also Benito (2005: 27) on *Doctrina Cristiana y catecismo para la instrucción de los indios* (1584) and Torero (1997) on “Lexicon” Quichua de fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560)). According to Daniel Hintz (2011: 12), the popular myth that Quechua originated in Cusco stems from a colonial Quechua classification. Two varieties were assumed: “The Language of the Inca” (also known as *lengua general*) and “Chinchaysuyo”. The colonial linguist Huerta ([1616]1993: 18)

<sup>43</sup> “El quechua es sólo un dialecto y no una lengua como el castellano”.

describes the “Chinchaysuyo” as “corrupt and [...] not spoken with the polish and elegance with which the Incas speak”.

The choice of the *lengua general* as standard variety, based on the Cusco Quechua variety, took place during the Third Council of Lima (1582-1583) and was a matter of politics of power. The language policy was driven by the need of creating a homogenous Quechua language for the whole territory of Peru in order to facilitate Christianization. Linguistics norms based on the *lengua general* were applied and Quechua and Aymara native terms were adapted to the Christian vocabulary. Together with the intention of Christianization, the colonial language policy was also driven by the supposed need of a homogenous Quechua language in order to promote communication. This idea has lasted until the present time.

The process of creating linguistics norms for Quechua and Aymara to facilitate Christianization and the foundation of the Quechua chair in the University of San Marco in Lima were parallel to a process of hispanicization of the multilingual and multicultural indigenous people (Valiente 2015). Only some *missioneros* were actually dedicated to learn and use different Quechua varieties and other indigenous languages in their missionary work. The imposition of the Spanish language and culture was systematically accompanied by the persecution and prohibition of indigenous cultural practices and use of indigenous languages. As noted by Cerrón-Palomino (1990: 39), the fact that Spanish was not only the language of the ruling minority but also the only language with a written tradition facilitated in giving it an ultimate supremacy.

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, indigenous languages were excluded by the national language policy. The Jesuits who studied and diffused Quechua and Aymara were expelled in 1767. As a consequence of the revolt of Tupac Amaru (José Gabriel Condorcanqui) in 1780, Quechua has been prohibited. Valiente (2015: 203) reports how “in a perspective of unity of language corresponding to the idea of unity of a nation, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1770 Carlos III decreed the prohibition of teaching of indigenous languages in universities, schools and catechism.”<sup>44</sup> In addition, the Quechua chair in the University of San Marco in Lima was closed in 1783 (Valiente 2015: 203).

The 20<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by some positive events for the Quechua language: the reopening of the Quechua chair in the University of San Marco in Lima in 1938, the declaration of Quechua as official language in 1975 and the introduction of the EIB program in the second half of the century<sup>45</sup>. However, these positive events could not counter the Quechua sociolinguistic low

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<sup>44</sup> “En una perspectiva de unidad de la lengua de comunicación correspondiente a la idea de unidad de nación, Carlos III decreta el 10 mayo de 1770 la prohibición de la enseñanza de las lenguas indígenas en las universidades, las escuelas y la catequización.”

<sup>45</sup> According to Pozzi-Escot (1991: 121), the term *Educación Bilingüe* (Bilingual Education), was first used in 1952, when the Peruvian Government creates the *Sistema de Educación Bilingüe de la Selva* together with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Other pivotal projects, such as the one in Quinua (Ayacucho) in 1972, the Proyecto de Educación Bilingüe

prestige and the inferiority feeling of the Quechua speakers, transmitted through centuries from one generation to another and which motivated the language shift from Quechua to Spanish. As noted by Adelaar & Muysken (2004: 258) “most affected by this process of massive language shift [throughout most of the twentieth century] were the Quechua I dialects of the Central Andes of Peru”. As we have seen above, HZQ belongs to Central Quechua, a Quechua I dialect.

In sum, the process of hispanicization that has characterized the history of the Peruvian language policy lasts until today (Villari & Menacho 2017). Spanish is still the language used for most of the social and communicative functions in the media, public and private offices as well as schools and universities. The current attitude of most of the ruling class embeds the common idea that Spanish is superior to all indigenous languages of the country.

Thus, the historical background together with the sociocultural environment influence people’s behavior and their linguistic choices. Social interactions over time shape the synchronic structure of language. The historical background characterized by years of colonial history, abuse and exclusion have psychologically marked Quechua speakers that are now convinced of the inferiority of Quechua compared to Spanish. This explains, for example, the decision of Pedro’s parents when they migrated from a rural village in the periphery of Huaraz to the city (see Chapter 1). They decided not to talk to their children in Quechua, even though this meant that the children would not be able to communicate with their monolingual grandmother in Quechua.

The historical background and the resulting sociocultural environment also explain specific uses of negative expressions in HZQ. This is the case, for example, of the common use of negation by HZQ speakers with the intention of minimizing their knowledge in the process of telling a story. HZQ speakers tend to position themselves at the end of an imaginary scale of sociolinguistic prestige and also at the end of an imaginary scale of social hierarchies, convinced that their language and their local knowledge have no value. At the same time, elevating one’s own knowledge and skills in front of others as well as show off behavior is systematically avoided in the Quechua cultural context, at least among the Quechua speaking older generation.

To conclude, the historical background and the sociocultural background are the key to understand the way people talk and their individual linguistic choices, and play a major role in the analysis of the functions of negation in the present work.

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in Puno (PEEB-P) in 1977 and the Proyecto de Educación Rural Andina (ERA) in 1988 are dealt in Villari & Menacho (2017), together with the history of intercultural bilingual education in Ancash.

### **7.3 Sociocultural background**

Together with the historical background, the sociocultural background plays a determining role in the sociolinguistic scenarios of the region. In the last decades three principal factors, among others, have profoundly changed the city of Huaraz and its province. These are tourism, the mining industry, and mobility and migration.

#### **Tourism**

The geographical position of Huaraz makes this city an attractive destination for national and international tourists. Situated in the middle of the Callejón de Huaylas and crossed by the Santa river, Huaraz is flanked by two mountain chains, the Cordillera Blanca and the Cordillera Negra. Many tourists practice hiking, climbing, kayaking, mountain biking as well as skiing and snowboarding, especially during the high season, between the months of May and October.

Together with adventure and sport tourism, cultural tourism is also a significant attraction of Huaraz. The close archaeological site *Wilkahuain* and the site *Chavín de Huántar*, temple of the pre-Inca Chavín culture, are major attractions. In general, all places that are visited daily by tourists, shifted from being Quechua speaking places into mostly Spanish speaking places. The need to communicate with foreigners represents one reason for the language shift from Quechua to Spanish. Most of the tourists that visit the Ancash region speak at least a basic level of Spanish. This allows monolingual in Spanish and Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers to find jobs in tourism. On the contrary, the few monolingual in Quechua that live in the city have no chances of working in tourism. Only few locals speak English, French or German. This allows them to benefit from their status and receive a higher salary for being bilingual. Trilingual speakers (Quechua, Spanish plus another European language) are rare exceptions.

Most of the locals working in tourism are men that live in the city and work as guides, drivers or sellers in tourist agencies. In addition, few entrepreneurial urban residents and politicians market the Quechua language and culture by a process that Herrera (2013: 280) calls *Selbstinszenierung* (self-staging): “Replication of similar strategies at regional and local level sees politicians striving to tap into ethnic identities by dressing in traditional fashion, and staging folklore festivals, re-enactment ceremonies or politically motivated fiestas at local tourist destinations, often archaeological sites.”

#### **Mining industry**

The mining industry also represents a crucial factor in the sociocultural transformations of Huaraz in the last decades. The Barrick Gold Corporation, the world’s biggest multinational mine dedicated to gold extraction, has been running a project since 1998 just 10 km north-east from Huaraz. Among the local people the mine is known by the name of Pierina.

The presence of the mining industry is highly visible both in the city and in the villages of the province. Most of the mine workers live in a complex of buildings, called El Pinar, situated approximately 15 minutes by car from downtown Huaraz. This complex has its own school, supermarket and even a private water provision. Conversely, some surrounding villages suffer from a lack of water because of as well as the contamination of water because of the mining industry. Some of the villages even fight each other for the use of water. This is the situation within the villages where I conducted my field work, Chavin and Chontayoq. With the aim of gaining the trust and the support of the *campesinos* in order to exploit their territory according to its needs, the mining company offers them jobs in limited time projects and invests in public structures (such as roads) in the villages. In downtown Huaraz the amount of money given by the mining company to the municipality is clearly visible in the streets and buildings being constantly under construction. Also the number of rich inhabitants that work for the mine is increasing, together with cars and expensive clothes shops for women and men.

Similar to the tourism sector, most of the locals working in the mining industry are men. Male *campesinos* are mostly project workers that work for the mine for time limited projects only. The community has an agreement with the mining company that *campesinos* get paid by the mine for carrying community services (such as cleaning roads and pathways, constructions and signposting). Moreover, *campesinos* that studied in the city of Huaraz (or Lima) and have the required training for specialist activities, as computing, driving or use of heavy machineries, can apply for a position in the mining company. All kind of desk works by the mining company require Spanish and, at highest levels, English. The knowledge of Quechua is not needed. The families of many full-time mine male workers live in the city of Huaraz, mostly in the complex El Pinar. Mine workers generally have two places to live: they often spend three weeks in their apartment close to the mine and then go a week home to their families in Huaraz. Their women and children live alone in the city. The high salary and the prestige of being a full-time mine worker motivate their choice.

### **Mobility and migration**

There is a constant flow of *campesinos* from the rural villages of the province of Huaraz to the urban centers. Some *campesinos* move to Lima, specifically to the district of Los Olivos, where there is a growing community of Ancash people<sup>46</sup>. Others move to coastal cities, such as Barranca, Pativilca, Huacho and Chancay. Other *campesinos* commute daily from their villages to the city of Huaraz:

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<sup>46</sup> Typical products of the Ancash region are sold at the daily market (mostly on Saturday) in the district Los Olivos (Lima). Here different dialects of Ancash Quechua are spoken. As observed in Valiente & Villari (2016: 14), the image of a Spanish speaking Lima needs to be changed. It would be interesting to conduct a deeper research on the current use of Quechua dialects in different areas of Lima.

many men work for construction companies, women sell their products at the market and young boys and girls study at primary and secondary city schools. Other *campesinos* instead permanently leave their villages to move to the city of Huaraz, as is the case of Pedro's parents. Work, family circumstances and the hope of a better education for the children, among others, influence commuting and migration. On one hand, migration is not a completely voluntary act, considering the territorial socioeconomic inequalities between the rural areas and the city that work as an ejector force.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, the final decision to commute and migrate is an individual or family decision (see also Maguiñas Salinas (2008) on internal migration in Peru between 1993 and 2007).

One of the main reasons to leave the villages is the the low sociolinguistic prestige of being considered a HZQ speaking *campesino*. Parents do not want their children to go through the same discrimination they suffered for being Quechua speakers. Thus, they often do not value what their children learn at home: how to breed children and animals, what to do when there is a bad potatoes production, how to deal with cultivation diseases, what does the appearance of frogs in the field mean, what the healing herbs and what are they good for, oral literature, among others. Parents send their children to school send them to school in order to learn what it is *really* needed in the only language that has a market value, Spanish.

Moreover, parents are facing the economical faith of their children. Most of them have realized that only Spanish is a requirement for the world of work (Villari & Menacho 2017). A similar sociolinguistic situation has been described by Mithun (1998: 185) for the indigenous languages of North America in relation to English, the dominant language there: "Perhaps they or their parents suffered through the pain of boarding school, of being criticized and punished for using their mother tongue. Perhaps they are simply considering the economic fate of their children in a world that requires competence in one or even two major languages as a prerequisite for employment".

According to the social constructionism, language is used "to construct, maintain and modify particular social identities" (Marra 2015: 377). Within this approach, HZQ speakers' migration to the city and their stop of passing down their heritage language is related to the construction of their social identities. On one side, parents stop talking in HZQ to their children in the hope their children can lose the image of *campesinos*, with the negative connotation this term has in the city<sup>48</sup>. In line with

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<sup>47</sup> The ejector forces in the origin places (Maguiñas Salinas 2008) often limit the possibilities of a rational and informed decision of the destination.

<sup>48</sup> De la Cadena (2000: 317) describes a different scenario for the city of Cusco: "By calling themselves mestizas/os, and silencing Indianness, urban indigenous cuzqueños rebuke stigmas of all sorts and proceed to de-Indianization, which consists of (among other things) producing, celebrating, and staging a very 'impure' indigenous culture, which is empowering because it has been stripped of such elements of Indianness as illiteracy, poverty, exclusively rurality and urban defeat. In individuals, de-Indianization refers to the process of moving up through indigenous ranks." Moreover, the author (2000: 327) explains how "Appropriating the term 'mestizo', and silencing Indianness has allowed indigenous intellectuals to thrive as cultural producers, free of the geographical, economic, and social boundaries that the label 'indio'

what Eckert (2014: 655) describes as “linguistics of desire”, parents hailing from the rural areas aspire to create a different identity for their children. The language shift from HZQ to Spanish is crucial in this aspired process of hispanicization. On the other side, many young HZQ speakers that migrate to the city abandon their heritage language because they do not identify the language as being related to their identity anymore. Ancient traditions uniquely reflected in HZQ such as uses of healings herbs, cultivation tools, practices of raising of animals, among others, are in reality only maintained in the highest rural areas where *campesinos* still consider the Quechua language and culture as their own. Many HZQ speakers that have migrated to the city don’t feel these traditions as representative of their current life.

Finally, the constant migration affects both the urban and the rural area of Huaraz. Strong demographical, economical, social, cultural and linguistic transformations are blurring the distinctions between these two areas. For this reason, the notion of *continuum* is one that best describes the sociolinguistic scenerios of Huaraz.

## 8 The *continuum* between Quechua and Spanish

A *continuum* of scenarios between the scanty monolingual speakers in Quechua and the frequent monolingual speakers in Spanish, passing through different degrees of knowledge of each other’s languages (*lingualism*), characterizes the urban and the rural area of Huaraz.

As observed by Aikhenvald (2007: 36 – my cursive), “different degrees of ‘*lingualism*’ can be connected to cultural practices, such as intermarriage, sporadic or seasonal trade”. In language contact situations, like the one that characterizes the city of Huaraz and its province, there are many sociolinguistic parameters that influence the selection of a language on another by the speakers. Gender and different communicative situations, for example, often motivate the choice of a particular language. Moreover, generational changes and psychological motivations can drive both gradual and sudden language transitions. In a gradual shift, speakers pass through different degrees of *lingualism* and use Quechua and Spanish for different functional areas. In a sudden language shift, the Quechua speaking parents cease the intergenerational transmission of the heritage language, using only Spanish with their children. This is the case of Pedro’s parents.

With the term *continuum*, I do not refer to a blurred homogeneous space which gradually goes from a Quechua speaking reality to a Spanish speaking one. On the contrary, I refer to a complex scenario, where individual lives and individual choices play a crucial role in the construction of many multifaceted sociolinguistic realities. The constant mobility means that each extremity of this

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imposed to them. [...] as a result of de-Indianization, indigenous [...] culture is neither specific to the countryside nor to the urban poor.”

Quechua-Spanish *continuum* plays a major role in people lives of both rural and urban areas at different degrees. *Campesinos* that move to the cities or urban residents that go to the rural areas for many different individual reasons and for different laps of time (regular or occasional movements) use both Quechua and Spanish.

The concept of *continuum* describes well not only the different sociolinguistic realities of the urban and the rural areas of Huaraz, but also the type of language spoken. Indeed, monolingual speakers in Quechua have been living together with Quechua-Spanish bilingual and monolingual speakers in Spanish in the same area for decades. As a result, the two languages have strongly influenced each other. In the last decades, the reciprocal influence of Spanish into HZQ and of HZQ into Spanish, has increased consistently. Even the Ministry of Education of Peru has created a name for the local variety of Spanish influenced by the Quechua spoken in Ancash: “Ancash Spanish” (Ministerio de Educación del Perú 2013: 245). Linguistic features of one language flow into the other, leading to the interesting phenomena of “linguistic convergence” (Aikhenvald 2002: 1). This is a very common process in the languages of the world, which occurs when two non-genetically related languages get gradually similar as a consequence of prolonged contact. In the case of the Quechua-Spanish contact, Daniel Hintz (2009: 198) applies the Heine & Kuteva terminology (2005: 2) to describe the long-term contact and their reciprocal influence: “Quechua has been used as a *replica language* for Spanish, but it has also acted as a *model language* for the Spanish speakers of the Quechua speaking zones”<sup>49</sup>. On one hand, an example of the Spanish influence into HZQ is given by negative alternative questions (§ 15.2). The word *manaku* (or not?) could be simply juxtaposed to the main clause *alliku manaku?* (good or not?). However, the Spanish disjunction *o* is replacing the original construction, especially among bilingual HZQ-Spanish speakers.

(6) “*Imanootaq papantsik, alliku o manaku?*”

<i>Ima-naw-taq</i>	<i>papa-ntsik</i>	<i>alli-ku</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>mana-ku</i>
what-SIM-Q.C	potato-1INCL	good-Q.P	or	NEG.PRT-Q.P

“¿Qué tal nuestras papas, bien o no?”

“How are our potatoes, good or not?”

(La vieja y el zonzo, 394-397: 10)

On the other hand, an example of the HZQ influence into Spanish is given by the frequent use of reportative suffixes in Spanish discourse. Reportatives are a type of evidentials that indicate that the

<sup>49</sup> “el quechua ha servido como una *lengua réplica* para el castellano, pero también ha actuado como una *lengua modelo* para los hispanohablantes de las zonas de habla quechua”

information given by the speaker is not first hand but it has been reported to the speaker. In Andean Spanish, the Quechua reportative *-shi* (RPT) is often translated as “dice” or “dicen”. This occurred in many storytellings I was told in Spanish during my fieldwork. As well the Spanish version of many stories of *Cuentos y relatos* start with “dicen” (they say):

(7) *Kuka chaqchaq nunaqa allaapa ahilshi.*

<i>Kuka</i>	<i>chaqcha-q</i>	<i>nuna-qa</i>	<i>allaapa</i>	<i>ahil-shi</i>
coke	coke.chew-AG	man-TOP	very	agile-RPT

**Dicen que** el hombre que masca coca es bastante ágil.

**They say** that the man who chew coke is very agile.

(La coca y el cigarillo, 254-259: 1)

Together with linguistic factors such as frequency of use and pragmatic salience<sup>50</sup>, the impact of evidentials on cultural conventions plays a major role in their spread into Spanish. As noted by Aikhenvald (2007: 29), “an obligatory category in a language which correlates with behavioral requirements is more susceptible to diffusion than one which does not. [...] The existence of obligatory evidential presupposes explicit statement about how one knows things. Those who are not explicit run the danger of being treated as liars, or as incompetent”. As reported in Chapter 1, Weber (1996: 551) mentions that a man was considered crazy in Huallaga Quechua because of his constant use of direct evidential. Weber’s Quechua consultant confirms that nobody believed what this man says because “he speaks always as if he were present in the events he tells”<sup>51</sup>. Thus, the fact that evidentiality in Quechua is a cultural requirement facilitates its spread into Spanish, the contact language. With Du Bois’s words (1985: 363): “grammars code the best what speakers do most”.

## 9 The current use of Huaraz Quechua

Due to the low sociolinguistic prestige of HZQ, in itself a consequence of the historical and sociocultural background, the functional areas of HZQ are drastically diminishing and many speakers use Spanish instead. Adopting Aikhenvald's (2007: 43) concept, I define the current Quechua-Spanish contact situation in the Huaraz area as a “displacive language contact”. In such a situation, the presence of a dominant language causes a potential replacement of the other. Here, the dominant Spanish culture and language is causing in many cases a replacement of HZQ, the language with lower prestige.

<sup>50</sup> In her work on language contact, Aikhenvald (2007: 27) reports also how worldwide “discourse organization patterns and various discourse formulae appear shared in most situations of ongoing contact”.

<sup>51</sup> “siempre habla como si hubiera presenciado lo que cuenta”

In order to present the current use of HZQ, it is helpful to consider the different contexts of urban and rural areas. This is only a practical schema necessary to describe the different sociolinguistic scenarios. In actuality, as observed above for mobility and migration, the limits between urban and rural areas are blurred and better understood as a *continuum*.

### 9.1 Huaraz Quechua in the urban area

HZQ in the urban area is spoken less than in the rural area. As is true for most of the Andean area, Quechua is ceding space to Spanish in the city. For instance, Sichra (2009: 567) presents Bolivian cities as spaces of social, cultural and economical transformations of indigenous people into modern, occidental and Spanish-speaking spaces. This phenomenon has been also analyzed by Julca (2009a: 49) for the city of Huaraz: “The linguistic substitution or displacement of Quechua in urban contexts, in part, is the result of the accelerated process of urbanization. For example, two decades ago many urban sectors of Huaraz, as Acovichay, Palmira, Quinuacocha, Patay, Olivos, Challwa, Bella Vista, Nueva Florida, Shancayán, among others<sup>52</sup>, were crop fields and the few people who lived there were Quechua speakers. Today, all these areas have been urbanized, and the people that live there now are Spanish speakers”<sup>53</sup>.

Even if Quechua is an official language, only Spanish is used for public and private working circumstances, like school, municipality, banks, hospitals or shops. Actually, it is often the case that many employees hold at least a passive knowledge of Quechua, being themselves children of Quechua speakers. However, for different reasons that I have dealt here in PART II, they refuse to use their heritage language. Most of them don’t even use HZQ to talk to monolingual HZQ speakers that come from the rural area. Asymmetrical conversations where the Spanish speaking doctor or lawyer badly treats monolingual *campesinos* on the basis of an assumed superiority are the rule in Huaraz: the *campesino* speaks in HZQ, the professional answers in Spanish. Many monolingual speakers in HZQ often need their bilingual children to act as translators in medical or juridical proceedings. Schecter (2015: 199) refers to bilingual children as “translators and cultural brokers”<sup>54</sup>. During my fieldwork, I witnessed an optical examination in a private medical practice in Huaraz where a female doctor treated disrespectfully a woman monolingual in HZQ from the village of Chavin. Even though the doctor could understand the few questions in HZQ of the frightened woman, she refused to answer in HZQ claiming that her Quechua was not good enough. So, the bilingual

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<sup>52</sup> I add Sierra Hermosa, where Pedro’s family lives.

<sup>53</sup> “La sustitución o desplazamiento lingüístico del Quechua en contextos urbanos, en parte, es el resultado del acelerado proceso de urbanización. Por ejemplo, hace dos décadas atrás muchos sectores de la ciudad de Huaraz, tales como Acovichay, Palmira, Quinuacocha, Patay, Olivos, Challwa, Bella Vista, Nueva Florida, Shancayán, entre otros, eran campos de cultivo y las pocas personas que vivían en estos lugares eran quechua hablantes. Hoy en día, todas estas zonas han sido urbanizadas y la gente que vive allí ahora son hablantes del castellano.”

<sup>54</sup> This term has been first used by Vasquez, Paese-Alvarez & Shannon (1994).

daughter worked as a translator. Also Diana Hintz (personal communication) confirms that in many years of living in Huaraz, she has repeatedly witnessed acts of discrimination in downtown shops, where monolingual *campesinos* dressed in their typical clothes were served last.

The city market is also turning into a Spanish speaking place. If some decades ago it was usual to speak Quechua here (Leonel's personal communication), nowadays it is more common to hear the bargaining occurring in Spanish. On the contrary, the market, which takes place on Monday and Thursday by the Santa River, far from the city market, is still a Quechua speaking place (Villari 2016). Here many monolingual women in HZQ sell their products that were harvested from the fields. Important actors at these markets are the wholesalers, commonly known as *intermediarios* (mediators). They are bilingual speakers that buy sacks of fruits and vegetables to resell in the coastal cities, such as Barranca and Lima. The Quechua used in these trades need an in-depth study. For now, it is worthy to note that part of the business lexicon used at the market is full of Spanish borrowings. In particular, numbers, units of measure and verbs such as “cost” or “weigh” are mostly Spanish. This occurs in conversations between bilingual wholesalers and monolingual *campesinos* as well as in conversations between monolingual *campesinos*. For example, when women help each other by weighing each other's products, it is typical to listen to:

(8) *Keellaata pesaramii!*

<i>Kay-lla-:-ta</i>	<i><u>pesa-ri-mu-y</u></i>
this-DLM-1-OBJ	pesar-PUNC-FAR-2IMP

Por favor, ¡pésame esto!  
Please, weigh me this!  
(Leonel)

In the last decades, HZQ has become more visible in Huaraz thanks to the placards that advertize HZQ courses offered in a building right on the main square. Employees from many fields subscribe to these courses motivated by different reasons: desire for a certificate which would convey a higher salary, genuine interest and the need to communicate with monolingual *campesinos* in the rural villages, among others. Almost all classes, however, are given in Spanish and not in HZQ. Quechua is treated like English, as if it was a totally new language for the students, although most of them have at least a passive knowledge of it.

Even if most of the functional areas is covered by Spanish, it is not uncommon to hear HZQ walking through the streets of Huaraz. HZQ is mainly spoken between the *campesinos* that daily commute from the rural area to the city for private or working reasons. The *combis* (local buses) that connect the villages with Huaraz are also mostly HZQ speaking places. Moreover, there are HZQ

speakers that in the last decades have moved from the rural villages to Huaraz. As in the case of Pedro's family, the old grandparents are monolingual in HZQ or have only a limited knowledge of Spanish. The bilingual parents, instead, speak HZQ with the grandparents but mostly Spanish with their children. For this reason, the new generation has often just a limited or passive knowledge of HZQ.

As a result of this linguistic attitude, HZQ is not only losing domains of use but also its structural complexity. The fact that the new generation only has a limited knowledge of the language, leads to a reduction of the vocabulary and a simplification of the morpho-syntactic structure. Verbal roots followed by 8 suffixes (see footnote 2) are rare and mostly used by the oldest generation. In fact, the youngest generation that live in Huaraz can barely conceive words with 2 or 3 suffixes. In addition, the syntax is often a calque of the Spanish one and many Quechua terms are unknown in the city, specifically those connected with Quechua cultural practices of the rural areas. This is the case of words from several different practices: among others, farming *parqu* "irrigate", *pintsa* "irrigation canal" and *ishu* "clean up the weed from the cultivated field", pasturing *warpa* "natural hole in a rock used to tie up the animals", cooking *kukupa* "wheat flour", *kanka* "to cook using hot coal". Huaraz citizens do not see an application of these terms in the urban area. As a consequence, most of the HZQ vocabulary is not passed down to the new generations and gets irreversibly lost.

The intergenerational linguistic changes in HZQ reflect a society in constant transition between rural and urban areas. Linguistic attitudes mirror the dynamic sociocultural values. In addition to the loss of HZQ vocabulary connected to specific cultural practices of the rural area, constant topics in the HZQ discourse such as pride in the work, being a good listener (*alli wiyakoq*), being a good man (*alli nuna*) are changing together with the changing society in the urban area. For example, how does the meaning of *alli* (good) and *mana alli* (bad) change with the different environment where the social interaction takes place and with the different generations of speakers? What are the differences between a *mana alli warmi* (bad woman) in HZQ and a *mala mujer* (bad woman) in Spanish? It would be interesting to conduct a study on the comparison of sociocultural values in HZQ and "Ancash Spanish" in the *continuum* of linguistic transitions between rural and urban areas of HZQ.

To sum up, even if Quechua is an official language, it is little used in public and private working circumstances. As noted by Julca (2009a: 50), HZQ in the city is the language of the "family, intimacy and friendship"<sup>55</sup>. When monolingual grandparents are still alive, Quechua is still spoken at home. If the grandparents have passed away, then they have often taken with them their heritage culture and language, forever.

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<sup>55</sup> "familia, intimidad, amistad"

## 9.2 Huaraz Quechua in the rural area

As is true for most of the Andes, Quechua is mainly spoken in the rural areas. The more one distances oneself from the urban area and goes up into the villages of the Cordillera Blanca and Cordillera Negra, the more one is likely to listen to HZQ.

Nevertheless, in describing the use of HZQ in the rural area, it is important to distinguish between the villages close to the city and the ones at higher elevation, far away from the city. As observed above, the limits between the different areas are difficult to define. Therefore, the *continuum* of the communities should be seen as a space of linguistic transition.

A major role in the vitality of HZQ in the rural communities of Huaraz is played by the freeway which connects the city of Recuay and Caraz and passes through Huaraz. As noted by Julca (2009a: 49), in “[...]places close to the freeway Recuay-Caraz, the linguistic vitality of Quechua considerably decreases from generation to generation”<sup>56</sup> and the language transmission to the new generation “[...] is fewer each time and not in few cases zero or almost zero”<sup>57</sup>. Moreover, “in the last years one can observe the appearance of some Spanish speaking areas in rural contexts, as in Aco in Huaraz or Tucto in Recuay (Menacho, personal communication)”<sup>58</sup> (Julca 2009a: 48-49). Indeed, the continuous movement of *campesinos* leads to a constant influence of the Spanish culture and language into the HZQ speaking villages.

Relevant for villages both close to and far from the city of Huaraz is the fact that schools and churches are mostly Spanish speaking places. Classes from the kindergarten to the final year of primary school are taught in Spanish, even if children come from a Quechua speaking family (Menacho & Villari forthcoming). Only few schools apply the EIB program and the use of HZQ is often forbidden by many school directors and teachers. In the article *Los Enemigos del Quechua* (The Enemies of Quechua) (to be published together with David Weber), Leonel Menacho López describes two acts of violence practiced in two schools of Ancash. In Caraz, a female teacher of the first grade did not let the children go to the toilet if they did not ask for permission in Spanish. Many children were forced to urinate on themselves due to their language difficulties. In Recuay an old female teacher used nettle to punish children that spoke Quechua in the classroom or in the patio. She hit them right on their mouth to make the punishment both symbolic and corporal. In fact, many parents and teachers are in favor of a unique use of Spanish at school. In his sociolinguistic study of the Ancash region, Julca (2009b: 29) records the following statement from a Quechua speaker: “Quechua is our mother tongue in the mountains, this makes difficult for our children to be successful in

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<sup>56</sup> “[...] localidades alrededor de la autopista Recuay-Caraz, la vitalidad lingüística del Quechua disminuye considerablemente de generación en generación”

<sup>57</sup> “[...] es cada vez menor y no en poco casos es nula o casi nula”

<sup>58</sup> “en los últimos años se observa la aparición de ciertas zonas de habla castellana en contextos rurales, como Aco en Huaraz y Tucto en Recuay (Menacho, comunicación personal)”

education”<sup>59</sup>. During my field works, I have also repeatedly listened to this argument<sup>60</sup>. In the rural area of Huaraz, masses are also mostly given in Spanish, with only a few instances of dedicated catechists that talk in HZQ to the monolingual devotee (as the case of Don Shanti in the village of Chontayoq, see § 2.1). Furthermore, radio and TV programs in Spanish are common at every altitude.

Villages close to the city and the ones well served by the road are undergoing a transition into Spanish. On one side, middle age bilingual women often speak HZQ among themselves as well as with their husbands and parents but Spanish with their children. On the other side, young people and men that commute daily to Huaraz for school or work mostly speak Spanish amongst themselves. Only the communities at the highest altitude that are difficult to reach because they are not well served by the road preserve the use of HZQ in all domains. Conversations among children, women and men at home and in many social gatherings mostly occur in HZQ.

To conclude, HZQ is spoken significantly more in the rural area than in the urban area. A distinction between communities closer to the city and well served by the road and those communities at higher elevation has to be made. The first are experiencing a transition into Spanish, whereas the second are more conservative and tend to maintain HZQ in all domains of life.

## 10 Summary of the sociolinguistic scenarios of Huaraz

HZQ speakers consider their heritage language as “only a dialect” compared to the held to be original Cusco Quechua and Spanish, the dominant language. In the last decades this has been leading to a Quechua-Spanish “displacive language contact” (Aikhenvald 2007: 43), where the intergenerational transmission of HZQ is considerably diminishing.

In describing the use of HZQ and the attitude of its speakers, it is important to consider the differences between the urban and the rural areas. However, a clear-cut distinction cannot be made because of the dynamic sociocultural environment and the consequent blurred limits between the two areas. For this reason, I have adopted the notion of *continuum*.

The situation I have depicted for the district of Huaraz (see § 7.1) is reflected at a regional level. According to the INEI (Ancash 2008: 109), in the urban area 87,1% of the population has Spanish as L1 and 12,6% Quechua; in the rural area, however, 33,3% has Spanish as L1 while 66,4% Quechua.

In the urban area, HZQ covers notably less functional areas than Spanish. Public and private working places such as schools, hospitals, banks, shops are all Spanish speaking places. Spanish is a

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<sup>59</sup> “el quechua es nuestra lengua materna en la sierra, esto dificulta que los niños tengan éxito en la educación”

<sup>60</sup> Being a Quechua speaker, or a speaker of an indigenous language other than Spanish, does not make the learning process more difficult for the children as a rule. It is the lack of application of the EIB program and of learning material in indigenous languages that do not enable a regular learning process for the children of the rural areas and causes them low scholastic achievements.

prerequisite for employment, Quechua only in a few exceptions. HZQ is spoken at home mainly if the monolingual grandparents are still alive. The language transmitted to the next generation is mostly Spanish. Rural areas differ consistently in relation to the closeness to Huaraz. Communities close to the city and well served by the road are experiencing a shift into Spanish. Communities at the highest altitude maintain Quechua in all domains. Only schools and churches, when present, are mostly Spanish speaking places. Intergenerational transmission is preserved here and children speak HZQ between themselves. From a gender point of view, HZQ is mostly spoken by women, whereas bilingualism is more developed in men than women.

In line with Aikhenvald, “no language contact situation is ‘context free’” (2007: 36) and “languages reflect the sociolinguistic history of their speakers” (2007: 47). Years of abuse and exclusion as Quechua speakers have marked psychologically parents and teachers that now do not want the children to suffer the same discrimination or are convinced of an inferiority of Quechua to Spanish. The psychological reasons that are behind the abandonment of HZQ can only be understood taking into account the historical and the sociocultural backgrounds. Years of colonial history have been characterized by the imposition of Spanish and the systematic fight against the Quechua language and culture. Despite major changes in the language policy of the country, including the introduction of an intercultural bilingual program for schools and the proclamation of Quechua as an official language, HZQ has maintained a lower sociolinguistic prestige than Spanish. In addition, the sociocultural changes of Huaraz in the last decades have influenced the linguistic attitudes of the HZQ speakers in abandoning their heritage language. An important role has been played by the mining industry, tourism and mobility and migration.

Eventually, the vitality of HZQ and the outcome of the Quechua-Spanish language contact will be strongly influenced by the linguistic attitudes of the individual speakers. To quote Mithun (1998: 163), what HZQ speakers “choose to do now, as well as what they fail to do, will have irrevocable consequences for future generations”. The risk we are facing is that HZQ will disappear as a language in its own right and only be present in parts of Ancash Spanish.

## **11 Typological features of Huaraz Quechua**

In this chapter I present the typological features of HZQ. My grammatical references are Daniel Hintz (2011) on South Conchucos Quechua (eastern Ancash and western Huánuco departments), Parker (1976) on Ancash-Huailas Quechua and Weber (1996) on Huallaga Quechua (Huánuco).

HZQ is a polysynthetic, agglutinative and exclusively suffixing language. Even if many Quechua studies describe Quechua as a SOV language, I align with Diane Hintz (2003) who states that South Conchucos Quechua (from now on SCQ) word order is better described adopting Dryer’s

four-way typology (1997) instead of the Greenberg's typology (1966). Diana Hintz's collected data contain only a few clauses with both S and O and no order (SO or OS) emerges to be more frequent than the other. The same happens in my data on HZQ. Within this approach, HZQ word order is mainly SV and OV. Nevertheless, instances of VS and VO are motivated by pragmatic factors (Diane Hintz 2003 – see footnote 72 in the present work) and phenomena of Spanish contact. Especially among younger bilingual speakers, the tendency is to replicate the Spanish syntax into HZQ. Variant word order due to the Spanish contact is evident in the conversation at the beginning of this work between Pedro, the 27 year-old Spanish speaker with limited Quechua knowledge, and his grandma, monolingual in HZQ. For example, as a calque of the Spanish construction *Te voy a preguntar sobre el agua* (I am going to ask you something about water), Pedro prepones the verb *tapushqeeki* (I am going to ask you) to *yakupita*. On the contrary, we have seen in (1) that the HZQ construction would be *yakupaq*<sup>61</sup> *tapushqeeki* (I am going to ask you something about water).

As discussed in (§ 9.1) the HZQ spoken by the younger bilingual generation is different from the HZQ spoken by their parents and grandparents. For example, the number of suffixes attached to a verbal root is high, generally ranging from 3 to 6, with some cases of longer verbs containing up to 8 suffixes, such as *posadakeekatsillaayaamankiman* (you could give us a lodging) in footnote 2. Conversely, especially in the urban area, younger bilingual speakers who are not fluent in HZQ tend to use simplified HZQ constructions, adding fewer suffixes to a given verbal root (generally 1 to 3).

In HZQ there are three classes of suffixes: the verbal suffixes, the nominal suffixes and the independent suffixes. A list of the glossing abbreviation used in the dissertation is presented in the front matter. Here, I find it convenient to reproduce Daniel Hintz's table of 83 suffixes and enclitics in the SCQ verb, which I consider the best reference on verbal suffixes position and function in Quechua. Even if HZQ suffixes do not fully match with SCQ suffixes, many of them do correspond. Hence, this table will help the reader of this dissertation understand the array of the Quechua verb suffixes.

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<sup>61</sup> Both *-paq* (PURP) and *-pita* (ADV) can be used in this construction.

Table 5 Suffixes and enclitics in the SCQ verb arranged by position and function

VERB ROOT	← MORE DERIVATIONAL						MORE INFLECTIONAL →				INDEPENDENT	
	SLOT SET D						SLOT SET I				SLOT SET E	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	1	2
REDUP <sub>1</sub> REDUP <sub>2</sub>	<b>IMPERFECTIVE</b>											
	<b>-ra:</b> DUR	<b>-paku</b> DISTR.S	<b>-ykacha:</b> ITER	<b>-yka:</b> CONT			<b>-Ø</b> PRS				<b>-yan</b> DISTR.T	
				<b>-rayka:</b> DUR.C			<b>-q</b> PST.H					
							<b>(-na:</b> PST.N)					
	<b>PERFECTIVE</b>											
			<b>-ri</b> PUNC	<b>-rpu</b> COMPL			<b>-r(q)u</b> PST.R					
				<b>-rku</b> PFV.M			<b>-sha</b> PST.R1					
				<b>-yku</b> PFV.O			<b>-r(q)a</b> PST					
				<b>-ski</b> PFV								
				<b>-ri:ku</b> PFV.F								
	<b>INCIPIENT ASPECT</b>											
	<b>-chaku</b> EFFORT											
	<b>-ka:ku</b> TOTAL											
	<b>-ku</b> MID											
	<b>-kuku</b> MID.R											
	<b>NON-ASPECTUAL</b>											
	<b>-ka:</b> PASS	<b>-naku</b> RECP			<b>-pu</b> BEN	<b>-ya:</b> PL.V	<b>-ma:</b> 1OBJ	<b>-sha:</b> FUT1	<b>-:</b> 1	<b>-man</b> COND	<b>-ra:</b> YET	<b>-mi</b> DIR
	<b>-na:</b> DES	<b>-:shi</b> HELP			<b>-ri</b> PL.DIR	<b>-shu</b> 2OBJ	<b>-shun</b> FUT1 <sub>1</sub>	<b>-nki</b> 2	<b>-pa:</b> FUT.M	<b>-na</b> NOW	<b>-chi</b> CNJ	
	<b>-pa:</b> BEN	<b>-tsa</b> CAUS.BE				<b>-nu</b> FAR	<b>-shayki</b> FUT1>2	<b>-yki</b> 2 <sub>r</sub>		<b>-pis/-si</b> EVEN	<b>-cha:</b> MUT	
	<b>-ya:</b> INCH						<b>-nqa</b> FUT3	<b>-n</b> 3		<b>-ku</b> Q.P	<b>-chir</b> APP	
							<b>-y</b> IMP2	<b>-ntsik</b> 1 <sub>1</sub>		<b>-kush</b> Q.T	<b>-shi</b> RPT	
							<b>-tsun</b> IMP3			<b>-ta:</b> Q.C	<b>-ran</b> DIR.YET	
							<b>-shwan</b> COND1 <sub>1</sub>			<b>-ta:ku</b> NEG.EMPH	<b>-qa</b> TOP	
							<b>-nqa</b> NMLZ.R			<b>-ra:ku</b> NEG.APP	<b>-ri</b> SURE	
							<b>-sh(q)a</b> NMLZ.R			<b>-tsu</b> NEG		
							<b>-na</b> NMLZ1 <sub>1</sub>			<b>-tsura:</b> DUB		
							<b>-q</b> AG					
							<b>-y</b> INF					
							<b>-r</b> SS					
							<b>-pti</b> DS					
							<b>-ypa</b> ADV					
							<b>-sh(q)a</b> PTCP					
							<b>-:ni</b> UNDONE					
							<b>-qtu</b> PARTIAL					
							<b>-q</b> PRMT					
	The derivational suffixes <b>-tsi</b> CAUS and <b>-lla:</b> DLM do not occur in a single fixed position.											

(Table taken from Daniel Hintz 2011: Appendix C)

To the group of independent suffixes belong suffixes that appear in final-verb position and enclitics, such as the negative suffix *-tsu*, whose scope reaches beyond the immediate clause. Also the set of evidential suffixes belongs to the independent suffixes. These are the directive *-m/-mi*, the conjectural *-ch/-chi* and the reportative *-sh/-shi*. The two allomorphs of each evidential depend on the presence of an adjacent short vowel. While *-m*, *-ch* and *-sh* are attached to a base ending in a short vowel, *-mi*, *-chi* and *-shi* are added to a base ending in a long vowel or in a consonant. Unlike SCQ, HZQ does not have the mutual knowledge evidential *-cha*:<sup>62</sup>. HZQ speakers even make fun of Conchucos speakers, calling them “los *cha cha cha*” (The *cha cha cha* people)<sup>63</sup>. Nevertheless, as we will see in PART IV, common knowledge among the participants in the process of dialogical construction of storytelling plays a crucial role in the functioning of negation.

HZQ has a nominative-accusative system. Subjects of both transitive and intransitive clauses are unmarked. Objects are marked with the suffix *-ta* (OBJ). Grammatical relations are encoded by verbal suffixes and by case-marked noun phrases, including independent pronouns. Core arguments and different obliques make up the case system.

The personal reference system is a four-term based system. The suffix *-ntsik* (1INCL) represents the first/second person inclusive both verbal and non verbal. Subjects and tense-aspect-modus (TAM) categories can be marked simultaneously in a verb by a portmanteau suffix. This is the case of the suffix *-q* (1>2), which indicates a first person subject acting upon a second person object: *rika-q* (see-1>2) (I see you).

As shown in Figure 2, verbs have a cross-reference system that marks the person of the subject and the human object. A verbal root is followed by at least one inflectional suffix. As a rule, the order of the verbal suffixes is: derivational suffixes, inflectional suffixes and independent suffixes (Figure 2). The only obligatory position is the inflectional one: derivational and independent suffixes are optional.

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<sup>62</sup> A specific study on evidentials in HZQ should be primarily based on spontaneous conversation, the setting in which the epistemic authority is carefully negotiated (Hintz & Hintz 2017).

<sup>63</sup> Referring to the the song “Cha cha cha” of the Cuban orchestra Sonora Matanzera, which was famous in Huaraz in the 70’s (Leonel’s personal communication).

Figure 2 General HZQ verb structure

Verb root	Derivational			Inflectional			Independent
				Object	TAM/Deverbal	Subject	
<i>ranti-</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-yku</i>	<i>-lla</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-rqu</i>	<i>-nki</i>	<i>-mi</i>
buy	-MID	-PFV	-DLM	1OBJ	PST	2	-DIR
You sold <sup>64</sup> it to me.							

(Figure structure taken from Daniel Hintz (2011: 17) – verb form changed)

In cases of consonant sequences not permitted in the language, *-ni*, glossed here as (ZERO), is inserted. In (9) for example, *ni* is inserted between *Dios* and the inclusive suffix *-ntsik* to avoid the not permitted consonant sequence \*CCC<sup>65</sup>:

(9) *Asi, ari Tayta Diosnintsik kawatsiman.*

*asi ari Tayta Dios-ni-ntsik kawa-tsi-man*  
 so yes father God-ZERO-1INCL live-CAUS-COND

Así, pues nuestro Padre Dios **permite que viva.**  
 Like this, well our Father God **permits that I live.**  
 (BA, Historias de vida IV, 29)

I have dealt in (§ 3.3) with phonological issues in HZQ. We have seen how suffixes can have different allomorphs according to their phonological context. There, I have also shown how suffixes can be affected by vowel modification and how this can operate between non-contiguous suffixes too.

In addition, I found in my video material that long vowels can be used in HZQ to symbolically represent the distance through the extended sound. For example, in (10) *meepanachi* is actually pronounced by Doña Augusta as *MEEEEpanachi* to express that the character of the story, the lazy guy *Pedro Ordemal* may have escaped very far away. This finds its corporal equivalent in the gesture of turning up her chin (see also Nuckolls (1996) on sound symbolic performative narrative in Quechua.).

<sup>64</sup> The verb *ranti-* (buy) changes its meaning into „sell“, when it is followed by the middle voice *-ku*.

<sup>65</sup> I remit to Weber for an analysis of the syllabic structure (1996: 588-589) and the insertion of *-ni* (1996: 598-600) in Huallaga Quechua (Huánuco). Another way to deal with the insertion of *-ni*, is to describe selected suffixes as having allomorphs depending on their position. For example, Weber (1996) and Daniel Hintz (2011) gloss *-nintsik* as (1INCL), considering it an allomorph of *-ntsik*.

(10) DA: “*Meechootaq? Huk ladu, meepanachi, markapana heqalerqun.*”

J: *Safalishqa*.

*May-chaw-taq*                      *Huk ladu may-pa-na-chi*  
where-LOC-Q.C                      one side where-ADV-NOW-CNJ

*marka-pa-na*                      *hiqa-ri-rqu-n*  
village-BEN-NOW                      go.away-PUNC-PST-3

*Safa-ri-shqa*  
escape-PUNC-PTCP

DA: “¿Dónde está? A otro lado, por donde, a que pueblo se habría ido.”

J: *Se escapó*.

DA: “Where is he? To another place, who knows where, to which village he will have gone.”

J: *He escaped*.

(DA, *Pedro Ordemal*, 84-87)

Moreover, the example above shows how in HZQ /r/ gets palatalized to /l/ in order to convey a pejorative meaning<sup>66</sup>: *heqalerqun* and *safalishqa* aim to give a moral judgment to the lazy character *Pedro Ordemal* (see also Chapter 22 of the present work on moral judgments and evaluative comments in storytelling and Cerrón-Palomino (2016) on the expressive meaning of palatalization in Quechua).

In Table 2 I compared the IPA transcriptions with the different orthography conventions used in the data sources that I cite the most in the present work. In the following table, I present a list of the native phonemes of HZQ with the IPA transcription.

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<sup>66</sup> Many thanks to Leonel for this suggestion.

Table 6 Native phonemes of HZQ

IPA CONSONANT	IPA VOWEL
/p/	/i/
/t/	/i:/
/tʃ/	/a/
/ts/	/a:/
/k/	/u/
/g/	/u:/
/s/	
/ʃ/	
/h/	
/m/	
/n/	
/ɲ/	
/l/	
/ʎ/	
/r/	
/w/	
/j/	

**PART III – FORMS AND COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS  
OF NEGATIVE MARKERS**

## 12 My work within the previous studies on negation in Quechua

Previous works on Quechua negation constitute the base onto which I have developed the new findings presented in this dissertation. However, most of the Quechua grammars do not even have a separate chapter on negation. Scholarly attention has been restricted to negative assertions and negative imperatives, often simplified as the interrelation of the respectively negative particle *mana* and prohibitive particle *ama* together with the negative suffix *-tsu* (or *-chu* depending on the Quechua variety).

Nevertheless, even if negation is commonly associated with the idea of negating an assertion or giving a ban, it is actually a much more complicated phenomenon related to different pragmatic and communicative aspects as well as to cultural specific practices. In line with Bernini & Ramat (1996: 2), given the cognitive universality of negation “we need to ask what strategies the various languages make use of to give it concrete realization” and, I add, which are the specific sociocultural and communicative motivations behind them.

My first grammatical reference on negation in Quechua is the grammar of Huallaga Quechua (Huánuco) of Weber (1996). To my knowledge, he is the only author who has dedicated a richly illustrated chapter of his grammar to negation. Parker’s grammar of Huaylas Quechua (1976) is the best reference work on the Quechua spoken in Huaraz. Even though it doesn’t have a specific chapter on negation, Parker’s observations of individual suffixes constitute the foundation of my analysis of negative markers. Furthermore, three articles on Quechua negation have been published by researchers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL):

- Weber R. & Nancy Thiesen de Weber (1976) “Negación en quechua”
- Miller (1992) “Algunos aspectos de la negación en el quechua del Callejón de Huaylas”
- Inuguay de Phelps (1996) “Los negativos en el quechua de San Martín”

In addition to these pioneering studies on negation, Edith Pineda-Bernuy (2014) explores the appealing idea of the negative Jespersen Cycle in the Quechua varieties. According to this theory, the Quechua negative system has passed through different stages: from one single negative marker to double negation to single negation again and so on. This would offer an historical explanation to the fact that the negative particle *mana* is optional in HZQ.

Important observations on negative markers within the present work have been made thanks to the literature listed above. At the same time, I am not aware of a linguistic study of negation in Quechua which takes into consideration the communicative functions of the different specific negative markers and their relation to cultural specific practices. The present work does not offer an exhaustive analysis of negation in HZQ but offers an analysis of selected negative markers in HZQ

taking into account their specific communicative functions. Some of the negative markers have not been discussed in the Quechua literature so far.

I will show how both grammatical and extra-grammatical factors influence the functioning of negation. In line with this, the analysis of the sociolinguistic situation offered in PART II and the analysis of the specific communicative contexts of the examples presented are essential for the understanding of the phenomena discussed in this PART III and in PART IV.

## 13 Negative independent clauses

### 13.1 Negative declarative sentences

A common way to negate a declarative sentence in HZQ is to place the negative particle *mana* before the predicate that one wants to negate, and adding the negative suffix *-tsu*<sup>67</sup> to this predicate:

(11) **Mana** **musyaatsu.**

<i>Mana</i>	<i>musya-:-tsu</i>
NEG.PRT	know-1-NEG

**No** sé.

**I don't** know.

(Leonel)

(12) **Manam** **yuriyashqatsu.**

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>yuri-ya-shqa-tsu</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	appear-PL.V-PTCP-NEG

**No** aparecieron.

They **didn't** appear.

(El aluvión de Huaraz, 8-17: 38)

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<sup>67</sup> In the next chapters, I present other uses of the negative suffix *-tsu*. This can negate any elements of the sentences, not only verbal predicates. For example:

**“Manam** **peekuna** **putatsu.**”

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>pay-kuna</i>	<i>puta-tsu</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	s/he-PL.N	bitch-NEG

“Ellas **no** son **putas.**”

“They are **not** **bitches.**”

(El gringo extranjero, 276-277: 23)

*Mana* doesn't have to be placed right before the negated element:

- (13) “***Manam qatsweeta*** *pwediitsu putaswan.*”

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>qatswa-y-ta</i>	<i>pwedi-:-tsu</i>	<i>putas-wan</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	dance-NMLZ-OBJ	can-1-NEG	bitch-COM

“**No** puedo **bailar** con putas.”

“I **can't dance** with bitches.”

(El gringo extranjero, 276-277: 8)

- (14) ***Manam noqata*** *gustamantsu borachera kosas.*

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>noqa-ta</i>	<i>gusta-ma-n-tsu</i>	<i>borachera</i>	<i>kosas</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	I-OBJ	like-1OBJ-3-NEG	drunkenness	things

**A mí no** me gusta cosas de borrachera.

**I don't** like drinking orgies.

(Autobiografía de Santiago Pantoja Ramos, 192-199: 117)

In negative main clauses *mana* can be omitted:

- (15) *Musyaatsu.*

*Musya-:-tsu*  
know-1-NEG

**No** sé.

**I don't** know.

(Leonel)

Edith Pineda-Bernuy (2014) offers an historical explanation to the optionality of *mana* on the basis of the negative Jespersen Cycle (see Chapter 12). However, functional motivations that explain the synchronic use of *mana* still need to be studied. Data based on spontaneous speech would be more apt to analyze the pragmatic contexts of the use and omission of *mana*. My data are not apt to carry out such an analysis. Interesting questions for future research could be: what are the specific communicative situations that motivate the omission of *mana*? Do gender and age of the participants to the conversation play a role? What are the specific pragmatic factors that influence the choice of the speaker (directness, state of mind, etc ...)? For now, I can offer a possible explanation of the omission of *mana* on the basis of the co-text. On the basis of my Toolbox data, it seems that the use of *mana* is inhibited by the use of *mana* or the particle *ni* in a previous co-text:

(16) ***ni abansakarqanatsu.***

[...]

*Y uryaqa miraqnatsu*

*ni abansa-ka-rqa-na-tsu*  
NOR make.progress-MID-PST-NOW-NEG

[...]

*y urya-qa mira-q-na-tsu*  
and work-TOP increase-PST.H-NOW-NEG

y ya **no** era posible avanzar.

[...]

y la obra **no** había avanzado.

and it was **not** possible to make progress.

[...]

and the work did **not** make progress.

(Construcción de la carretera, 2-9: 51-52)

Only main clauses can be negated by the double negative construction *mana ... -tsu*.

Subordinative clauses do not admit the use of *-tsu*. They get negated only by the use of *mana* (Chapter 14).

(17) “Si ***mana*** *kananta horqushqaqa, wanurinmannam karqan.*”

*Si mana kanan-ta horqu-shqa-qa*  
if NEG.PRT now-OBJ take.out-PTCP-TOP

*wanu-ri-n-man-na-mi ka-rqa-n*  
die-PUNC-3-COND-NOW-DIR be-PST-3

“Si **no** lo hubiéramos sacado hoy, habría muerto.”

“If we had **not** taken him out, he would have died.”

(Brujos, 246-251: 73)

With this introductory paragraph I aim to offer some general information about negative declarative sentences in HZQ. In the following chapters I will show how HZQ speakers express different communicative functions such as refusal, prohibition, warning, uncertainty, suggestion, exhortation, request and emphatic contradiction by the use of specific negative structures. In the next section, I discuss short negative answers. I have decided to present them in this chapter since in HZQ they are frequent cases of negative declarative sentences.

### Short negative answers with *mana*

In HZQ short negative answers are expressed by the negative particle *mana*.

- (18) *Rikankiku? Manam.*

*Rika-nki-ku Mana-mi*  
see-2-Q.P NEG.PRT-DIR

Ves? No.  
Do you see? No.  
(Leonel)

They consist of a verb ellipsis of the negative declarative sentence (below “I don’t see”):

- (19) *Manam rikaatsu.*

*Mana-mi rika-:-tsu*  
NEG.PRT-DIR see-1-NEG

No veo.  
I don’t see.  
(Leonel)

This means that the same negative particle (*mana*) is used to express both sentence negation and short negative answers. Usually, in short negative answers *mana* tends to be followed by an evidential suffix.

- (20) “*Tseepenqa negosyantiku kanki?*” “*Manam*.”

*Tsaypinqa negosyanti-ku ka-nki Mana-mi*  
then businessman-Q.P be-2 NEG.PRT-DIR

“¿Entonces es usted comerciante?” “No.”

“So you are a businessman?” “No.”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 91-92)

- (21) ANI: *Heechooqa qochakunaku kan? O imanootaq?*

DM: *Manam*, *kan ishkee pukyalmi, yarqamun, brotamun, patsa rurinpita.*

*Tsay-chaw-qa gocha-kuna-ku ka-n O ima-naw-taq*  
that-LOC-TOP lake-PL.N-Q.P be-3 or what-SIM-Q.C

*Mana-mi ka-n ishkey pukyal-mi yarqa-mu-n*  
NEG.PRT-DIR be-3 two spring-DIR go.out-FAR-3

*brota-mu-n patsa ruri-n-pita*  
emerge-FAR-3 earth inside-3-ABL

ANI: ¿Ahí hay lagunas? ¿O cómo es?

DM: **No**, hay dos puquiales, [el agua] sale, brota, del interior de la tierra.

ANI: Over there, are there lakes? Or how is that?

DM: **No**, there are two springs, it [the water] comes out, emerges, from inside the earth.  
(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 12-14)

(22) ANI: *y tsee yakullawanchi chakrakunatapis regayanki?*

DM: **Manam.**

*y tsay yaku-lla-wan-chi chakra-kuna-ta-pis rega-ya-nki*  
and that water-DLM-COM-CNJ land-PL.N-OBJ-TOO irrigate-PL.V-2

*mana-mi*  
NEG.PRT-DIR

ANI: ¿y con esas aguas no más riegan también las chacras?

DM: **No.**

ANI: and do you also irrigate the fields with that water?

DM: **No.**

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 87-88)

However, future research based on spontaneous speech data would allow me to focus on the interaction between evidentials and negation in HZQ. For now, it is worthy to note that this interaction is not only motivated by epistemic motivations but also by local sociocultural practices. For example, as I explain in Chapter 23, answering with a plain *mana* (no) to an offer is considered impolite and perceived as an act of disrespect. On the contrary, the conjectural evidential *-chi* (CNJ) in the expressions *manachi* and *manaraqchi* mitigates the negation:

(23) *Munankiku? **Manaraqchi.***

*Muna-nki-ku Mana-raq-chi*  
want-2-Q.P NEG.PRT-DUR-CNJ

¿Quieres? **Todavía no.**

Do you want it? **Not yet.**

(Leonel)

### 13.2 Negative existential clauses

While a prototypical predicate expresses an event or occurrence, an existential clause asserts the existence of a participant or a particular argument.

In HZQ I have found three ways of expressing a negative existential clause:

- negating the predicate *ka-* (be)
- negating *kawa-* (live, be alive, be present)
- using the participle form *illasqha* (be absent)

#### Negating the predicate *ka-* (be)

First, I present the uses of the verb *ka-* (be) in affirmative and negative existential clauses. This is the most common way to express an existential clause in HZQ. The following two examples show the affirmative use of *ka-* (be) as existential predicate:

(24) *Tseechooshi ishkee hatusaq kruskuna **kan**.*

<i>Tsay-chaw-shi</i>	<i>ishkay hatusaq</i>	<i>krus-kuna</i>	<i>ka-n</i>
that-LOC-RPT	two big	cross-PL.N	be -3

Dice que allí **hay** dos cruces grandes.  
They say **there are** two big crosses there.  
(Viaje a Paramonga, 162-167: 24)

(25) “*Kamyonllam **kanqa**.*”

<i>Kamyon-lla-mi</i>	<i>ka-nqa</i>
truck-DLM-DIR	be-FUT

“**Va a haber** camión nomás.”  
“**There will only be** a truck.”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 336)

In order to express the existential meaning, one cannot just say \**katchi*. The use of *ka-* (be) is obligatory:

(26) *Katchi kan.*

<i>Katchi ka-n</i>
salt be-3

Hay sal.  
There is salt.  
(Leonel)

On the contrary, in the case of nominal and adjectival predicates, *ka-* (be) is systematically omitted in the third person singular present tense:

(27) *Katchi.*

*Katchi*  
salt

Este es sal.  
This is salt.  
(Leonel)

(28) *Allim.*

*Alli-mi*  
good-DIR

Está bien.  
This is good.  
(Leonel)

A negative existential clause denies the existence of a participant or a particular argument. The negative particle *mana* is optional and negation is conveyed by the negative suffix *-tsu*. Considering that, from a semantic point of view, negation in a negative existential clause denies the existence of a participant and not the participant itself, it is understandable that *-tsu* is generally attached to the existential predicate *ka-* (be).

(29) “***Manam*** *remedyu kantsu peekunapaq.*”

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>remedyu</i>	<i>ka-n-tsu</i>	<i>pay-kuna-paq</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	remedy	be-3-NEG	s/he-PL.N-PURP

“**No hay** remedio para ellos.”

“**There is no** remedy for them.”

(Viaje de catequistas al Departamento de Huánuco, 102-129: 437)

(30) “***Manam kantsu*** *misa.*”

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>ka-n-tsu</i>	<i>misa</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	be-3-NEG	mass

“**No hay** misa.”

“**There is no** mass.”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 491)

(31) *Partes partesqa manam kareterapis karaqantsu.*

<i>Partes</i>	<i>partes-qa</i>	<i>mana-mi</i>	<i>caretera-pis</i>	<i>ka-rqa-n-tsu</i>
parts	parts-TOP	NEG.PRT-DIR	road-TOO	be-PST-3-NEG

Por muchas partes la carretera también había desaparecido.

In many areas there was not even a road.

(El aluvión de Huaraz, 8-17: 95)

However, contrary to what argued by Weber for Huallaga Quechua (1996: 443), in HZQ *-tsu* does not have to be attached exclusively to *ka-* (be). A different negative construction is possible with the negative suffix *-tsu* attached to the noun. This is rarer and always pragmatically motivated. For example, in (32) it is said that there were cars to connect Huaraz to Recuay, but that they were sporadic. Emphasis is put on the phrase “not every day”:

(32) *Allaapa eskasum karu. Manam kada hunaqtsu kan.*

<i>Allaapa</i>	<i>eskasu-mi</i>	<i>karu</i>		
very	scanty-DIR	car		
<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>cada</i>	<i>hunaq-tsu</i>	<i>ka-n</i>	
NEG.PRT-DIR	each	day-NEG	be-3	

Los carros son muy escasos. No hay todos los días.

Cars are very scarce. They are not here every day.

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 524-525)

Another context of use could be the question whether all the men of the community arrived to the meeting called by one of the community authority. A negative answer would put emphasis on “not all the men”:

(33) *Llapan nunakunatsu keekayan.*

<i>Llapan</i>	<i>nuna-kuna-tsu</i>	<i>ka-yka-ya-n</i>
all	man-PL.N-NEG	be-CONT-PL.V-3

No están todos los hombres.

Not all the men are here.

(Leonel)

The existential meaning of the *ka-* (be) construction can be extended to the expressions *ka-q-ta* (be-AG-OBJ) (what there is) and *mana ka-q-ta* (NEG.PRT be-AG-OBJ) (what there is not):

(34) ANI: *Y kee reservoriuchoo yaku kaqta?*

*Y kay reservoriu-chaw yaku ka-q-ta*  
and this reservoir-LOC water be-AG-OBJ

ANI: ¿Y el agua que hay en este reservorio?

ANI: And the water that is in this reservoir?

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 70)

(35) *Arureekarna awgakunapaq watukarin mantikata mana kaqta.*

*Aru-ra-yka-r-na awga-kuna-paq watu-ka-ri-n*  
cook-DUR-CONT-SS1-NOW drown-PL.N-PURP look.through-PASS-PUNC-3

*mantika-ta mana ka-q-ta*  
butter-OBJ NEG.PRT be-AG-OBJ

Mientras cocinaba se dio cuenta de que faltaba manteca para el aderezo.

While she was cooking she realized that there was no butter for the dressing.

(El zapatero, 448-453: 73)

It is interesting to note that the expression *mana kaqta* (what there is not) is also used with the meaning of “untrue”:

(36) *Mana kaqkunata nin.*

*Mana ka-q-kuna-ta ni-n*  
NEG.PRT be-AG-PL.N-OBJ say-3

Dice el falso. (lit. lo que no hay)

What s/he says is untrue. (lit. what there is not)

(Leonel)

In the Andean society telling untruths has a particularly negative connotation. Many *huaynos* (typical Andean songs) in Quechua and Spanish are about lying women and men (Sp. *mujer mentirosa*, *hombre mentiroso*). This can find an explanation in the catholic religion but can be also traced back to the ancient Inca greeting *Ama llulla, ama suwa, ama qella* (Don't lie, don't steal, don't be lazy). Indeed, Bolin (2006: 7) also notes how the herders in Chillihuani (Cusco), who do not have a catholic religious influence, “In accordance with *ama llulla* (don't lie), all are careful to tell the truth. They answer questions about past and present events with precision.”

In HZQ it is common to hear the negative existential to talk about a gossipy woman, who spreads too many rumors:

(37) *Tsee warmi kaqta mana kaqtapis rimakiikanmi.*

<i>Tsay</i>	<i>warmi</i>	<i>ka-q-ta</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>ka-q-ta-pis</i>
that	woman	be-AG-OBJ	PRT.NEG	be-AG-OBJ-TOO

*rima-ku-yka-n-mi*  
talk-MID-CONT-3-DIR

Esa mujer habla **falsedades**. (lit. de lo que hay y de lo que no hay)  
What that woman says is untrue. (lit. what there is and what there is not)  
(Leonel)

Furthermore, existential clauses with *ka-* (be) are used to express alienable and unalienable possession. The only difference in this possessive construction is that the argument carries a possessive suffix:

(38) *I arukyaanampaq kan mankankuna.*

<i>I</i>	<i>aru-ku-ya-na-n-paq</i>	<i>ka-n</i>	<i>manka-n-kuna</i>
and	cook-MID-PL.V-NMLZ.I-3-PURP	be-3	pot-3-PL.N

Y para cocinar **tienen sus ollas**.  
**They have pots** to cook with.  
(Construcción de la iglesia de Chontayoc, 19-41: 341)

(39) *Kee killallam tyempuu kan.*

<i>kay</i>	<i>killalla-mi</i>	<i>tyempu-:</i>	<i>ka-n</i>
this	month-DLM-DIR	time-1	be-3

Este mes nomás **tengo tiempo**<sup>68</sup>.  
**I only have time** this month.  
(Mi pueblo Chontayoc, 128-135: 34)

Negative existential clauses can be used to express lack of possession:

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<sup>68</sup> The lack of the possessive in this construction would lead to the following reading:

*Kee killallam tyempu kan (murunapaq).*

<i>Kay</i>	<i>killalla-mi</i>	<i>tyempu</i>	<i>ka-n</i>	<i>muru-na-paq</i>
this	month-DLM-DIR	time	be-3	sow-NMLZ.I-PURP

Sólo **hay** este **tiempo** (para sembrar).  
**There is** only this **period** (to sow).  
(Leonel)

(40) “Tseepitam manana tsurii kantsu.”

<i>tsay-pita-mi</i>	<i>mana-na</i>	<i>tsuri-:</i>	<i>ka-n-tsu</i>
that-ABL-DIR	NEG.PRT-NOW	child.of.a.man-1	be-3-NEG

“Después de eso ya **no tengo hijo.**”

“After having done this **I have no child.**”

(Para que la mujer no tenga hijos, 214-219: 29)

(41) *Imallash imallash: rinrin kantsu peru wiyán. Shimin kantsu peru parlan? Radyu.*

<i>Ima-lla-shi</i>	<i>ima-lla-shi:</i>	<i>rinri-n</i>	<i>peru</i>	<i>wiya-n</i>
what-DLM-RPT	what-DLM-RPT	ear-3	but	listen-3

<i>Shimi-n</i>	<i>ka-n-tsu</i>	<i>peru</i>	<i>parla-n</i>
mouth-3	be-3-NEG	but	speak-3

*Radyu*  
radio

¿Qué será, qué será: **no tiene oído** pero oye. **No tiene boca** pero habla? La radio.

What is it? What is it? **It has no ears** but it listens. **It has no mouth** but it speaks. The radio.

(Adivinanzas, 464-467: 24-26)

So far, I have presented the uses of the verb *ka-* (be) in affirmative and negative existential clauses<sup>69</sup>.

### Negating *kawa-* (live, be alive, be present)

A second way to express a negative existential clause in HZQ is the use of the verb *kawa-* (live, be alive, be present).

If referred to animate objects, *kawa-* means “live, be alive” ((42) and (43)).

(42) *Waktsa, allaapa miseryachoo kawanaq warminwan.*

<i>Waktsa</i>	<i>allaapa</i>	<i>miserya-chaw</i>	<i>kawa-naq</i>	<i>warmi-n-wan</i>
poor	very	misery-LOC	live-PST.N	woman-3-COM

Era pobre y **vivía** en miseria con su esposa.

He was poor and **lived** in misery with his wife.

(El hombre sin alma, 452-457: 2)

(43) *Asi, ari Teeta Diosnintsik kawatsiman.*

<i>Asi</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>Tayta</i>	<i>Dios-ntsik</i>	<i>kawa-tsi-man</i>
so	yes	father	God-1INCL	live-CAUS-COND

<sup>69</sup> I send back to Weber (1996: 62) about other uses of the auxiliary verb *ka-* (be).

Así, pues nuestro Padre Dios **permite que viva**.  
 So, well our Father God **lets me be alive**.  
 (BA, Historias de vida IV, 29)

If referred to inanimate objects, *kawa-* assumes the existential meaning “be present” ((44), (45) and (46)). This transfer of the use of *kawa-* from animate to inanimate objects needs a deeper investigation. A possible explication is the fact that in the Andean worldview and habitual understanding everything has a life. This means that not only people, animals and plants are alive (*kawa-*) but also the natural landscape (such as mountains and stones) and objects are alive (*kawa-*):

(44) *Tsee tsaka **kawan***.

*Tsay tsaka kawa-n*  
 that bridge live-3

Ese puente todavía **existe**.  
 That bridge still **exists**.  
 (Enrique Canaval y el gringo, 404-413: 158)

(45) *Kanankamam kee makina **kawan***.

*Kanan-kama-mi kay maki-na kawa-n*  
 now-LIM-DIR this hand-NOW live-3

**Existe** esa máquina hasta hoy.  
 This machine still **exists**.  
 (Enrique Canaval y el gringo, 404-413: 92)

(46) *Qaramanqeeki takllaa **kaweekanram***.

*Qara-ma-nqa-yki taklla-: kawa-yka-n-ra-mi*  
 give-1OBJ-NMLZ.R-2P plow-1 live-CONT-3-DUR-DIR

El arado que me regalaste **todavía existe**.  
 The plow you gave me **still exists**. (it still works)  
 (Leonel)

*Kawa-* is negated by adding the suffix *-tsu*:

(47) *Qaramanqeeki takllaa (manam) **kaweekantsu***.

*Qara-ma-nqa-yki taklla-: (mana-mi) kawa-yka-n-tsu*  
 give-1OBJ-NMLZ.R-2P plow-1 (NEG.PRT-DIR) live-CONT-3-NEG

El arado que me regalaste **no existe**.

The plow you gave me **does not exist**. (it doesn't work anymore)  
(Leonel)

Noteworthy, when the punctual suffix *-ri* gets attached to the root, the meaning of *kawa-* for animate objects changes from “be alive” to “come alive”:

(48) *Mishikuna qepanta, tsee **kawarimoq** ayaqa eeweekaanaq.*

*Mishi-kuna qipa-n-ta tsay kawa-ri-mu-q*  
cat-PL.N behind-3-OBJ that live-PUNC-FAR-AG

*aya-qa aywa-y-ka-naq*  
corpse-TOP go-2IMP-PASS-PST.N

Detrás de los gatos iba el cadáver **resucitado**.  
Behind the cats the **resurrected** corpse was walking.  
(El gato negro, 356-359: 60)

### The use of the participle form *illasqha* (be absent)

A third way of asserting the absence of something in HZQ is the use of the verb *illa-* “be absent”. Together with the participle perfect *-shqa*, the expression *illashqa* means “absentee” and *illashqa nunakuna* “absent men/absent people”<sup>70</sup>:

(49) *Tseenash tapurin, “Keechooku kompadreeqa?” nishpa. Tseena warmeqa uliparirqonaq, “**Illashqa**,” nishpa.*

*Tsay-na-shi tapu-ri-n kay-chaw-ku kompadre-:-qa*  
that-NOW-RPT ask-PUNC-3 this-LOC-Q.P godfather-1-TOP

*ni-shpa tsay-na warmi-qa uli-pu-ri-rqu-naq*  
say-SS that-NOW woman-TOP lie-BEN-PUNC-PST-PST.N

*illa-shqa ni-shpa*  
be.absent-PTCP say-SS

Entonces preguntó, “¿Está aquí mi compadre?”. Entonces la mujer le mintió. “**Se ha ausentado**,” dijo.

Then he asked, “Is my godfather here?”. Then the woman lied to him. “**He left**,” she said.

(El compadre, 368-371: 49-51)

<sup>70</sup> In the present work I have glossed the word *nuna* as „man“. Depending on the contest of use, it can also mean „people“.

As in the case of *kawa-* (live), it is interesting to note that when the punctual suffix *-ri* gets attached to the root, the meaning of the predicate changes from “be absent” to “disappear”. *Illari-* (disappear) is the opposite of *yuri-* (appear).

(50) DM: *Peru kee Mina Pierina chamushqampitam, hee yaku illarishqa, total desaparishqam hee qocha.*

*Peru kay mina Pierina chaa-mu-shqa-n-pita-mi*  
but this mine Pierina come-FAR-PTCP-3-ABL-DIR

*tsay yaku illa-ri-shqa*  
that water be.absent-PUNC-PTCP

*total desaparishqam-mi tsay qocha*  
totally disappear-PTCP-DIR that lake

DM: Pero desde que ha llegado la Mina Pierina, esa agua **ha desaparecido**, esa laguna ha desaparecido totalmente.

DM: But since the mine Pierina has been settled, that water **has disappeared**, that lake totally disappeared.

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 21)

## 14 Negative dependent clauses

### 14.1 Privative clauses with *-shpa* (SS)

In the present work, the term “privative clauses” refers to adverbial clauses with the meaning “without doing X”<sup>71</sup>. In HZQ privative clauses are introduced by the negative particle *mana* followed by a verb root + *-shpa* (SS). *-shpa* (SS) is a subordinate suffix, together with *-pti* (DS) and *-r* (SS1). While *-pti* is used when the subject of the subordinate clause is different from the one of the main clause, *-r* and *-shpa* are used when the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the one of the main clause. The difference between the two suffixes is that *-shpa* is never followed by a possessive suffix, whereas *-r* is. Most of the occurrences of *-shpa* in my Toolbox data are within the fixed expression *nishpa* (s/he said) (423 out of 520 items), occasionally followed by evidential suffixes. All other occurrences are adverbial clauses. These can be affirmative as (51) and privative:

<sup>71</sup> Adverbial clauses with the meaning of „without having X“ are dealt in Chapter 18 Negative possession.

- (51) *Manana ni ima gratifikasyon kaptin, nunakuna allaapa **renegashpanam** uryayarqan.*

<i>mana-na</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>gratifikasyon</i>	<i>ka-pti-n</i>
NEG.PRT-NOW	NOT	thing	gratification	be-DS-3

<i>nuna-kuna</i>	<i>allaapa</i>	<i>renega-shpa-na-mi</i>	<i>urya-ya-rqa-n</i>
people-PL.N	very	grumble-SS-NOW-DIR	work-PL.V-PST-3

Ya que no había ninguna clase de gratificación, la gente trabajaba **renegando**.

Because there was no gratification, people worked **complaining**.

(Construcción de la carretera, 2-9: 75)

Privative clauses in HZQ generally precede the main clause they refer to:

- (52) *Trankilu, **mana yarpakachashpa** kakuyarqan.*

<i>Trankilu</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>yarpa-kacha-shpa</i>	<i>ka-ku-ya-rqa-n</i>
quiet	NEG.PRT	remember-ITER-SS	be-MID-PL.V-PST-3

Tranquilos estaban, **sin preocuparse**.

They were quiet, **without being worried**.

(Construcción de la iglesia de Chontayoc, 19-41: 390)

- (53) *Peeqa **mana leyirishpa** tsarirkur, apuradu firmarinaq.*

<i>Pay-qa</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>leyi-ri-shpa</i>	<i>tsari-rku-r</i>
s/he-TOP	NEG.PRT	read-PUNC-SS	get-DIR.UP-SS1

<i>apuradu</i>	<i>firma-ri-naq</i>
fast	sign-PUNC-PST.N

El lo tomó y lo firmó [el contrato] rápido, **sin leerlo**.

He took it and quickly signed it [the contract], **without reading it**.

(Construcción de la iglesia de Chontayoc, 19-41: 79)

However, when pragmatically marked, privative clauses can also follow the main clause they refer to. For example, in (54) the author puts emphasis on the extraordinary situation of the night of the earthquake where people spent the all night without sleeping<sup>72</sup>:

- (54) *I tseemi tsee ampi pampachoo waraayarqaa **mana punushpa**.*

<i>I</i>	<i>tsay-mi</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>ampi</i>	<i>pampa-chaw</i>
and	that-DIR	that	evening	pampa-LOC

<sup>72</sup> In relation to the variation of word order, Diana Hintz (2003: 66-67) observes how in South Conchucos Quechua a change in the constituent order can be motivated by various discourse-pragmatic factors: “Variant word order appears when the speaker is finishing what s/he wanted to say and is offering the floor to the listener for commentary, when the speaker is focusing on a certain referent, when a new participant is being introduced, when something unfamiliar or contrary to expectation is being presented, or when the speaker is looking for a word.”



- (58) *Pofri pumaqa tseelaya achacheechoo mashtarakiikan, mana meemampis kuyurishpa.*

*Pofri puma-qa tsay laaya achachee-chaw mashta-ra-ku-yka-n*  
 poor puma-TOP that class heat-LOC spread.out-DUR-MID-CONT-3

*mana may-man-pis kuyu-ri-shpa*  
 NEG.PRT where-ALL-TOO move-PUNC-SS

Pobre puma quedó tendido en tanto calor, sin poder moverse a ningún lado.  
 The poor puma, he remained laid out in such heat, without moving anywhere.  
 (El puma y el zorro, 332-337: 55)

## 14.2 Negative purpose clauses

Purpose clauses in HZQ are subordinate clauses mostly expressed by the construction *-na-POSSESSIV MARKER-paq* (NMLZ.I-POSSESSIV MARKER-PURP)<sup>74</sup>.

- (59) *Peru despwesmi inbitamarqan yapee Karwasta kutinaapaq.*

*peru despwes-mi inbita-ma-rqa-n*  
 but after-DIR invite-1OBJ-PST-3

*yapay Karwas-ta kuti-na-:-paq*  
 second Caruaz-OBJ go.back-NMLZ.I-1-PURP

Pero después me invitó a volver a Carhuaz otra vez.  
 But later he invited me to come back to Carhuaz again. (lit. to my going back)  
 (Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 214)

- (60) *“Mas kayineekipaq.”*

*Mas kayi-na-yki-paq*  
 more understand-NMLZ.I-2P-PURP

**“Para que entienda más.”**

**“So that you can better understand.”** (lit. to your understanding)  
 (Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 118)

In case of a verb expressing a transition, as in (61) and (62) first person subject to second person object, the possessive suffix is replaced by the respective transition suffix, below *-q* (1>2):

<sup>74</sup> I will focus here on this construction, for which I have corpus data on negation. For a deeper analysis of purpose clauses in Quechua, I recommend Weber (1996: 388-390) on Huallaga Quechua (Huánuco). Another way of expressing a purpose is by the suffix *-q* (PRMT), used with motion verbs: *Yarqonkiman intiman qoñokuq* (You should go outside to warm yourself up) (Leonel).

(61) “*Shamii paganaqpaq.*”

*Shamu-y*      *paga-na-q-paq*  
come-2IMP      pay-NMLZ.I-1>2-PURP

“Ven para que te pague.”

“Come so that I can pay you.”

(El hombre raptado al otro mundo, 364-369: 38)

(62) “*Kreyinaqpaq, rikaatsimee.*”

*Kreyi-na-q-paq*                      *rika-tsi-ma-y*  
believe-NMLZ.I-1>2-PURP      see-CAUS-1OBJ-2IMP

“Enséñame, para que te crea.”

“Show it to me, so that I can believe you.”

(Pasó en Jecanca, 384-387: 23)

As a rule, negative subordinate clauses are introduced by the negative particle *mana* and omit the negative suffix *-tsu*.

(63) “*Warmiillata hampikamutsun mana wachanampaq.*”

*Warmi-:-lla-ta*              *hampi-ku-mu-tsun*  
woman-1-DLM-OBJ      heal-MID-FAR-3IMP

*mana*              *wacha-na-n-paq*  
NEG.PRT              give.birth-NMLZ.I-3-PURP

“Que cure a mi esposa para que no tenga hijos.”

“He should treat my wife so that she can not become pregnant.”

(Biografía de Julián Bruno Quispe, 184-193: 55)

(64) *Tseenam niyarqaa, “Imapaqtaq tseeta ruranki?” Niyaptiimi, “Mana raman winanampaq.”*

*Tsay-na-mi*    *ni-ya-rqa-:*    *Ima-paq-taq*    *tsay-ta*              *rura-nki*  
that-NOW-DIR    say-PL.V-PST-1    what-PURP-Q.C    that-OBJ              do-2

*Ni-ya-pti-:-mi*              *Mana*              *rama-n*              *wina-na-n-paq*  
say-PL.V-DS-1-DIR              NEG.PRT              branch-3              grow-NMLZ.I-3-PURP

Entonces le preguntamos, “¿Para qué haces eso?” Contestó, “Para que no crezcan las ramas.”

Then we asked “Why did you do that? He said to us “So that branches do not grow.”

(Viaje de catequistas al Departamento de Huánuco, 102-129: 369-370)

(65) **“Mana pipis maakunampaq”**

<i>Mana</i>	<i>pi-pis</i>	<i>maaku-na-n-paq</i>
NEG.PRT	who-TOO	realize-NMLZ.1-3-PURP

**“Para que nadie sepa”**

**“So that nobody realizes it”**

(El chuquis engañado, 292-295: 16)

In addition, the purposive suffix *-paq* can be directly attached to a noun root:

(66) *Tseeshi qoq mikiita i qelleeta washkupaq.*

<i>Tsay-shi</i>	<i>qu-q</i>	<i>miku-y-ta</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>qillay-ta</i>	<i>washku-paq</i>
that-RPT	give-PST.H	eat-INF-OBJ	and	money-OBJ	alcohol-PURP

Entonces daban comida y dinero **para alcohol**.

So they gave food and money **for alcohol**. (in order to buy alcohol)

(Huarancayoccocha, 236-241: 70)

The negation of a noun which carries the purposive suffix *-paq* is made by adding the negative suffix *-tsu*. The negative particle *mana* is here omitted, whereas it is obligatory for negative purpose predicates. In addition, there is a change in the word order. The negated noun is preposed to the main verb, while in affirmative clauses it is postponed. Compare the following affirmative and negative sentences:

(67) **Noqa uryaa washkupaq.**

<i>Noqa</i>	<i>urya-:</i>	<i>washku-paq</i>
I	work-1	alcohol-PURP

**Yo trabajo para licor.**

**I work for alcohol.** (in order to buy alcohol)

(Leonel)

(68) *Noqa washkupaqtsu uryaa sino wamraakunapa mikiinimpaq.*

<i>Noqa</i>	<i>washku-paq-tsu</i>	<i>urya-:</i>	<i>sino</i>
I	alcohol-PURP-NEG	work-1	if.not

<i>wamra-:-kuna-pa</i>	<i>miku-y-nin-paq</i>
child-1-PL.N-GEN	eat-NMLZ-3-PURP

Yo **no trabajo para licor** sino para la comida de mis hijos.

**I don't work for alcohol** but for food for my children. (not to buy alcohol but to buy food)

(Leonel)

It is interesting to note that a negative purpose can be semantically interrelated to a prohibition. According to Jensen (1994: 352), in Wayampi, a Tupi-Guarani language spoken in northern Brazil, the purposive prefix *t-* “may also communicate the idea of permission and [...] may be translated ‘shouldn’t’”. For San Martin Quechua, Coombs, Coombs & Weber refer that both negative particle *mana* and prohibitive particle *ama* can be used to express a purpose clause. And, noteworthy, *ama* is actually preferred:

(69) *Shayri-du ka-nchi-sapa boski-kuna siki-n-pi mana (o ama) ñuyu-ny-nchi-kuna-pa*

“Estamos parados bajo los árboles para **que no nos mojemos**”

“We stand under the trees **so that we do not get wet**”.

(my bold and underlying and my translation into English – no glosses in the original work)

(San Martin Quechua, David Coombs, Heidi Coombs & Robert Weber, 1976: 195)

This is not the case for HZQ where the use of the prohibitive particle *ama* (PROH) is limited to prohibitives (§ 17.2).

### The expression of a quality with *-paq* and *-paq-tsu*

In the spoken language it is common to use the purposive suffix *-paq* in order to express a quality. In this case, it follows an infinite verb<sup>75</sup>:

(70) *Wamayeepaq asyaanaq isqii.*

<i>Wamaya-y-paq</i>	<i>asyaa-naq</i>	<i>isquy</i>
be.afraid-INF-PURP	stink-PST.N	pus

La pus olía **para tener miedo**.

The pus stank **horribly**. (lit. to be frightened)

(BA, Historias de vida II, 79)

(71) *Tseemi llakikiipaq.*

<i>Tsay-mi</i>	<i>llaki-ku-y-paq</i>
that-DIR	be.sad-MID-INF-PURP

Eso es **para tener pena**.

That is **a pity**. (lit. to be sad)

(DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 IV, 6)

<sup>75</sup> Note that Spanish has a similar construction.

(72) *Heenash awkin chakwan **ankupeepaq** maa purikar chaayashqa.*

*Tsay-na-shi awkin chakwan ankupa-y-paq*  
 that-NOW-RPT old.man old.woman have.pity-INF-PURP

*maa puri-ka-r chaa-ya-shqa*  
 CHALL walk-PASS-SS1 come-PL.V-PTCP

Entonces el viejito y la viejita andando **que daban lastima**, llegaron.  
 So the old man and the old woman walking **pitifully** arrived. (lit. to have pity)  
 (J, El cuento del río, 92)

When the negative suffix *-tsu* is attached to *-paq*, it indicates a degree less of the quality in question. Compare the example above (70), here reported in (73), with the negated form:

(73) ***Wamayeepaq** asyaanaq isqii.*

*Wamaya-y-paq asyaa-naq isquy*  
 be.afraid-INF-PURP stink-PST.N pus

La pus olía **para tener miedo**.  
 The pus stank **horribly**. (lit. to be frightened)  
 (BA, Historias de vidas II, 79)

(74) ***Wamayeepaqtsu** asyaanaq isqii.*

*Wamaya-y-paq-tsu asyaa-naq isquy*  
 be.afraid-INF-PURP-NEG stink-PST.N pus

La pus **olía pero no tanto**.  
 The pus **stank but not that much**. (lit. not to be frightened)  
 (Leonel)

The expression of different grades of negative adjectives is presented in Chapter 19.

## 15 Negative questions

Quechua languages mark differently content questions and polar questions. In HZQ the content question suffix is *-taq* (Q.C) and the polar question suffix is *-ku* (Q.P).

Negative questions are introduced by the negative word *manaku*, which consists of the negative particle *mana* plus the polar question suffix *-ku* (Q.P).<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> In § 13.1 I have dealt with short negative answers with *mana*.

(75) ¿Manaku yarpanki paseepa?

*Mana-ku yarpa-nki pasaypa*  
 NEG.PRT-Q.P remember-2 completely

¿No recuerdas totalmente nada?

**Don't** you remember anything?

(BA, Historias de vida I, 12)

(76) “I kanan manaku penqakushqa kedarin?”

*I kanan mana-ku penqaku-shqa keda-ri-n*  
 and now NEG.PRT-Q.P be.ashamed-PTCP remain-PUNC-3

“Y ahora, ¿no queda avergonzada?”

“And now, is she **not** ashamed?”

(La pareja, 388-393: 64)

(77) ¿Qamkunaqa imanirtaq mana uryayankitsu? ¿Manaku kan?

*Qam-kuna-qa imanir-taq mana urya-ya-nki-tsu*  
 you-PL.N-TOP why-Q.C NEG.PRT work-PL.V-2-NEG

*Mana-ku ka-n*  
 NEG.PRT-Q.P be-3

¿Ustedes por qué no trabajan? ¿No hay trabajo?

Why don't you work? Is there **no** work?

(DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 I, 35-36)

### 15.1 Exhortation, suggestion and request with *manaku* + conditional

Negative questions combined with a verb in the conditional form in HZQ carry the function of expressing exhortations, suggestions and requests.

The function of exhortation is seen in the case of the sermon given by Don Shanti in the church of Chontayoq. By the use of *manaku* plus the conditional form of *shamu-* (come), Don Shanti intends to exhort the *campesinos* to go to the church more often and be happier. Don Shanti's hope in a better religious commitment of the *campesinos* of Chontayoq is underlined by the repetition of the word *kushishqa* (happy) and by the expression *Imanaw linduraq haynaw kanman!* (¡How nice would it be!) (see § 2.1 about Don Shanti's religious commitment):

(78) *Pero keellamanqa manaku shamiikushwan llapantseq kushishqa? Kushishqa!*  
*Imanoo linduraq heenoo kanman!*

*Pero kay-lla-man-qa mana-ku shamu-yku-shwan*  
 but this-DLM-ALL-TOP NEG.PRT-Q.P come-PFV-12COND

*llapa-ntsik*    *kushi-shqa*    *kushi-shqa*  
 all-1INCL    be.happy-PTCP    be.happy-PTCP

*ima-naw*    *lindu-raq*    *tsay-naw*    *ka-n-man*  
 what-SIM    nice-DUR    that-SIM    be-3-COND

Pero a esta nuestra Iglesia ¿**no podríamos venir** todos alegres? ¡Alegres! ¡Qué lindo sería esto!

But **couldn't we come** [to our church] all happy? All happy! How nice that would be! (DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 III, 39-41)

The use of *manaku* plus conditional with the function of a suggestion can be observed in the example below taken from *Cuentos y relatos*. The story is about two men from Conchucos that are fooled because of their alleged stupidity. In Huaraz and its province, it is common to hear jokes about the people from Conchucos (*chukis*), that are often depicted as silly people. In the next excerpt, the two men suggest to the seller he allows them to pay more:

- (79) *Tseenash chukisqa nin, “Eekataq kwestallan?” Niptinna nin, “Apakii dyes solischoo.” Niptinna chukis nin, “**Manaku** treintisinku soles alli **kallanman?**” Entonces nunana nin, “Bwenu, hina apakii, hina tseechoo.”*

*Tsay-na-shi*    *chukis-qa*    *ni-n*    *Ayka-taq*    *kwesta-lla-n*  
 that-NOW-RPT    chuquis-TOP    say-3    how.much-Q.C    cost-DLM-3

*Ni-pti-n-na*    *ni-n*    *Apa-ku-y*    *dyes*    *solis-chaw*  
 say-DS-3-NOW    say-3    take-MID-2IMP    ten    soles-LOC

*Ni-pti-n-na*    *chukis*    *ni-n*  
 say-DS-3-NOW    chuquis    say-3

*Mana-ku*    *treintisinku*    *soles*    *alli*    *ka-lla-n-man*  
 NEG.PRT-Q.P    thirty-five    soles    good    be-DLM-3-COND

*Entonces*    *nuna-na*    *ni-n*  
 then    man-NOW    say-3

*Bwenu*    *hina*    *apa-ku-y*    *hina*    *tsay-chaw*  
 good    immediately    take-MID-2IMP    immediately    that-LOC

Entonces el chuquis dijo, “Cuánto cuesta?” Contestó [el hombre] “Llévatelo por diez soles” El chuquis dijo, “¿**No sería bueno** treinticinco soles?” Entonces el hombre dijo, “Bueno, llévatelo así, en ese precio”.

Then the *chukis* said “How much does it cost?” He [the man] said “Take it for ten soles”. The *chukis* said, “**Wouldn't** thirty-five soles **be good**?” Then the man said “Fine, take it for this price”.

(Dos chuquis van a la montaña, 286-289: 29-32)

In another example of *Cuentos y relatos*, the construction *manaku* plus conditional carries the function of request. In the story “Viaje de catequistas al Departamento de Huánuco” Don Shanti relates about a trip to Huánuco that he made together with two other catechists. He phoned a priest asking for a place to sleep:

- (80) *Tseenam nirqaa*, “*Kimaqnam kayaa. Manaku posadakeekatsillaayaamankiman?” *I padre Jorginam*, “*Ewkayaamii*” *nirqan*.*

*Tsay-na-mi ni-rqa-: Kima-q-na-mi ka-ya-:*  
that-NOW-DIR say-PST-1 three-HUM-NOW-DIR be-PL.V-1

*Mana-ku posada-ka-yku-tsi-lla:-yaa-ma-nki-man*  
NEG.PRT-Q.P lodge-MID-PFV-CAUS-DLM-PL.V-1OBJ-2-COND

*I padre Jorgi-na-mi aywa-ku-yaa-mu-y ni-rqa-n*  
and father Jorge-NOW-DIR go-MID-PL.V-FAR-2IMP say-PST-3

Entonces dije, “Somos tres. No podría darnos alojamiento?” Y el padre Jorge dijo, “Vengan.”

Then I said, “We are three. Couldn’t you give us lodging?” And the father said, “Come.”

(Viaje de catequistas al Departamento de Huánuco, 102-129: 14-16)

## 15.2 Negative alternative questions with *manaku*

Alternative questions in HZQ are expressed by the juxtapositions of two words, both carrying the polar question suffix *-ku* (Q.P). The use of the Spanish disjunction *o* is replacing the original constructions, especially among bilingual HZQ-Spanish speakers.

- (81) “*Tsee eskwelaqa ollqullapaqku o warmikunapis kayanmanku?”*

*Tsay eskwela-qa ollqu-lla-paq-ku o*  
that school-TOP man-DLM-PURP-Q.P or

*warmi-kuna-pis ka-ya-n-man-ku*  
woman-PL.N-TOO be-PL.V-3-COND-Q.P

“¿Esa escuela va a ser solamente para varones o va a haber mujeres también?”

“Will that school be just for men or for women too?”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 13)

Negative alternative questions present the negative word *manaku* (or not?) as second alternative. The function of *manaku* is to direct the attention of the participant to the first alternative and to obligate the participant to give a clear answer: “yes” or “not”.

(82) “*Leyita yachankiku o manaku?*”

*leyi-ta yacha-nki-ku o mana-ku*  
 law-OBJ know-2-Q.P or NEG.PRT-Q.P

“¿Sabes leer o no?”

“Can you read, or not?”

(Construcción de la iglesia de Chontayoc, 19-41: 71)

Another use of *manaku* is the formulaic expression *¿alliku o manaku?* (good or not?). The intention of the speaker with this expression can be one of soliciting a positive answer:

(83) “*Imanootaq papantsik, alliku o manaku?*”

*Ima-naw-taq papa-ntsik alli-ku o mana-ku*  
 what-SIM-Q.C potato-1INCL good-Q.P or NEG.PRT-Q.P

“¿Qué tal nuestras papas, bien o no?”

“How are our potatoes, good or not?”

(La vieja y el zonzo, 394-397: 10)

Crucial with the use of *manaku* is the fact that the speaker is convinced that his interlocutor will be able to give an answer or that he knows the answer. For example, in the case of Anita interviewing Don Marino about the presence of water in Chontayoq, the use of *manaku* has the function to present the interviewed with specific alternatives: in the past, did the mountains look like now or not?

(84) ANI: *Kanannooku o manaku?*

DM: *Manam, noqa yarpaami tsatsa este...*

*Kanan-naw-ku o mana-ku*  
 now-SIM-Q.P or NEG.PRT-Q.P

*Mana-mi noqa yarpa-:-mi tsatsa este*  
 NEG.PRT-DIR I remember-1-DIR señora this

ANI: ¿[Los cerros se veían] cómo ahora o no?

DM: No, yo recuerdo señora, este...

ANI: [Did the mountains look] like now or not?

DM: No, I remember ma'am, this...

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 224-225)

By the use of a negative alternative question, Anita intends to motivate the interviewed to speak about the differences in the amount of snow in the mountains in front of Chontayoq over the last decades.

Her linguistic strategy of adopting such a direct construction turns to be successful. Don Marino immediately starts his narration of the past years with a negation (*Manam*) and carries on talking (*Noqa yarpaami* (I remember) ...). Further in the text he affirms that the mountain San Cristobal was completely covered with snow when he was thirteen (i.e. in the 80s). As a matter of fact, as a result of global warming, the entire Cordillera Blanca was actually much more “white” than it is nowadays. Thus, Anita uses the expression *manaku* because she is sure Don Marino knows the answer. If Anita was not sure that Don Marino knew the answer, she would have expressed her uncertainty by using *mana-kush* instead of *mana-ku* (see § 15.3).

Expectations about some level of common knowledge among the participants to the interaction play a major role in the selection of suffixes and in the use of negation in general. In PART IV I will focus on the role of expectations in the functioning of negation. Figure 4 visualizes my view of a linguistic interaction as one that is driven by the participants’ expectations on the basis of common knowledge and shared sociocultural settings.

### 15.3 Uncertainty with *-kush*

So far we have seen how *manaku* in an alternative negative question leaves the interlocutor faced with a polar decision, where no answer in between is accepted and where the speaker is sure that his interlocutor knows the answer.

*Manakush*, instead, gives a hint of uncertainty to the linguistic interaction. By the use of *-kush* (Q.U) the speaker does not expect a certain answer from his interlocutor. This is the reason why in *Cuentos y relatos* *-kush* is used in the formulaic expression *¿allikush kashaq o manakush?* to interrogate coca leaves about the future (a cultural practice nowadays less common in the village of Chontayoq):

- (85) *Keenooshi tapuyan: “María Koka, willeekamee swertiita, allikush kashaq o manakush?”*

<i>Kay-naw-shi</i>	<i>tapu-ya-n</i>	<i>María</i>	<i>Koka</i>
this-SIM-RPT	ask-PL.V-3	María	coca

<i>willa-yku-ma-y</i>	<i>swerti-:-ta</i>	<i>alli-kush</i>	<i>ka-shaq</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>mana-kush</i>
tell-PFV-1OBJ-2IMP	luck-1-OBJ	good-Q.U	be-1FUT	or	NEG.PRT-Q.U

Así preguntan: “María Coca, dime mi suerte, ¿estará bien o no?”

They ask like this: “María Coca, tell me my luck, will I be good or not?”

(La coca y el cigarillo, 254-259: 7)

Thus, as with the suffix *-ku* (Q.P), *-kush* (Q.U) can also be used to build polar questions. The difference lies in the speaker’s expectations about what the interlocutor can actually answer with

certainty. For example, in order to ask a father whether his child will come back home, one would use *-ku*. The father is supposed to have control over his young boy and to know, whether he will come back home:

(86) *Kutimunqaku?*

*Kuti-mu-nqa-ku*  
return-FAR-3FUT-Q.P

**¿Regresará?**

**Will he come back? (I know you know if he will come back or not)**

(Leonel)

On the other hand, if a woman leaves the house, the husband can go to her father asking, whether she will come back. The husband expresses his uncertainty by using *-kush*, indicating that he does not expect the father of the woman to know the answer for sure:

(87) *Kutimunqakush?*

*kuti-mu-nqa-kush*  
return-FAR-3FUT-Q.U

**¿Regresará?**

**Will she come back? (What do you think, will she come back?)**

(Leonel)

Again, the difference lies in the speaker's expectations about what the interlocutor can actually answer with certainty. As is the case for questions with *-ku*, questions with *-kush* also have a rising intonation<sup>77</sup>. In addition, my data show that *-kush* often appears in correlation with the interjection *maa* (CHALL), which is semantically near to it, meaning "let's see/who knows":

(88) *Heenash ashipakaramushaq "maa mikiita tarimushaqkush" nishpa eewkushqa.*

*Tsay-na-shi* *ashi-pa-ku-ri-mu-shaq*  
that-NOW-RPT search.for-BEN-MID-PUNC-FAR-1FUT

*maa* *miku-y-ta* *tari-mu-shaq-kush*  
CHALL eat-NMLZ-OBJ find-FAR-1FUT-Q.U

*ni-shpa* *aywa-ku-shqa*  
say-SS go-MID-PTCP

Entonces se fue a buscar algo diciendo "**a ver si encuentro** algo de comer".

<sup>77</sup> In the literature, Daniel Hintz (2011: xxii) for South Conchucos Quechua glosses it as *-kush* (Q.T) (tag question). Parker (1976: 149) for Ancash Huaylas Quechua glosses it as indirect question, affirming that it introduces a subordinate question: *Rikaaramushaq wayichawkush kaykan* "Voy a ver si está en la casa".

Then she went saying “Let’s see if I can find something to eat”.  
 (J, El cuento del río, 17-18)

(89) “Maa rasompakush kee warmi kuyaman.”

<i>maa</i>	<i>rasompa-kush</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>warmi</i>	<i>kuya-ma-n</i>	<i>ni-r</i>
CHALL	really-Q.U	this	woman	love-1OBJ-3	say-SS1

“A ver si de veras esta mujer me ama.”

“Let’s see if this woman really loves me.”

(La pareja, 388-393: 22)

## 16 Tag questions

### 16.1 Positive declarative sentences with *manaku* and *oo*

We have seen above that *manaku* plus conditional (§ 15.1) can be used to make a request. A more direct strategy to request something is to postpone a tag question to a positive declarative sentence. These can be *manaku* and *oo*. For example, at the market you might pick an avocado and ask the seller:

(90) *Rantikeekallaamankim, oo?*

<i>Ranti-ku-yku-lla-ma-nki-mi</i>	<i>aw</i>
buy-MID-PFV-DLM-1OBJ-2-DIR	Q.T

Me vendes uno ¿no?

You’ll sell one to me, right?

(Leonel)

In *Cuentos y relatos* a man asks the seller if he would sell him a *wiskur* (a bird similar to a condor, but smaller):

(91) “*Rantikeekallaamankim, manaku?*”

<i>Ranti-ku-yku-lla-ma-nki-mi</i>	<i>mana-ku</i>
buy-MID-PFV-DLM-1OBJ-2-DIR	NEG.PRT-Q.P

“Me vendes uno ¿no?”

You’ll sell one to me, right?

(Dos chuquis van a la montaña, 286-289: 5)

In *Cuentos y relatos* I did not find any examples of *oo* as a tag question<sup>78</sup>. However, on the basis of my field experience and on Leonel’s observation, it seems to me that nowadays in HZQ spoken language *oo* is more diffused than *manaku* as tag question.

The communicative functions of *oo* range from a direct request (90) to a request for feedback by the interlocutor. The request for feedback is seen in the case of Elisa asking her grandmother to relate the storytelling of the witch *Achikee*. In order to help her grandma remember the story, Elisa quotes the famous sentence of the witch falling down from the sky (“*choqa, choqa rich, choqa choqa rich rich*”)<sup>79</sup>:

(92) E: *Hee Achikeeqa “choqa, choqa rich, choqa choqa rich” neq, oo?*

<i>tsay</i>	<i>Achikay-qa</i>	<i>chuqa chuqa rich chuqa chuqa rich</i>	<i>ni-q</i>	<i>aw</i>
that	<i>Achikee</i> -TOP	(ONOMATOPOEIC EXPRESSION)	say-PST.H	Q.T

Esa *Achikee*, decía “*chuqa, chuqa rich, chuqa chuqa rich*”, **¿no?**  
 That *Achikee* said “*chuqa, chuqa rich, chuqa chuqa rich*”, **right?**  
 (BA, Historias de vida II, 43)

A similar use of *oo* can be find in the next two examples, where the speakers are requesting confirmation of understanding by the participants to the interaction:

(93) J: *Razompachi agua benditata hee raqcha mantsan, oo?*

<i>Razon-pa-chi</i>	<i>agua</i>	<i>bendita-ta</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>raqcha</i>	<i>man-tsa-n</i>	<i>aw</i>
truth-ADV-CNJ	water	holy-OBJ	that	devil	be.afraid-3	Q.T

J: Será cierto que ese [diablo] sucio tiene miedo al agua bendita, **¿no?**  
 J: It is true that that dirty devil is afraid of the holy water, **right?**  
 (DA, El cuento de la piedra, 59)

<sup>78</sup> In *Cuentos y relatos*, *oo* is used only with the function of requesting attention from someone:

“**Oo**, *nuna, imata ruranki?*”

<i>aw</i>	<i>nuna</i>	<i>ima-ta</i>	<i>rura-nki</i>
Q.T	man	what-OBJ	do-2

“**Oye**, hombre, ¿qué haces?”

“**Hey** man, what are you doing?”

(El hombre, el puma y el zorro, 316-319: 32)

<sup>79</sup> Other versions of this sentence pronounced by the *Achikee* in HZQ are *pampallaman pampallaman* (just to a flat place, just to a flat place, Sp. a un lugar plano nomás, a un lugar plano nomás) and *pampallaman, oqullaman* (just to a flat place, just to a damp place, Sp. a un lugar plano nomás, a un lugar humedo nomás).

(94) *Y puriptii mochila rurinchoopis waqaq ari. Cuadernukuna apashqa, oo?*

<i>Y</i>	<i>puri-pti-:</i>	<i>mochila</i>	<i>ruri-n-chaw-pis</i>	<i>waqa-q</i>	<i>ari</i>
And	walk-DS-1	backpack	inside-3-LOC-TOO	cry-PST.H	well
<i>Cuadernu-kuna</i>	<i>apa-shqa</i>	<i>aw?</i>			
exercise.book-PL.N	llevar-PTCP	Q.T			

Y cuando caminaba sentía un ruido dentro de mi mochila. Los cuadernos que llevaba, **¿no?**  
 And as I walked I heard a sound in my backpack. The exercise books I was carrying, **right?**  
 (N, *Ichick Ollqu*, 19-20)

## 16.2 Negative declarative sentences with *oo*

Noteworthy, in case of a negative declarative sentence, the only possible tag question is *oo*:

(95) *Punukuptii manam yurimuntsu, oo?*

<i>Punu-ku-pti-:</i>	<i>mana-mi</i>	<i>yuri-mu-n-tsu</i>	<i>aw</i>
sleep-MID-DS-1	NEG.PRT-DIR	born-FAR-3-NEG	Q.T

Cuando duermo no aparece, **¿no?**  
 When I sleep, he [the child] does not appear, **right?** (shaking her head)  
 (BA, *Historias de vida III*, 95)

*Manaku* as a tag question can be only postponed to positive declarative sentences. Its use in the two following negative declarative sentences would be ungrammatical and only *oo* as a tag question is admitted. For example, when a father talks to his son, explaining that he shouldn't have beaten up his little sister, he could say:

(96) *Manam allitsu, oo?*

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>alli-tsu</i>	<i>aw</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	good-NEG	Q.T

No está bien, **¿no?**  
 It is not good, **is it?**  
 (Leonel)

However, he could not say:

(97) \**Manam allitsu, manaku?*

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>alli-tsu</i>	<i>mana-ku</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	good-NEG	NEG.PRT-Q.P

No está bien, ¿no?  
It is not good, is it?  
(Leonel)

Or if a girl comes back home after having visited her aunt who offered her something to eat. The mother could ask her:

(98) *Mikunkinatsu*, *oo?*

*Miku-nki-na-tsu*      *aw*  
eat-2-NOW-NEG      Q.T

Ya no vas a comer, ¿no?  
You won't eat any more, right?  
(Leonel)

However, she could not ask her:

(99) \**Mikunkinatsu*, *manaku?*

*Miku-nki-na-tsu*      *mana-ku*  
eat-2-NOW-NEG      NEG.PRT-Q.P

Ya no vas a comer, ¿no?  
You won't eat anymore, right?  
(Leonel)

## 17 Negative imperative sentences

Negative imperative sentences prescribe non-execution of actions. They do not express a real state of affairs but rather discourage the actualization of a particular state of affairs. Thus, in the languages of the world, negative declarative sentences and negative imperative sentences often have different verbal forms due to their different functions (Croft 1991: 14).

As defined by Birjulin & Xrakovskij (2001: 34), negative imperative sentences can be classified into two groups, depending on the controllability of the prescribed action. The first are negative recommendations (also called preventive sentences) that prescribe non-performance of uncontrollable actions (*Don't fall = be careful not to fall*), the second are prohibitive sentences that prescribe non-performance of controllable actions (*Don't go*). In other words, negative recommendations express caution and prohibitives express prohibition. Although negative recommendations are prototypically found with non-agentive verbs (*catch a cold, fall, miss*), they can also occur with agentive verbs. However, there is an important difference (Birjulin & Xrakovskij 2001: 38): "When occurring in positive imperative sentences or prohibitive sentences, agentive verbs

express controllable actions, whereas in preventive sentences they denote uncontrollable events resulting from some relevant controllable actions, and it is these controllable actions that are in fact addressed by the prescriptor (e.g. the sentence *Don't break the chair* may be interpreted as *Don't rock the chair*)”.

I follow the distinction of negative recommendations and prohibitive sentences (Birjulin & Xrakovskij 2001) because in HZQ negative recommendations are expressed by conditional modality.

### 17.1 Negative recommendations

A negative recommendation is used to discourage someone from doing something. In HZQ they are expressed by conditional modality.

In Quechua there are few studies on negative recommendations. Scholars who work on Quechua mostly focus on prohibitives. Adelaar (2007: 306) mentions a negative recommendation in his analysis of Tarma Quechua. In his article about the Quechua impact in Amuesha (Arawak language of the Peruvian Amazon), he writes about an “apprehensive construction”. This consists of a negative recommendation in an affirmative form. The example he offers is the following one:

(100) **rata-ru-nki-man-taq**

fall-PERV-2S-OPT-SEQ<sup>80</sup>

Ten cuidado que puedes caerte; **¡ten cuidado a no caer!**

Take care lest you fall; **Watch out not to fall!**

(my bolding and underlying, and my Spanish translation)

(Tarma Quechua, Willem F. H. Adelaar, 2007: 306)

According to the author, the negativity is given here by the conditional suffix *-man* (see also § 20.2 on *-taq* (CNTRD) in HZQ).

In this chapter I offer an analysis of the three ways to communicate a negative recommendation in HZQ. They are all expressed by a conditional form and cover the function of a warning for an event that should be prevented from happening. The core meaning of a verb *X* which carries the conditional suffix gets negated: the speaker warns his interlocutor to not do *X* or not let *X* happen. Indeed, if *X* happens then an undesirable, uncontrollable result *Y* would probably follow. To convey this negative meaning of exhortation, the conditional suffix must co-occur together with (I) one or two warnings words (*paqtataq*, *yo*, *kwidado*) or (II) the negative suffix *-tsu*. These two options will be dealt with in the following paragraphs.

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<sup>80</sup> In Adelaar’s work (2007): PERV: perfective, 2S: 2nd person singular, OPT: optative, SEQ: sequential.

### 17.1.1 Conditional with warning words (*paqtataq, yo, kwidado*)

In HZQ the most common strategy to express a negative recommendation is to use one or two warning words together with a conditional form. To be precise, the warning words *paqtataq, yo* and *kwidado* can only convey a negative meaning when they co-occur with a conditional suffix. All other occurrences without conditional cover the function of a positive exhortation.

In this paragraph I compare on purpose my findings with other Quechua dialects and use some examples from the New Testament of Huaylas Quechua (to which HZQ belongs). This helps me to analyze and reconstruct some expressions that are disappearing in HZQ.

#### *paqtataq*

There are no examples of *paqtataq* in my Toolbox corpus and, to my knowledge, neither in other Quechua grammars. However, according to Leonel (personal communication) *paqtataq* was used until a few decades ago in HZQ and is now disappearing. Typically, HZQ speakers older than 60 years still know the term, younger people do not. The verb *paqta*- “to compromise with someone” has also almost disappeared. To my knowledge, only Quesada Castillo (1976:140) lists *paqta* “tal vez” (maybe) between the “adverbios de duda” (doubt adverbs) in Cajamarca-Cañaris Quechua: *paqta qaya shamunqa* (maybe he comes tomorrow, Sp. tal vez mañana venga).

To warn someone not to<sup>81</sup> go somewhere, a common expression in HZQ was:

(101) ***Paqtataq eewankiman!***

*Paqtataq*      *aywa-nki-man*  
WARN1            go-2-COND

**¡No vayas! / ¡Cuidado con ir!**  
**Don't go! / Take care not to go!**  
(Leonel)

Another common expression was:

(102) ***Paqtataq yapee dañukamunkiman!***

*Paqtataq*      *yapay*            *dañu-ku-mu-nki-man*  
WARN1            again                damage-MID-FAR-2-COND

**¡Cuidado con que vuelvas a hacer daño!**

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<sup>81</sup> Depending on the different context, I will translate the warning words *paqtataq, yo* and *kwidadu* with conditional into English and Spanish respectively as „don't/take care not to“ and „no/cuidado con“.

**Don't** damage it again! / **Take care not to** damage it again!  
(Leonel)

It is interesting to note that in the translation of the New Testament<sup>82</sup> of Huaylas Quechua there are a few examples of *paqtataq* and *paqtaraq* used together with the warning word *yo*. In the next two examples *yo* is not obligatory. *Paqtataq* and *paqtaraq* alone would be enough to express a negative recommendation together with a conditional verb. However, these two sentences would be ungrammatical without the conditional suffix.

(103) *¡**Paqtataq yo** nunacuna ricayashunequillapaq allicunata rurayan**quiman!***

*Paqtataq*      *yo*      *nuna-kuna*      *rika-ya-shun-na-yki-lla-paq*  
WARN1              WARN      man-PL.N              see-PL.V-2FUT-NMLZ.I-2P-DLM-PURP

*alli-kuna-ta*      *rura-ya-nki-man*  
good-PL.N-OBJ      do-PL.V-2-COND

**No hagan** sus buenas obras delante de la gente sólo para que los demás los vean.  
**Don't do** your good acts in front of people just so they see you.  
(Mateo 6.1)

(104) *¡**Paqtaraq yo**, mallaqäcoq cayan**quiman!***

*Paqtaraq*      *yo*      *mallaqa-:-ku-q*      *ka-ya-nki-man*  
WARN1              WARN      hunger-1-MID-AG              be-PL.V-2-COND

**Cuidense** ustedes de toda avaricia;  
**Take care not to** be greedy!  
(Lucas 12.15)

## *yo*

The warning word *yo* is typical of the area in which HZQ<sup>83</sup> is spoken.

As the other warning words, when *yo* is used with the function of a negative recommendation, it co-occurs with the conditional suffix.

However, *yo* is also used in positive exhortations. In this case, it co-occurs with future and imperative suffixes. The pragmatic functions are, among others, an advance notice of something (105), a strong speaker's will or expectation (106), an order emitted from a higher social status person (vertical relation) (107).

<sup>82</sup> Many thanks to Daniel Hintz for the examples containing *yo* from the New Testament in Huaylas Quechua.

<sup>83</sup> It is neither known in Conchucos nor in Sihuas and Corongo Quechua.

(105) ¡*Quechwachoo* **yo** *parlakushun!*

*Quechwa-chaw*      *yo*      *parla-ku-shun*  
quechua-LOC              WARN      speak-MID-2FUT

¡**Cuidado** que a partir de ahora vamos a hablar en quechua!  
**Take care** that from now on we speak Quechua!  
(Radio OK: Fabián Rosales, 30.09.14, 5.25h)

(106) *Teytallä, mandaquiniquichö quëcar noqalläta yarpëcamanqui yo.*

*Teyta-lla-:*      *manda-ku-y-ni-yki-chaw*      *ka-yka-r*  
father-DLM-1      order-MID-NMLZ-ZERO-2P-LOC      be-CONT-SS1

*noqa-lla-:-ta*      *yarpa-yku-ma-nki*      *yo*  
I-DLM-1-OBJ      remember-PFV-1OBJ-2      WARN

Jesús, **acuérdate** de mí cuando comiences a reinar.  
Jesus, **remember me** when you start to reign.  
(Lucas 23.42)

(107) ¡*Kwidee* **yo** *wamreekita!*

*kwida-y*                      *yo*      *wamra-yki-ta*  
pay.attention-2IMP              WARN      child-2P-OBJ

¡**Cuida** a tu niño!  
**Watch out** for your child!  
(DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 I, 127)

*yo* can also work as intensifier in order to strengthen the statement:

(108) ¡*Qechwahooqa* **yo** *galluta nintsik kakashmi!*

*Qechwa-chaw-qa*      *yo*      *gallu-ta*      *ni-ntsik*      *kakash-mi*  
quechua-LOC-TOP              WARN      cock-OBJ      say-1INCL      cock-DIR

¡**Cuidado** en quechua gallo decimos *kakash!*  
**Be careful**, in Quechua we say *kakash* for *gallo!*  
(Radio OK: Fabián Rosales, 30.09.14, 5.25h)

And it appears in fixed warning expressions such as:

(109) ¡*Allquwan* **yo!**

*Allqu-wan*      *yo*  
dog-COM              WARN

**Cuidado** con el perro!

**Watch out** for the dog!  
(Leonel)

When *yo* is used together with a conditional form, its function turns into a negative recommendation. For example, in a context where a mother doesn't want her child to play outside with other children, she can say (compare it with (101)):

(110) *Eewankiman yo!*

*Aywa-nki-man*            *yo*  
GO-2-COND                WARN

**¡No vayas!** / **¡Cuidado con ir!**  
**Don't go!** / **Take care not to go!**  
(Leonel)

(111) “*Tariyaashunkiman yo, hee oqomanqa witipaayankitsu*” *niyaamaq señoraa.*

*Tari-yaa-shunki-man*            *yo*  
find-PL.V-3>2- COND                WARN

*tsay*    *uqu-man-qa*                *witipaa-ya-nki-tsu*  
that    swamp-ALL-TOP                get.closed-PL.V-2-NEG

*ni-yaa-ma-q*                *señora-:*  
say-PL.V-1OBJ-PST.H                woman-1

“**Cuidado no les vayan a encontrar**, no se acerquen a ese pantano”, nos decía mi señora.

“**Watch out that they don't meet you**, don't get close to this swamp” my mother was used to tell us.

(BA, Historias de vida II, 20)

In the translation of the New Testament of Huaylas Quechua there are few examples of *yo* (see also examples (103) and (104) above).

(112) *Cuyashqa wauqicuna y panicuna, paqtaraq qonqaquicuyanquiman yo [...]*

*Kuya-shqa*    *wauki-kuna*                *y*                *pani-kuna*  
love-PTCP    brother.of.a.male-PL.N    and                sister.of.a.male-PL.N

*paqtaraq*                *qunqa-ku-yku-ya-nki-man*                *yo*  
WARN1                forget-MID-PFV-PL.V-2-COND                WARN

**No quiero**, hermanos, **que olviden** que [...]  
Brothers and sisters, **don't forget** that [...]  
(1 Corintios 10.1)

### *kwidadu*

The Spanish loan *kwidadu* (be careful/watch out, Sp. *cuidado*) is mostly used together with a predicate which carries a subordinate suffix *-r* (SS1) in order to express a positive exhortation<sup>84</sup>.

(113) “Peru kwidadu saludeekamar, sinoqa ...”

<i>Peru</i>	<i>kwidadu</i>	<i>saluda-yku-ma-r</i>	<i>sino-qa</i>
but	WARN2	say.hello-PFV-1OBJ-SS1	if.not-TOP

“Pero ten cuidado de no saludarme, sino ...”

“Watch out that you say hello to me, if not ...”

(El compadre, 368-371: 26)

As *paqtataq* and *yo*, when *kwidadu* co-occurs with a conditional form it conveys the meaning of a negative recommendation. A mother can warn off her child to go out by the expression (compare it with (101) and (110)):

(114) ¡Kwidadu eewankiman!

<i>kwidadu</i>	<i>aywa-nki-man</i>
WARN2	go-2-COND

¡No vayas!/ ¡Cuidado con ir!

Don't go!/ Take care not to go!

(Leonel)

Another possible context of use of (114) could be a man that warns a friend not to travel down a particular street because he himself had a negative experience there.

#### 17.1.2 Conditional with *-tsu*

Conditional in HZQ can express a speaker's wish and cover the pragmatic function of an exhortation or recommendation. For example, when talking to a sick person who doesn't often go outside, one could say:

(115) *Yarqonkimanmi.*

<i>Yarqu-nki-man-mi</i>
go.out-2-COND-DIR

Tendrías que salir.

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<sup>84</sup> The question about if this is a verb ellipsis or a verbalization of the warning particle *kwidadu* without verb morphology needs a deeper investigation.

You should go outside.  
(Leonel)

Or also:

(116) *Yarqonkiman intiman qoñokuq.*

<i>Yarqu-nki-man</i>	<i>inti-man</i>	<i>qoñu-ku-q</i>
go.out-2-COND	sun-ALL	warm.up-MID-PRMT

Tendrías que salir a calientarte en el sol.  
You should go outside to warm yourself up.  
(Leonel)

The negation of the conditional by the negative suffix *-tsu* conveys the meaning of a negative recommendation.

(117) *Yarqonkimantsu wayikipita.*

<i>Yarqu-nki-man-tsu</i>	<i>wayi-yki-pita</i>
go.out-2-COND-NEG	house-2P-ABL

**No tendrías que** salir de tu casa.  
**You shouldn't** leave your house.  
(Leonel)

According to Leonel (personal communication), by adding the suffix *-lla* to the construction above, the speaker shows “cariño y respeto” (affection and respect) to the interlocutor, for example to a family member and a loved one<sup>85</sup>. Thus, it conveys a less strong negative recommendation:

(118) *Yarqollankimantsu.*

<i>Yarqu-lla-nki-man-tsu</i>
go.out-DLM-2-COND-NEG

**No tendrías que** salir.  
**You shouldn't** go out. (with affection)  
(Leonel)

The interesting exception to this plain procedure of negating a conditional form with the negative suffix *-tsu* in order to convey a negative recommendation, is the co-occurrence of a warning word in the same construction.

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<sup>85</sup> The sociocultural value of respect is central in the Andes (Bolin 2006). The meaning of “respect” in a dynamic society such the one of Huaraz is worth an extra investigation. For now, I can affirm that it does not coincide with my idea of respect, which is related to the concept of social prestige and social hierarchies.

When *paqtataq* or *yo* co-occur with *-man-tsu* (COND-NEG), the only possible reading is a positive recommendation and not a negative one. For example, if a mother feels an earthquake tremor, she can tell her child to leave the house:

(119) ***Paqtataq yarqonkimantsu.***

*Paqtataq*      *yarqu-nki-man-tsu*  
 WARN1            go.out-2-COND-NEG

**Deberías salir.**

**You should go outside.**

(Leonel)

(120) ***Yarqonkimantsu yo.***

*Yarqu-nki-man-tsu*    *yo*  
 go.out-2-COND-NEG    WARN

**Deberías salir.**

**You should** go outside.

(Leonel)

#### Negative possibility with *mana-chi ...-tsu*

We have seen above that a negated conditional *-man-tsu* (COND-NEG) expresses a negative recommendation. An exception is given when it co-occurs with the particle *mana-chi* (NEG.PRT-CNJ). The only possible reading of this construction is a negative possibility and not a negative recommendation. For example, Doña Augusta relates how the lazy boy *Pedro Ordemal* said he could not work because he was too hungry:

(121) DA: “**Manachi** *kee mallaq, mallaq alliq mitsikuumantsu.*”

*Mana-chi*    *kay*    *mallaq mallaq*      *alliq*      *mitsi-ku:-man-tsu*  
 NEG. PRT-CNJ    this    hunger hunger      good-AG      herd-MID-1-COND-NEG

DA: “**Creo que** así con mucha hambre **no podría pastorear** bien.”

DA: “**I think that** with such hunger, **I could not herd** well.”

(DA, *Pedro Ordemal*, 23)

In *Cuentos y relatos* Don Shanti reports a conversation he took part in. A professor (Sp. un profesor) told a priest that he would find it preferable if priests got married:

(122) “*Peekuna kasadu kayaptinga, manachi wiyashwantsu warmiyogshi neqta.*”

<i>Pay-kuna</i>	<i>kasadu</i>	<i>ka-ya-pti-n-qa</i>
s/he-PL.N	married	be-PL.V-DS-3-TOP

<i>mana-chi</i>	<i>wiya-shwan-tsu</i>	<i>warmi-yog-shi</i>	<i>ni-q-ta</i>
NEG.PRT-CNJ	hear-12COND-NEG	woman-HAVE-RPT	say-AG-OBJ

“Si ellos se casaran, no oiríamos decir que tienen mujeres.”

“If they got married, we would probably not hear that they have women.”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 26)

To conclude, in this chapter I have illustrated two options to express a negative recommendation in HZQ: (I) the co-occurrence of a positive conditional form with a warning word (*paqtataq*, *yo*, *kwidado*) and (II) a negated conditional by the negative suffix *-tsu* (*man-tsu*). Their function is to warn someone about an event that should be prevented from happening (not doing *X* or not letting *X* happen).

We have seen how strictly negation and optative modality interact and have reciprocal effects. Indeed, special combinations of the markers described above can convey the meaning of a positive recommendation instead of a negative one. This is the case of the warning words *paqtataq* and *yo* that function as a negative recommendation when used together with the conditional form. But they turn into a positive recommendation when the negative suffix *-tsu* is attached to the conditional form.

Table 7 describes the main function of a selected combinations of suffixes dealt in this chapter and offers an example of their use with the verb *yarqu-* (go out).

Table 7 Main function of the combinations of suffixes dealt in § 17.1 attached to the root *yarqu-* (go out)<sup>86</sup>

Form	Main function	Example with <i>yarqu-</i> (go out)	Translation into Spanish and English
<i>-nki</i>	state of affair/imperative	<i>yarqu-nki</i>	- sales/saldrás - you go outside/ you will go outside
<i>-nki-tsu</i>	negation and prohibition	<i>yarqu-nki-tsu</i>	- no sales/no saldrás - you don't go outside/ you won't go outside
<i>-lla-nki-tsu</i>	prohibition with affection	<i>yarqu-lla-nki-tsu</i>	- no vas a salir, por favor - please, don't go outside
<i>-nki-man</i>	positive recommendation	<i>yarqu-nki-man</i>	- tendrías que salir - you should go outside
<i>-lla</i>	positive recommendation with affection	<i>yarqu-lla-nki-man</i>	- tendrías que salir, por favor - please, go outside
<i>-nki-man-tsu</i>	negative recommendation	<i>yarqu-nki-man-tsu</i>	- no tendrías que salir - you shouldn't go outside
<i>-lla-nki-man-tsu</i>	negative recommendation with affection	<i>yarqu-lla-nki-man-tsu</i>	- no tendrías que salir - please, you shouldn't go outside
<i>-nki-man yo</i>	negative recommendation	<i>yarqu-nki-man yo</i>	- no salgas/ cuidado con salir -don't go outside/ take care not to go outside
<i>-nki-man-taq</i>	negative recommendation	<i>yarqu-nki-man-taq</i>	- no salgas/ cuidado con salir -don't go outside/ take care not to go outside

<sup>86</sup> To better get the meaning of the examples, it is helpful to add the noun *wayi-pita* “from the house” to each sentence, ex. *wayi-pita yarqu-nki*.

<b>Form</b>	<b>Main function</b>	<b>Example with <i>yarqu-</i> (go out)</b>	<b>Translation into Spanish and English</b>
<i>paqtataq</i> <i>-nki-man</i>	negative recommendation	<i>paqtataq</i> <i>yarqu-nki-man</i>	- no salgas/ cuidado con salir -don't go outside/ take care not to go outside
<i>paqtataq yo</i> <i>-nki-man</i>	negative recommendation	<i>paqtataq yo yarqu-nki-</i> <i>man</i>	- no salgas/ cuidado con salir -don't go outside/ take care not to go outside
<i>kwidadu</i> <i>-nki-man</i>	negative recommendation	<i>kwidadu</i> <i>yarqu-nki-man</i>	- no salgas/ cuidado con salir -don't go outside/ take care not to go outside
<i>paqtataq</i> <i>-nki-man-tsu</i>	positive recommendation	<i>paqtataq</i> <i>yarqu-nki-man-tsu</i>	- deberías salir -you should go outside

## 17.2 Prohibitives

Prohibitives do not express a real state of affairs but rather ban the realization of a state of affairs. According to Birjulin & Xrakovskij (2001: 34), in the languages of the world there are two groups of prohibitive sentences with regards to the behavior of the addressee. To the first group belong prescriptions of actions in progress at/before the moment of speech (*Are you smoking? Don't smoke! (=Stop smoking)*), to the second group belong prescriptions of actions not-in progress at/before the moment of speech (*How nice, that you are not smoking. Don't smoke! (=Don't begin to smoke/Continue not smoking)*). This difference is reflected in HZQ, where prohibitives expressed with the suffix *-na* (NOW) always refer to an action in progress at/before the moment of prescription.

In the previous studies on Quechua, prohibitives are mainly described in their standard form, which is the cooccurrence of the prohibitive particle *ama* with the negative suffix *-tsu* attached to an imperative suffix. In this chapter I will offer an analysis of the ways of conveying a prohibition in HZQ. § 17.2.1 introduces the standard way of expressing a prohibition: the interaction of the prohibitive particle *ama* and the suffix *-tsu* attached to the imperative suffix *-y*. Here I analyze also the distribution of *ama* and its use as a holophrastic form. § 17.2.2 deals with the process of grammaticalization of second person future declaratives into prohibitives. § 17.2.3 describes a triple marked prohibition in which the warning word *yo* is added to the standard prohibitive construction (*ama, -tsu, yo*). Finally, in § 17.2.4 it is shown how prohibitives with *-na* (NOW) refer to an action in progress at/before the moment of prescription.

### 17.2.1 Standard prohibitives

Scholars who work on Quechua agree that there is a functional difference in the use of the negative particle *mana* (NEG.PRT) and the prohibitive particle *ama* (PROH). *Mana* is used for assertion while *ama* for prohibition. This is, according to Croft (1991: 14), an extremely widespread distinction in the languages of the world.

In the case of Quechua languages, only Coombs (1976: 130) reports for San Martin Quechua the occasional use of *mana* instead of *ama* in “negative exhortations” (*Mana deha-shun-chu sigaroku-y-ta* ‘No hemos de dejar de fumar el cigarro’) (We don't have to stop smoking the cigar). A possible explanation could be the Spanish influence. Indeed, Bernini & Ramat (1996: 113) confirm that the use of a distinct negative marker for prohibitives is relatively rare in the languages of Europe<sup>87</sup>. Spanish, for example, uses the negative word *no* for both negative declaratives and prohibitives (*No estén tristes, yo no les abandonaré* ‘Don't be sad, I won't abandon you’). Thus, the

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<sup>87</sup> For a list of European languages where the negative markers of prohibitive and negative declaratives coincide, I refer to Bernini & Ramat (1996: 112).

use of *mana* as prohibitive in San Martin Quechua may be due to a question of contact with Spanish. However, this interesting phenomenon would need a deeper investigation.

In HZQ prohibitives have been described as the interaction of the prohibitive particle *ama* and the suffix *-tsu* attached to the imperative suffix *-y*. I will refer to this form as “standard prohibitive”.

(123) “*Ama* *parlapameetsu*.”

*Ama* *parla-pa-ma-y-tsu*  
PROH speak-BEN-1OBJ-2IMP-NEG

“No me hables.”  
“Don’t talk to me.”  
(Velas, 250-253: 28)

(124) “*Ama* *llakiyeetsu*, *manam noqa dehayashqeekitsu*.”

*Ama* *llaki-ya-y-tsu*  
PROH sad-PL.V-2IMP-NEG

*mana-mi* *nuqa deha-ya-shqayki-tsu*  
NEG.PRT-DIR I leave-PL.V-1>2FUT-NEG

“No estén tristes, yo no les abandonaré.”  
“Don’t be sad, I will not abandon you.”  
(La Legión de María de Chontayoq, 134-145: 81)

Example (124) is well suited to show the difference in negation strategies between prohibitives and negative declaratives: *ama* (PROH) is used for prohibitives, *mana* (NEG.PRT) for negative declarative sentences. The negative suffix *-tsu* is used in both cases and is obligatory<sup>88</sup>. In addition, there is a distributional difference: in prohibitive sentences *-tsu* can be only attached to verbs, in declarative sentences it can be attached to any words one wants to negate. Two different modalities are employed: imperative and indicative. Finally, both particles, *ama* and *mana*, can be omitted. In the process of telling stories *ama* tends to be omitted if previously cited in the discourse. Compare the two lines from the story *Achikee* told by Doña Augusta:

(125) DA: “*Ama* *willankitsu* *eewkunqata*” *nishpa*.

[...]

DA: “*Tiii kondor, keepa pasakunqata willakunkitsu*.”

<sup>88</sup> With the exception of negative declarative subordinate clauses, where *-tsu* is omitted and *mana* is obligatory.

*Ama willa-nki-tsu aywa-ku-nqa-ta ni-shpa*  
 PROH tell-2-NEG go-MID-NMLZ.R-OBJ say-SS

[...]

*Tiyu-y kondor*  
 uncle-2IMP condor

*kay-pa pasa-ku-nqa-ta willa-ku-nki-tsu*  
 this-ADV pass-MID-NMLZ.R-OBJ tell-MID-2-NEG

DA: “**No** le digas que he pasado” dijo [la niña].

[...]

DA: “Tío cóndor, **no** le digas que he pasado por aquí.”

DA: “**Don’t** tell her that I passed by”, she [the girl] said.

[...]

DA: “Uncle condor, **don’t** tell her that I passed by.”

(DA, *Achikee*, 135 and 139)

Also in pragmatically marked situations, *ama* is generally omitted. For example, in 2011 I witnessed the dangerous situation of a child running on a slippery floor close to a swimming pool when a man suddenly shouted to him:

(126) *Eeqeetsu!*

*Ayqi-y-tsu*  
 run-2IMP-NEG

¡**No** corras!

**Don’t** run!

Furthermore, *ama* is mostly omitted in the idiomatic expression:

(127) “*Aktseeqa keetsu.*”

*Aktsay-qa ka-y-tsu*  
 bad-TOP be-2IMP-NEG

“**No** seas malo.”

“**Don’t** be bad.”

(El burro y el perro, 318-319: 4)

### Double prohibitive with *ama* and *ni*

With two prohibitive verbs, the negative coordinative particle *ni*<sup>89</sup> is put in between:

<sup>89</sup> *Ni* is also used as negative coordinative particle in negative declarative sentences.

- (128) *Tseena nunaqa nin, “Keechoomi pampeekurqoo.” Tseena warminqa nin, “Ama allaapa yarpakacheetsu, ni llakitsu.”*

*Tsay-na nuna-qa ni-n*  
that-NOW man-TOP say-3

*Kay-chaw-mi pampa-yku-rqu-:*  
this-LOC-DIR pampa-PFV-PST-1

*Tsay-na warmi-n-qa ni-n*  
that-NOW woman-3-TOP say-3

*Ama allaapa yarpa-kacha-y-tsu ni llaki-tsu*  
PROH very remember-ITER-2IMP-NEG NOR sad-NEG

El hombre dijo, “Aquí lo he enterrado.” Su mujer le dijo, “**No** te preocupes mucho, **ni** seas triste.”

Then the man said, “I have buried him here.” Then his wife said to him, “**Don’t** worry too much **and don’t** be sad **either**.”

(La pareja, 388-393: 33-34)

### Distribution of *ama*

*Ama* is usually placed at the beginning of the prohibitive sentence. With intransitive verbs that have zero valency, i.e. that do not need any other complements, *ama* goes directly before the verb:

- (129) “**Ama** llakiyeetsu.”

*Ama llaki-ya-y-tsu*  
PROH sad-PL.V-2IMP-NEG

“**No** sean tristes.”

“**Don’t** be sad.”

(La Legión de María de Chontayoq, 134-145: 81)

- (130) “**Ama** kasatsuntsu.”

*Ama kasa-tsun-tsu*  
PROH get.married-3IMP-NEG

“**Que no** se case.”

“**He shouldn’t** get married.”

(Biografía de Valentina Norabuena, 174-183: 46)

- (131) “**Ama** yarpakachaayeetsu.”

*Ama yarpa-kachaa-ya-y-tsu*  
PROH remember-ITER-PL.V-2IMP-NEG

“**No** se preocupen.”  
 “**Don’t** be worried.”  
 (La Legión de María de Chontayoq, 134-145: 121)

(132) “**Ama** qaparinkitsu.”

*Ama qapa-ri-nki-tsu*  
 PROH shout-PUNC-2-NEG

“**No** grites.”  
 “**Don’t** yell.”  
 (El chuquis engañado, 292-295: 40)

Cross-linguistically, it is often the case that prohibitives do not overtly express the addressee. In languages that mark the person on the verb, as HZQ, the addressee can be understood directly from the verb. However, if the addressee is expressed as a vocative, it generally precedes *ama*:

(133) “**Señor, ama** karselmanqa pasatsimeetsu.”

*Señor ama karsel-man-qa pasa-tsi-ma-y-tsu*  
 Sir PROH prison-ALL-TOP go-CAUS-1OBJ-2IMP-NEG

“**Señor, no** me mande a la cárcel.”  
 “**Sir, don’t** send me to the prison.”  
 (Construcción de la iglesia de Chontayoc, 19-41: 143)

(134) “**Amigu, ama** upa keetsu.”

*Amigu ama upa ka-y-tsu*  
 friend PROH stupid be-2IMP-NEG

“**Amigo, no** seas tonto.”  
 “**Mate, don’t** be stupid.”  
 (Los músicos de aldea, 338-343: 60)

(135) “**Upa, ama** tseenoo keetsu.”

*Upa ama tsay-naw ka-y-tsu*  
 stupid PROH that-SIM be-2IMP-NEG

“**Tonto, no** seas así.”  
 “**Idiot, don’t** be like that.”  
 (El hombre y la piedrecita, 374-377: 16)

If the addressee is an indefinite pronoun, it is more likely to follow the particle *ama*:

(136) “*I tseemi ama pipis maakamaashuntsu.*”

*I tsay-mi ama pi-pis maaka-maashun-tsu*  
 and that-DIR PROH who-TOO realize-3>12FUT-NEG

“**Que nadie** sepa [que estamos].”  
 “**Nobody** should realize [that we are here].”  
 (El chuquis engañado, 292-295: 15)

(137) “*Ama ni pi ni qampis shamunkitsu.*”

*Ama ni pi ni qam-pis shamu-nki-tsu*  
 PROH NOR who NOR you-TOO come-2-NEG

“**Nadie**, ni usted tampoco, **ha de** venir.”  
 “**Nobody**, you neither, **should** come.”  
 (Enrique Canaval y el gringo, 404-413: 57)

The scope of prohibition is generally restricted to those elements placed inside the double prohibitive construction, i.e. between *ama* and *-tsu*. This is the case of nominal and adjectival predicates:

(138) “*Amigu, ama upa keetsu.*”

*Amigu ama upa ka-y-tsu*  
 friend PROH stupid be-2IMP-NEG

“**Amigo, no** seas **tonto**,”  
 “**Mate, don’t** be **stupid**,”  
 (Los músicos de aldea, 338-343: 60)

(139) “*Upa, ama tseenoo keetsu.*”

*Upa ama tsay-naw ka-y-tsu*  
 stupid PROH that-SIM be-2IMP-NEG

“**Tonto, no** seas **así**.”  
 “**Idiot, don’t** be **like that**.”  
 (El hombre y la piedrecita, 374-377: 16)

Direct objects (nouns and pronouns):

(140) “*Ama tsee rakchakunata parlapameetsu.*”<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Compare it with *ama parlapameetsu* (no me hables), without the object.

*Ama tsay rakcha-kuna-ta parla-pa-ma-y-tsu*  
 PROH that dirty-PL.N-OBJ speak-BEN-1OBJ-2IMP-NEG

“**No** me hables esas **tonterías**.”

“**Don’t** speak to me these **obscene words**.”

(Biografía de Julián Bruno Quispe, 184-193: 50)

(141) “*Peru neqmi, **ama mankata** kichankitsu.*”

*Peru ni-q-mi ama manka-ta kicha-nki-tsu*  
 but say-PST.H-DIR PROH pot-OBJ open-2-NEG

“Pero te recomiendo que **no** abras **la olla**.”

“But I recommend you **not** to open **the pot**.”

(La bruja, 346-353: 41)

(142) “*Ama **ni pita** katumiitsu.*”

*Ama ni pi-ta katu-mu-y-tsu*  
 PROH NOR who-OBJ leave-FAR-2IMP-NEG

“No dejes a **nadie**.”

“Don’t leave **anyone**.”

(La mujer y el carnero, 392-395: 36)

(143) “*Ama **ni imata** yarpaashunnatsu.*”

*Ama ni ima-ta yarpa-shun-na-tsu*  
 PROH NOR what-OBJ remember-2FUT-NOW-NEG

“Ya no pensemos en **nada**.”

“Let’s not think about **anything** anymore.”

(DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 IV, 40)

Directions:

(144) “*Ama **meetapis** eeweetsu.*”<sup>91</sup>

*Ama may-ta-pis aywa-y-tsu*  
 PROH where-OBJ-TOO go-2IMP-NEG

“No vayas a **ninguna parte**.”

“Don’t go **anywhere**.”

(El hombre, el puma y el zorro, 316-319: 26)

<sup>91</sup> Compare the following expression without the object: “*Mehor **ama eewee-tsu**, porki tsee misaqa protestanti misash.*” (“You better don’t go, because it is a protestant mass.”, Sp. “Mejor que no vayas, porque dicen que esa misa es una misa protestante.”) (La Legión de María de Chontayoc, 134-145: 73).

And temporal predicates:

(145) “*Ama **byernis ampeqa** shamunkitsu.*”

*Ama byernis ampi-qa shamun-ki-tsu*  
PROH friday evening-TOP come-2-NEG

“No vengas **viernes en la noche.**”

“Don’t come **on Friday night.**”

(La quequi, 352-355: 16)

(146) “*Ama **kananqa** kuyameetsu.*”

*Ama kanan-qa kuya-ma-y-tsu*  
PROH now-TOP love-1OBJ-2IMP-NEG

“No me ames **ahora.**”

“Don’t make love to me **now.**”

(El chuquis engaño, 292-295: 12)

These distributional patterns are to be intended as a general tendency and not as a rule. Pragmatically motivated situations as well as phenomena of linguistic convergence between HZQ and Spanish can provoke a change in the word order, such as the postponed object in the following sentence:

(147) “*Peru amana kichapunkinatsu **punkiikita** kutimuptin*”

*peru ama-na kicha-pa-nki-na-tsu punku-yki-ta kuti-mu-pti-n*  
but PROH-NOW open-BEN-2-NOW-NEG door-2P-OBJ go.back-FAR-DS-3

“Pero ya no vas a abrir **tu puerta** cuando vuelve”

“But don’t open **your door** when he comes back”

(La mujer y el alma, 354-355: 26)

### ***Ama* as holophrastic word**

The prohibitive particle *ama* can be also used as a holophrastic word. This means that it can be used by itself, without the verb, expressing a prohibition that can be inferred by the context.

In (148) *ama* is used as holophrastic form of the prohibitive “DON’T eat me!”. Evidence for the intended prohibitive is the fact that *ama* is followed by a counter offer: the rabbit tells the fox “Instead of eating me, help me to cook the meal!”:

(148) *I nin atoq, “Kananqa mikoqmi.” Konehuna nin, “**Ama.** Mikiitam preparareekaa. Yanapamee arur.”*

*I ni-n atuq Kanan-qa miku-q-mi*  
 and say-3 fox now-TOP eat-AG-DIR

*Konehu-na ni-n Ama*  
 rabbit-NOW say-3 PROH

*Miku-y-ta-mi preparara-ra-yka-:*  
 food-NMLZ-OBJ-DIR prepare-PUNC-CONT-1

*Yanapa-ma-y aru-r*  
 help-1OBJ-2IMP cook-SS1

Y dijo el zorro, "Ahora te voy a comer.". El conejo dijo, "**No**. Estoy preparando comida. Ayúdame a cocinar."

And the fox said, "I will eat you now." The rabbit said, "**No**. I am cooking the meal. Help me with the cooking."

(El zorro y el conejo, 304-307: 30-33)

A similar example is (149), where the topicalized element is not the action itself as in (148) (DON'T eat me!) but the object. A goat says to the puma "Don't eat ME! Eat the mature goat!":

(149) "Tseepenqa shuyamee, mikunaqpaq." "**Ama noqataqa.** Mikeeqa Poqushqa Chiwata."

*Tsaypinqa shuya-ma-y miku-na-q-paq*  
 then wait-1OBJ-2IMP eat-NOW-AG-PURP

*Ama noqa-ta-qa*  
 PROH I-OBJ-TOP

*Miku-y-qa Poqu-shqa Chiwa-ta*  
 eat-2IMP-TOP mature-PTCP goat-OBJ

"Entonces espérame, para que te coma." "**No a mí.** Come a Cabra Grande."

"We'll wait, so I can eat you." "**Not me.** Eat the mature goat."

(Las cabritas del bosque, 320-323: 12-14)

Also in (150) *ama* is used as holophrastic word. Here, the intended prohibitive "don't go" is understood from the context:

(150) *Heepitam animalniykunaman eewakuyanki. Ama kananqa. Sólo resakurllam kankurllam kashun.*

*Tsay-pita-mi animal-ni-yku-na-man aywa-ku-ya-nki*  
 that-ABL-DIR animal-ZERO-PFV-NOW-ALL go-MID-PL.V-2

*Ama kanan-qa*  
 PROH today-TOP

*Sólo*    *resa-ku-r-lla-m*        *kanta-ku-r-lla-m*        *ka-shun*  
 only    pray-MID-SS1-DLM-DIR    sing-MID-SS1-DLM-DIR    be-2FUT

Ya después se van a ir a ver sus animales. Ahora **no**. Sólo estamos rezando y cantando.  
 After you can go to look after your animals. **Not** now. We are praying and singing.  
 (DS, Misa 30agosto2011, 152-154)

### 17.2.2 Grammaticalization of second person future declaratives into prohibitives

Cross-linguistically, languages with a complete system of person/number imperative markers use non-imperative verb forms as functional synonyms for specialized imperative verb forms (Birjulin & Xrakovskij 2001). Semantically, 2<sup>nd</sup> person non-imperative verb forms generally provide for a specific interpretation of the imperative meaning not found with 2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative forms. According to Birjulin & Xrakovskij (2001: 41), using functional non-imperative forms either “the speaker aims to (a) reduce the existing array of potential interpretations (command, request, advice, suggestion, permission), (b) indicate that the prescribed action must take place after a certain interval after the moment of speech, or (c) accentuate the non-referential character of the prescribed action”. Moreover, in most cases indicative verb forms used in imperative sentences diverge from the “standard” command either by softening or hardening it. This is the case, for example, of Huallaga Quechua, where the 2<sup>nd</sup> person future suffix *-nki* can be used instead of the 2<sup>nd</sup> imperative suffix *-y* in order to give a hint of politeness and soften the command (Weber 1996: 154). This is not the case in HZQ, where politeness and affection in positive and negative imperatives is expressed by adding the delimitative suffix *-lla*<sup>92</sup>.

In HZQ second person future declaratives are grammaticalized into prohibitives.

The second person future *-nki* followed by the negative suffix *-tsu* is the most frequent prohibitive pattern found in my corpus. This is true for all kind of prohibitives: either with or without the particles *ama* and *mana*.

(151)    “**Ama mantsakaayankitsu.**”

*Ama*    *mansta-ka-ya-nki-tsu*  
 PROH    be.afraid-PASS-PL.V-2 -NEG

“**No tengan miedo.**”

<sup>92</sup> Cerrón-Palomino (1976: 180) describes how in Junin-Huanca Quechua the suffix *-qlu*, which is historically a metathesis of the suffix *-lqu*, conveys a more diplomatic order than the simple use of the imperative suffix *-y*. Es. *Taki-qlu-y!* (Please, sing!), Sp. ¡Canta, pues, por favor!). “La atenuación del imperativo se nota claramente si se contrasta el par *Li-chun!* ¡Que vaya! con *Li-qlu-chun!* “¡Mejor que vaya! (¿no te parece?)” [...] en este último sentido se lo puede interpretar mejor como una consulta que el hablante hace al oyente sobre el parecer de éste respecto de la realización de la acción” (Cerrón-Palomino 1976: 205).

“**Don’t** be afraid.” (not now, in the future)  
 (Hermano y hermana, 386-389: 19)

(152) “*Heenam witipaayannkitsu, sutayaashunkim*” *niyaamaq*.

*Tsay-na-mi witipaa-ya-nki-tsu*  
 that-NOW-DIR get.closed-PL.V-2-NEG

*suta-yaa-shunki-mi ni-yaa-ma-q*  
 pull-PL.V-3>2-DIR say-PL.V-1OBJ-PST.H

“Entonces **no** se le acerquen, [el muerto] les va a jalar” decían.  
 “So **don’t** get close to it, [the dead] will pull you down”, they said.  
 (BA, Historias de vida I, 149)

It seems that the use of *-nki* (2) is a functional synonym of *-y* (2.IMP) with a difference on the lapse of time it refers to: *-nki* indicates that the prescribed action must take place after a certain interval after the moment of speech. This has been also noted by Cusihuáman (1976: 267) for Cuzco-Collao Quechua, where *-y* refers to “an immediate order that requires an immediate compliance” whereas *-nki* refers to “a compliance to the order that is realized with delay”<sup>93</sup>. Weber (1996: 155) too for Huallaga Quechua reports the functional differences in the meaning of *-y* and *-nki* in relation to the lapse of time of the prescribed action: “*Ama miku-y-ču!*=No lo comas ahora” (Don’t eat it now) and “*Ama miku-nki-ču!*=No lo comas en el futuro” (Don’t eat it in the future).

### 17.2.3 Triple marked prohibition (*ama*, *-tsu*, *yo*)

A prohibition can be intensified by the use of a third marker, the warning word *yo*. This can either precede or follow the negated predicate (with *-tsu*), but it always follows the prohibitive particle *ama*:

(153) “*Ama yo haqirameetsu.*”

*Ama yo haqi-ra-ma-y-tsu*  
 PROH WARN leave-DUR-1OBJ-2IMP-NEG

“**No** me dejes.”  
 “**Don’t** leave me.”  
 (El burro y el perro, 318-319: 16)

(154) DA: “*Ama kichankitsu yo teekanki, shuyareekanki.*”

*Ama kicha-nki-tsu yo taaku-nki shuya-ra-yka-nki*  
 PROH open-2-NEG WARN seat-2 wait-DUR-CONT-2

<sup>93</sup> “mandato inmediato que requiere cumplimiento inmediato de la orden o pedido” [...] “el cumplimiento de orden o pedido se realiza con demora”.

DA: “**No** lo vayas a abrir, quédate sentada, debes estar esperando.”

DA: “**Don’t** open it, stay seated, you should wait.”

(DA, Achikee, 224)

(155) *Cuyë wauqicuna y panicuna, **ama** qonqaquecayämëtsu yo*

*Kuya-y wauki-kuna y pani-kuna*  
love-2IMP brother.of.a.male-PL.N and sister.of.a.male-PL.N

*ama qonqa-ka-yku-ya-ma-y-tsu yo*  
PROH forget-MID-PFV-PL.V-1OBJ-2IMP-NEG WARN

Queridas hermanas y hermanos, **¡no** se olviden de nosotros! (my translation<sup>94</sup>)

Beloved sisters and brothers, **don’t** forget us!

(2 Corintios 7.2)

(156) ***Ama yo** lluta votashuntsu*

*Ama yo lluta vota-shun-tsu*  
PROH WARN nonsense vote-2FUT-NEG

**¡No** hay que votar de cualquier manera!

**Don’t vote** without care!

(Radio OK: Fabián Rosales, 30.09.14, 5.25h)

Besides *yo*, the negative coordinative particle *ni* (NOR) can also make a prohibitive construction more stringent:

(157) “**Ama** tsee komandantita **ni** parlapayeetsu porki allaapa abusibum.”

*Ama tsay komandanti-ta ni parla-pa-ya-y-tsu*  
PROH that major-OBJ NOR speak-BEN-PL.V-2IMP-NEG

*porki allaapa abusibu-mi*  
because very abusive-DIR

“**No** hablen con ese comandante porque es muy abusivo.”

“**Don’t** speak with this major because he is very abusive.”

(Viaje de catequistas al Departamento de Huánuco, 102-129: 457)

<sup>94</sup> Original translation in the New Testament of Huaylas Quechua (2007): „¡Dennos cabida en su corazón!”.

## 17.2.4 Prohibitives with *-na* (NOW)

### *Mana* and *-na*

In HZQ the suffix *-na* (NOW) is used in prohibitives to refer to an action in progress at/before the moment of prescription. When *-na* (NOW) is added to the prohibitive sentence in the second person future, the same morphology of a negative declarative sentence is used to express a prohibition, i.e. the negative particle *mana* and the suffix *-tsu*:

(158) “*Kanampita witseepa mananam yesuwan uryayankitsu.*”

<i>kanan-pita</i>	<i>witsay-pa</i>	<i>mana-na-mi</i>	<i>yesu-wan</i>	<i>urya-ya-nki-tsu</i>
now-ABL	upward-ADV	NEG.PRT-NOW-DIR	gypsum-COM	work-PL.V-2-NEG

“Pero de hoy en adelante ustedes ya no van a trabajar con yeso.”

“From now on you won’t work with gypsum anymore.”

(Construcción de la iglesia de Chontayoc, 19-41: 363)

(159) “*Manam* *tseenoo nineekitsu.*”

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>tsay-naw</i>	<i>ni-na-yki-tsu</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	that-SIM	say-NOW-2P-NEG

“No debes hablar así.”

“Don’t talk like that anymore.”

(El gringo extranjero, 276-277: 22)

Examples (158) and (159) show the use of two possible tenses linked to a distributional difference of the suffix *-na*. In (158), *-na* (NOW) is attached to the negative particle *manana* and the verb is in the future form (*-nki*). In (159), the suffix *-na* moves to the verb, which is in the present tense. It is reasonable that a verb in the present needs a second tense indicator (*-na*) attached to it in order to communicate an interdiction of doing something, and not a simple state of affairs. In both examples the function of *-na* is to separate the present state from past and future actions: “from now on, it will not be like before anymore!”<sup>95</sup>

Negative sentences with *mana-na* (NEG-NOW) assume the value of a prohibitive speech act only on the second person (singular or plural). Indeed, while in (158) and (159) the speaker is banning his addressee from doing something, in (160) and (161) the speaker is just negating a previous condition which will not continue in the future. The sentences are negative declarative sentences and not prohibitive ones:

<sup>95</sup> According to Weber (1996: 492), in Huallaga Quechua the suffix *-na* can assume different meanings depending on the contexts: “now”, “in this moment”, “soon”, “previously”, “now (unlike before)” and “from now on”.

(160) *Tsee fyestaqa mananam sumantsu.*

*Tsay fyesta-qa mana-na-mi suma-n-tsu*  
that party-TOP NEG-NOW-DIR celebrate-3-NEG

Esa fiesta **ya no** se celebra.

That festivity is **not** celebrated **anymore**.

(Fiestas que se celebran en Chontayoc, 224-227: 25)

(161) “*Protestantikunaqa mananam ankupakuyantsu.*”

*Protestanti-kuna-qa mana-na-mi ankupa-ku-ya-n-tsu*  
protestant-PL.N-TOP NEG.PRT-NOW-DIR have.pity-MID-PL.V-3-NEG

“Los protestantes **ya no** tienen compasión.”

“Protestants have **no** compassion **anymore**.”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 114)

### *Ama* and *-na*

In HZQ the suffix *-na* can also co-occur in a prohibitive sentence introduced by the prohibitive particle *ama*. *-na* can be added both on the particle itself (*ama-na*) and on the negative imperative verb (*V-na-tsu*). However, its use is not as widespread as the one of (*mana-na*): 4 occurrences of *ama-na* compared to 100 occurrences of *mana-na* in my Toolbox data). This is probably due to the prohibitive meaning of the particle *ama* itself.

(162) “*amana ni imata piñatsiyaameetsu.*”

*ama-na ni ima-ta piña-tsi-ya-ma-y-tsu*  
PROH-NOW NOR what-OBJ get.angry-CAUS-PL.V-1OBJ-2IMP-NEG

“Y **ya no** me enojen **más**.”

“and **don’t** make me mad **anymore**.”

(Construcción de la carretera, 2-9: 104)

## 18 Negative possession

### 18.1 The suffix *-yoq* (HAVE)

One of the ways of expressing possession in HZQ is by the suffix *-yoq* (HAVE)<sup>96</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Besides *-yoq*, the suffix *-sapa* also expresses possession. The difference is that *-sapa* refers to a bigger quantity than *-yoq*. Furthermore, *-sapa* is only used for body parts, such as *rinrisapa* (big ear), and for a person’s character, such as *ulisapa* (big liar) or *hutsasapa* (big sinner):

Negative possession can be expressed by:

- negating *-yoq* (HAVE) with *mana* (adverbial clauses with the meaning of “without having X”<sup>97</sup>)
- negating *-yoq* (HAVE) with *-tsu* (predicate adjective with the meaning of “without X”)
- the privative suffix *-nnaq* (HAVE.NOT) (“without X”)

The suffix *-yoq* (HAVE) can be translated as “(one) who/which has” or “with” and covers a broad range of meanings connected with possession<sup>98</sup>.

Trees have fruits:

(163) *Tseenash rikaariyan wertachooqa huk hatun monti. Pukallanoo wawayoq keekan.*

*Tsay-na-shi rika-ri-ya-n werta-chaw-qa huk hatun monti*  
 that-NOW-RPT see-PUNC-PL.V-3 orchard-LOC-TOP one big tree

*Puka-lla-naw wawa-yoq ka-yka-n*  
 red-DLM-SIM child.of.a.woman-HAVE be-CONT-3

Vieron en la huerta un árbol grande. **Tenía frutas** rojizas.  
 Then they saw a big tree in the orchard. **It had** red **fruits**.  
 (Dos chuquis van a la montaña, 286-289: 11-12)

People have names and ages:

(164) *Huk bruhush kanaq Yungarchoo, Viviano hutiyoq.*

*Huk bruhu-shi ka-naq Yungar-chaw Viviano huti-yoq*  
 one wizard-RPT be-PST.N yungar-LOC Viviano name-HAVE

Había un brujo en Yungar, **llamado** Viviano.

*Tseetam yarparintseq llapantseqmi kantseq hutsasapa, llapantseq.*

*Tsay-ta-mi yarpa-ri-ntsik*  
 that-OBJ-DIR remember-PUNC-1INCL

*llapa-ntsik-mi ka-ntsik hutsa-sapa llapa-ntsik*  
 all-1INCL-DIR be-1INCL sinn-HAVE.BIG all-1INCL

Esto recordamos nosotros, todos somos **pecadores**, todos.  
 We have to remember this, we are all **big sinners**, all of us.  
 (DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 II, 5)

<sup>97</sup> Adverbial clauses with the meaning of „without doing X” are dealt in § 14.1 Privative clauses with *-shpa* (SS). Moreover, in § 13.2 we have seen that also negative existential clauses can be used to express lack of possession.

<sup>98</sup> *-yoq* (HAVE) is also part of the name of the village *Chontayoq*, which literally means “the place which has *chonta*”. *Chonta* is a typical middle size Andean tree on the path to extinction, characterized by a resistant wood. The village is also named by the *campesinos* that live there just as *Chonta*.

There was a wizard in Yungay, **called** Viviano.  
(Brujos, 246-251: 1)

(165) *Tseepin karqaa chunka pitsqa **watayoqnam**.*

<i>Tsaypin</i>	<i>ka-rqa-:</i>	<i>chunka</i>	<i>pitsqa</i>	<i>wata-yoq-na-mi</i>
then	be-PST-1	ten	five	year-HAVE-NOW-DIR

Entonces **tuve quince años**.

Then **I was fifteen years old**.

(Autobiografía de Santiago Pantoja Ramos, 192-199: 23)

One can have family members:

(166) *Pelluqa **atska familyayoqmi**.*

<i>Pellu-qa</i>	<i>atska</i>	<i>familya-yoq-mi</i>
Pedro-TOP	many	family-HAVE-DIR

Pedro **tiene mucha familia**. (muchos miembros familiares)

Pedro **has a big family**. (many family members)

(Leonel)

(167) *Huk markachooshi kanaq huk nuna, waktsa puru atska **tsuriyoq**.*

<i>Huk</i>	<i>marka-chaw-shi</i>	<i>ka-naq</i>	<i>huk</i>	<i>nuna</i>
one	village-LOC-RPT	be-PST.N	one	man

<i>waktsa</i>	<i>puru</i>	<i>atska</i>	<i>tsuri-yoq</i>
poor	pure	poor	child.of.a.man-HAVE

En cierto pueblo había un hombre, pobre y **con** numerosos **hijos**.

In a village there was a man, poor and **with many children**.

(El gato negro, 356-359: 1)

One can have an animal or an object:

(168) *Kanaq huk nunash **mulayoq**.*

<i>Ka-naq</i>	<i>huk</i>	<i>nuna-shi</i>	<i>mula-yoq</i>
be-PST.N	one	man-RPT	mule-HAVE

Había un hombre **que tenía una mula**.

There was a man **who had a mule**.

(Dos hermanos, 412-417: 1)

(169) *Tseena wayiyog nunaqa hornuta kicharkun.*

*Tsay-na wayi-yoq nuna-qa hornu-ta kicha-rku-n*  
that-NOW house-HAVE man-TOP oven-OBJ open-DIR.UP-3

Entonces el dueño de la casa abrió el horno.

Then the owner of the house opened the oven. (lit. the one who has the house)  
(Dos hermanos, 412-417: 26)

A temporary and permanent characteristic and a mental state are also expressed by *-yoq* (HAVE):

(170) “*Kananmi rasonqa gustuyog.*”

*Kanan-mi rason-qa gustu-yoq*  
now-DIR truth-TOP taste-HAVE

“Ahora de veras tiene gusto.”

“Now it is really tasty.” (lit. it has taste)  
(El zapatero, 448-453: 83)

(171) “*Tsee aburidoqa gelleeyoqmi.*”

*Tsay aburido-qa qillay-yoq-mi*  
that boring-TOP money-HAVE-DIR

“Ese aburrido tiene plata.”

“That boring man is rich.” (lit. he has money)  
(El alma y un hombre, 380-383: 38)

(172) *Peru tsee tuna nuna rasonyoqmi karqan.*

*Peru tsay tuna nuna rason-yoq-mi ka-rqa-n*  
but that slope man truth-HAVE-DIR be-PST-3

Pero ese campesino tenía razón.

But that peasant was right. (lit. he had the truth)  
(El perro y su compadre, 324-333: 10)

(173) *Tseepis allaapa boluntaayoqmi karqan.*

*Tsay-pis allaapa boluntaa-yoq-mi ka-rqa-n*  
that-TOO very good.will-HAVE-DIR be-PST-3

Ese también fue hombre de mucha voluntad.

He was a willing man too. (lit. he had a good will)  
(Autobiografía de Santiago Pantoja Ramos, 192-199: 17)

(174) “Tio *allaapa cólerayoqmiga*” nin.

<i>Tio</i>	<i>allaapa</i>	<i>cólera-yoq-mi-qa</i>	<i>ni-n</i>
uncle	very	anger-HAVE-DIR-TOP	say-3

“Tio<sup>99</sup>, estoy **con** mucha **cólera**”, dice.

“Uncle, I am very **angry**”, he says. (lit. I have anger)

(M, El cuento del zorro, 10)

### Negating -yoq (HAVE) with *mana*

In order to convey a meaning of negative possession, one can negate the possessive construction that contains -yoq (HAVE).

Negative adverbial clauses with the meaning of “without having X” are expressed by the construction *mana* NOUN-*yoq*. This means, the negative particle *mana* is placed in front of the noun to which -*yoq* is added. For example, not having a vocation as a priest is expressed by *mana bokasyon-yoq* (NEG.PRT vocation-HAVE):

(175) “*manam ni pensantsikpistsu wakinkuna kisaachi qeshpiyashqa **mana bokasyonyoq.***”

<i>mana-mi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>pensa-ntsik-pis-tsu</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	NOR	think-1INCL-TOO-NEG

<i>wakin-kuna</i>	<i>kisa-chi</i>	<i>qeshpi-ya-shqa</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>vocación-yoq</i>
some-PL.N	maybe-CNJ	order-PL.V-PTCP	NEG.PRT	vocation-HAVE

“no pensamos que algunos quizás se hayan ordenado **sin tener vocación.**”

“we shouldn’t assume someone would become ordained **without having a vocation.**”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 31)

As its positive counterpart with only -*yoq* (see § 18.1), the construction *mana* NOUN-*yoq* is often used to express an adjectival function. This is the case of the expression *mana hutsayoq nuna* (NEG.PRT sin-HAVE man) which means “innocent man”:

(176) *Warasman chaaratsirna tsee **mana hutsayoq** nunataqa maqayarqonaq, “Deklaree,” nishpa.*

<i>Waras-man</i>	<i>chaa-ri-tsi-r-na</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>hutsa-yoq</i>
Huaraz-ALL	come-PUNC-CAUS-SS1-NOW	that	NEG.PRT	sin-HAVE

<i>nuna-ta-qa</i>	<i>maqa-ya-rqu-naq</i>	<i>deklara-y</i>	<i>ni-shpa</i>
man-OBJ-TOP	hit-PL.V-PST-PST.N	declare-2IMP	say-SS

Llevando a Huaraz a ese hombre **inocente**, le pegaron diciendo, “Declara.”

<sup>99</sup> *Tio* is a term of respect used for older, known men.

Once that **innocent** man arrived in Huaraz, they beat him while shouting “Declare.”  
 (without having sin)  
 (Homicidio en Marcac, 148-155: 62)

### Negating *-yoq* (HAVE) with *-tsu*

Predicate adjectives with the meaning of “without X” are expressed by the construction NOUN-*yoq*-*tsu*. This means, the negative suffix *-tsu* gets postponed to the noun to which *-yoq* is added. For example, the sentence *hutsa-yoq-tsu nuna* means “this man is innocent (without sin)”.

The difference between *hutsa-yoq-tsu nuna* and *mana hutsa-yoq nuna* is a syntactic one. While the first is a sentence with a predicate adjective (this man is innocent), the second is a noun phrase (innocent man):

(177) **Hutsayoqtsu nuna.**

<i>hutsa-yoq-tsu</i>	<i>nuna</i>
sin-HAVE-NEG	man

**Este hombre está sin pecados.**

**This man is innocent.**

(Leonel)

(178) **mana hutsayoq nuna**

<i>mana</i>	<i>hutsa-yoq</i>	<i>nuna</i>
NEG.PRT	sin-HAVE	man

**hombre sin pecados**

**innocent men**

(Leonel)

In case of contrastive use, the negative suffix *-tsu* is placed on the element which is intended to be contrasted. For example, the focus below is not on being innocent (*kulpa-yoq-tsu* “without fault”) but on WHO is not responsible (*mana noqallatsu kulpayoq* “NOT ME with fault”):

(179) **“Manam noqallatsu kulpayoq** *sino taqee montiman lloqashqa kaqmi.*”

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>noqa-lla-tsu</i>	<i>fault-yoq</i>		
NEG.PRT-DIR	I-DLM-NEG	fault-HAVE		
<i>sino</i>	<i>taqay</i>	<i>monti-man</i>	<i>lloqa-shqa</i>	<i>ka-q-mi</i>
if.not	that	tree-ALL	go.up-PTCP	be-PST.H-DIR

**“Yo no tengo la culpa** sino el que ha subido en ese árbol.”

**“I am not guilty,** but the one who climbed that tree is.”

(El perro y su compadre, 324-333: 111)

## 18.2 The privative suffix *-nnaq* (HAVE.NOT)

Negative possession (or privation) of a noun can be also expressed by adding the privative suffix *-nnaq* (HAVE.NOT). This suffix is the negative counterpart of *-yoq* (HAVE). For example, *tsuriyoq* means “**with/having** children”, while *tsurinnaq* “**without/without having** children”. In one of the storytelling in *Cuentos y relatos* the devil is defined as *almannaq nuna* (man **without** a soul):

(180) *Tardina wayinman kutirirqonaq **almannaq** nunaqa.*

*tardi-na wayi-n-man kuti-ri-rqu-naq alma-nnaq nuna-qa*  
evening-NOW house-3-ALL go.back-PUNC-PST-PST.N soul-HAVE.NOT man-TOP

En la tarde volvió a su casa el hombre **sin alma**.

In the evening the man **without a soul** went back home.

(El hombre sin alma, 452-457: 75)

Also in *Cuentos y relatos* the unfaithful woman *Qeque*, is defined as *warmi pegannaq* (woman **without** a head). This common story in HZQ is about a woman who gets punished because of her affair with her *compadre* (the godfather of her children). At the end of every month, during the night, her head gets separated from her body and jumps all around making the sound “*qequeq, qequeq*”<sup>100</sup>:

(181) *I tseenoona tarikun warmeqa **pegannaq**.*

*I tsay-naw-na tari-ku-n warmi-qa piqa-nnaq*  
and that-SIM-NOW find-MID-3 woman-TOP head-HAVE.NOT

y encontró a la mujer **sin cabeza**.

and then he found the woman **without a head**.

(La quequi, 352-355: 19)

## 19 Different grades of negative adjectives

### 19.1 Negative similitude

A negative similitude conveys the meaning of “X is not like Y”. In HZQ this is often a double marked negative construction: (*mana*) X-*nawtsu*. The similitude would be ungrammatical without *-tsu*. The position of *-tsu* depends on what one wants to focus the similitude on. For example, in *Cuentos y relatos* the negative similitude is used to show the different customs in celebrating festivities between Aija and Chontayoq (both in Ancash). Don Shanti refers to Aija as *tseechoo* “there” and to his village

<sup>100</sup> Also “*qequeq pun, qequeq pun*”, according to the different oral versions.

Chontayoq as *keechoo* “here”. He tells how Santiago’s day (the 25<sup>th</sup> of July) is celebrated in Aija with a huge party with two organizers (*mayordomu*) in two different houses, with two bands and dancers.

(182) *Tseechoo manam keechoonootsu kostumbri. Huklayam.*

<i>Tsay-chaw</i>	<i>mana-mi</i>	<i>kay-chaw-naw-tsu</i>	<i>kostumbri</i>	<i>Huklaya-mi</i>
that-LOC	NEG.PRT-DIR	this-LOC-SIM-NEG	habit	different-DIR

La costumbre allí **no** es **como aquí**. Es distinto.

The custom there is **not like here**. It is different.

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 501-502)

The use of the negative similitude above is motivated by the author’s expectations and habitual understanding of how festivities are celebrated in the rural villages of the province of Huaraz.

Expectations also trigger the use of the construction below, where a barber in Caraz tells Don Shanti that he does not seem like (or sound like?) a person that hails from Caraz. He is not like *kee Karasinukuna* (these people from Caraz). Indeed, Don Shanti is from Chontayoq, a village in the rural periphery of Huaraz. Negative similitude is used here to shape social identities:

(183) *Tseechoonam tsee pelukeru tapuman, “Meepita shamunki? Manataq<sup>101</sup> kee Karasinukunanootsu kanki,”*

<i>Tsay-chaw-na-mi</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>pelukeru</i>	<i>tapu-ma-n</i>
that-LOC-NOW-DIR	that	barber	ask-1OBJ-3

<i>may-pita</i>	<i>shamu-nki</i>
where-ABL	come-2

<i>mana-taq</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>karasinu-kuna-naw-tsu</i>	<i>ka-nki</i>
NEG.PRT-CNTRD	this	from.Caraz-PL.N-SIM-NEG	be-2

Allí ese peluquero me preguntó, “¿De dónde viene usted? **No** parece como **uno de estos Caracinos**.”

There that barber asked me, “Where are you from? “You are **not like these people from Caraz**.”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 88-89)

During a sermon in the church of Chontayoq, Don Shanti tries to convince the *campesinos* to go to confession more often. He reports that some people in the village prefer to talk directly to God, without confessing to the priest. But Don Shanti is convinced that, contrary to what they think, this is not what Jesus said:

<sup>101</sup> See also (216) about the role of the suffix *-taq* (CNTRD) in this negative construction.

(184) “*Manam curata willakiikaayaashaqtsu, noqakunaqa confesakuyaa kikinchoomi*”.

**Manam heenootsu** nishqa Jesús.

<i>Mana-mi</i>	<i>cura-ta</i>	<i>willa-ku-ykaa-yaa-shaq-tsu</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	priest-OBJ	tell-MID-CONT-PL.V-1FUT-NEG

<i>noqa-kuna-qa</i>	<i>confesa-ku-ya-:</i>	<i>kiki-n-chaw-mi</i>
1-PL.N-TOP	confess-MID-PL.V-1	self-3-LOC-DIR

<i>mana-mi</i>	<i>tsay-naw-tsu</i>	<i>ni-shqa</i>	<i>Jesús</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	that-SIM-NEG	say-PTCP	Jesus

“No vamos a estar avisandole al cura [de nuestros pecados], nosotros nos confesamos a Él mismo”. Jesús **no** ha dicho **eso**.

“We don’t go to tell to the priest. We speak directly with Him”. Jesus did **not say that**.<sup>102</sup>

(DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 II, 66-67)

Finally, the grandmother Amanda tells her granddaughter that as a child she was treated differently from the other children. It is common practice for mothers to take their *wawa* (a term referred specifically to a child of a woman) with them in the field, carrying it with the *lliklla* (blanket) on their shoulders. But Amanda spent many days of her young childhood alone in her room, waiting for her parents to come back from the field:

(185) **Manash** kee wakinkuna **wamranootsu** kanaq kaa noqa.

<i>Mana-shi</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>wakin-kuna</i>	<i>wamra-naw-tsu</i>
NEG.PRT-RPT	this	some-PL.N	child-SIM-NEG

<i>ka-naq</i>	<i>ka-:</i>	<i>nuqa</i>
be-PST.N	be-1	I

Yo **no** era **como** los demás **niños**.

I was told that I was **not like** the other **children**.

(BA, Historias de vida III, 79)

A different use of the suffixes *-naw* and *-tsu* is dealt below in § 19.2. Here the construction *-nawtsu* is used to express an intermediate grade in the scale from *alli* (good) to *mana alli* (bad):

*alli* (good) - **allinootsu** (not very good) - *allitsu* (not good) - *manaalli* (bad)

<sup>102</sup> Weber (1996: 303-304) reports that in Huallaga Quechua (Huánuco), the far demonstrative *čay* (*tsay* in HZQ) and the proximal demonstrative *kay*, followed by the simulative suffix *-naw*, are used for events or speech acts that respectively refer to a previous or future action.

## 19.2 Contrary negation: the case of *alli* “good” and *mana alli* “bad”

In HZQ there is a class of grade adjectives that express their contrary equivalent by negation. I refer to these cases as contrary negation. In order to build a negative adjective, the negative particle *mana* is placed before the positive adjective (*mana* + ADJ). For example, *alli* (good) is the positive adjective and its negative counterpart is *mana alli* (bad).

With “positive adjective”, I refer to an adjective that does not carry the negative suffix *-tsu*, rather than to its semantics. So, a positive adjective can be *alli* (good) as well as *sasa* (difficult), whose contraries are respectively *mana alli* (bad) and *mana sasa* (easy). Contraries of borrowed Spanish adjectives, such as *agradecido* (grateful) or *católicu* (catholic), are also built in the same way:

(186) “*Abusiba kanki, mana agradecida.*”

<i>Abusiba</i>	<i>ka-nki</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>agradecida</i>
abusive	be-2	NEG.PRT	grateful

“Tú eres una abusiva, ingrata.”

“You are abusive, ungrateful.”

(La boa y el indio, 336-337: 5)

(187) *Mana catolicu* *nunallam* “*manam curaman confesaatsu*”.

<i>Mana</i>	<i>catolicu</i>	<i>nuna-lla-mi</i>
NEG.PRT	catholic	man-DLM-DIR
<i>mana-mi</i>	<i>cura-man</i>	<i>confesa-:-tsu</i>
NEG.PRT-DIR	priest-ALL	confess-I-NEG

Sólo los que no son católicos [dicen] “No me confieso con el cura”.

Only people that are not catholic [say] “I don’t confess to the priest”.

(DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 II, 66)

I decided to focus here on the use of the adjective *alli* (good) for two reasons. First, because to my knowledge, *alli* and *mana alli* have been dealt in the literature on Ancash Quechua as two contraries but no analysis of the grades in between has been done so far. Second, because the adjective *alli* plays a crucial role in the local sociocultural values in HZQ.

As I will explain in PART IV, both in storytellings and everyday conversation (the two are often intertwined), local sociocultural values such as being a good listener (*alli wiyakoq*) or good people (*alli nuna*) are frequent topics of ideal discourses. Especially in HZQ narratives, storytellers often feel responsible to express a moral judgement or an evaluative comment about the behavior of their characters. These are frequently coupled with negative expressions.

The following figure represents the grades of adjectives between the positive *alli* (good) and its contrary *mana alli* (bad). The two intermediate properties are expressed by *(mana) allinootsu* (not very good) and by *(mana) allitsu* (not good):

Figure 3 Scale of grade adjectives: from *alli* (good) to *mana alli* (bad)

GOOD	NOT GOOD		
<i>alli</i>	<i>(mana) alli-naw-tsu</i>	<i>(mana) alli-tsu</i>	<i>mana alli</i>
good	not very good	not good	bad

*Mana alli* (bad) seems to go under a process of lexicalization. In *Cuentos y relatos*, it is written as a single word (*manaallim*). In the data I have elicited for the present work, I write it as two separate words (*mana alli*) and gloss it as “bad”. This is the only exception in the dissertation to the glossing rule of 1:1 correspondence between HZQ and English.

The examples below show the use of *alli* (good)<sup>103</sup> in (§), *(mana) allinootsu* (not very good) in (§), *(mana)allitsu* (not good) in (§) and (§) and *mana alli* (bad) in (§).

Good:

(188) “**Alli** tseenooqa.”

*Alli tsay-naw-qa*  
good that-SIM-TOP

“Es **bueno** así.”

“It is **good** like that.”

(El terremoto del 31 de mayo de 1970, 42-65: 98)

<sup>103</sup> A colloquial expression for “good” is *kosa*:

***Kosam*** pagashqeeki.

*Kosa-mi paga-shqayki*  
good-DIR pay-1>2FUT

Te pagaré **bien**.

I will pay you **good/well**.

(Leonel)

Not very good:

- (189) *Wawaaqa **allinootsu**.*

*Wawa-:-qa                      alli-naw-tsu*  
child.of.a.woman-1-TOP    good-SIM-NEG

Mi hija **no** está **muy bien**.  
My daughter does **not** feel **very good/well**.  
(BA, Historias de vida III, 137)

Not good:

- (190) “*Tseeqa uryanapaq **allinatsu** kanqa.*”

*tsay-qa                      urya-na-paq                      alli-na-tsu                      ka-nqa*  
that-TOP                      work-NMLZ.1-PURP                      good-NOW-NEG                      be-3FUT

“Eso [la lluvia] **no** será **bueno** para trabajar.”  
“That [the rain] will **not** be **good** for working.”  
(Construcción de la iglesia de Chontayoc, 19-41: 87)

- (191) *Tseenam **manaallitsu** wiyakurqan.*

*Tsay-na-mi    manaalli-tsu    wiya-ku-rqa-n*  
that-NOW-DIR    bad-NEG                      hear-MID-PST-3

Pero [el radio] **no** se oyó **bien**.  
But it [the radio] **cannot** be heard **well**.  
(El terremoto del 31 de mayo de 1970, 42-65: 14)

Bad:

- (192) *Tsee tsaka rurinchoo yachanaq puma **manaalli** i hatun.*

*Tsay    tsaka    ruri-n-chaw    yacha-naq    puma*  
that    bridge    inside-3-LOC    live-PST.N    puma

*manaalli                      i                      hatun*  
bad                      and                      big

Debajo de ese puente vivía un puma, **malo** y grande.  
Under that bridge lived a puma, **bad** and big.  
(Las cabritas del bosque, 320-323: 7)

The expression *mana alli* (bad) can be nominalized or adverbialized by adding respectively the suffixes *-ta* (OBJ) and *-pa* (ADV):

(193) *Peepa noopanchoomi **mana allita** rureekar kawakiikantseq.*

*Pay-pa*            *nawpa-n-chaw-mi*    *mana alli-ta*  
s/he-GEN            in.front.of-3-LOC-DIR    bad-OBJ

*rura-yka-r*        *kawa-ku-yka-ntsik*  
do-CONT-SS1        live-MID-CONT-1INCL

Estamos viviendo delante de Él [Dios] haciendo **cosas malas**.  
We are living in front of Him [God] doing **bad things**.  
(DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 II, 37)

(194) “*Peru huk besmi pastor **mana allipa** trateekamarqan.*”

*Peru huk bes-mi pastor mana alli-pa trata-yku-ma-rqa-n*  
but one time-DIR priest bad-ADV treat-PFV-1OBJ-PST-3

“Pero una vez el pastor me trató **mal**.”

“But once the priest treated me **badly**.”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 102)

*Mana alli* is also used in fixed expressions, such as *mana allinchaw* (in bad conditions, Sp. en mal estado), *mana alli qora* (weed, Sp. mala hierba)<sup>104</sup> and *mana alli swerti* (bad luck, Sp. mala suerte).

Furthermore, the word *aksee* (bad) is used in HZQ to refer to a bad person<sup>105</sup> and it is commonly used to introduce a request (please, don’t be bad, ...):

<sup>104</sup> The positive counterparts are respectively: *allinchaw* (in good conditions, Sp. en buen estado), *alli qora* (good herb, Sp. hierba buena) and *alli swerti* (good luck, Sp. buena suerte).

<sup>105</sup> In addition, people that treat badly other people are defined as:

*allqotsaakoq*

*allqu-tsaa-ku-q*  
dog-VERB-MID-AG

persona que trata mal a otra persona, persona que trata como el perro  
bad man, who treats people like dogs  
(Leonel)

People that steal chicken are defined as:

*rukusnoo nuna*

*rukus-naw nuna*  
falcon-SIM man

ladrón de pollos (lit. hombre como gavillan)  
man who steals *chicken* (lit. man like a falcon)

(195) “*Aktsee keetsu, rantirallaayaatsimee.*”

*aksay*<sup>106</sup>      *ka-y-tsu*      *ranti-ri-llaa-yaa-tsi-ma-y*  
bad              be-2IMP-NEG      buy-PUNC-DLM-PL.V-CAUS-1OBJ-2IMP

“**Por favor**, mande comprar los [pasajes] para nosotros.”

“**Please**, send someone to buy [tickets] for us.” (lit. Don’t be **bad**)

(Viaje de catequistas al Departamento de Huánuco, 102-129: 44)

It can be also referred to a dog or a cat. For example, playing with a dog teaching him not to beat, one could say:

(196) *Aksee keetsu, ama kanimeetsu.*

*Aksay ka-y-tsu*      *ama*      *kani-ma-y-tsu*  
bad      be-2IMP-NEG      PROH      bite-1OBJ-2IMP-NEG

No seas **malo**, no me muerdas.

**Please**, don’t bite me. (lit. Don’t be **bad**)

(Leonel)

In general, in HZQ it is common to talk about people using the two contrary adjectives *alli* or *mana alli*. Among others, common expressions are *alli wamra/mana alli wamra* (good boy/bad boy), *alli warmi/mana alli warmi* (good woman/bad woman), *alli ruraq/mana alli ruraq* (who does things in a good way/who does things in a bad way, careless, such as badly cook or badly wash clothes).

But what exactly do people and story characters have to do to be considered *mana alli* (bad) as in (192)? What are the *mana allita* (bad things) of the example (193)? How are these local sociocultural values influenced by the catholic religion in HZQ? And how are these values changing together with the dynamic society? What is a *mana alli warmi* in HZQ and what is a *mala mujer* in Spanish<sup>107</sup>? How does the meaning of *alli* (good) and *mana alli* (bad) change with the different environment where the social interaction takes place and with the different generations of speakers? All these questions would be worth an in-depth-study.

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(Leonel)

<sup>106</sup> In some examples of *Cuentos y relatos* it appears as *aksay*, with *t*.

<sup>107</sup> Anita told me about one of her female friend from Huaraz who defined as *mala mujer* a woman who lives in Lima. According to the woman, the woman in Lima treated her son badly because she let him do houseworks, such as doing the laundry.

## 20 Negation intensifiers

### 20.1 Negative adverbs

In § 19.2 we have seen the scale of grade adjectives that goes from *alli* (good) to *mana alli* (bad). The two poles of this scale could be extended to include the intensifiers of the positive and negative adjectives. The expression *allaapa alli* is often used for “very good” and *allaapa mana alli* for “very bad”. I will focus here on *allaapa* (very)<sup>108</sup> and *paseepa* (completely).

*Allaapa* (very) is frequently used in HZQ and it is the most used intensifier in my Toolbox corpus, with 387 occurrences:

(197) *Karqan doktormi, allaapa allim nuna.*

<i>Ka-rqa-n</i>	<i>doktor-mi</i>	<i>allaapa</i>	<i>alli-mi</i>	<i>nuna</i>
be-PST-3	doctor-DIR	very	good-DIR	man

Fue doctor, **muy buena** persona.  
He was a doctor, a **very good** person.  
(Mi pueblo Chontayoc, 128-135: 10)

(198) “*Keechoo nunakuna allaapa manaallim.*”

<i>Kay-chaw</i>	<i>nuna-kuna</i>	<i>allaapa</i>	<i>manaalli-mi</i>
this-LOC	man-PL.N	very	bad-DIR

“Aquí la gente es **muy mala**.”  
“Here the people are **very bad**.”  
(Viaje de catequistas al Departamento de Huánuco, 102-129: 129)

*Paseepa* (completely) occurs 84 times in my Toolbox corpus.

(199) *Paseepa llapan mikiillankunapis pampakashqa.*

<i>pasaypa</i>	<i>llapan miku-y-lla-n-kuna-pis</i>	<i>pampa-ka-shqa</i>
completely	all eat-NMLZ-DLM-3-PL.N-TOO	pampa-PASS-PTCP

**Todas** sus sementeras también estaban enterradas.  
All his seeds were also **completely** covered. (all of them)  
(El terremoto del 31 de mayo de 1970, 42-65: 106)

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<sup>108</sup> Leonel reports (personal communication) that a man in Piscobamba (Conchucos) told him that he sounded effeminate by using *allaapa* (very). This interesting note would need a deeper investigation. For now, it shows once again how language is used to shape and reflect social identities.

(200) *Peru tsee awkis allqu paseepa lokuyashqam karqan.*

*peru tsay awkis allqu pasaypa loku-ya-shqa-mi ka-rqa-n*

but that old dog completely crazy-VERB1-PTCP-DIR be-PST-3

Pero ese viejo perro se había vuelto **completamente** loco.

But that old dog had turned **completely** crazy.

(El perro y su compadre, 324-333: 24)

(201) *Tseenoomi atoq pumata hodirinaq paseepa.*

*tsay-naw-mi atuq puma-ta hodi-ri-naq pasaypa*  
that-SIM-DIR fox puma-OBJ cheat-PUNC-PST.N completely

Así el zorro fregó **completamente** al puma.

Then the fox **completely** cheated the puma.

(El puma y el zorro, 332-337: 64)

In negative contexts, *paseepa* works as negation intensifier with the meaning of “not at all”.

During one of his sermons, Don Shanti talks about the biblical story of María Magdalena. He depicts her as an *allaapa mana alli warmi* (very bad woman), who lived in *todo mala vidallachoo* (very bad life), without thinking about God at all. But once Father God appeared to her, she repented all her sins (*arrepentikiikurqan*). It is worthy to mention that Don Shanti shakes his index finger (as if saying “no”) as a physical counterpart of the adverb *paseepa*:

(202) *Punta Teeta Dios mana yarpanaqtsu paseepa.*

*punta Tayta Dios mana yarpa-naq-tsu pasaypa*  
first father God NEG.PRT remember-PST.N-NEG completely

Al principio [María Magdalena] no se acordaba de Dios **para nada**.

At the beginning she [María Magdalena] did **not** recognize Father God **at all**.

(DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 I, 128)

In *Cuentos y relatos*, the famine period in Chontayoq is described as three/four years with no rain in which the peasants could not sow anything. Hence, there was absolutely nothing in the soil:

(203) *Paseepa manash ni ima patsachoo kanaqtsu.*

*pasaypa mana-shi ni ima patsa-chaw ka-naq-tsu*  
completely NEG.PRT-RPT NOR what earth-LOC be-PST.N-NEG

No había **absolutamente nada** en la tierra.

There was **absolutely nothing** in the soil.

(Epoca de hambruna, 160-161: 18)

In the dialogue between Elisa and her little and old deaf grandmother, Elisa asks her to tell the story of the witch *Achikee*, that she used to be told as a child. In order to help the grandma remember the story, she cites the famous sentence *pampallaman pampallaman* (Sp. a un lugar plano nomás, a un lugar plano nomás, Eng. just to a flat place, just to a flat place). This is what the witch shouts out while falling down from the sky (see also footnote 79). But the old grandmother states that she forgot (*manam yarpanaatsu*) most of the stories she knew. She says that she does not even remember the name of any food (*Ni ima mikiitapis musyaanatsu*). So, Elisa asks her:

(204) *Manaku yarpanki paseepa?*

*Mana-ku yarpa-nki pasaypa*  
 NEG.PRT-Q.P remember-2 completely

¿No recuerdas **nada**?  
 Don't you remember **anything**?  
 (BA, Historias de vida I, 12)

A little further in the text, the grandmother states that she is not in her right mind anymore (not at all) and that her grandfather beat her so much that in one ear she cannot hear anything anymore:

(205) *Paseepanam mana juicio kannatsu.*

*Pasaypa-na-mi mana juicio ka-n-na-tsu*  
 completely-NOW-DIR NEG.PRT right.mind be-3-NOW-NEG

**Ya** no tengo **completamente nada** de juicio.  
 I am **not** in my right mind **at all anymore**.  
 (BA, Historias de vida I, 23)

[...]

*Manam wiyaatsu, horanaqa paseepam mana wiyaatsu.*

*Mana-mi wiya-:-tsu hora-na-qa pasaypa-mi mana wiya-:-tsu*  
 NEG.PRT-DIR hear-1-NEG hour-NOW-TOP completely-DIR NEG.PRT hear-1-NEG

No escucho, hay momentos en que no escucho **nada**.  
 I do not hear, there are moments in which I do not hear **anything**.  
 (BA, Historias de vida I, 71)

Besides *allaapa* (very) and *paseepa* (completely), other intensifiers with the meaning of “completely, totally” are used in HZQ. These are, for example, *limpu* (from Spanish *limpio* “clean”), *paqwee* and *sellama*. I will offer below an example of each in a negative context. However, their differences in use and function in HZQ need a deeper study. My data are not sufficient to carry out such an analysis.

(206) ***Limpu** yaku luzpis imapis karqantsu.*

*Limpu yaku luz-pis ima-pis ka-rqa-n-tsu*  
totally water light-TOO what-TOO be-PST-3-NEG

No había **completamente nada** ni agua ni luz.  
There was **absolutely nothing**, neither water nor light.  
(N, Una noche de miedo, 10)

(207) ***Paqwee mana alli** wararamurqoo.*

*Paqway mana alli wara-ra-mu-rqu-:*  
totally bad wake.up-DUR-CIS-PST-1

He amanecido **totalmente mal**.  
I felt **extremely bad** when I woke up.  
(Leonel)

Leonel reports (personal communication) that during the agrarian reform (1960s'), a ***sellama alli*** *warmi* was a particularly generous woman, who gave presents to the poorest farmers. On the contrary, a ***sellama mana alli*** *warmi* was a selfish woman who didn't share her goods with any farmer.

## 20.2 Emphatic Negation: contradicting a previous thought or assertion with *-taq* (CNTRD)

In the linguistic literature (among others, Bernini-Ramat (1996) on negation in the languages of Europe), the term “emphatic negation” is used to denote a special kind of negation which has a strong rhetoric force.

Quechua scholars have used the term “emphatic negation” to refer to suffixes that contradict with emphasis the participants' expectation. Weber (1996: 452) reports the suffix *-taaču* (*-taq+ču*) for Huallaga Quechua (Huánuco):

*Chaura **nogatüchu** (mana) nimasha. Wawäta nisha...*

*čawra noqa-taq+ču (mana) ni-ma-ša*  
so I-EMPH.NEG<sup>109</sup> NEG.PRT say-1.OBJ-PTCP

*Wawa-:-ta ni-ša*  
child.of.a.woman-1-OBJ say-PTCP

Bueno, **no** dijo eso **A MÍ**. Se lo dijo a mi hijo...  
Well, he did **not** say this **to me**, he said it to my son...  
(Weber's capitalized letter – my glosses and translation into English)  
(Huallaga Quechua, David Weber, 1996: 452)

<sup>109</sup> The author glosses the suffix *-taq+ču* as (NEG) and the suffix *-ša* as (3PRF), which refers to a 3rd person perfect.

The author analyzes *-taaču* as the union of a content question suffix and a polar question suffix (Q.C-Q.P). *-ču* in Huallaga Quechua is both the negation suffix (*-tsu* in HZQ) and the polar question suffix (*-ku* in HZQ). This type of negation, explains Weber, probably comes from a rhetoric question, whose main implication is that the clause is false. The fact that in Marías (in the province of Dos de Mayo, Conchucos) the suffix *-taaku* works also as emphatic negation would confirm his hypothesis.

Parker (1976: 149) reports the suffix *-taaku* for Raimondi and Huari (Ancash-Huailas Quechua):

(208) *¡Kantaaku!*

*Ka-n-taaku*  
be-3- EMPH.NEG

¡No hay!  
There is not!  
(my glosses and translation into English)  
(Ancash-Huailas Quechua, Gary Parker, 1976: 149)

(209) *¡Munaataaku!*

*Muna-:-taaku*  
want-1-EMPH.NEG

¡No me da la gana!  
I am not up to it!  
(my glosses and translation into English)  
(Ancash-Huailas Quechua, Gary Parker, 1976: 149)

In HZQ there is no *-taaku* neither *-taqku*. But it does exist the suffix *-taq*. Parker (1976: 147) reports that *-taq* can be used in Ancash-Huailas Quechua to affirm something that contradicts a previous thought of the interlocutor: *¡Noqataq kaa!`¡Soy yo!*<sup>110</sup>.

To follow, I will gloss *-taq* as (CNTRD), which refers to its function of contradicting the participants' expectations. In order to better understand the discourse-pragmatic function of *-taq*, I offer below two examples with a broader co-text. (210) is about two *chukis*, men from Conchucos that get fooled. As noted in (79), in Huaraz people from Conchucos are often depicted as foolish people that are easily hoodwinked. In the excerpt below, the *chukis* bought a *wiskur* (a bird that cannot be bred nor eaten) thinking it was a chicken. The suffix *-taq* is attached to the word *wiskur* with the aim of emphasizing that a *wiskur* was not what the *chukis* intended to buy:

<sup>110</sup> Parker (1976: 147) also affirms that in Huari *-tan* is used instead of *-taq*. The example he offers is: *¡Noqatan kaa!* (¡Soy yo!) (That's me!).

- (210) *Chaarirnash warminkunata entregariyan “Keemi wallpantsik rantiyaamurqoo,” nishpa. Tseena warmeqa chaskirkur qompeekurqonaq, “Kee wiskurtaq, sonsu,” nishpa.*

*Chaari-r-na-shi*      *warmi-n-kuna-ta*      *entregari-ya-n*  
 come-SS1-NOW-RPT      woman-3-PL.N-OBJ      give-PL.V-3

*Kay-mi*      *wallpa-ntsik*      *ranti-yaa-mu-rqu-:*      *ni-shpa*  
 this-DIR      chicken-1INCL      buy-PL.V-FAR-PST-1      say-SS

*Tsay-na*      *warmi-qa*      *chaski-rku-r*      *qompa-yku-rqu-naq*  
 that-NOW      woman-TOP      receive-DIR.UP-SS1      throw.stones.or.hard.soil-PFV-PST-PST.N

*Kay*      *wiskur-taq*      *sonsu*      *ni-shpa*  
 this      bird.sort-CNTRD      dummy      say-SS

Al llegar, entregaron las cosas a su esposa diciendo, “Aquí está la gallina que hemos comprado”. Entonces la mujer agarrándolo, se lo tiró diciendo, “**Este es un gallinazo, zonzo**”.

Once they arrived, they gave the things to his wife saying, “Here is the chicken we bought”. Then the woman took it and threw it to him saying “**This is a wiskur, dummy.**” (Not a chicken!)

(Dos chuquis van a la montaña, 286-289: 37-38)

In (211) the suffix *-taq* is attached to the verb *niyaaman* (he told us). The context is about a woman who tells her husband that the peon abused her and her daughter. The husband had actually asked the peon to go to his house to ask his wife for a hoe and a pick. But that isn’t what the peon told the woman (*Akasu tseenooku niyaaman?* (Did the man tell us like this?)). He told her instead that her husband ordered him to sleep with the man’s wife and daughter. The contradiction between what the husband thought the peon said to his wife and what the peon actually said is expressed by the suffix *-taq* (*niyaamanttaq*).

- (211) *Niptinna warmeqa nirqonaq, “Akasu tseenooku niyaaman, sinoqa <Waweekitawanshi punuyashqeeki,> niyaamanttaq.”*

*Ni-pti-n-na*      *warmi-qa*      *ni-rqu-naq*      *Akasu*      *tsay-naw-ku*  
 say-DS-3-NOW      woman-TOP      say-PST-PST.N      perhaps      that-SIM-Q.P

*ni-yaa-ma-n*      *sino-qa*      *wawa-yki-ta-wan-shi*  
 say-PL.V-1OBJ-3      if.not-TOP      child.of.a.woman-2-OBJ-COM-RPT

*punu-ya-shqayki*      *ni-yaa-ma-n-taq*  
 sleep-PL.V-1>2FUT      say-PL.V-1OBJ-3-CNTRD

Entonces la mujer dijo, “¿Acaso así nos dijo [*Pedro Ordemal*]? **sino me dijo**, <Voy a dormir con usted y con su hija.>”

Then the woman said, “But did he [*Pedro Ordemal*] tell us that? No, **he told me** I will sleep with you and your daughter”.  
(*El hombre travieso*, 270-275: 60)

Furthermore, as shown in Table 7, the suffix *-taq* (CNTRD) attached to the conditional suffix *-man* conveys the meaning of a negative recommendation. The fact that *-taq* can contradict the addressee’s thought, explains how its use can be extended to contradict the addressee’s intention:

(212) *Kutimunkimantataq!*

*Kuti-mu-nki-man-taq*  
go.back-FAR-2-COND-CNTRD

¡Cuidado con volver!/**¡No vuelvas!**  
**Do not come back!**  
(Leonel)

Interestingly, Weber (1996: 114) offers a similar example of a negative imperative in Huallaga Quechua (Huánuco), with the use of the emphatic negation suffix “*-taq+ču*”:

(213) *Aywanquitächu tamyataqa.*

*aywa-nki-taq+ču*      *tamya-ta-qa*  
go-2-NEG                      rain-ADV-TOP

**No vayas** porque está lloviendo. (aprox. ‘¿Cómo puede pensar en ir? ¡Está lloviendo!’)  
**Don’t go** because it is raining.  
(my bold and underlining, and my translation into English)  
(Huallaga Quechua, David Weber, 1996: 114)

### The negative emphatic construction *manataq...-tsu*

The suffix *-taq* (CNTRD) is used in the negative construction *manataq...-tsu*. Here the suffix *-taq* is attached to the negative particle *mana* and the negative suffix *-tsu* is attached to the element which gets negated. The function is the one of stressing the negation, putting emphasis on the fact that what is stated contradicts a previous thought or a previous assertion of the participants<sup>111</sup>.

Thus, if one wants to contradict with emphasis what the interlocutor just said, one can say:

(214) **Manataq tseenootsu!**

<sup>111</sup> This construction is reminiscent of the Italian double negation: “**Non sono mica scemo!**” (I am not stupid at all!). This sentence can be considered a felicitous linguistic act only if I presuppose that my interlocutor thinks that I am stupid.

*Mana-taq*                      *tsay-naw-tsu*  
 NEG.PRT-CNTRD              that-SIM-NEG

¡**No** es así!  
**It is not** like this!  
 (Leonel)

In *Cuentos y relatos*, the expression *manataq ...-tsu* is used by a shepherd who receives goats from a gringo. The emphatic negative construction demonstrates the confusion of the shepherd. The gringo promised him rams and not goats: *manataq uushatsu* (those are not rams). Moreover, the following contradicting suffix *-taq* in *waqrayoqtaq* (they have horns) expresses how the animals the shepherd received are different from his expectations. Rams do not have horns.

(215) *Tseena nunaqa mantsakan “Taqeeqa manataq uushatsu,” nishpa, “waqrayoqtaq,” nir.*

<i>Tsayna</i>	<i>nuna-qa</i>	<i>man-tsa-ka-n</i>	<i>Taqay-qa</i>	
that-NOW	man-TOP	be.afraid-MID-3	that-TOP	
<i>mana-taq</i>	<i>uusha-tsu</i>	<i>ni-shpa</i>	<i>waqra-yoq-taq</i>	<i>ni-r</i>
NEG.PRT-CNTRD	sheep-NEG	say-SS	horn-HAVE-CNTRD	say-SS1

Entonces el hombre se asustó diciendo, “Esos **no son carneros, tienen cuernos.**”  
 Then the man got scared and said, “Those **are not rams, they have horns**”.  
 (El pastor y las cabras, 446-449: 23)

Also in *Cuentos y relatos* the expression *manataq ...-tsu* is the reaction of a barber in Caraz on meeting Don Shanti. Differing from his experience of dealing with people from Caraz, the barber immediately realizes that Don Shanti is from somewhere else. He is not one of *kee Karasinukuna* (these people from Caraz). Indeed Don Shanti is from Chontayoq, a village in the rural periphery of Huaraz:

(216) *Tseechoonam tsee pelukeru tapuman, “Meepita shamunki? Manataq kee Karasinukunanootsu kanki,” nishpa. Tseenam nii, “Noqaqa Warasmi kaa.”*

<i>Tsay-chaw-na-mi</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>pelukeru</i>	<i>tapu-ma-n</i>	
that-LOC-NOW-DIR	that	barber	ask-1OBJ-3	
<i>May-pita</i>	<i>shamu-nki</i>			
where-ABL	come-2			
<i>Mana-taq</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>Karasinu-kuna-naw-tsu</i>	<i>ka-nki ni-shpa</i>	
NEG.PRT-CNTRD	this	from.Caraz-PL.N-SIM-NEG	be-2 say-SS	
<i>Tsay-na-mi</i>	<i>ni-:</i>	<i>Noqa-qa</i>	<i>Waras-mi</i>	<i>ka-:</i>

that-NOW-DIR say-1 I-TOP Huaraz-DIR be-1

Allí ese peluquero me preguntó, “¿De dónde viene usted? **No parece como uno de estos Caracinos.**” Entonces le dije, “Yo soy de Huaraz.”

Then that barber asked me “Where are you from? **You are not like these people from Caraz.**”

(Visita a las parroquias de la Diócesis de Huaraz, 73-103: 88-90)

During the construction of the church in Chontayoq, the governor is impressed by the rapidity of the construction and says:

(217) “**Manataq ni ima faltannatsu.**”

*Mana-taq ni ima falta-n-na-tsu*  
 NEG.PRT-CNTRD NOR thing miss-3-NOW-NEG

“Ya no falta **nada.**”

“**It does not lack anything** anymore.” (it is almost done)

(Construcción de la iglesia de Chontayoc, 19-41: 91)

During a sermon, Don Shanti tries to convince the *campesinos* to listen to what duties they have to fulfil in order to be good people (*Obligacionninta wiyanan, alli nuna rurananpaq*, Sp. Debe escuchar sus obligaciones, para que sea un buen hombre). If they themselves do not behave well, how can they correct the bad behavior of their children? (*Imanawraq wawanta corriginqa?*, Sp. ¿Cómo corregirá a sus hijos?) Then he personifies a child, who says to his father “You do not fulfil Father God’s wishes either”. The use of the *manataq...-tsu* construction in this context reflects somehow the English saying to practice what you preach:

(218) *Y wamraqa nimaashun “Papá, y qamqa? Qampis **manataq** qampis kanki Teeta Diospa voluntaanin cumpleqtsu.*

*Y wamra-qa ni-maa-shun “papa y qam-qa*  
 and child-TOP say-1OBJ-2FUT dad and you-TOP

*mana-taq ka-nki Tayta Dios-pa voluntaa-n cumpli-q-tsu*  
 NEG.PRT-CNTRD be-2 father God-GEN will-3 fulfil-AG-NEG

Y los hijos nos dirán “Papá ¿y tú? **Tampoco** cumples con la voluntad de Dios”.

And the children will tell us “And you, dad? **You do not** fulfil Father God’s wishes **either**”.

(DS, Misa 18septiembre2011 IV, 68)

**PART IV –**  
**THE SPEAKERS’ EXPECTATIONS IN THE USE OF NEGATION: THE**  
**INTERPLAY OF HABITUAL UNDERSTANDING, COMMON KNOWLEDGE,**  
**SOCIAL HIERARCHIES AND SPECIFIC SOCIOCULTURAL VALUES**

This last part of the present work focuses on four particular functions of negation that I identified in the video material recorded in the village Chontayoq.

These functions will be analyzed in the next three chapters:

Chapter 21 - To minimize the knowledge of the storyteller

Chapter 22 - To contradict the listener's expectation about the story plot and express a moral judgment at the end of the storytellings

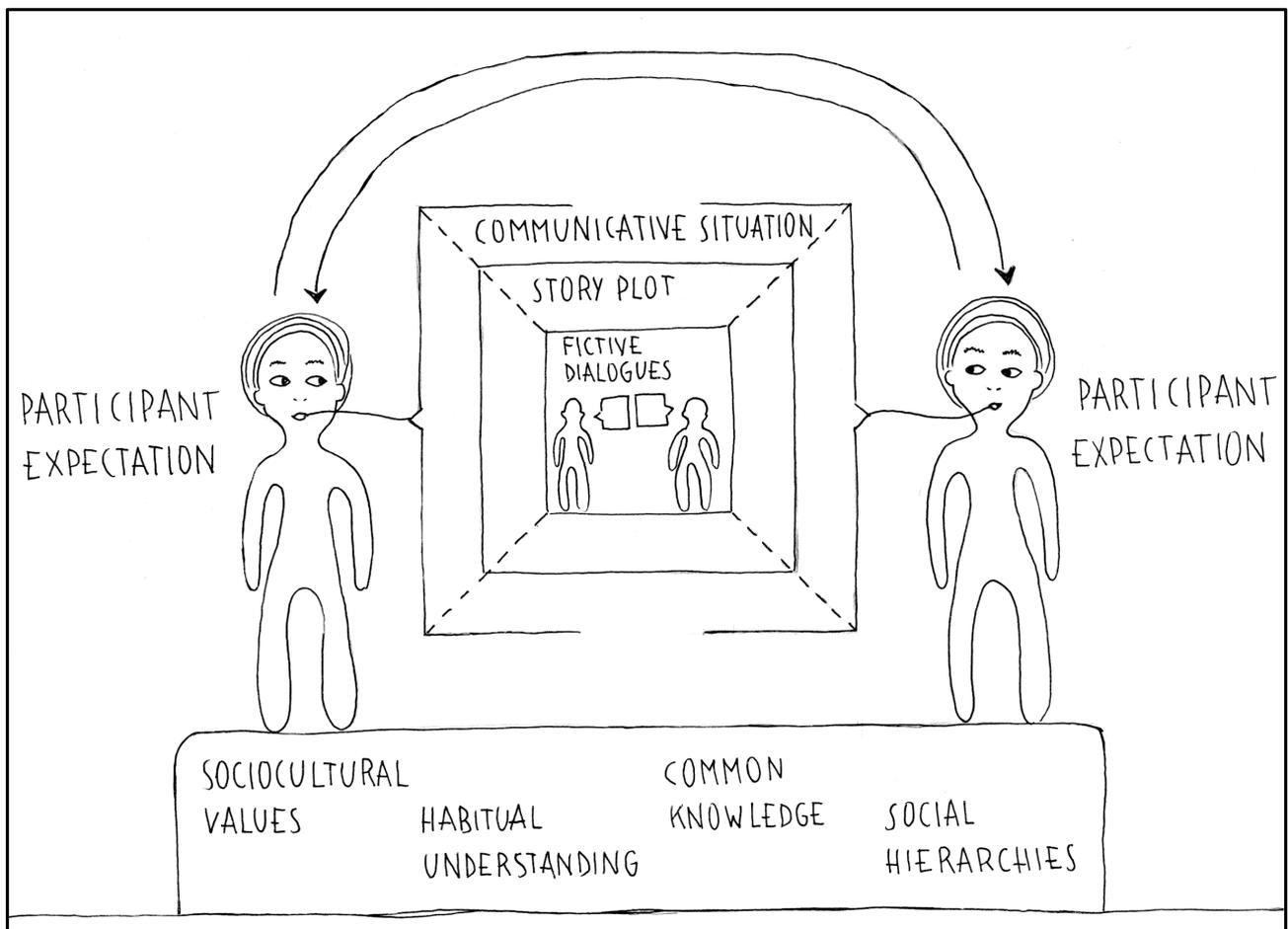
Chapter 23 - To correct a misunderstanding of the listener in a direct way (*mana* "no")

Only through a comprehensive account of the sociolinguistic and cultural anthropological backgrounds, was I able to determine the functions of negation in the linguistic interactions recorded. These disciplines that rarely converge (Stasch 2014) have to all be taken into account in order to assess the linguistic description. They all are mandatory prerequisites for the assessment of linguistic data.

Thus, this section intends to show how linguistic description cannot take place without interlacing descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics together with linguistic anthropology and cultural anthropology. In particular, sociocultural components influence the linguistic interaction and motivate the uses and functions of negation. For example, the function of minimizing the knowledge of the storyteller by the use of negative forms finds its explanation in the historical and sociocultural backgrounds: centuries of exclusion have motivated the belief among Quechua speakers that their knowledge has no value.

The graphic below intends to visualize my view of linguistic interaction and to provide the conceptual ground for the analysis of the functions of negation in HZQ in the three following sections.

Figure 4 The linguistic interaction



First of all, a linguistic interaction is based on common ground that encompasses Quechua sociocultural values, habitual understanding, common knowledge and social hierarchies, among others. The very way people interact with each other is influenced by this culture-specific common ground. I have depicted it as a platform for simplicity of graphics but this common ground can be also thought as the environment within which the interaction takes place.

The linguistic interaction is represented by an open box. The most external layer corresponds to the communicative situation between at least two participants<sup>112</sup>. This represents the moment in which the linguistic interaction takes place. The middle layer and the innermost layer of the open box refer specifically to the process of telling a story. The middle layer symbolizes the narration, i.e. the plot of the story. The innermost layer refers to the fictive dialogues between the story's characters.

The dotted lines that connect the three layers indicate the linguistic interface inside the box. Especially in the process of telling stories, Quechua speakers co-operate in jointly constructing the story plot (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998). Listeners repeatedly intervene in the narration by the use of questions, feedback and evaluative comments for the storyteller. Speakers dialogically interact

<sup>112</sup> I simplified the model of linguistic interaction into a dialogic one. Nevertheless, it is also valid for more participants.

moving from one layer of the box into another by the use of repetitions, bracket structures, evidentials, deictics, particles of time and space, verbs of movements and other different linguistic resources, constructing a complex interwoven structure. Indeed, this very idea of interweaving words is at the base of the word *text* itself, from the Latin verb *téxere* (intertwine) (Bonomi 2008).

The use of negation in the linguistic interaction is influenced by the common ground depicted above. Common knowledge, habitual understanding, social hierarchies and sociocultural values play a crucial role in the functioning of negation, being the basement for the participants' expectations. Participants' expectations are depicted in the graphic above by two arrows that connect the two participants. As observed by Bernini & Ramat (1996: 4), negation can be used "as a reply to someone I have reason to believe is thinking the opposite of what I am going to say"<sup>113</sup>. The graphic shows how expectations are motivated by the sociocultural settings where the interaction takes place. What the speaker believes that the listener's expectations are is a common thread of the four negation functions I am presenting in this part.

In Chapter 21 negation is analyzed as a linguistic resource used in order to minimize the knowledge of the storyteller. The data show how it carries a social function mostly at the start and the end of a narration. While the start of a narration refers to the moment in which the storyteller states not to know or not to remember any stories, the end of a narration often refers to the very last sentence of the story, in which the speaker minimizes what they have just told. The participants are here analyzed as socially positioned actors that influence the linguistic interaction with their common knowledge as well as sociocultural values and social hierarchies.

In Chapter 22 specific habitual understanding of the environment and common knowledge and sociocultural values motivate the use of negation, mostly at the end of the storytellings. Negative sentences are analyzed here as marked structures that carry the function of contradicting what the speaker thinks that the listener's expectations about the plot could be and express a moral judgment.

Finally, in Chapter 23 I focus on the function of negation of correcting a misunderstanding of the listener in a direct way, i.e. using the word *mana* (no). The dialogical construction of the storytelling and the specific importance within HZQ that the listener correctly understand the story, motivates the speaker in using negation in a direct way. This use of *mana* (no) contrasts with the rare use of direct negation in other pragmatic contexts, such as invitations and offers, where speakers are offended if they receive a direct rejection. In addition, this use contrasts with the scarce use of words like *yes* for positive feedback, which are replaced instead by the use of repetitions.

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<sup>113</sup> In their study on negative sentences in the languages of Europe, Bernini & Ramat (1996: 4) refer to the importance of the presuppositions at discourse level („pragmatic presuppositions“) in the use of negation.

## 21 To minimize the knowledge of the storyteller

During my fieldworks, people in both rural and urban areas of Huaraz, were often willing to help me study their language. Their method of sharing their traditional knowledge with me was always very discreet and never characterized by show-off behavior. On the contrary, their manner was often to minimize their knowledge.

In the summer of 2011 I was asking around if some HZQ speaker of the village of Chontayoq could tell me a traditional story<sup>114</sup>. After telling me the popular funny story of *Ashnu Thomas* (The donkey Tomás), Hernán (H) told me that his sister Modesta (M) knew many stories. So he called her and asked her to tell us one. Directly after negating her knowledge of traditional stories, the woman started to narrate for us the story of the fox:

(219) H: *Manam cuentuta reqenki?*

M: **Maakutsu. Qonqaykurqu.**

H: *Upachi kanki ni.*

*Mana-mi*      *cuentu-ta*      *reqi-nki*  
NEG.PRT-DIR      story-OBJ      know-2

*Maaku-tsu*                      *qunqa-yku-rqu*  
realize-NEG                      remember-PFV-PST

*Upa-chi*      *ka-nki*      *ni*  
stupid-CNJ      be-2      NOR

H: ¿No conoces un cuento?

M: **No me doy cuenta (No recuerdo). Me he olvidado.**

H: Eres una tonta, no?

H: Don't you know a story?

M: **I don't remember. I forgot it.**

H: You are silly, aren't you?

(H & M, Cuentos, 47-50)

Similar to the excerpt above, I was told many times from the person I was talking to that they don't know any stories. Often this person then suggested me another HZQ speaker in the village who might know some storytellings. Other scholars have reported this common attitude of Quechua

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<sup>114</sup> I admit that this was one of my very first days of fieldwork in 2011 and that at those times I hadn't given much thought to the methodology of data recordings. In Singer & Villari (2016), I dealt with methodological issues, especially with HZQ-Spanish bilingual children in the rural area of Huaraz.

speakers in minimizing their knowledge of stories. Mannheim & Van Vleet (2008: 327), for example, report for Southern Quechua that they often heard “I don’t know any stories” and “I don’t remember any stories” and also that they were sometimes given “the name of a different ‘grandparent’ who *really* told stories” (their cursive). A range of verbs of knowledge are used by HZQ speakers to express their (supposed) negated knowledge of stories, such as *yarpa* “know, Sp. saber”, *requi-* and *musya-* “know, Sp. conocer”, *maaku-* “realize, Sp. darse cuenta, recordar”, *qunqa-* “forget, Sp. olvidar”. It would be interesting to analyze the use of these verbs of knowledge in other contexts, such as everyday conversations.

As a matter of fact, it would have been good to collect more naturally occurring performed narrative and less elicited narratives<sup>115</sup>. Indeed, elicited narratives are less connected to the specific circumstances in which they are told. As noted by Daniel Hintz (2011: 11), “embedded genres arise naturally in conversations among family members in daily interaction, including narratives of personal experience, historical accounts, exhortations, conflict resolution, evening retelling of folktales and legends, and a host of other genres”<sup>116</sup>. Stories in HZQ are part of the everyday life and anchored into social interactions. Mannheim & Van Vleet (1998: 335) observe how also in Southern Quechua “[...] naturally occurring conversational narratives are anchored deeply into social particulars – specific individuals, personal experiences, and the like – and bound closely to topics that have already been introduced into the conversation”. In the specific Quechua cultural context, stories are often narrated as interwoven with the everyday experience in a way that they often acquire “an aura of verisimilitude” (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998: 335). For example, a narration about a solitary walk by the river can trigger in HZQ the start of the storytelling of *Ichick Ollqu*, a magic little man who lives in places close to water and mostly appears when people walk alone (see (228)).

Taking storytellings out of their natural context of social interaction is actually a bit of a stretch and also has consequences on the linguistic level. Mannheim & Van Vleet (1998: 334), for example, note how elicited narratives in Southern Quechua are less detailed and have less reported speech than natural occurring ones. I am aware of the methodological difficulties of eliciting stories out of the everyday conversational contexts. At the same time, this very methodology gave me the chance to reflect on the function of negation in HZQ in minimizing traditional knowledge.

During the process of telling stories, negation carries a social function at the beginning and at the end of a narration. While the beginning of a narration refers to the moment in which the storyteller affirms not to know or not to remember any stories, the end of a narration often refers to the last

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<sup>115</sup> See also Dürr & Schlobinski (2006: 243-247) on naturally occurred performed narrative and elicited stories.

<sup>116</sup> The author also states that in order to assure naturalness, he is not present during the recordings and that “the segments selected for transcription typically occur hours into the recording” (Daniel Hintz 2011: 11).

sentence of the narration, in which the speaker minimizes what they have just told. Both cases are often voiced by the use of negative expressions.

Most of the negated verbs of knowledge come up in my data as answers to my request for stories, while others occur as the closing statement of a storytelling. In (220), Doña Augusta (DA) had just finished telling the story of the stone in front of Juanita (J) and me. (J) replies:

(220) J: Noqa manam, mamee, hee cuentutapis musyashqatsu kaa.

DA: Heenootam noqa musyashqa kaa.

<i>Nuqa</i>	<i>mana-mi</i>	<i>mama-y</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>cuentu-ta-pis</i>
I	NEG.PRT-DIR	mother-2IMP	that	story-OBJ-TOO

<i>musya-shqa-tsu</i>	<i>ka-:</i>
know-PTCP-NEG	be-1

<i>Tsay-naw-ta-mi</i>	<i>nuqa</i>	<i>musya-shqa</i>	<i>ka-:</i>
that-SIM-OBJ-DIR	I	know-PTCP	be-1

J: Yo, mamita, no he conocido ni siquiera ese cuento.

DA: Así lo he sabido yo.

J: I didn't even know this story, ma'am<sup>117</sup>.

DA: This is what I have been told. (lit. Like this is what I have been told)

(DA, El cuento de la piedra, 77-78)

(J) states that she does not even know the story she has just been told. She strengthens her negated knowledge by the use of the suffix *-pis* (TOO), adding it to the double negative structure *manam...-tsu*. Paraphrasing what (J) wants to say would be something like “I do not know many stories as much as you do. And I did not even know this one”. This structure (double negation plus *-pis*) functions as a reinforcement of the statement. At the same time, it carries the function of showing respect to (DA), the older storyteller.

The interventions of both (J) and (DA) are very kind. (DA) does not show off her knowledge of stories. This respectful attitude has also been noted by Bolin among the high-altitude herders of Chillihuani (Cusco, Peru). The author states that show-off behavior is discouraged as children get older and it “is never seen in adults” (Bolin 2006: 40).

Nevertheless, narrative authority in Quechua has a flexible structure. As noted by Mannheim & Van Vleet (1998: 331), “the authority structure among Quechua speakers is more flexible [...]

<sup>117</sup> *Mama* and *mamita* are terms commonly used in HZQ and Andean Spanish to address women. In this work I have glossed *mamita* as *ma'am*. Nevertheless, it can also mean *miss* and *madame* (see also Weber 1998: 330).

Quechua’s conversation-like co-participation structure guarantees that no one has final authority over a set of narrated events”. In line with this, Doña Augusta concludes her narrative using the common formulaic expression *heenootam* (like this), which conveys the idea “Like this is what I have been told and what I knew. You may know another version of it or other stories that I do not know.” Her use of the past form *musyashqa kaa* (what I knew), repeating Juanita’s words (*musyashqatsu kaa*), reflects the process of telling stories<sup>118</sup>. (DA) obviously still does know the story that she just finished narrating but she decides to focus on the time that she had been told it. The oral nature of Quechua narrative lets us glimpse in every stories both previous narrations and future narrations. After finishing her narration of the story of the stone, (DA) tells (J) referring to me:

(221) *Linduchi parlanqa?*

*Lindu-chi      parla-nqa*  
 nice-CNJ      speak-3FUT

¿Hablará bonito?

How nice she will retell it! (lit. Will she talk nice?)

(DA, El cuento de la piedra, 82)

By the expression *Linduchi parlanqa?* (lit. Will she talk nice?) (DA) refers to the moment in which I will retell the story (How nice she will retell it!) to someone else. This is a reminder of the fact that in the process of telling stories there is no final narration. As Valiente (1993: 44) observes, the process of writing freezes the variable nature of the oral narration<sup>119</sup>. Every family and every speaker have their own version of a story, which they will retell, varying the plot. Grandparents mostly tell the longest versions of the stories, adding many details, evaluative comments and expressing themselves using a range of Quechua verbs, nouns (and suffixes) that are disappearing among the new generations of bilingual speakers. For example, the story of the witch *Achikee* can last more than half an hour if told by a grandmother or less than 5 minutes if told by a child. Intergenerational differences as well as relations among the participants play a significant role in constructing narratives dialogically. The example above (220) of Doña Augusta and Juanita shows the role of socially positioned actors during the process of narration and how knowledge is considered to be coupled to social roles. In an imaginary scale of storytelling experts, (J) positions herself under the storyteller (DA). (J) minimizes her knowledge by underlining that she didn’t know even that story that (DA) told.

<sup>118</sup> Many thanks to Annett Hofmann for this suggestion and for her insightful feedback on this part of the dissertation.

<sup>119</sup> “Esta diversidad de versiones [...] se pierde al pasar a la forma escrita donde contamos con una versión fija.”

Furthermore, the dialogical nature of Quechua narrative shows how social ends are achieved in face-to-face interaction. Gender, age, social class, education as well as specific histories of interaction among the participants play a crucial role in the linguistic interaction<sup>120</sup>. As observed by Mannheim & Van Vleet (1998: 328), the “Quechua conversational narrative is dialogical in the sense that a dialogue is created in the very event of speaking, in the mutually constitutive dynamic between the organization of participant roles in the speech event and the social field within which it occurs. [...] *Participants are socially positioned actors, embodying vectors of power and authority that are repositioned during the narrative performance*” (my cursive).

Within this context, the very nature of socially positioned actors works as a trigger for minimizing the knowledge in the process of telling stories in HZQ. The need of the speaker Juanita (J) to minimize her knowledge in front of Anita (ANI) and me is evident in the video recording in which she tells us the story of the river by preparing the meal in her kitchen. In the final sequence she adopts the common formulaic expression *heenoo usharin hee cuentu* (this story ends like this). If on one hand ending a story with a formulaic expression is common to oral cultures cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2015: 280), the need of (J) to minimize her knowledge is manifest in the manner in which she moves her index finger as if saying no. The expression “this story ends like this” seems to encompass the sentence “I do not know more than this”:

(222) *Papakunata pichuriykur, arur, mikuyaanaq. Heenoo usharin hee cuentu.*

<i>Papa-kuna-ta</i>	<i>pichu-ri-yku-r</i>
potato-PL.N-OBJ	chili.dressing-PUNC-PFV-SS1

<i>aru-r</i>	<i>miku-ya-naq</i>
cook-SS1	eat-PL.V-PST.N

<i>tsay-naw</i>	<i>usha-ri-n</i>	(moving her index finger as for saying <i>no</i> )
that-SIM	finish-PUNC-3	

<i>tsay</i>	<i>cuentu</i>
that	story

Preparando picante de papas, cocinando, comieron. Así termina ese cuento.  
 Preparing *picante de papas*<sup>121</sup>, they cook and ate. This story ends like this.  
 (J, El cuento del río, 130-132)

<sup>120</sup> The role of socially positioned participants in dialogic interactions in the Andes has been dealt, among others, by Singer & Villari (2016) and Mannheim & Van Vleet (1998: 328).

<sup>121</sup> This is a common meal in the villages of the rural areas of Huaraz, which consists of boiled potatoes dressed with chili.

In fact, many stories in HZQ end with the speaker jumping out of the plot layer of the story box into the communicative situation (see Figure 4) by the use of the formulaic expression *heenoo* (like this, Sp. *así*):

(223) *Heeshi sikin pasakuptin qorushta laturkur, pachan winarin wanurin. Zorru ushakaari.*

*Tseenoo.*

<i>Tsay-shi</i>	<i>siki-n</i>	<i>pasa-ku-pti-n</i>	<i>qurush-ta</i>	<i>latu-rku-r</i>
that-RPT	ass-3	pass-MID-DS-3	oval.stone-OBJ	plug-DIR.UP-SS1

<i>pacha-n</i>	<i>wina-ri-n</i>	<i>wanu-ri-n</i>
belly-3	grow-PUNC-3	die-PUNC-3

<i>zorru</i>	<i>usha-ka-ri</i>	<i>tsay-naw</i>
fox	finish-MID-PUNC	that-SIM

Cuando le da diarrea, [el zorro] pone una piedra en el ano. Crece su barriga y muere. El zorro muere. Así.

Then when it has diarrhea, [the fox] puts a stone into its anus. Its belly dilates and it dies. The fox dies. Like this.

(M, El cuento del zorro, 69-72)

(224) DA: *Heeshi allqullata mamita kutitsimunaq.*

J: *Imeeqa mamee!*

DA: Ah heenoo *hee cuentu mamita.*

<i>Tsay-shi</i>	<i>allqu-lla-ta</i>	<i>mamita</i>	<i>kuti-tsi-mu-naq</i>
that-RPT	dog-DLM-OBJ	ma'am	return-CAUS-FAR-PST.N

<i>Imay-qa</i>	<i>mama-y</i>
when-TOP	mother-2IMP

<i>Ah</i>	<i>tsay-naw</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>cuentu</i>	<i>mamita</i>
ah	that-SIM	that	story	ma'am

DA: Entonces mamita sólo volvió con un perro.

J: ¡Qué me cuentas mamita!

DA: Ah, así es ese cuento, mamita.

DA: Then, ma'am, He turned him into a dog.

J: What are you telling me, ma'am!

DA: Ah, this is story is like this, ma'am.

(DA, *Achikee*, 256-258)

Within this habit of ending a storytelling by the use of the expression *heenoo* (like this), a common way for the speaker to minimize what they have just told, is the use of the delimitative suffix *-lla* in *tseenollam*<sup>122</sup> (just like this, Sp. *así nomás*) or in *tseellam* (just this, Sp. *eso nomás*).

(225) “*Montaranqeeekita yuparqonkitsu nishpa.*” *Entoncisqa heellachoo usharin ari.*  
**Tseenollam.**

*Montara-nqa-yki-ta yupa-rqu-nki-tsu ni-shqa*  
ride-NMLZ.R-2P-OBJ count-PST.R-2-NEG say-PTCP

*Entoncis-qa tsay-lla-chaw usha-ri-n ari*  
then-TOP that-DLM-LOC finish-PUNC-3 well

*Tsay-naw-lla-mi*  
that-SIM-DLM-DIR

“No has contado el [caballo] que estas montando.” Entonces **ahí nomás terminó. Así nomás.**

“You didn’t count the horse you are riding.” Then, **[the story] ended just like this. Just like this.**

(H, *Ashnu Tomás*, 14-16)

(226) *Maa huk pavo kaakiikana. LAUGH. Teechu hananchoo. Tseellam.*

*Maa huk pavo ka-ku-yka-na @@@*  
CHALL one turkey be-MID-CONT-NOW LAUGH

*Techu hana-n-chaw tsay-lla-mi*  
roof on.top-3-LOC that-DLM-DIR

Había sido un pavo. LAUGH. En cima del techu. **Eso nomás.**

It was a turkey. LAUGH. On the roof. **Just this.**

(N, *Una noche de miedo*, 27-29)

An in-depth-study on the delimitative suffix *-lla* still needs to be done for HZQ. For now, I can state that it is used in several different pragmatic situations: talking to children, addressing someone of higher social prestige, showing compassion (Leonel’s example: *qishyakuykallankiku? Kachakaarillankinam.* (Are you sick? You are going to be well., Sp. *Estás enfermito? Ya te vas a sanar.*)), thanking who is serving the meal saying *heellam* (just this)<sup>123</sup>, passing by someone using the formulaic expression *pasakurillaa* (I am passing by), greeting someone saying *aywallaa* (I am leaving) or *shumaqlla eewakullee* (take care, Sp. *qué te vaya bien*), ask someone for a favor saying

<sup>122</sup> Or *heenollam* (no more than this, Sp. *eso nomás*), according to the speaker.

<sup>123</sup> The corresponding expression in Andean Spanish *así nomás* (just like this) is commonly used among Spanish speakers in the urban area of Huaraz.

*yanapeekallaamee* (help me please, Sp. ayúdeme por favor)<sup>124</sup>, among others. A common thread to these pragmatic uses of *-lla* (DLM) could be the importance of respect in Quechua (Bolin 2006) as well as the submissive attitudes of the HZQ speakers.

The use of *-lla* (DLM) in minimizing the knowledge of the storyteller at the end of the story can go even further in cases where the speaker explicitly states that they do not know more than what they had just told. This is the case of the bilingual Marina (AM), 65 years old, who ends telling the story of the toad in front of me and her daughter with the Spanish expression *más no* (not more (than this)):

(227) *Y na, zoruqa heeqarpushqa condor heqashqatsu. Heenooshi kanaq hee na cuentu. Heellata. Los dos palabras nomás. Más no.*

<i>Y</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>zoru-qa</i>	<i>hiqa-rpu-shqa</i>	<i>condor</i>	<i>hiqa-shqa-tsu</i>
and	THIS	fox-TOP	fall-COMPL-PTCP	condor	fall-PTCP-NEG
<i>Tsay-naw-shi</i>	<i>ka-naq</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>cuentu</i>	
that-SIM-RPT	be-PST.N	that	THIS	story	
<i>Tsay-lla-ta</i>					
that-DLM-OBJ					

Y eso, el zorro cayó y el cóndor no se cayó. Así era ese ese cuento. Eso nomás. Las dos palabras nomás. Más no.

And this, the fox fell down and the condor did not. This story was like this. Just this. These two words, nothing more. Not more than this.  
(AM, El cuento del sapo, 18-22)

On one hand, it is likely that the way I elicited the storytellings, i.e. directly asking for them, worked as a trigger for both uses of the delimitative suffix *-lla* and negation. On the other hand, as I noted above, this very methodology gave me the chance to reflect about the function of negation in HZQ in minimizing the traditional knowledge.

It would be interesting to analyze the use of these forms in other pragmatic contexts, such as everyday conversations among HZQ speakers. In particular, it would be worth studying how these linguistic forms reflect social hierarchies and how they are used to dynamically negotiate social identities in other kinds of linguistic interactions. Furthermore, it would be interesting to analyze how these forms of minimizing knowledge are used among HZQ speakers without me being present. Indeed, my role of European researcher influenced the way HZQ speakers used their words (and

<sup>124</sup> This expression can be used talking to a person of the same social status or higher status as well as talking to God or the Virgin.

suffixes) when talking to me and/or in front of me. My own biography as a privileged woman from Europe influenced all levels of my research. As pointed out in Singer & Villari (2016: 76), “a neutral researcher does not exist”<sup>125</sup>. Thus, even if my role during the narrations of storytellings was mostly the one of a silent participant or the one of a “what sayer” (Backer & Mannheim 1995: 245), giving limited encouragement, my presence as a higher social status participant constantly influenced the linguistic interaction and triggered the use of specific linguistic structures<sup>126</sup>.

Consequently, I analyze here the delimitative suffix *-lla* and negation in the process of telling stories as linguistic resources used by the speakers to position themselves in a scale of social hierarchies of participants to the linguistic interaction. On one hand we have seen how HZQ speakers often end their stories by stating that they do not know more than what they have told, on the other hand we have seen in (220) how Juanita position her knowledge below Doña Augusta’s, the older woman known in the village of Chontayoq for being the repository of storytellings. At the same time, by using expressions such as *heenoollam* (no more than this, Sp. *eso nomás*), Doña Augusta does not elevate neither parade her knowledge in front of us, avoiding show-off behavior.

The historical and sociocultural backgrounds of the HZQ speakers explain their attitude of minimize their knowledge and constantly positioning themselves at the very bottom of an imaginary scale of social hierarchies. As illustrated in Chapter 7 A sociolinguistic view of Huaraz Quechua (HZQ), years of colonial history were characterized by the imposition of Spanish and the systematic fight against the Quechua language and culture. As a consequence, this background has motivated the belief among Quechua speakers that their knowledge has no value. For example, parents often do not value what their children learn at home and send them to school in order to learn what it is *really* needed. School teachers also play a role in denigrating the Quechua knowledge in the moment in which they ask to collect traditional storytellings in Spanish. In doing their homework, children slip into the role of “translators and cultural brokers” (Schechter 2015: 199) by translating from HZQ into Spanish what their monolingual grandparents tell them.

As Aikhenvald (2007: 47) observes in her work about language contact, “[...] languages reflect the sociolinguistic history of their speakers”. Years of abuse and exclusion have psychologically marked Quechua speakers that are now convinced of the inferiority of the Quechua language and culture compared to Spanish. In particular, we have seen how HZQ speakers locate their heritage language at the very end of an imaginary scale of sociolinguistic prestige, considering it just a “dialect” of the original and authentic Cusco Quechua (see Figure 1). Thus, when HZQ speakers face with a direct request by a European researcher to tell her what they know, they are put in a position

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<sup>125</sup> “Es imposible la existencia de una investigadora valorativamente neutra.”

<sup>126</sup> It would be interesting to compare this function of negation of minimizing the knowledge by HZQ speakers with different social status, i.e. Studying Up and Studying Down.

they do not feel comfortable with and tend to minimize their knowledge. In fact, in general, to be a storyteller on request, lifting one's own role out of a natural context, is particularly uncomfortable in a cultural context where equality among *campesinos* is an important social value.

Elevating one's own skills and knowledge in front of others as well as show-off behavior is systematically avoided in the Quechua cultural context. Thus, affirming to be a *kamayoc* (expert) is not common in Quechua. For example, the Spanish label *especialista* (specialist) of EIB, used to refer to teachers who are in charge of supervising the application of EIB programs in the rural areas of Huaraz, is unknown in HZQ. Paradoxically, in Ancash it is often the case that these *especialistas* do not even speak Quechua and, consequently, compromise the functioning of the educational program.

Another example of this inclination to minimize the knowledge is given by Annett Hofmann (personal communication) who relates that in Huasao, in the rural periphery of Cusco, the *curandero* (healer) of the village does not say to be a *curandero*. However, every *campesino* of the village knows he is the one who can treat diseases. Also Leonel (personal communication) remembers that when he was living with his grandma in the rural village of Pira (Ancash) a *hampiq* (healer, Sp. *curandero*) helped him in healing his disease. When he thanked him, the healer told him *heenoollam nuqallaaqa hampikullaa* (no more than this I heal, Sp. *así nomás yo curo*).

Another sociocultural example of avoiding the disclosure of knowledge is given by the shy behavior at school by children who hail from the HZQ speaking rural areas. School requirements such as going to the blackboard and being interrogated by the teacher in front of all other students contrast with the local sociocultural value of minimizing knowledge and avoiding show-off behavior. This shy behavior is oft badly evaluated by school teachers that don't see how children feel forced to disclose their knowledge in front of others. In addition, school is mostly in Spanish, which for many children is not even their first language. Also Weber & Menacho (forthcoming) report how schools in Quechua-speaking rural areas have an occidental mark that goes against the Quechua local values:

“When a community comes together, whether for a festival or to treat an administrative issue, people sit on the ground, in family groups, forming a circle; the leadership is barely visible; first the horizontal communication and it is usually done quietly. Instead, at school, all sit on folders or arranged benches in rows, men on one side, women on the other; the teacher is on the front and very visible; first the vertical communication (teacher to student) and loud (often too high for the Quechua culture).”<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> “Cuando una comunidad se reúne, sea para un festival o para tratar algún tema administrativo, se sientan en el suelo, en grupos familiares, formando más o menos un círculo; el liderazgo es poco visible; prima la comunicación horizontal y por lo general se hace en voz baja. En cambio, en la escuela, todos se sientan en carpetas o bancas organizadas en filas, los varones a un lado, las niñas al otro; el profesor está adelante y muy visible; prima la comunicación vertical (profesor a alumno) y en voz alta (con frecuencia excesivamente alta para la cultura quechua).”

Hence, in a context where minimizing knowledge has such a local cultural value, artificial situations of lifting out of knowledge such as narrating a story on request need to be forced. Nevertheless, sociocultural values, such as avoiding show-off behavior, are not something static in the society. On the contrary, sociocultural values have to be considered in a dynamic perspective as they undergo intergenerational changes and reflect a society which is in constant transition between urban and rural areas. Thus, the importance of avoiding show-off behavior, following the rules (Sp. *cumplir con las reglas*), pride in one's work (see also Bolin 2006: 138), being respectful, patient, a good listener (*alli wiyakoq*), a *buen hombre* (good man) and a *buena mujer* (good woman) (Smith 2011: 81-82), among others, are all dynamic sociocultural values in HZQ. The meaning of the adjectives *alli* (good) and *mana alli* (bad) when referring to people (see § 19.2) is also dynamic. For example, what are considered good qualities to be a "good mate" (Bolin, 2006: 136)? And how does the meaning of *alli* (good) and *mana alli* (bad) change with the different environment where the social interaction takes place and with the different generations of speakers? Bolin (2006: 40) reports how the importance of respect and the consequent value of avoiding show-off behavior in the equal society aimed for by the Chillihuani herders (Cusco) animates parents to discourage show-off behavior in children. Conversely, Almanza Barriga (1997) relates an increasing appreciation of money in Ocongate (Peru) and a new show-off behavior with status symbols in front of family and friends<sup>128</sup>. Little work has been done on this subject and it is worthy an in-depth-study.

In sum, years of exclusion have motivated the belief among Quechua speakers that their language and their knowledge have no value. Within this context, elevating one's own skills and knowledge in front of others as well as show-off behavior is systematically avoided in HZQ. The use of the delimitative suffix *-lla* and negation mostly in initial and final sequences of storytellings, in expressions such as *hayllatam* (just this) or *más no* (not more than this), show how language is used by socially positioned participants to discursively construct culture and social identities in negotiation with others (Marra 2015: 377). Equally, it also functions to negotiate social hierarchies and traditional knowledge. In particular, when HZQ speakers are faced with a direct request by a European researcher to tell her what they know, they are put in a position they do not feel comfortable with and tend to minimize their knowledge.

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<sup>128</sup>In addition, in 1998-1999 Jeanine Anderson, from the PUCP (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú), conducted a survey with 393 people in Yauyos about their values and goals of life (among others, local development, individualism, democracy, social and gender equality). Ten years later, in 2008, she observed that concerns, limits, ambitions and resources of the inhabitants of Yauyos changed consistently. The introduction of a mining industry as well the construction of a hydroelectric plant and a new road, among others, play a crucial role in the changing of the sociocultural settings, and consequently of values, in Yauyos (Anderson 2009: 26).

## 22 To contradict the listener's expectation of the story plot and express a moral judgment at the end of the storytellings

Other two functions of negation in the process of telling stories are the one of contradicting the listener's expectation about the story plot and the one of expressing a moral judgment. As with the previous function of minimizing the knowledge of the storyteller, this function of negation is also connected to its position inside the text. It mostly takes place at the end of the storytelling.

The following excerpt is taken from the last part of a story I was told by Narciza (N), a 42 year-old bilingual woman in front of me and three bilingual women. (N) narrates how scared she got when, while walking alone by night in a village<sup>129</sup>, she heard a sound, which she symbolically performs as *taq taq*<sup>130</sup>. Imitating the action of carrying a heavy bag on her shoulders, she tells that the sound was coming from inside her backpack. Then, she ends the story clarifying that there was no *Ichick Ollqu* (small man), neither *Alma* (soul) nor other supernatural entities on the path.

(228) ***Ichick Ollqu ni Alma ni ima kargantsu.*** LAUGH. *Mochilawan pureq. Qepachoo qepachoo waqaq. Mochilallaa waqaq.*

<i>Ichick Ollqu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Alma</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>ka-rqa-n-tsu</i>	<i>@@@</i>
little	man	NOR	soul	NOR	what	be-PST-3-NEG LAUGH

<i>Mochila-wan</i>	<i>puri-q</i>
backpack-COM	walk-PST.H

<i>Qipa-chaw</i>	<i>qipa-chaw</i>	<i>waqa-q</i>
behind-LOC	behind-LOC	cry-PST.H

<i>Mochila-lla-:</i>	<i>waqa-q</i>
backpack-DLM-1	cry-PST.H

***No era ni Ichick Ollqu ni Alma ni nadie.*** LAUGH. Estaba caminando con la mochila. En mi espalda en mi espalda sonaba. Sonaba sólo mi mochilla.

***It was neither Ichick Ollqu or Alma or anyone else.*** LAUGH. I was walking just with my backpack. The sound came from my back, from my back. It was just my backpack making the sound.

(N, *Ichick Ollqu*, 41-44)

Indeed, a few lines previously in the story she actually already spoiled the end, telling us that the *taq taq* was coming from the *cuadernukuna* (exercise books) inside her backpack. The important point for (N) at the end of her narration, is to tell us what the sound was not: it was not *Ichick Ollqu* nor

<sup>129</sup> A solitary walk by night is a common setting of Quechua narrative of personal experiences.

<sup>130</sup> I recommend the work of Nuckolls (1996) about sound symbolic performative narrative in Quechua.

*Alma* nor anyone else. (N) knows that mentioning these supernatural entities is a felicitous narrative device. Indeed, the narration turns into a hilarious scene in which all participants, (N) and the three girlfriends, laugh for (N)'s misunderstanding. Thus, the common knowledge among the participants is what shapes (N)'s narration.

According to the study of Hintz & Hintz (2017), “mutual knowledge” is developing into a grammatical category in two dialects of Ancash Quechua, i.e. South Conchucos Quechua and Sihuas Quechua. Here mutual knowledge is formally distinguished from individual knowledge via dedicated evidentials in paradigmatic contrast.

Using Daniel Hintz's words (2011: 11) “Conversational participants accommodate their speech to the individuals involved.” Thus, in (228) (N) knows that her audience shares the common knowledge of the Quechua oral tradition. And rightly, this common knowledge motivates her use of negation by telling us what the sound was not. Moreover, (N) knows that scary stories in HZQ, especially those ones set at night, are often related to supernatural entities, such as *Ichick Ollqu* and *Alma*. Thus, mentioning them, i.e. saying that they were not making the scary sound, is a narrative strategy to bring the listeners to think about them<sup>131</sup>. Mannheim & Van Vleet (1998: 328) refer to this implicit dialogue among Quechua texts as “intertextual dialogue”. Intertextual references to other narrative may be explicit “[...] or unspoken, building a network of interlocking units of meaning, keyed to every activities and habitual understanding”. Thus, contradicting the listener's expectation depends on what the speaker believes that the listener's expectations could be. And these expectations in turn depend on the specific habitual understanding and common knowledge.

Other negative structures with the function of contradicting the participants' expectations have been analyzed in PART III of the present work: negative existential clauses (§ 13.2), negative similitude (§ 19.1) and the use of *-taq* (CNTRD) as contradicting a previous thought or assertion (§ 20.2). In addition to these examined structures, the suffix *-pis* (TOO) also seems to play an important role in contradicting expectations in dialogic interactions. If used in negative constructions, *-pis* carries the meaning of “not even”. An in-depth-study to define the functions of *-pis* in negative constructions would be worth.

Furthermore, the listener's expectations also motivate the use of negation in (229) (which is the same as (227)). Here, grandmother Marina (M) uses negation to make the plot clear to the listeners (her daughter and myself) and contradict any possible incorrect expectations. She does it at the end of the story, right before moving from the plot layer into the communicative situation, by the use of the common ending formulaic expression *heenooshi* (like this) (see Figure 2). The short story is about

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<sup>131</sup> In some European cultures there is a joke that reminds this tactic: if someone says to you “Don't think about a red tomato” you are immediately kin to think exactly about it.

a toad who dies because it drank too much water, and a condor who tricks a fox who drank too much water as well<sup>132</sup>. The condor convinces the fox to sit with him on a snow-covered mountain. Because he is too full of water, the fox falls down and the condor does not.

(229) *Y na, zoruqa heeqarpushqa condor heqashqatsu. Heenooshi kanaq hee na cuentu.*

<i>Y</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>zoru-qa</i>	<i>hiqa-rpu-shqa</i>	<i>condor</i>	<i>hiqa-shqa-tsu</i>
and	THIS	fox-TOP	fall-COMPL-PTCP	condor	fall-PTCP-NEG
<i>Tsay-naw-shi</i>	<i>ka-naq</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>cuentu</i>	
that-SIM-RPT	be-PST.N	that	THIS	story	

Y eso, el zorro cayó y el cóndor no se cayó. Así era ese ese- cuento.

And this, the fox fell down and the condor did not. This story was like this.  
(AM, El cuento del sapo, 18-19)

(M) has reason to believe that the listeners could misinterpret the end of the story. Indeed, in Quechua narrative the fox can have both the human features of astuteness and foolishness<sup>133</sup>. Hence, according to local common knowledge, both characters, the condor and the fox, could have actually fallen down the mountain. The goal of the speaker by using negation at this point of the narration is to make the story plot clear to the listeners, contradicting any possible incorrect expectations.

This use of negation at the end of storytellings aligns with Diana Hintz's (Diana Hintz 2003: 49) observation about closing statements that often have information that needs to be marked in some way: closing statements often contain "a key piece of information the listener needs to attend to, such as a summary, a conclusion or the main point of the discussion"<sup>134</sup>. Also Cumming & Ono (1997: 116) highlight the correlation between information and marked structures: "[...] information which is relatively inaccessible or surprising should be coded with special, heavy or 'marked' linguistic mechanism". In addition, Payne (1993: 284) relates the pragmatic markedness to the speaker's assumptions about the listener's expectations based on the latter's knowledge structure. According to the author, "the speaker is constantly making assumptions about the extent to which the listener's information network matches his or her own, including the extent to which the listener may be expecting certain information". Consequently, I consider negative sentences at the end of a narration

<sup>132</sup> According to Leonel, it seems that here the storyteller is mixing two stories: the one of the toad and the one of the fox who died because it drank too much water from the lake where it wanted to eat the ducks.

<sup>133</sup> This is different to Italian stories, for example, where the fox is always depicted as the smarter character. In Italian, there is even the saying "sei furbo come una volpe" (you are smart like a fox).

<sup>134</sup> Diana Hintz (2003: 49) reports that 37 statements out of 42 closing statements of her database in SCQ exhibit variant word order. This needs to be proved for HZQ.

in HZQ as marked structures that carry the functions of contradicting possible incorrect expectations as well as expressing a moral judgment or an evaluative comment.

The need to express moral judgments and evaluative comments are driven in HZQ by the common ideal discourses about good behavior. Indeed, both in everyday conversation and storytellings (the two are often intertwined), local sociocultural values such as good behavior are frequent topics of ideal discourses<sup>135</sup>. Storytellers in HZQ feel often responsible to express an evaluative comment about the behavior of their characters. Among others, *wiya* (listen, Sp. escuchar) is an important local sociocultural value that often appears in the final sequences of narrations frequently coupled with negative expressions. A person who behaves well is an *alli wiyakoq*, i.e. a good listener of advice. A good child is a *wiyakoq wamra*, i.e. a child who obeys the rules (*cumplir*) and listens to the adults' recommendations.

In the village of Chontayoq, these ideal discourses about this specific kind of good behavior are probably influenced by the diffused catholic religion and in particular by Don Shanti's sermons. We have observed in (218) how Don Shanti explained to the *campesinos* that they have to fulfil their duties in order to be good people (*Obligacionninta wiyanan, alli nuna rurananpaq*, Sp. Debe escuchar sus obligaciones, para que sea un buen hombre). If they do not behave well, how can they correct the bad behavior of their children? (*Imanawraq wawanta corriginqa?*, Sp. ¿Cómo corregirá a su hijo?)<sup>136</sup> Then he personifies a child, who says to his father "Dad, and you? You do not fulfil Father God's wishes either" (*Papá y qamqa? y qamqa manataq qampis kanki Tayta Diospa voluntaanin cumplitstu*, Sp. Papá, ¿y tu? Tampoco cumples con la voluntad de Dios). We also saw in (202) how Don Shanti talks about the biblical story of María Magdalena. He depicts her as an *allaapa mana alli warmi* (very bad woman), who lived *todo mala vidallachoo* (very bad life), without thinking about God at all. But once Father God appeared to her, she repented all her sins (*arrepentikiikurqan*). Within this context, I present the next excerpt taken from the traditional storytelling *Achikee* told by Doña Augusta (DA) in front of me and Juanita (J). The little girl in the story was punished by Father God for being impatient and curious (*muskicha*) and for not obeying the rules (*cumplirqantsu*). Storyteller and listener, respectively (DA) and (J), examine and judge her bad behavior during the narration.

*Achikee* is a wicked witch, popular in the Quechua oral literature<sup>137</sup>, who lures children that pass by her house, kills them and eats them. In this version of the story, the little girl manages to escape from *Achikee*, who killed her little brother. She puts him in a blanket and reaches Father God up in the sky. When Father God saw the little boy He tells her to put him into a jug and to wait a

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<sup>135</sup> The question how ideal discourses about the sociocultural values of good behavior is reflected in the practice in the dynamic local everyday life is worth an in-depth-study.

<sup>136</sup> Noteworthy, in HZQ there is a way of saying to refer to good children that are raised by parents that behave badly: *kashapitam waytaqa* (from the thorns bud the flowers, Sp. de las espinas salen las flores).

<sup>137</sup> This story is similar to the Hansel and Gretel story. In this Andean version the witch is called *Achikee*.

moment for him to come back without opening the jug. Nevertheless, the girl disobeys and opens the jug. As a consequence of her nosiness and disobedience, her little brother was transformed by Father God into the skin of a dog:

(230) DA: *Heenash, maa kicharirqunaaq aswanata.*

J: *Muskicha.*

DA: *Muskicha wamra.*

[...]

DA: *Allqulla qarash allqullana teekarkunaaq aswanachoo.*

J: **Ah mana wamranatsu.**

DA: **Mana wamranatsu.**

DA: *Tikrarirqunaaq allquman.*

J: *Y Teeta Dios ninqanta ...*

DA: **Cumplirqantsu.**

*Tsaya-na-shi maa kicha-ri-rqu-naq aswana-ta*  
 that-NOW-RPT CHALL open-PUNC-PST.R-PST.H jug-OBJ

*Muskicha*  
 curious

*Muskicha wamra*  
 curious child

[...]

*Allqu-lla qara-shi allqu-lla-na*  
 dog-DLM give-RPT dog-DLM-NOW

*tayka-rku-naq aswana-chaw*  
 seat-DIR.UP-PST.N jug-LOC

*Ah mana wamra-na-tsu*  
 ah NEG.PRT child-NOW-NEG

*Mana wamra-na-tsu*  
 NEG.PRT child-NOW-NEG

*Tikra-ri-rqu-naq allqu-man*  
 Become-PUNC-PST-PST.N dog-ALL

*Y Tayta Dios ni-nqa-n-ta*  
and father God say- NMLZ.R-3-OBJ

*cumpli-rqa-n-tsu*  
fulfil-PST-3-NEG

DA: Entonces, abrió el cántaro.

J: **Curiosa.**

DA: **Niña curiosa.**

[...]

DA: En el cántaro sólo estaba un perro sin lana.

J: **Ah ya no el niño.**

DA: **Ya no el niño.** Se había convertido en un perro.

J: Y lo que Dios Padre le dijo ...

DA: **No cumplió.**

DA: Then, she opened the jug.

J: **Curious.**

DA: **Curious girl.**

[...]

DA: In the jug there was only the skin of a dog without hair.

J: **Ah not the child anymore.** (shaking her head as for saying *no*)

DA: **Not the child anymore. He turned into a dog.** (shaking her head as for saying *no*)

J: And what Father God told her ...

DA: **She didn't obey.**

(DA, *Achikee*, 228-230 and 246-250)

In (230) negation is used twice: the first time by the listener (J), the second time by the speaker (DA). The first use of negation shows how in the dialogical construction of Quechua narrative, the listener himself happens to use negation at the end of a storytelling to contradict the expectations. By the negative expression *ah mana wamranatsu* (ah not the child), (J) gives a feedback of understanding to (DA). At the same time, (J) shows that the information given by (DA) is contrary to her expectations. Indeed, first (J) was hoping and expecting that the powerful Father God could bring the little child back to life, then she realizes that the girl deserved a punishment for her bad behavior. As a sign of positive feedback to her understanding of the plot, (DA) repeats (J)'s negative expression *mana wamranatsu* (not the child). Frequent cases of “dialogic syntax” (Du Bois 2014), as this repetition of negation, characterize the Quechua oral tradition. In particular, in this version of *Achikee* (see next function of negation in Chapter 23), (J) intervenes continuously during the entire narrative, “constructing narrative jointly” with (DA) (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998: 327). In addition, they both shake her heads as a reinforcement of their negative sentences. In the example above, while the

first use of negation (*ah mana wamranatsu*) has the function of giving a sign of feedback of the understanding of the plot development, the second use of negation (*cumplirqantsu*) has the function of expressing a moral judgment.

The fact that the girl did not follow the rule and lies to Father God is considered by both participants to be bad behavior that needs to be underlined and commented. Within this view, the repetition of the word curious (*muskicha*) after the quoted excerpt and the use of the negative form *cumplirqantsu* express an evaluative comment about the behavior of the character. Thus, the storyteller feels responsible to express an evaluative comment about the behavior of the character.

In addition, the action of disobeying in this story carries an even worse sociocultural value because it is directed to Father God (*Tayta Dios*). By opening the jug too early, the little girl did not follow the rules of Father God (*cumplirqantsu*), who tells her later in the story “*Imapaqtaq desobediente karqunki, kicharqunki*” (“Why have you been disobedient? You opened [the jug].”, Sp. “¿Para qué has sido desobediente? Has abierto [la jarra]”). As a matter of fact, (J) and (DA) as well as many *campesinos*, especially women, of the village of Chontayoq are very catholic. This leads to a constant religious synchronism in storytellings, which is often expressed at the end of the stories by an evaluative comment on religious values and by a reference to Father God. The local sociocultural values of being patient and obeying the rules as well as devotion to Father God motivated the use of negation at the end of this storytelling.

In sum, negative expressions are considered here as marked structures that underline a piece of information the listener needs to attend to. These can be a contradiction of the listener’s possible incorrect expectations and an expression of a moral judgment or an evaluative comment about the character’s behavior. These two functions of negations are shaped by the habitual understanding of the environment and the common knowledge of the participants to the linguistic interaction as well as by specific sociocultural values. Consequently, the cultural anthropological background is mandatory for the assessment of linguistic data.

### **23 To correct a misunderstanding of the listener in a direct way (*mana*)**

The fourth function of negation I focus on here is correcting a misunderstanding of the listener in a direct way, i.e. using the word *mana* (no). On one hand, this use contrasts with the scarce use of mere words like *yes* for positive feedback in HZQ, which are replaced by the use of repetitions. On the other hand, this use contrasts with the rare use of direct negation in other pragmatic contexts, such as invitations and offers, where a direct negation is considered impolite.

The data presented in this chapter consist of two visual recordings of linguistic interactions I did in the village of Chontayoq. The first recording is the story of *Pedro Ordemal*, which I was told

by the monolingual woman Doña Augusta (DA) in front of the interested and participating Juanita (J) and myself. The second recording has more the character of a conversation: Anita (ANI), a bilingual 60 year-old woman, interviews the bilingual Don Marino (DM) (40-50 years old) about the use of water in his village of Chontayoq. I was in the house during the interview but not close to the participants all the time.

To follow, before dealing with the direct use of negation to correct a misunderstanding of the listener (§ 23.2), I focus on repetitions as a positive feedback (§ 23.1). My data show how HZQ use different strategies to give positive and negative feedbacks. While giving a positive feedback mostly consists of the repetition of the previous words, giving a negative feedback is expressed in a very direct way by using the word *mana* (no).

### 23.1 Repetitions as a positive feedback

The importance of a linguistic analysis that “goes behind traditional linear syntax” and adopts a dialogical perspective is underlined by Du Bois (2014: 1 – my cursive): “*Dialogic syntax* encompasses the linguistic, cognitive, and interactional process involved when speakers selectively reproduce aspects of prior utterances, and when recipients recognize the resulting parallelisms and draw inferences from them. Its most visible reflex occurs when one *speaker constructs an utterance based on the immediately co-present utterance of a dialogic partner*. Words, structures, and other linguistic resources invoked by the first speaker are selectively reproduced by the second”.

This approach is central for the specific Quechua cultural context, where oral narrative is characterized by a co-participation structure (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998). The interactive quality is given by the continuous interventions of the listener, who uses repetitions and negation, among others, as linguistic resources to jointly construct the plot with the storyteller. Indeed, in HZQ, as in Southern Peruvian and Bolivian Quechua (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998: 327), the dialogic interaction between the storyteller and the listener is characterized by recurrent repetitions<sup>138</sup>. These repetitions carry different functions in the narration: alignment with the speaker’s moral judgments, questions about the story plot and signs of positive feedback about the plot understanding, among others.

In the previous chapter, I showed how the listener Juanita (J) continuously intervenes in the narration of *Achikee*, repeating (DA)’s words. The same happens in the next excerpt, where (J) recurrently jumps into the storytelling *Pedro Ordemal* (Irresponsible Pedro) told by (DA). This story

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<sup>138</sup> Also Diana Hintz (2006: 56) analyzes instances of dialogic syntax in SCQ, observing how it can explain variant word order in this dialect.

is about a guy who is too lazy to work. His boss tells him to pasture the pigs but, because of his laziness, he sells them all:

(231) DA: *Atska qellayyuq tikrarirqon, atska kuchipita. Qela ociosu.*

J: *Qela ociosu.*

<i>Atska</i>	<i>qillay-yoq</i>	<i>tikra-ri-rqu-n</i>	<i>atska</i>	<i>kuchi-pita</i>
many	money-HAVE	become-PUNC-PST-3	money	small.PIG-ABL

*Qila ociosu*  
lazy lazy

*Qila ociosu*  
lazy lazy

DA: Se volvió rico, con la venta de muchos chanchos. **Era muy ocioso.**

J: **Era muy ocioso.**

DA: He turned rich by selling the pigs. **He was very lazy.**

J: **He was very lazy.**

(DA, *Pedro Ordemal*, 30-32)

By repeating the expression *qela ociosu* (very lazy), (J)'s intention is to give a sign of positive feedback, aligning herself with (DA)'s moral judgment about the character's behavior. Being *qela* (lazy) is considered a bad behavior to avoid in HZQ, just like being impatient, curious and disobey to the rules (see (230)). Bolin reports how Andean people take pride in the work itself. This can be traced back to the ancient Inca times, where "work has defined people and given them prestige" (Bolin 2006: 138) and seen in the popular Inca greeting, *Ama lulla, ama suwa, ama qella* (Don't lie, don't steal, don't be lazy). "An existence without work is inconceivable for the Andean people, who hope for fertile fields and healthy flocks even in *hanan pacha*, the Andean heaven" (Bolin 2006: 138). In the example above, it is interesting to note how the laziness is linguistically underlined by the repetition of the word *lazy* in both Quechua and Spanish (*qila ociosu*), a common linguistic strategy in HZQ<sup>139</sup>. Moreover, the moral judgment is expressed by (DA) in the way she pronounces the words *heqal<sub>l</sub>erqun* (he escaped) and *safal<sub>l</sub>ishqa* (he escaped), palatizing /r/ into /l/ (instead of *hiqarirqun* and *safarishqa*). This is also a common linguistic strategy in HZQ used to convey a pejorative meaning.

During my fieldworks, I was repeatedly impressed by the sociocultural value given to the avoidance of being lazy and being seen in lazy behaviors. For many *campesinos* is important to be

<sup>139</sup> Leonel (personal communication) reports also the repetition of the word *thief* in HZQ and Spanish in the expression *suwa ladrón*. This is used to address a dog which steals from a neighbor something to eat (such as meat) or a guinea pig, for example.

considered a good worker. An example is given by a fieldwork experience I had in Chontayoq: a bilingual girl friend told me not to think she is a lazy woman (in Sp. “**no pienses** que soy una mujer ociosa”) because she was resting when I went to visit her. In fact, she was sick and did not have the strength to do her home duties. There, I realized how important it was for her that I did not think she was lazy. As we have seen in the chapters above, this use of negation is driven by the sociocultural values and habitual understandings that are the basis for the participants’ expectations (see Figure 2).

My data show how the listener repeats the storyteller’s words during the narration. They also show how the storyteller themselves repeats the listener’s comments, questions about the story plot and signs of feedback about the plot understanding using exactly the same words. For example, in (232) (DA) repeats the same words used by (J). The function is answering in a positive way to (J)’s question, as a sign of positive feedback to (J)’s understanding of the plot:

(232) DA: *Pedro Ordemalshi kanaq qela. Paseepa mamanchoo, teetanchoo qela, Pedro Ordemal.*

J: **Nuna?**

DA: **Nuna.**

<i>Pedro Ordemal-shi</i>	<i>ka-naq</i>	<i>qila</i>
Pedro irresponsible-RPT	be-PST.N	lazy

<i>Pasaypa</i>	<i>mama-n-chaw</i>	<i>tayta-n-chaw</i>	<i>qila</i>	<i>Pedro Ordemal</i>
completely	mother-3-LOC	father-N-LOC	lazy	Pedro irresponsible

*Nuna*  
man

*Nuna*  
man

DA: Dicen que *Pedro Ordemal* era ocioso. Siempre ocioso en (la casa de) su mamá y su papá, *Pedro Ordemal*.

J: **¿Un hombre?**

DA: **Un hombre.**

DA: They say that *Pedro Ordemal* was lazy. Very lazy at his mother’s and father’s place, *Pedro Ordemal*.

J: **A man?**

DA: **A man.**

(DA, *Pedro Ordemal*, 1-4)

Also (DA)'s repetitions in (233), (234), (235) and (236) are signs of feedback to (J)'s understanding of the plot:

(233) DA: *Huk patronmanna chaarirqun. Heena “Munaa trabajeeta” niptinnash. “Peru allaapa ociosum kaa” nirkunaq.*

J: **Willashqa.**

DA: **Willashqa.**

*Huk patron-man-na chaa-ri-rqu-n*  
one boss-ALL-NOW come-PUNC-PST-3

*tsay-na muna-: trabaja-y-ta-mi ni-pti-n-na-shi*  
that-NOW want-1 work-INF-OBJ-DIR say-DS-3-NOW-RPT

*Peru allaapa ociosu-mi ka-: ni-rku-naq*  
but very lazy-DIR be-1 say-DIR.UP-PST.N

*Willa-shqa*  
tell-PTCP

*Willa-shqa*  
tell-PTCP

DA: Y llegó donde un patrón. Entonces cuando le dijo “Quiero trabajar”. “Pero soy muy ocioso” se le escapó.

J: **Le contó.**

DA: **Le contó.**

DA: And he arrived to the place of a farm owner. Then, when he told him “I want to work”, he said “But I am very lazy”.

J: **He told him.**

DA: **He told him.**

(DA, *Pedro Ordemal*, 12-16)

(234) DA: *Chaarirqa oqoman, **kuchipa** chupankunaqa aanir yakarpaykanaq **llapan**<sup>140</sup> oqochoo.*

J: **Llapan kuchinpa.**

DA: **Llapan kuchinpa chupan.** *Mana faltee.*

<sup>140</sup>(DA)'s pronunciation is actually stressed (*LLAPAN oqochoo*). Hence, (J)'s feedback right afterwards is based on what (DA) underlines in the narration.

<i>Chaa-ri-rqa</i> come-PUNC-PST	<i>uqu-man</i> swamp-ALL	<i>kuchi-pa</i> small.pig-GEN	<i>chupa-n-kuna-qa</i> tail-3-PL.N-TOP	
<i>Aanir</i> <sup>141</sup> really	<i>yaka-rpa-yka-naq</i> introduce-COMPL-CONT-PST.N	<i>llapan</i> all	<i>uqu-chaw</i> swamp-LOC	
<i>Llapan</i> all	<i>kuchi-n-pa</i> small.pig-3-GEN			
<i>Llapan</i> all	<i>kuchi-n-pa</i> small.pig-3-GEN	<i>chupa-n</i> tail-3	<i>mana</i> NEG.PRT	<i>falta-y</i> miss-INF

DA: Llegando al pantano, **todos** los rabos **de los chanchos** estaban metidos en el pantano.

J: **De todos sus chanchos.**

DA: **Los rabos de todos sus chanchos.** No faltaba ninguno.

DA: When the boss got to the swamp, **the tails of all pigs** were put into the swamp

J: **Of all his pigs.**

DA: **The tail of all his pigs.** Not one was missing.

(DA, *Pedro Ordemal*, 43-46)

(235) DA: *Tsurinta, warminta violakacharkur, siii heqalerqun patrona oqochoo heqarir.*

J: **Ni lampata apantsu, ni barritata apantsu.**

DA: **No llevó ni la lampa, ni la barreta.**

<i>Tsuri-n-ta</i> child.of.a.man-3-OBJ	<i>warmi-n-ta</i> woman-3-OBJ	<i>viola-kacha-rku-r</i> rape-ITER-DIR.UP-SS1			
<i>si</i> yes	<i>hiqari-rqu-n</i> go.away-PST-3	<i>patro-n-ta</i> boss-3-OBJ	<i>uqu-chaw</i> swamp-LOC	<i>haqi-ri-r</i> leave-PUNC-SS1	
<i>Ni</i> NOT	<i>lampa-ta</i> shovel-OBJ	<i>apa-n-tsu</i> take-3-NEG	<i>ni</i> NOR	<i>barrita-ta</i> pick-OBJ	<i>apa-n-tsu</i> take-3-NEG
<i>Ni</i> NOT	<i>lampa-ta</i> shovel-OBJ	<i>apa-n-tsu</i> take-3-NEG	<i>ni</i> NOR	<i>barrita-ta</i> pick-OBJ	<i>apa-n-tsu</i> take-3-NEG

DA: Violando a su hija y a su mujer, se fue dejando al patrón en el pantano.

J: **No llevó ni la lampa, ni la barreta.**

DA: **No llevó ni la lampa, ni la barreta.**

<sup>141</sup>The verbal root *aani-* means „to accept“.

DA: Raping his daughter and his wife, the guy escaped leaving his boss in the swamp.

J: **He didn't bring to him neither the shovel nor the pick.**

DA: **He didn't bring to him neither the shovel nor the pick.**

(DA, *Pedro Ordemal*, 71-73)

(236) DA: “*Meechootaq? Huk ladu, meeapanachi*<sup>142</sup>, *markapana heqalerqun.*”

J: **Safalishqa.**

DA: **Safalishqa ordemal.** *Allaapa ordemalshi hee Pedru kanaq.*

J: **Pedro Ordemal.**

*May-chaw-taq*                      *Huk ladu may-pa-na-chi*  
where-LOC-Q.C                      one      side      where-ADV-NOW-CNJ

*marka-pa-na*                      *hiqa-ri-rqu-n*  
village-BEN-NOW                      go.away-PUNC-PST-3

*Safa-ri-shqa*  
escape-PUNC-PTCP

*Safa-ri-shqa*                      *ordemal*  
escape-PUNC-PTCP                      irresponsible

*Allaapa*                      *ordemal-shi*                      *tsay*      *Pedru*                      *ka-naq*  
very                      irresponsible-RPT                      that      Pedro                      be-PST.N

*Pedro Ordemal*  
Pedro      irresponsible

DA: “¿Dónde está? A otro lado, por donde, a que pueblo se habría ido.”

J: **Se escapó.**

DA: **Se escapó el irresponsable.** Dicen que este **Pedro** era muy irresponsable.

J: **Pedro Ordemal.**

DA: “Where is he? To another place, where, in which village will he be gone.”

J: **He escaped.**

DA: **He escaped, the irresponsible.** They say that **Pedro** was very irresponsible.

J: **Pedro Ordemal.**

(DA, *Pedro Ordemal*, 84-89)

By her interventions, (J) co-operates in making clear (to herself and to myself) the story's development and contributes in this way to “construct narrative jointly” (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998: 327). Her comments constitute a valuable explanation of what she infers by the fictive

<sup>142</sup> Pronounced as *MEEEEpanachi*, performing sound-symbolically the distance.

dialogues performed by (DA). Interestingly, in (236), Doña Augusta repeats (J)’s words adding an evaluative comment: *safalishqa ordemal* (he escaped, the irresponsible). (J)’s reaction to this comment consists of repeating the adjective *ordemal* (irresponsible) together with the name of the main character, *Pedro*, in order to explain the title of the story (Irresponsible Pedro).

Noteworthy, participants give signs of positive of feedback mostly by the repetition of the previous words and not by the mere use of words like *yes*. With the expression “words like *yes*” I refer to the words *tseenoo* (like this), *aha* (right), *ari* (yes, right) (more common in Conchucos Quechua), *oomi* (yes, right plus *-mi* (DIR)), *aashi* (they say it is like this, they say yes, with *-shi* (RPT)), among others<sup>143</sup>. In my data they mostly appear together with a repetition of the previous words. For example, in (237) Don Marino (DM) uses *aha* (yes, right) just after repeating Anita’s words. In addition, while repeating Anita’s words he bows his head as for saying *yes*:

(237) DM: *Kananqa Chontallapaqnam kee yakukuna.*

ANI: *Ah qamkunallapaqna.*

DM: *Noqakunallapaqanam, aha.*

<i>Kanan-qa</i>	<i>Chonta-lla-paq-na-mi</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>yaku-kuna</i>
now-TOP	Chontayoq-DLM-PURP-NOW-DIR	this	water-PL.N

<i>Ah</i>	<i>qam-kuna-lla-paq-na</i>
ah	you-PL.N-DLM-PURP-NOW

<i>Nuqa-kuna-lla-paq-na-mi</i>	<i>aha</i>
I-PL.N-DLM-PURP-NOW-DIR	right

DM: Ahora estas aguas son sólo para Chontayoq.

ANI: Ah solo para ustedes.

DM: Ya solo para nosotros, sí.

DM: Now this water is just for Chontayoq.

ANI: Ah, just for you.

DM: Now just for us, right. (bowing his head as for saying *yes*)

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 81-83)

An extra study on natural occurring conversations in HZQ would be worthwhile. For now, I can say that this use of repetition characterizes the storytellings I recorded as well as the interview

<sup>143</sup> An in-depth-study needs to be done on uses and functions of these words as well as on evidentials in HZQ. For now, on the basis of the data I recorded, I can affirm that evidential suffixes in these words play a role in conveying the pragmatic functions of judgment and alignment. In particular, *oomi* (with the direct evidential *-mi*) is used to approve the plot with one’s own perspective, while *aashi* (with the reportative *-shi*) is used as an alignment resource by a speaker who relates the facts “from someone else’s perspective” (see also Nuckolls 1993: 247).

between Don Marino (DM) and Anita (ANI), which has a conversational character. The topic of the interview is the use and the availability of water in Chontayoq and the role of the mine Pierina.

In the next two excerpts, even polar questions from (ANI) are literally repeated by (DM) to provide a positive answer. He uses exactly the same words, with a change in tone. The mere use of *yes* is not enough to give a positive feedback:

(238) DM: *Na rurayashqa tuberíakunatam enterrayashqa keenoo profundo de siete metros profundidad. Y heepanam choqatsiyashqa huk sitiullaman llapan yakuta.*

ANI: *Apakuyashqa?*

DM: *Apakuyashqa.*

*Na rura-ya-shqa tubería-kuna-ta-mi enterra-ya-shqa*  
THIS do-PL.V-PTCP tube-PL.N-OBJ-DIR bury-PL.V-PTCP

*kay-naw profundo de siete metros profundidad*  
this-SIM deep seven meters deep

*Y tsay-pa-na-mi chuqa-tsi-ya-shqa*  
and that-ADV-NOW-DIR cough-CAUS-PL.V-PTCP

*huk sitiulla-man llapan yaku-ta*  
one place-DLM-ALL all water-OBJ

*Apa-ku-ya-shqa*  
take-MID-PL.V-PTCP

*Apa-ku-ya-shqa*  
take-MID-PL.V-PTCP

ANI: Este- han hecho, han enterrado unas tuberías, así profundo, una profundidad de siete metros. Y por ahí han hecho llegar toda el agua a un solo sitio.

ANI: *Se lo han llevado* [el agua]?

DM: *Se lo han llevado* [el agua].

ANI: This, they did this, they buried some tubes into the earth, so deep, to a depth of seven meters. And through this they managed that all the water now only arrives to one place.

ANI: *Did they take it* [the water]?

DM: *They took it* [the water].

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 25-28)

(239) ANI: *Chakrakunapaqqa huk canallapachi eewan ishkan pueblo markakunapaq?*

DM: **Huk canalla, ishkan pueblo.**

*Chakra-kuna-paq-qa*      *huk*    *canal-lla-pa-chi*    *away-n*  
land-PL.N-PURP-TOP      one    canal-DLM-BEN-CNJ    go-3

*ishkan*      *pueblo*      *marka-kuna-paq*  
two      village      village-PL.N-PURP

*huk*    *canal-lla*    *ishkan*    *pueblo*  
one    canal-DLM    two    village

ANI: para las chacras ¿**sólo** va **por un canal para los dos pueblos?**

DM: **sólo un canal. para los dos pueblos.**

ANI: does it pass through **just one canal for both villages?**

DM: **just one canal for both villages.**

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 116-118)

Just like in the storytelling *Pedro Ordemal*, repetitions are also used here as signs of positive feedback. (DM) shows (ANI) that she is understanding what he is saying:

(240) DM: *Uneeqa heepitam llapan animalnikuna upuyaampaqpis bajamoq keepa hatun zanja.*

ANI: **Qochapita.**

DM: **Qochapita** *hatun zanjam karqa, kee Paqtsaq niyashqa.*

ANI: **Paqtsaq.**

DM: **Paqtsaq.**

*Unay-qa*      *tsay-pita-mi*    *llapan*      *animal-ni-kuna*  
long.time-TOP    that-ABL-DIR    all      animal-ZERO-PL.N

*Upu-ya-na-n-paq-pis*      *bajamo-q*    *kay-pa*      *hatun zanja*  
drink-PL.V - NMLZ.I -3-PURP-TOO    go.down-PST.H    this-ADV      big    trench

*Qucha-pita*  
lake-ABL

*Qucha-pita*    *hatun zanja-mi*    *ka-rqa*  
lake-ABL      big    trench-DIR      be-PST

*kay*    *Paqtsaq*      *ni-ya-shqa*  
this    Paqtsaq      say-PL.V-PTCP

*Paqtsaq*

Paqtsaq

*Paqtsaq*

Paqtsaq

DM: Hace tiempo de ahí bajaba [el agua] para que tomen todos nuestros animales, bajaba por aquí una zanja grande.

ANI: **de la laguna**

DM: **de la laguna** había una zanja grande, a la que llamábamos **Paqtsaq**.

ANI: **Paqtsaq**.

DM: **Paqtsaq**.

DM: A long time ago it [the water] flowed down from there so that all our animals could drink. A big trench went down around here.

ANI: **From the lake**.

DM: **From the lake. There was a big** zanja, which we called **Paqtsaq**.

ANI: **Paqtsaq**.

DM: **Paqtsaq**.

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 53-57)

(241) DM: *Heena mina ofresinaq comunidad Chawinta huk local comunalnin.*

ANI: **Ruranampaq**.

DM: **Ruranampaq**.

*Tsay-na*            *mina*    *ofresi-naq*  
that-NOW            mine    offer-PST.N

*comunidad*    *Chawin-ta*    *huk*    *local*    *communal-ni-n*  
community    Chawin-OBJ    one    room    communal-ZERO-3

*Rura-na-n-paq*  
do-NMLZ.I-3-PURP

*Rura-na-n-paq*  
do-NMLZ.I-3-PURP

DM: Entonces la mina había ofrecido a Chavin un local comunal.

ANI: **Para hacerlo** [el local].

DM: **Para hacerlo**.

DM: Then the mine company offered a communal room to the village of Chavin.

ANI: **To construct it** [the room].

DM: **To construct it**.

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 152-154)

Just like in the storytelling *Pedro Ordemal*, repetitions are also used here by (DM) to align with (ANI)'s evaluative comment about the absence of water and the need to preserve it. In (242), (DM) selectively repeats the negated verb *kannatsu* (there is not) used by (ANI) and underlines the absence of water by the use of the adverb *paseepa* (completely) while shaking his head. As a matter of fact, in Chontayoq the mining industry has consistently reduced the availability of water. The *campesinos* are exhausted by this situation (see sociolinguistic chapter) and the following strengthened repetition of *kannatsu* (there is not) with the negative adverb *paseepa* expresses this context very well:

(242) ANI: *Heepenqa, heenoonachi ari kee yakuta tsaraashun, kannatsu allaapa.*

DM: *Kannatsu ari paseepa.* *Kee minakuna limpu yakukunatapis secatsir qallakeekayaamushqa*

*Tsaypinqa*    *tsay-naw-na-chi*    *ari*    *kay*    *yaku-ta*  
then            that-SIM-NOW-CNJ    yes    this    water-OBJ

*tsara-shun*    *ka-n-na-tsu*    *allaapa*  
preserve-2FUT    be-3-NOW-NEG    very

*Ka-n-na-tsu*    *ari*    *pasaypa*  
be-3-NOW-NEG    yes    completely

*Kay*    *mina-kuna*    *limpu*            *yaku-kuna-ta-pis*  
this    mine-PL.N    totally            water-PL.N-OBJ-TOO

*seca-tsi-r*    *qalla-ku-yka-ya-mu-shqa*  
dry-CAUS-SS1    start-MID-CONT-PL.V-FAR-PTCP

ANI: Entonces, así pues conservaremos el agua, ya no hay mucho.

DM: Ya no hay totalmente. Estas minas han empezado a secar totalmente nuestras aguas.

ANI: Then we will preserve the water, there is not much left.

DM: There is not much at all. These mines have started to completely drain all our water.

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 135-137)

### 23.2 *Mana* (no) as a negative feedback

So far, I have shown how varying from repetition of words and suffixes to more abstract semantic parallelism, a supra-sentential syntactic structure emerges from this “dialogic syntax” (Du Bois 2014) in this interactive construction of oral narrative (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998). In particular, in the storytellings and interviews I recorded in HZQ, repetitions are used with the functions of positively answering to polar questions, giving a sign of positive feedback to the listener about the understanding

of the plot or the topic of the dialogic interaction and aligning with the participant's moral judgment or evaluative comment. Words like *yes* are not enough.

However, while giving positive feedback mostly consists of repetition of the previous words, giving a negative feedback is expressed in a very direct way by using the word *mana* (no). This is true for both storytellings and interviews, whenever the speaker realizes that the listener is wrong in understanding what they just said. For example, the following excerpt shows how Doña Augusta (DA) corrects Juanita (J) with a direct *mana* (no). (J) thinks that the main character, *Pedro Ordemal*, cut the pigs' tails for fun, but she is wrong. *Pedro Ordemal* wants to cheat his boss because he is too lazy to work. Thus, instead of pasturing the animals, he cuts their tails, put them into the swamp and goes to sell the pigs:

(243) DA: *Despuesnash kuchita chupanta ruquirnash, oqokunaman, keenoo, hawirkunaq llapan kuchipa chupanta. Oqoman hawirkunaq.*

J: *Pukllar.*

DA: ***Mana***, *mamita, maski willashqeeki. Heenash limpu kuchipa chupanta oqoman hawirirnash, kuchitaqa llapanta, chupannaqtallana, rantikuykunaq purwaninpi carniceruman. Atska qelleeyoq tikrarirqun, atska kuchipita. Qela ociosu.*

J: *Qela ociosu.*

<i>Despues-na-shi</i>	<i>kuchi-ta</i>	<i>chupa-n-ta</i>	<i>ruqu-ri-r-na-shi</i>
afterwards-NOW-RPT	small.pig-OBJ	tail-3-OBJ	cut-PUNC-SS1-NOW-RPT

<i>uqu-kuna-man</i>	<i>kay-naw</i>	<i>hawir-ku-naq</i>	<i>llapan</i>
swamp-PL.N-ALL	this-SIM	plant-MID-PST.N	all

<i>kuchi-pa</i>	<i>chupa-n-ta</i>	<i>uqu-man</i>	<i>hawir-ku-naq</i>
small.pig-GEN	tail-3-OBJ	swamp-ALL	plant-MID-PST.N

*Puklla-r*  
play-SS1

<i>Mana</i>	<i>mamita</i>	<i>maski</i>	<i>willa-shqayki</i>
NEG.PRT	ma'am	more	tell-1>2FUT

<i>Tsay-na-shi</i>	<i>limpu</i>	<i>kuchi-pa</i>	<i>chupa-n-ta</i>
that-NOW-RPT	totally	small.pig-GEN	tail-3-OBJ

<i>uqu-man</i>	<i>hawiri-r-na-shi</i>
swamp-ALL	plant-SS1-NOW-RPT

<i>Kuchi-ta-qa</i>	<i>llapan-ta</i>	<i>chupa-nnaq-ta-lla-na</i>
small.pig-OBJ-TOP	all-OBJ	tail-HAVE.NOT-OBJ-DLM-NOW

<i>Ranti-ku-yku-naq</i> buy-MID-PFV-PST.N	<i>purwa-ni-n-pi</i> <sup>144</sup> group-ZERO-3-LOC1	<i>carniceru-man</i> butcher-ALL
<i>Atska qillay-yuq</i> many money-HAVE	<i>tikra-ri-rqu-n</i> become-PUNC-PST-3	<i>atska kuchi-pita</i> many small.pig-ABL

*Qila ociosu*  
lazy lazy

*Qila ociosu*  
lazy lazy

DA: Entonces después de plantar los rabos de los cerdos en el pantano, vendió los chanchos con todo su grupo al carnicero.

J: Jugando.

DA: **No**, mamita, a ver te voy a contar. Se volvió rico, de los muchos chanchos. Era muy ocioso.

J: Era muy ocioso.

DA: Then after putting the pigs' tails into the swamp, he sold all the pigs to the butcher.

J: Playing.

DA: **No**, ma'am, I'll tell you more. He turned rich with all the pigs. He was very lazy.

J: He was very lazy.

(DA, *Pedro Ordemal*, 25-32)

In (243) we can observe a negotiation of the understanding of the plot. (DA) jumps out of the story box, addressing (J) with the vocative *mamita* (ma'am) and asking her to wait to listen more of the story because she is not right (yet). Only after hearing that *Pedro Ordemal* got rich by selling the pigs to the butcher, (J) shows her understanding of the plot by repeating (DA)'s words *qila ocioso* (very lazy). Then (DA) continues developing the story plot.

The next uses of negation are taken from the interview about the use of water in Chontayoc. Don Marino (DM) wants to be sure that Anita (ANI) understands how the distribution of water works in his village. Also in this recording, contrary to positive feedback to polar questions that are mostly expressed by the repetition of the previous words and not by words like *yes*, negative feedback is expressed in a very direct way by the use of *mana* (no). More precisely, the negative word *mana* is always accompanied by the direct evidential *-mi*.

<sup>144</sup> This suffix, which corresponds to the locative suffix in Ayacucho Quechua and Cusco Quechua, only appears in few expressions in HZQ. Here it refers to the whole group of pigs. Parker (1976: 84) reports the following expressions that contain *-pi* in Ancash: *kaypi* (here, Sp. aquí), *patsaypi* (in some period, Sp. en cierta época), *haqpi* (separated, Sp. separado), *watampi* (during the all year, Sp. durante todo el año), *hukpin* (ones, Sp. una vez).

In (244), (DM) explains how the *campesinos* in Chontayoq have two water reservoirs, one for drinking and one for irrigating the fields. When he realizes that (ANI) is wrong in her understanding, he uses a direct negation *mana* (no) to answer to (ANI)'s question:

(244) ANI: *y tsee yakullawanchi chakrakunatapis regayanki?*

DM: *Manam.*

ANI: *Mana?*

DM: *Manam.*

ANI: *Tamyata shura- shuyaraayanki.*

<i>Y</i>	<i>tsay</i>	<i>yaku-lla-wan-chi</i>	<i>chakra-kuna-ta-pis</i>	<i>rega-ya-nki</i>
and	that	water-DLM-COM-CNJ	field-PL.N-OBJ-TOO	irrigate-PL.V-2

*Mana-mi*  
NEG.PRT-DIR

*Mana*  
NEG.PRT

*Mana-mi*  
NEG.PRT-DIR

<i>Tamyata</i>	<i>shuya-ra-ya-nki</i>
rain-OBJ	wait-DUR-PL.V-2

<i>ka-n</i>	<i>huk</i>	<i>aparti-mi</i>	<i>reservoriu</i>	<i>uma-chaw</i>
be-3	one	apart-DIR	reservoir	above-LOC

ANI: ¿y con esas aguas nomás riegan también las chacras?

DM: *No.*

ANI: ¿No?

DM: *No.*

ANI: Esperan la lluvia.

DM: Hay un reservorio aparte arriba.

ANI: and just with that water do you irrigate the fields too?

DM: *No.*

ANI: No?

DM: *No.* (shaking his head as for saying *no*)

ANI: You wait for the rain.

DM: There is an extra reservoir above.

(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 87-92)

(DM) also answers with a direct negation the next two questions. In (246) the use of *mana* is triggered by the negative alternative question *manaku* (see § 15.2):

(245) ANI: *Heechooqa gochakunaku kan? O imanootaq?*

DM: ***Manam***, *kan ishkee pukyalmi, yarqamun, brotamun, patsa rurinpita.*

*Tsay-chaw-qa gocha-kuna-ku ka-n o ima-naw-taq*  
that-LOC-TOP lake-PL.N-Q.P be-3 or what-SIM-Q.C

*Mana-mi ka-n ishkey pukyal-mi yarqa-mu-n*  
NEG.PRT-DIR be-3 two spring-DIR go.out-FAR-3

*brota-mu-n patsa ruri-n-pita*  
emerge-FAR-3 earth inside-3-ABL

ANI: ¿Ahí hay lagunas? O cómo es?

DM: **No**, hay dos puquiales, [el agua] sale, brota, del interior de la tierra.

ANI: Over there, are there lakes? O how is it?

DM: **No**, there are two springs, it [the water] goes out, emerges from inside the earth.  
(ANI & DM, El agua en Chontayoq, 12-14)

(246) ANI: *Itsanqa puntata qamkuna imanootaq rikayaarqeeki kee hirkakunata? Kanannooku o manaku?*

DM: ***Manam***, *noqa yarpaami tsatsa este, Noqa más taksha kar casi karkachi meno karpis doce, trece años yarpaanam, porque hee taqee San Cristóbal karqa hasta urayaqmi puru raju.*

*Itsanqa punta-ta qam-kuna*  
maybe first-OBJ you-PL.N

*Ima-naw-taq rika-ya-rqa-yki kay hirka-kuna-ta*  
what-SIM-Q.C see-PL.V-PST-2P this mountain-PL.N-OBJ

*kanan-naw-ku o mana-ku*  
now-SIM-Q.P or NEG.PRT-Q.P

*Mana-mi nuqa yarpa-:-mi tsatsa este*  
NEG.PRT-DIR I remember-1-DIR ma'am this

*Nuqa más taksha ka-r casi ka-rka-chi*  
I more small be-SS1 almost be-DIR.UP-CNJ

*Meno ka-r-pis doce trece años yarpa-:-na-mi*  
less be-SS1-TOO twelve thirteen years remember-1-NOW-DIR

*porque*            *tsay*    *taqay*    *San Cristóbal*            *ka-rqa*  
 because            that        that        San Cristóbal            be-PST

*hasta*    *ura-yaq-mi*    *puru*    *raju*  
 until        down-LIM.1-DIR    pure        snow

ANI: Pero ustedes antes ¿cómo veían esos cerros? ¿Cómo ahora o no?

DM: **No**, yo recuerdo, señora este, cuando yo era más pequeño, cuando tenía casi doce, trece años recuerdo, porque ese San Cristóbal [la montaña al frente de Chontayoq] era hasta abajo pura nieve.

ANI: But how did you see these mountains before? Like now or not?

DM: **No**, I remember, ma'am, this, when I was younger, when I was twelve or thirteen years old, I remember that this San Cristóbal [the mountain in front of Chontayoq] was covered with snow until downhill.

(ANI & DM, *El agua en Chontayoq*, 223-227)

The direct use of negation in this communicative function is related to the sociocultural value of reciprocal help inherent in Quechua, which is also linguistically expressed by the existence of an extra grammatical category, i.e. the reciprocal suffix *-naku*. Bolin (2006: 7 – my cursive) too reports for the herders of the highlands in Chillihuani (Cusco), that “they feel that facts must be stated in the appropriate way. Whenever I misunderstood what was said or done, people immediately corrected me in a friendly but *decisive manner*”. This ethnographical note of the author about this sociocultural value in Quechua corresponds to my own field observation in HZQ. At the same time, it supports my analysis of the function of negation of correcting the listener in a direct way, in the case of an incorrect assumption or a misunderstanding<sup>145</sup>.

In particular, in the case of the storytellings, this function of negation is motivated by the culturally specific co-participation structure of oral narration (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998). In a cultural context in which the dialogical construction of the story plays such an important role, it is understandable that the storyteller has a stronger need to negate what he believes could be an incorrect assumption or a misunderstanding of the listener. As we have seen in Chapter 22, the listener himself is akin to use negation to contradict his own expectation and make the story plot clear.

Finally, this direct use of negation contrasts with the rare use of direct negation in other pragmatic contexts, where a direct *mana* (no) is considered impolite. For example, in the Andean cultural context, rejecting an invitation by using a direct negation is considered an act of disrespect. People always try not to decline invitations. They know that their interlocutors would feel upset if

<sup>145</sup> According to Bolin (2006: 7), this need of staying close to the truth in Quechua is connected to the ancient Inca greeting *Ama llulla, ama suwa, ama qella* (Don't lie, don't steal, don't be lazy): “in accordance with *ama llulla* (don't lie), all [the herders of Chillihuani] are careful to tell the truth. They answer questions about past and present events with precision.”

they received a direct rejection to their invitation. In cases where it is impossible to accept, such as illness, they are expected to give exhaustive explanations and to search for the comprehension of the host. After saying how grateful they are for the invitation, they feel obliged to apologize for the impossibility of going. By doing this, people are expected to offer many personal details about their sickness, say how sad they are for not being able to make it and to say they will be happy to go in another occasion. This cultural framework is so crucial in the Andean social behavior that it is widespread for both HZQ speaking *campesinos* of the rural area and Spanish speaking citizens (bilingual or monolingual in Spanish) of the urban area.

Another example of a direct use of negation that is considered impolite is rejecting an offer. Similar to rejecting an invitation, people know that their interlocutors would feel upset if they receive a direct rejection to their offer and, therefore, avoid the use of a direct negation. A direct *mana* (no) as an answer to an offer is considered impolite and perceived as an act of disrespect. In (23), I have shown how the insertion of the the conjectural evidential *-chi* (CNJ) in the expressions *manachi* and *manaraqchi* mitigates the negation: *Munankiku? Manaraqchi*. (Do you want it? Not yet.) It happened to me several times in Huaraz that during a meal someone negated an offer of wine or food using the Spanish expression *quizás después* (may be later). Leonel reports (personal communication) the Quechua expression *niikur upurkushun* (we'll drink later, Sp. luego vamos a tomar) used in Huaylas and Conchucos to decline an offer of alcohol during a party. Using the word *no* would be a lack of respect to the hosts. They would feel upset and insulted with the direct rejection.

Conversely, we have seen how in HZQ *mana* (no) is commonly used to provide negative feedback. When a participant to the interaction understands something wrong, he does not feel upset to get corrected by his interlocutor with a direct *mana* (no). Negation in this communicative context is culturally accepted and even culturally requested.

## **PART V – SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

## Summary and conclusions

I have presented an analysis of selected negative markers in HZQ taking into account their communicative functions and the specific sociocultural settings.

The study is based on a corpus of written and oral data. The written data consists of a two volume anthology, *Cuentos y relatos en el quechua de Huaraz*, written in the 1960s in HZQ and Spanish by the bilingual speaker Santiago Pantoja Ramos. The oral data consist of almost three hours of video recordings elicited in 2011 and 2013 in the city of Huaraz as well as in the peripheral villages of Chavin and Chontayoq. The combination of the anthology data and the field work data make up a corpus of around 10,800 sentences, which I analyzed using the linguistic program Toolbox. Of the 10,800 sentences, more than 1,500 examples possess a verbal or nominal negation. In line with the functional approach, I assumed that the assessment of linguistic data can be carried out only through the analysis of a large corpus of data which entails different occurrences of the phenomena under study.

The approach applied here integrates the formal and functional description of negation with an analysis of the speaker's expectations in the use of negative markers. The study has shown how the participants to the interaction build their expectations on the basis of the interplay of common knowledge and specific sociocultural settings. These expectations play a major role in the selection of negative markers. To illustrate this point, I present here two examples respectively from my video recordings and *Cuentos y relatos*.

First, Anita uses the expression *Kanannooku o manaku?* ([Did the mountains look] like they do now or not?) when interviewing Don Marino about the presence of water in Chontayoq. She uses the expression *manaku* because she is sure that Don Marino knows the answer about how much snow covered the mountains in the past decades. If Anita did not expect Don Marino to know the answer, she would have expressed her uncertainty by the use of *mana-kush* instead of *mana-ku*. Indeed, HZQ speakers use *-kush* (Q.U) when they do not expect a certain answer from their interlocutor. This is the reason why in *Cuentos y relatos* the suffix *-kush* is used in the formulaic expression *allikush kashaq o manakush?* (will I be good or not?) to interrogate coca leaves about the future. Hence, the differences of uses of these negative expressions is based on the expectations of the participants to the interaction.

Second, a barber in Caraz tells Don Shanti, who comes from Chontayoq (Huaraz): *Manataq kee Karasinukunanootsu kanki* (You are not like these people from Caraz). If on one side negative similitude is used here to dynamically construct social identities (Marra 2015), on the other side the HZQ construction *manataq ...-tsu*, unknown in other Quechua dialects, carries the communicative

function of contradicting a previous thought of the speaker. Indeed, the barber was not expecting a foreign client to enter in his shop. He immediately perceives Don Shanti's aspect and/or pronunciation as different from the people of Caraz. Therefore, the use of negation is also driven here by the speaker's expectations. These, in particular, are based on the habitual understanding and specific sociocultural settings where the linguistic interaction takes place.

Consequently, this study has shown how the sociocultural environment is the key to understand how people interact with each other and their individual linguistic choices. Then, the analysis of the sociolinguistic background and the cultural anthropological background are mandatory prerequisites for the assessment of linguistic data.

Within this view, PART II played a crucial role in the present work, providing an account of the historical background of the HZQ speakers and their current dynamic sociocultural environment in the urban and rural areas of Huaraz. In line with Eckert (2014: 650), even if language is often considered as something learned by children and used by adults, "language development continues through life as we move through the social world and as that world changes around us". Social interactions over time shape the synchronic structure of language.

Within this assumption, the analysis of HZQ cannot overlook the long-term contact situation between Spanish and Quechua. Centuries of discrimination for being Quechua speakers have influenced the HZQ speakers' behavior and their linguistic attitudes. Many parents aspire to a process of hispanicization for their children, reflecting the fact that only Spanish is a requirement for the world of work (Villari & Menacho 2017). The linguistic interaction between Pedro and his monolingual grandmother at the beginning of the dissertation illustrated this replacive language contact (Aikhenvald 2007) between Spanish and Quechua. In Figure 1, I have depicted the low sociolinguistic prestige of HZQ, positioning it not only under Spanish, the dominant language spoken in the country, but also under Cusco Quechua, considered the only original Quechua. Many HZQ speakers are convinced that their language and their local knowledge have no value and that HZQ is just a "dialect" of the authentic Cusco Quechua. The present work has demonstrated how this historical and sociocultural background influences negative constructions.

The findings of this dissertation are presented in PART III and PART IV. In particular, in PART III I have dealt with forms and communicative functions of selected negative markers. I have shown how HZQ speakers express refusal, prohibition, warning, uncertainty, suggestion, exhortation, request and emphatic contradiction, among others, by the use of specific negative structures. Then, on the basis of a comprehensive account of the sociolinguistic and cultural anthropological backgrounds, in PART IV I was able to determine four cultural specific functions of negation in the linguistic interactions recorded in Chontayoq.

Some negative constructions presented in PART III are specific to the HZQ dialect and, therefore, differ from related structures described for other Quechua dialects. For example, the construction *manataq...-tsu* reported above, which contradicts a previous thought or assertion of the participants of the interaction, finds its counterpart in the suffix *-taaku* in Raimondi and Huari, Ancash-Huailas Quechua (Parker 1976) and in the suffix *-taaču* in Huallaga Quechua, Huánuco (Weber 1996).

Other negative constructions presented in PART III are new discoveries in the Quechua literature. This is the case, for example, of the warning word *yo*, which depending on its use, carries the function of a positive and negative recommendation. When *yo* is used together with a positive conditional form, it functions as a negative recommendation: *yarqonkiman yo* (don't go outside). Conversely, when *yo* co-occurs with a negated conditional (COND-NEG), it functions as a positive recommendation: *yarqonkimantsu yo* (you should go outside). In fact, in the Quechua literature there are few studies on negative recommendations. Scholars who work on Quechua mostly focus on prohibitives that are commonly described as the interaction of the prohibitive particle *ama* and the negative suffix *-tsu*. This work also contributes to deepen the study of Quechua prohibitives. For example, the discovery of the warning word *yo* shows how a prohibition in HZQ can be intensified by the triple marked construction (*ama, yo, -tsu*): *Ama yo haqirameetsu!* (Don't leave me!).

Finally, in PART IV I have examined how specific uses of negation correlate with cultural specific behavioral requirements.

Figure 4 visualizes my view of linguistic interactions and provides the conceptual framework for the analysis of the four functions of negation that I carry out in this last part of the dissertation. Here, the interplay of habitual understanding, common knowledge, social hierarchies and specific sociocultural values are represented as the basis for the participants' expectations that drive the functioning of negation. The use of a functional approach in this thesis proved to be a good choice and delivered promising results.

The use of negation to minimize the knowledge of the storyteller (Chapter 21) finds its explanation in the unequal long-term contact between HZQ and the dominant Spanish. Years of exclusion have embedded the belief among Quechua speakers that their language and their knowledge have no value. Within this context, elevating one's own knowledge and skills in front of others as well as show-off behavior are systematically avoided in HZQ. Another example of this inclination to minimize the knowledge is given by the common Quechua speakers' tendency to avoid stating that they are a *kamayoq* (specialist). Everyone in a village knows where to find the traditional healer (*hampiq*, Sp. curandero), specialist in healing people, but healers oft don't say to being one. In particular, to be a storyteller on request, lifting one's own role out of a natural context, is particularly

uncomfortable in a cultural context where the equality among *campesinos* is an important social value. Hence, when HZQ speakers are faced with a direct request by a European researcher to tell her what they know, they are put in a position they do not feel comfortable with and tend to minimize their knowledge. I have shown how during the process of telling stories, negation carries a social function in the initial and final sequences of a narration. The beginning of a narration refers to the moment in which the storyteller states they do not know or remember any stories (see also Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998). The end of a narration often refers to the last sentence, in which the speaker minimizes what they have just told by the use of expressions such as *hayllatam* (just this) or *más no* (not more than this). Although ending a story with a formulaic expression is common to oral cultures cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2015: 280), the specific need of HZQ speakers to minimize their knowledge is evident in the use of negation and the delimitative suffix *-lla*. Moreover, it finds its visual counterpart in my video recordings. For example, in (222) Juanita (J) ends her narration with the expression *heenoo usharin hee cuentu* (this story ends like this) moving her index finger as if saying “I do not know more than this”. Thus, participants are analyzed here as socially positioned actors that influence the linguistic interaction on the basis of their perceived different social hierarchies. This use of negation reflects what I have depicted in Figure 1, i.e. the attitude of the HZQ speakers to position themselves at the end of an imaginary scale of sociolinguistic prestige.

In Chapter 22, negative sentences in HZQ are analyzed as marked structures that underline a piece of information the listener needs to attend to. These can be a contradiction of the listener’s possible incorrect expectations and an expression of an evaluative comment or a moral judgment about the character’s behavior. I have shown how these functions of negation are also shaped by the specific sociocultural settings and common knowledge.

The intertextual references characteristic of the traditional Quechua narrative (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998) and the related habitual understanding and common knowledge of storytellings motivate the function of negation in contradicting the listener’s possible incorrect expectation of the story plot. For example, in (228) I presented the final sequence of a story I had been told by Narciza (N), a 42 year-old bilingual woman in front of me and three bilingual women. Narciza (N) tells us a personal experience of a solitary walk at night in which she heard a scary sound coming behind her. (N) knows that her audience shares the knowledge of the Quechua oral tradition. For this reason, she ends her narration clarifying that there was no *Ichick Ollqu* (small man), neither *Alma* (soul) nor other supernatural entities on the path. Therefore, this example shows how this specific function of negation is shaped by the common knowledge among the participants to the interaction. The impact of common knowledge in Quechua is also stressed by the study of Hintz & Hintz (2017), that show how “mutual knowledge” is developing into a grammatical category in two dialects of Ancash, i.e. South

Conchucos Quechua and Sihuas Quechua. Here mutual knowledge is formally distinguished from individual knowledge via dedicated evidential suffixes in paradigmatic contrast.

The function of negation in expressing moral judgments and evaluative comments is also driven in HZQ by the common ideal discourses about good behavior, i.e. discourses about how people should behave. We have seen in (218) how Don Shanti tries to convince the *campesinos* to listen to what duties they have to fulfil in order to be good people (*Obligacionninta wiyanan, alli nuna rurananpaq*, Sp. Debe escuchar sus obligaciones, para que sea un buen hombre). If they do not behave well, *imanawraq wawanta corriginqa?* (how can they correct the bad behavior of their children?) Then he personifies a child, who says to his father “*Papá, y qamqa? Qampis manataq qampis kanki Tayta Diospa voluntaanin cumpliqtu* (“Dad, and you? You do not fulfil Father God’s wishes either”). We have also seen in (202) how Don Shanti depicts the saint María Magdalena as an *allaapa mana alli warmi* (very bad woman), who lived in *todo mala vidallachoo* (very bad life), and *punta Teeta Dios mana yarpanaqtsu paseepa* (at the beginning she did not recognize Father God at all). But once Father God appeared to her, she repented of all her sins (*arrepentikiikurqan*). In PART I (§ 2.1) I have commented the role of Don Shanti and its religious commitment in the village of Chontayoq. This probably influences the ideal discourses about good behavior of the *campesinos* in Chontayoq.

Then, in the process of telling stories participants often feel the need to express an evaluative comment about the behavior of their characters. In (230) I showed how Doña Augusta (DA) and Juanita (J) underline and comment on the bad behavior of the little girl in the traditional story *Achikee* who was punished by *Tayta Dios* (Father God) for being *muskicha* (impatient and curious). The action of disobeying carries an even worse sociocultural value because it is directed at Father God. At the end of the narration, negation is used to judge and comment on the bad behavior of the character, who did not listen to Father God and *cumplirqantsu* (did not obey the rules). Hence, this function of negation is shaped by the participants’ expectations that find their basis in the specific sociocultural values.

Finally, the fourth function of negation I presented in the present work is correcting a misunderstanding of the listener in a direct way, i.e. using the word *mana* (no). I have shown how this use contrasts with the scarce uses of mere words like *yes* for positive feedback in HZQ. These are replaced by the frequent use of repetitions (§ 23.1).

In the case of storytellings, this function of correcting a misunderstanding of the participant in a direct way (*mana*) is motivated by the culturally specific co-participation structure of oral narration (Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998). In a cultural context in which the dialogical construction of the story plays such an important role, it is understandable that the storyteller has a stronger need to negate what they believe could be an incorrect assumption or a misunderstanding of the listener.

Nevertheless, I have noticed the use of a direct negation not only in storytellings but also in interviews, whenever the speaker realizes that the listener is wrong in understanding what they have just said (§ 23.2). This is related to the importance in Quechua of the sociocultural value of reciprocal help. Notably, reciprocity is linguistically expressed by the existence of an extra grammatical category, i.e. the reciprocal suffix *-naku*. Further support to my analysis comes from Bolin (2006: 7 – my cursive), who reports that the herders of the highlands in Chillihuani (Cusco) “feel that facts must be stated in the appropriate way. Whenever I misunderstood what was said or done, people immediately corrected me in a friendly but *decisive manner*”. This ethnographical note corresponds to my own field observation in HZQ.

In § 23.2 I have also shown how correcting a misunderstanding of the listener with *mana* (no) contrasts with the scarce use of direct negation in other pragmatic contexts, where a direct negation is considered impolite. For example, as we have seen in short negative answer (§13.1), offers tend to be declined by using the conjectural evidential *-chi*, which mitigates the negation: *Munankiku? Manaraqchi*. (Do you want it? Not yet.) Answering with a plain *mana* (no) is perceived and considered as rude. Another example is given by the art of rejecting an invitation. Using the word *mana* in HZQ and also *no* in Andean Spanish as a negative answer to an offer would indicate a lack of respect to the hosts. It happened to me several times in Huaraz that during a meal someone negated an offer of wine or food using the Spanish expression *quizás después* (may be later). Leonel also reports (personal communication) the Quechua expression *niikur upurkushun* (we’ll drink later, Sp. luego vamos a tomar) used in Huaylas and Conchucos to decline an offer of alcohol during a party. It therefore seems that whereas rejecting an invitation or an offer by a direct negation is considered impolite and even an act of disrespect, a direct use of *mana* (no) to correct someone about an incorrect assumption or misunderstanding is culturally accepted and even culturally requested in HZQ.

To conclude, the present study has shown how linguistic description cannot take place without interlacing descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics together with linguistic anthropology and cultural anthropology. The key argument that the sociocultural settings shape the linguistic interaction is presented in Figure 4. The graphic visualizes how common knowledge, habitual understanding, social hierarchies and sociocultural values make up the basis for the participants’ expectations. And these expectations in turn make up the basis of the functioning of negation.

In sum, by examining the function of negation we have observed how the synchronic structure of language is shaped by social interactions over time. Consequently, the findings presented in this work intend to contribute to a deeper understanding of the inextricable nexus of *linguaculture* (Risager 2015).

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