

Reported Speech, Codeswitching, and Speech Genre as Integrated Phenomena in Ecuadorian Quichua

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1. The Discursive Interplay of Linguistic Features

Bilingual speech, speech-reporting practices, and the performative organization of speech genres are three compelling topics in the study of discourse in indigenous languages of the Americas, and have been described and commented on for a number of languages. Indigenous systems of constituting, distinguishing, naming, and performing local categories of verbal art can challenge our understanding of speech genres and the boundaries recognized between them. The way that speech is reported across different speech registers and genres, both periphrastically and through more grammaticalized forms of reportive evidential marking, has strong implications about local systems epistemology as well as more subtle significance according to a speaker's artistry and style. Multilingualism also greatly increases creative possibilities for a speaker, providing her or him with a range of strategies for playing with connotations and for indexing multiple identities and cultural contexts by artfully manipulating language choice and mixture. Although each of these topics is worthy of its own extensive treatment, rather than to present a detailed look at just one aspect in the case of Ecuadorian Quichua—bilingual speech, speech reporting, or genres of

verbal art—the goal of this paper is to examine the relationships among these three topics as they are manifested in discursive interaction.

While isolating one interesting feature of a language to look at in depth can be very profitable and is a standard approach in descriptive linguistics, my relational approach here reflects the fact that, since languages are systems in which every part may interact with another part, a study of networks of relationships among different aspects of a language is a good way to learn about larger, integrated phenomena and to take into account their dynamic nature. In order to organize this kind of multi-topic analysis I will use an ethnographically informed description of connections among different speech events, situations, and styles, based on several years of fieldwork in different Quichua-speaking regions of Ecuador¹.

2. Prolonged Contact and Performance

Quichua, the Ecuadorian variety of the Inca Imperial Quechua, is spoken by a significant percentage of the country's population both in the Highland and Amazon regions.² Contrasting somewhat with other South American indigenous groups, most Quechua and Quichua communities have been in situations of close contact with European culture almost since the moment of the Spanish Conquest. Language has always been at the foreground of the contact and conflict between Spanish speakers and speakers of Andean languages, and language policies

¹ This paper is based on data collected during the 2001-2002 academic year and the summer and fall of 2003; it has been revised from a 2003 course paper for Joel Sherzer and Tony Woodbury. Revisions also draw on data collected during summer research in 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007. Many thanks to friends in the Quichua communities of Quilapungo, Peguche, Oyacachi, and Nina Amarun for their help during my research.

² Estimates of the number of Quichua speakers among Ecuador's thirteen million inhabitants vary greatly. The CONAI indigenous organization, cited in Wibbelsman (2003), optimistically (or strategically) claims over three million, while Knapp (1991) uses census data to project less than half a million for the nineties, even after compensating for underreporting. I would estimate a current population somewhere between these two extremes, perhaps around one million.

have long been integral to agendas of religious conversion and socio-political control (Manheim, 1984). Today in Ecuador the most recent studies of language contact show a complex and regionally diverse situation reflecting instances of strong language maintenance in contrast with cases of drastic language shift in which degrees of bilingualism and language mixture vary greatly (Haboud, 1998).

Centuries of contact have left their mark on indigenous languages and on many aspects of speech, including traditional genres of verbal art like the stories that make up part of the data presented in this paper. Even the Quichua word for “story,” *cuento*, is a borrowing from Spanish.³ Yet although many European story types have become part of indigenous traditions, storytelling style remains distinctly indigenous in many ways, and the *cuento*, as Quichua speakers perform and recognize it as a named genre, appears particularly resistant to the kinds of language shift and mixture that are present in many other aspects of speech in Quichua communities today.

In a multilingual situation it is interesting to ask several questions about local understandings of named genres like “cuentos” [*kuintu* as accommodated into Quichua phonology]: How does the constitution of certain genres correspond with performance in one language variety in contrast to another? In any given case, how exclusive is the relationship between speech genre and language variety? In what ways and to what degree can a verbal artist manipulate language mixture for performative affect? In a given context, where is language switching and mixture frequent, and where is it uncommon? In the case of Ecuadorian Quichua, codeswitching or the absence of codeswitching, as well as the ways in which reported speech organizes multiple voices, have a particular relationship that can change as a speaker changes

styles and performs different genres such as the traditional story. Recent studies of style in spoken interaction describe shifts in code and register as part of a cultural system of distinctiveness, which allows us to differentiate between cultural categories such as the identity of a speaker and the genre in which she or he is speaking (Irvine, 2001). Through the following data we will take a brief tour through several distinctly constructed Quichua genres and speech registers, always asking where multilingual and reported speech are important for building, delimiting, solidifying, and maintaining such distinctions.

3. Speaking in *Quichuañol*

Studies of codeswitching have applied various typologies to multilingual speech in order to organize the different ways speakers switch and mix languages. For my purposes here I will apply the distinction between intersentential switching, in which languages are kept relatively separate by sentence boundaries, and intrasentential switching, in which multiple grammatical systems are represented within a single sentence. It must be noted, however, that this distinction is not always clear. In Ecuadorian Quichua, which has acquired many Spanish loanwords after centuries of prolonged contact, distinguishing codeswitching from extensive lexical borrowing is sometimes difficult. Spanish-origin items, even if they appear grouped in long stretches, do not always reflect an exclusively Spanish grammar. Muyksen (1981, 1996) describes the *media lengua* variety of Quichua from central Ecuador that has been relexified with Spanish items while retaining Quichua grammatical structures, including verbal morphology. This is probably the result of many years of intensive codeswitching and word borrowing, phenomena that are

³ The adoption of the term “*cuento*” from Spanish is common in many Latin American indigenous languages; it usually refers to traditional stories but sometimes—as in Amazon Quichua—refers to speech and

present in all Quichua communities to greater or lesser degrees. Most local varieties are not as extremely mixed as *media lengua*, but mixed varieties are often used for the kind of intrasentential codeswitching described by Meyers-Scotton as an “unmarked choice” (1993). That is to say, codeswitching itself can be one of the everyday codes for communication. Indeed, in my very first days of fieldwork I found it impossible to converse in the variety of Quichua taught in Quito universities, a Quichua that contains very few Spanish lexical items. It was only when I learned to use more loanwords and codeswitching that locals began to understand what I was saying and to react more favorably.

Most people in Quichua communities know at least some Spanish, and bilinguals frequently engage in intrasentential codeswitching as an unmarked norm in conversations with other bilinguals. This practice is not limited to men, but since women generally have less access to Spanish, fewer women are able to converse using extensive intrasentential switches. Below is a short excerpt from a conversation among a group of men at market in the highlands of Cotopaxi Province. They are discussing fares for the transportation of livestock:

Example #1: Intrasentential Codeswitching as an Unmarked Variety among Bilinguals

[Here and in all following examples Spanish-origin items are marked in **bold**. Key to abbreviations is at the end.]

(1) Driver 2: **Claro**, ñukanchi-pak shina tuku-na ka-nchi.
 clear 1pl-POSS SEM end.up-INF be-1pl
 [Right, for us we have to do it that way.]

(2) Driver 1: **Claro**.
 clear
 [Right.]

conversation more generally.

- (3) Driver 2: Pay ni-nka **setecientos** ranti-rka-ni. Ima-shina **setecientos**?
 3 say-3FUT seven.hundred buy-PAST-1sg. what-SEM seven.hundred
 [He'll say "I bought it for seven hundred." How (is it) seven hundred?]
- (4) Driver 1: Pay **ni cinco dólar-es va a cog-er.**
 3 not five dolar-pl go3sg to get-INF
 [He's not going to get even five dollars.]
- (5) Driver 2: **Cinco dolar, si quie-re, est-á paga-ndo** chay-ka **diez dólar-es.**
 five dolar if want-3, be-3sg pay-CR that-FOC ten dolar-pl
 [Five dollars, he'll pay at least ten dollars for that.]
- (6) Driver 1: **De conveniente** ñucanchi-ka **diez dólar-es.**
 of convenient 1pl-FOC ten dolar-pl
 [As a favor on our part, ten dollars.]
- (7) Driver 2: **De conventiente.**
 of convenient
 [As a favor.]
- (8) Woman: Kaypi-ka shina **vali-n.**
 here-LOC SEM cost-3
 [That's what it costs here.]
- (9) Driver 2: Ari ari, kay-pi shina **vali-n**, shina-mi ka-n
 Yes yes, here-LOC SEM cost3, likethat-AF be-3sg
 [Yeah, yeah, that's what it costs, that's how it is.]

This example shows several repeating, single-word Spanish items: *claro* in lines (1) and (2), *setecientos* in line (3), and the root *vali-* from the verb *valer* in lines (8) and (9), among others. These are best understood as loanwords; many studies of Latin-American indigenous languages note specifically that discourse markers (*claro*) and numbers (*setecientos*) are commonly borrowed from Spanish. Loanwords are often identified by their high level of integration into their new context, as in the case of the Spanish verb *valer* seen in the example above, which has been adapted into Quichua's tri-vocalic phonology (*e* becomes *i*) as well as its verbal morphology. More ambiguous cases are the Quichua pronominal forms that appear in Spanish context in lines (4), *pay* [third person singular], (5), *chay* [demonstrative], and (6), *ñukanchi* [first person plural]. Generally it is thought that closed-class items and function words will be less susceptible to borrowing; they are not among the most common borrowings from Quichua heard in Andean Spanish, which consist largely of nouns and verb roots. Lines (5) and (6) also reflect Quichua morphology since the pronouns take the Quichua focalizing suffix *-ka*. Further complicating matters, although there are multi-word sections of both languages in the example, the "matrix language" (Myers-Scotton, 1993) of the conversation in general (including the parts not shown in the section above) would seem to be Quichua. It is a good example of the combination of loanwords with intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching that constitutes an unmarked norm for many bilingual speakers.

Since my language abilities and my gender tend group me with other bilingual males, I have often participated in such conversations during my time in Quichua communities, and male speakers tend to address me in a similar register. Below is another example of multilingual discourse, in which a bilingual male in an Amazon Quichua community was speaking to me. He had served several years in the army and was fluent in Spanish. Although Amazon Quichua

people are socially very separate from Highland Quichuas and their language variety has notable differences from the Andean variety, language mixing in Amazon communities is often remarkably similar to what might be heard in the Andes. As in the short conversational turns in the example above, this longer turn reflects a variety of bilingual speech phenomena, including loanwords and codeswitching:

Example #2: Intrasentential Codeswitching in Longer Sections of Discourse

(1) **Baja-na-man** **porque, por** **falto, no hay,** mana pi, ima-pis ranti-na tiya-g-pi, **no?**

go.down-INF-COND because because.of lack no exists3PR no who thing-also buy-INF exist-SR no

They would go downriver because there's not, there's nothing here to buy, right?

(2) Kachi **mas necesario, fosforos mas necesario y jabon mas necesario, hilo, aguja, eso es mas importante.**

salt most necessary matches most necessary and soap most necessary thread needle that is most important

Salt, matches, and soap are the most necessary items, and thread and needles, those are the most important.

(3) **Unico, el indio, o sea** runa kawsa-nchi chay-lla-wan.

only the Indian I.mean indian live-1pl that-LIM-with

Only (those things), the Indians, I mean the *runa* (Quichua) Indians, we live with just those things.

(4) **Claro, a veces** wawa-ta ranti-nkapak kullki-wa-ta muna-nchi **pero** mana yapa, **no tanto, pero,**

sure, sometimes child-ACC buy-in.order.to money-DIM-ACC want-1pl but no much no much but

Sure, sometimes in order to buy things for the children we want a little money, but not much, not much, but,

(5) **y mas interesante es** kachi **en** ñukanchi **vida.** Kachi, **fosforos.**

and more interesting be3sg salt in 1plPOSS life salt matches.

and the most interesting (important thing to purchase) in our life is salt. Salt and matches.

This example shows a mixture of established cultural borrowings as well as other, more ambiguous single-word and multi-word Spanish constituents. As noted above, it can be unclear at times which grammatical system should be considered the primary, active one, and it may be overly rigid to try—as some analysts do—to classify every instance of speech as either monolingual, including borrowings, and bilingual, or “true” codeswitching. This habit is partially due to linguists’ tendency to mistake terms of analytical convenience with discrete and essential categories. At one extreme, some angles of analysis group all single-word L2 constituents as a kind of borrowing, sometimes called “nonce borrowing,” when the item is infrequently used or not fully integrated (Poplack and Sankoff, 1984; Sankoff, Poplack, and Vanniarajan, 1990). Another angle of analysis would allow for such a thing as “single-word codeswitching” among bilinguals (Meyers-Scotton, 1992), but neither of these perspectives fully accounts for the ambiguity inherent in the way codeswitching gradually introduces borrowed items into the lexicon, across interactive contexts and through cumulative instances of discourse. Another approach, one that is appealing for describing complex situations of bilingualism, allows for the possibility that a bilingual speaker may say a word “in two languages at one time,” a phenomenon sometimes called “bivalency” (Woolard, 1999; a conceptually similar term, “congruent lexicalization,” is used in Muysken, 2001). Under any definition of codeswitching, however, example #2 is a relatively extreme instance of language mixing along the codeswitching continuum of discourse in Quichua communities.

4. Bilingual Genres?

The extreme levels of mixture that intrasentential Quichua-Spanish codeswitching can exhibit, both in conversation and in some forms of narrative, are very much the norm in Quichua communities, to the extent that seeking to distinguish primary and secondary active grammars from moment to moment can become an exercise in futility. In this short excerpt from a longer recording a Highland Quichua man uses highly mixed bilingual speech to begin his description of a bit of local folklore, a “fortunetelling flower,” employing finite verbs—a classic test for the “matrix language”—from both languages:

Example #3: Intrasentential Codeswitching with Multiple Active Grammars

(1) **No se** **como-ka** **adivina-n**, chay ima-lla-tig, **pero total es** **que adivina-n**.

no know1PR how-FOC guess-3PR that what-LIM-INT but total be3PR that guess-3PR

I don't know how it tells fortunes, just however (it does it), but the point is that it tells fortunes.

(2) Chay shuk **historia-ta** chari-n.

that a historyACC have-3PR

That has a history.

The first sentence in example #3 consists of almost entirely Spanish morphemes, but its verbal morphology is derived from both languages. The first verb is in Spanish (*se*, from the infinitive *saber*), the second a Spanish root with Quichua morphology (*adivina-n*, a third person singular conjugation in Quichua that might exemplify “bivalency” since it is similar to a third person singular Spanish form), the third is another Spanish verb (*es*, from *ser*), the fourth is a repetition of the Spanish root (*adivina-*) with Quichua morphology, and the last is a fully Quichua verb (*charin*). The rest of the recording shows slightly more Quichua verbal

morphology than Spanish, but it is clear that both grammars are active simultaneously throughout the utterance. It may be best to describe most of this example—and indeed, much of Spanish mixture in Quichua—in terms of bivalency, or some other term that conveys less rigid distinctions. For my purposes here, at least, it does not much matter if we can pin down each and every lexical item as strictly Spanish or Quichua. It is enough to note that this and the other examples of discourse and conversation show multilingual complexity and ambiguity—in terms of code or grammar—in a way that other styles or genres of Quichua speech do not, as will be pointed out later.

It is difficult to know if or how a Quichua-speaking person might categorize this recording in terms of a specific genre, but in the second sentence of example #3 the speaker himself names his utterance with the Spanish word *historia*, or “history,” contrasting with another Spanish term, *cuento*, mentioned above. Quichua speakers have adopted Spanish terms into their definitions of genre to such an extent that any investigation of Quichua genre is at least partly an examination of the relationship between genre and bilingual speech.

Given the complex situation of language contact in the Andes and the complex examples of bilingual speech presented above, it is interesting to think about how different kinds of bilingual speech affect verbal art. Some genres of verbal art as they are performed today have fully embraced bilingualism and manipulate it for artistic effect. One example of a common bilingually performed genre is the Peruvian *wayno*, a popular type of traditional folk song. The two examples below show different degrees of codeswitching:

[Spanish marking in **bold** is my emphasis. English translation is my own.]

1) Saracha parway, parwaschay, sarachay

Maize flower, little flower, little maize

trigucha iray, iraschay, triguschay	wheat patch, little patch, little wheat
hermosa flor de la sierra	beautiful flower of the mountains
jilguero andino	goldfinch of the Andes
por valles, montes, quebradas	through valleys, hills, ravines
cholita cusqueña	little girl from Cuzco
¿que estarás haciendo?	What might you be doing?

2) Sipiway sipiway	Choke me, choke me
con hilo de pita	with thread from a century plant
ni qanta ni pita	not you, not anyone
hayk'aq munanaypak ⁴	ever to love.

In a population featuring widespread bilingualism, it seems predictable that bilingual speech might be incorporated into some traditional performance genres such as these folk songs. Ecuadorian folk songs and popular music forms often show codeswitching similar to that seen in the Peruvian verses above. However, the performance styles of some other named and recognized genres, such as Quichua traditional stories or *cuentos*, have been less receptive to this kind of bilingual speech. In the next section I will discuss *cuentos* as a genre that, in most local traditions, has not been very receptive to Spanish content. In order to discuss that particular genre, however, I must first address the topic of reported speech.

5. Speech Reporting and Degrees of Directness

⁴ From Muysken, P. (1998).

Changing topics now, I will begin to illuminate some ways in which Quichua expresses and negotiates reported speech, which I will connect to organization of speech genre and later relate back to the discussion of bilingual speech. Reported speech in Quichua is sometimes, but not always, assumed to have been actually spoken at a previous time. One might apply the distinction between “linear” and “pictorial” styles as they are categorized by Voloshinov (1986 [1929]). Linear speech reporting, perhaps the most straightforward style, purports to faithfully represent the words of another person as they were spoken. The experiential authority with which one might claim to faithfully and “exactly” report speech—or at least use the same lexical and syntactic forms—would be most fitting in styles or genres that incorporate personal narrative (see the quoted speech in example #6 below). Pictorial style, or statements not assumed to have actually been uttered in the past—at least not exactly as reported—is a kind of imagined speech artfully re-constructed by the speaker. It is more complex than linear style and comes in many different forms, including degrees of paraphrase and creative invention, as will be illustrated in some of the following examples from Quichua.

The distinction between reported speech as such and grammatically marked reportive evidentiality in Quichua, as in many languages, is not a strict one. One of the most common grammaticalization paths for reportive marking originates with an independent speech verb, and in Quichua the third-person form of the verb “to say,” *ni-n* (say-3sg/pl), is homophonous with the reportive evidential *nin*, the older verb remaining fully productive while one frozen form is undergoing more recent processes of grammaticalization, and patterns like a classic obligatory reportive marker. Further, the productive verb has its own set of connotations and semantically varied usages, overlapping with concepts of intentionality as well as with ideologies of socially correct speech styles. One common Quichua construction for asking about another person’s

intentions uses reported speech in a more pictorial and less linear fashion to form a more polite or “indirect” interrogative construction. Instead of directly asking someone if he or she *will* do something, a Quichua speaker will often ask if they *say* that they will do it:

Option 1:	<i>Ri-nki-chu?</i>	You will go? [Are you going to go?]
	go-2sgFUT-INT	
Option 2:	‘ <i>Ri-sha’ ni-nki-chu?</i>	‘I will go’ you say? [Do you say that you will go?]
	go-1sgFUT say-2sg-INT	
Option 1:	<i>Miku-nka-chu?</i>	He will eat? [Is he going to eat?]
	eat-3sgFUT	
Option 2:	‘ <i>Miku-sha’ ni-n-chu?</i>	‘I will eat’ he says? [Does he say that he will eat?]
	eat-1sgFUT say-3sg-INT	

In the second option, which is at least as common a construction as the first for such questions, the speaker inquires not about the possibility of the action itself but about *the possibility of a declaration of intended action*. By making the principal verb into a secondary and quoted verb the speaker takes a less demanding tone; the question is not whether you *will* do it but only whether you *say* you would do it (or “intend to do it”). Many Quichua speakers consider the second option a more polite way of asking about another’s intentions. Directly asking without framing the question as reported speech is sometimes perceived as rude, prompting the criticism “*recto parlan,*” or “(he/she) speaks (too) directly.” Such strategies for indirect speech, known as *kinkuy* or “twisting” speech in Quichua metalanguage, are an important part of local politeness norms in many Quichua communities. This polite indirectness in turn links to norms of social responsibility for statements and to the evidential values by which that responsibility is linguistically negotiated, showing how evidentiality in language is deeply

imbedded in social value systems. Frequent uses of these discourse forms may increasingly grammaticalize as a marker of polite discourse, and it may be reasonable to attribute an honorific implicature to the form at present. Cultural norms of polite speech, grammatically marked social responsibility for spoken information, and direct quotation through speech verbs in narrative are overlapping and interrelated aspects of the general topic of reported speech as a feature of discourse. The following section examines the performance of a particular discursive genre as both a manifestation of these overlaps and as a motivation for their ongoing, diachronic developments and change.

6. Stories Told and Events Experienced

As a way of constructing a frame for communicating meaning about the stance of the speaker with regard to the information conveyed, Quichua storytellers use indirect constructions for presenting stories not as verifiable personal experience but as reported speech. In this case the reported speech is not entirely imagined but is assumed to have been spoken by another storyteller in a very similar, yet not identical, manner. The speaker learned the story from another storyteller, not from direct experience, and other contemporary storytellers might give different variations on the same story.

Similarly to the way that inquiries about future actions can be made less direct by shifting the focus from intended action to reported speech, stories are told in a less direct or less certain context by frequently reminding the listener that this is what “they say,” not what the speaker actually experienced. In effect, the story is told not in the past tense but in a present tense construction that frames past events as present speech. . The more certain and direct statement

claims only that the story is told, not that the events in it really happened. In other words, the story may be fiction, but the storytelling is fact.

Other South American languages take the same kind of care in organizing degrees of certainty, experience and evidentiality with reported speech constructions.⁵ Michael (2001) shows how the Nanti of the Peruvian Amazon use reported speech to make statements about things they have not personally experienced. Beier, Michael, and Sherzer (2002) suggest that, since many South- and Central- American lowland indigenous groups have similar systems for organizing knowledge claims and experience with reported speech, we may be able to speak of shared regional typological characteristics. Because of the parallels between lowland practices and Quichua speech reporting, it would be profitable to expand such an areal-typological approach to the Andean Highland areas as well.

In order to illustrate the importance of reported speech and the “they say” storytelling device in terms of both the construction of genre and the issues of certainty and directness that I have been discussing, I will relate a short anecdote. Once in the village of Oyacachi after a long storytelling session with an older local storyteller, some of the younger family members suggested that I myself tell a story. I did my best to tell a version of the Texan legend of origin of the bluebonnet flower, the main character of which is a young girl. Not being an expert Quichua storyteller, it completely slipped my mind that I should frame my story as reported speech. After I finished, to my surprise, an older woman asked if the little girl was still living in my city and inquired when I had last seen her. I then had to explain that the story was a legend, thought to have happened long ago, and that I had not personally experienced any of it. By not framing my story as reported speech, I had failed to mediate degrees of direct and indirect

experience and had created a tale that was received as a personal narrative. Since in my own native (United States English) linguistic context we use other context clues, not necessarily reported speech, to construct evidentiality in our own genres of storytelling, I did not anticipate the way that I would need to frame my statements as reported speech in order to construct what a Quichua speaker would consider a story or *cuento*. This detail emphasizes the important point that categorization of speech into different genres is highly relative to local conceptions of genre, and as I learned the hard way, there is no one-to-one conversion between different languages and traditions with respect to the features of a specific genre, such as its evidential frame.

Below I present one short example of a story that is constructed within a frame of the “they say” device, recorded in the community of Peguche. One evening, my hosts told me that they knew a story that I might like to record, a tale about a *chificha*, a local spook that stalks young women on dark trails at night. I had heard *chificha* tales in other communities; the creature was said to look similar to a man, but on closer inspection, one realized that he was not quite human.

This story was recorded during the annual San Pedro festival in July (2002), on the night when each household lit a traditional *chamiza* bonfire and young men went dancing house to house disguised as *ayakuna* (“ghosts”) and other strange creatures. Perhaps my host had this tradition in mind when he told the story:

Example #4: Quichua Traditional Storytelling with Reported-Speech Construction

(1) **Punta**-mi shuk chificha tupa-ri-shka ni-n, shuk kuitsa-ku-ta.

first-AF one chificha encounter-REF-PART say3PR one girl-DIM-ACC

At the beginning, a chificha encountered, they say, a little girl.

- (2) Kuitsa-wan tupa-ri-shka-ka, “Jaku wasi-man,” ni-shka nin, ñan-pi tupa-ri-shpa.
 girl-with encounter-REF-PART-FOC let’s.go house-to say-PART say3PR path-LOC encounter-REF-CR
 Encountering the girl, “Let’s go to the house,” he said, they say, meeting on the trail.
- (3) Chay-mi, ña wasi-man pusha-shpa-ka kuista-wa tar-ishka nin,
 that-AF already house-to lead-CR-FOC girl-DIM find-PART say3PR
 Then, leading her to the house, the girl that he found, they say,
- (4) “Uma-ka, uma-pi usa tiya-n-mi, ninan-ta-mi shikshi-n, usa-wa-y” ni-shka nin.
 head-FOC head-LOC lice exist-3PR-AF fire-ACC-AF itch-3PR lice.pick-1OB-IMP say-PART say3PR
 “My head, on my head there are fleas, they itch a lot, pick my fleas off,” he said, they say.
- (5) “Usa-wa-y, **pero** ama kay, kay-ta-ka taka-ri-nki-chu,
 lice.pick-1OB-IMP but no this this-ACC-FOC touch-REF-2PR-NEG
 “Pick my fleas, but don’t touch this part, just pick the fleas off,
- usa-y-ta-lla, kay-ta-lla usa-wa-nki,” ni-shka nin.
 lice.pick-IMP-NOM-LIM this-ACC-LIM say-PART say3PR
 just right here pick fleas,” he said, they say.
- (6) Chay-ka, “Usa-wa-y” ni-kpi-ka, “Ari,” ni-shpa ña uchilla kuitsa-ku usa-y kallari-shka.
 that-FOC lice.pick-1OB-IMP say-SR-FOC yes say-CR already little girl-DIM lice.pick-NOM begin-PART
 Then, saying “Pick my fleas off,” saying “Yes,” the little girl began to pick the fleas off.
- (7) Usa-kpi-ka ña chificha-ka yanka shaya-ri-shka ka-rka, puñu-shka nin,
 fleapick-SR-FOC already chificha-FOC just stand-REF-PART be-3sgPAST sleep-PART say3PR
 As she picked off the fleas the chificha was just standing, and he fell asleep they say,

(8) yanka **runca-y** kallari-shka nin yanka manchanay-ta yanka **runca-y** kallari-kpi-ka
 just snore-NOM begin-PART say3PR just whole.lot-ACC just snore-NOM beginSR-FOC
 he just began to snore, they say, and as he began to just snore really loudly,

(9) “Ima-shpa-shi kay-ta ama taka-ri-y nin?”
 what-CR-INT this-ACC NEG touch-REF-IMP say3PR
 “What is it that is not to touch, he says?”

(10) ña ka-shpa-ka kutin uchilla kuitsa-wa-ka taka-ri-shka nin-ka,
 already be-CR-FOC then little girl-DIM-FOC touchPAST say3PR/TO
 and since it was like that, then the little girl touched it, they say,

paska-shpa alli-lla chificha puñu-wan.
 open-CR good-LIM chificha sleep-with
 slowly opening it up as the chificha slept.

(11) Kay-ta paska-kpi-ka, kiru-ka ri-n-lla,
 This-ACC open-SR-FOC tooth-FOC go-3PR-LIM
 Opening this up, teeth went,

kiru-ka kay-man shuk shimi ruku tiya-shka nin.
 tooth-FOC this-to one mouth old exist-PART say3PR
 teeth like this, a little mouth was there, they say.

(12) Chay-ka uchilla kuitsa-wa-ka mancha-ri-shpa-ka
 That-FOC little girl-DIM-FOC scare-REF-CR-FOC
 Then the little girl, getting frightened,

ña kasi kasi saki-shpa-mi yanga-ta **fuerza**-ta **vola**-shka nin.

then quietly quietly stay-CR-AF just-ACC force-ACC flyPART say3PR

quietly quietly staying, just quickly flew off, they say.

Returning briefly to the topic of bilingual speech, it is worth noting how this story contrasts with the elaborate, intrasentential codeswitching shown in examples #1, #2, and #3 in that it shows very minimal Spanish-origin content, none of which reflects Spanish grammar. Judging from their incorporation into Quichua grammar as well as from my own offhand sense of their high frequency of use in Quichua speech, the Spanish-origin items in example #4 should be considered established borrowings and do not represent bilingual speech to the same extent as the intense code switches shown in examples #1 through #3, where Spanish verbal morphology and syntax are reflected. In example #4 the verbs *roncar*, “to snore,” and *volar*, “to fly,” have been fully integrated into Quichua morphology. The connector *pero*, “but,” is widely used in all Quichua communities I am familiar with. The first word in the example, the Spanish-origin word *punta*, or “point,” has been semantically adapted by Quichua speakers who use it as we might say “first off” in beginning a narrative; such a change in meaning indicates that the term is fully integrated into Quichua. A quick review of example #3 shows that most of the Spanish-origin items take Quichua suffixes in the same way they might if spoken by a Quichua monolingual. By any analysis the *chificha* story is a relatively monolingual one, even though the storyteller was a bilingual male fully capable of the kind of codeswitching shown in the first set of examples.

If one feature of the Quichua story is that it is a genre that is performed relatively monolingually, another important feature of the genre, as noted above, is reported speech construction. On review of twenty stories in my collection of recordings, told by seven different speakers from three different regions of Ecuador, I found that 90% contained frequent uses of the “they say” device. In some stories the orally transmitted and un-experiential quality is marked very explicitly, and while in general the occurrence of reported-speech marking patterns like grammaticalized and obligatory evidential marking, over more periphrastic uses of the speech verbs in stories reflect an intermediate stage of grammaticalization. One speaker (the grandfather from the pair described below in example #8) sets a reported-speech frame at the very beginning of his story:

Chay-pi ni-n-lla, kashna ni-n . . .
 there-LOC say3PR-LIM like.this say-3PR
 There they (just) say, like this they say . . .

From the outset he notes that this story is something that is told and retold, explicitly pointing out, twice, that this is how “they say” it. Again, at the end of the story the speaker reminds the listener:

Chasna, tukuri-n. Shina ni-n.
 Like.that end-3PR like.that say-3PR
 In that way it ends. Like that they say.

The orally transmitted nature and variability of this story, which, unlike a personal narrative, has multiple tellers across space and time, is something that the tellers themselves foreground in beginning and ending the story as well as at intervals throughout it. Social speech norms correspond to discourse frequency, which can then become a motivation for grammaticalization. In fact, there is evidence that the Quichua reportive marker is becoming further grammaticalized over time: a few speakers are integrating it into the adjacent phonological word to the extent that it sometimes appears more like another affix in Quichua's highly agglutinative system, rather than as an independent verb. On the recording of lines (11) and (12) above, the speaker audibly pronounces the line-ending verb/evidential combination as a single word, shifting the stress pattern from *tiyáshka nín* and *voláshka nín*, two phonological words, to *tiyashkánin* and *volashkánin*, following Quichua's preference for penultimate stress. In this sense reported speech and reportive evidential marking are not wholly discrete features, but rather exist in ambiguous and overlapping interaction along a discursively constituted grammaticalization chain that is partially motivated by the performance of traditional speech genres.

7. Who Speaks Spanish in a Story?

To continue discussing the Quichua traditional storytelling with respect to reported speech and bilingual speech, I will give another example of mutual interactions among these aspects of Quichua discourse. This excerpt from a story from the wide-ranging tradition of animal tales shows reported speech both in the aforementioned storytelling device as well as in quoted speech from the dialogue spoken by the story's characters. The example also shows several Spanish-

origin items that, as in example two, are extremely limited. Note the occurrences of the “they say” device, also used as described in example #3 above.

Example #5: Limited Bilingual Speech within Story Dialogue

(1) Chay-ka **conejo**-ka ni-shka nin “Ima-ta rura-nki **tio**? Ima-ta rura-shpa kay-pi shaya-nki?”

That-FOC rabbit-FOC say-PART say-3PR what-ACC do-2PR uncle what-ACC do-CR here-LOC stand-2PR
Then rabbit said they say,” What are you doing uncle? What are you doing standing here?”

(2) ni-kpi-ka ni-shka nin “**Hijo**, ñuka-pak-ka warmi-mi ña unku-shka, **parto**-wan.
say-SR-FOC say-PART say3PR son 1sg-POSS-FOC wife-AF already sick-PART birth.pains-with
so saying, he said, they say “Son. my wife is sick with birth pains.

(3) Chay unku-pi-mi **alimento**-ku-ta-mi mask-ankapak shamu-rk-ani.”
That sick-LOC-AF food-DIM-ACC-AF look.for-in.order.to come-PAST-1sg
Because of that sickness I’ve come to look for food.”

(4) Chay-ka “**Pobre tio** ñuka **tio**, ninan-ta llaki kan-ta-ka, ninan-ta kuya-ni ñuka **tio**,
That-ACC poor uncle 1sg uncle whole.lot-ACC sad you-ACC-FOC whole.lot-ACC love-1sg 1sgPOSS
uncle
Then, “Poor uncle, my uncle, your (problem) is really sad, I love my uncle a whole lot,

(5) ñuka **tio**, ñuka **ayuda**-sha **alimento**-ta, **ayuda**-sha mask-asha.”
1sgPOSS uncle 1sg help-1sgFUT food-ACC help-1sgFUT look.for-1sgFUT
my uncle, I will help, I’ll help, I’ll look for food.”

As in example #3, the majority of the Spanish-origin items shown here are established borrowings and are highly integrated with Quichua morphology. The nouns *parto*, “birth,” and *alimento*, “food,” take a range of different Quichua suffixes, and the verb *ayudar*, “to help,” is fully integrated and conjugated in Quichua. The terms for family relationships, *tio*, “uncle,” and *hijo*, “son” (used in this case in a more general sense, similar to the way older English speakers might address young boys as “son” regardless of kinship), are more independent and do not take Quichua suffixes. Even so, they seem to be functioning as titles of address and as discourse markers—relatively common categories for borrowing—and do not explicitly reflect Spanish grammatical relationships. One ambiguous case, in the fourth line, shows a two-word Spanish constituent, an adjective-noun pair making the noun phrase *pobre tio*, but because Quichua also allows adjective-noun word order, the idea of bivalency seems attractive here. There are certainly no finite Spanish verbs in the example above, and here as in every other story in my collection of recordings, Spanish content in general is highly limited.

A complex construction that reflects multiple levels of reported speech and evidentiality occurs at the beginning of the second line of example #5 above, where three forms of the verb *nina*, “they say,” appear one after the other: *nikpika nishka nin*, “so saying, it was said, they say.” The first form refers to the rabbit’s words and contributes to referent tracking across sequential actions as conveyed through discourse; the second form refers to his uncle wolf’s reply and is in some respects the “main” verb although it is syntactically subordinate to the third form; the final form is the reportive evidential, which indicates that this tale is a traditional story that is told and retold by many people—while this form is in the process of becoming an affix, as discussed above, here it is actually the only verb with finite morphology and so carries a heavier load than just evidential marking. When the reported speech of character dialogue appears in a Quichua

story it is actually embedded in two layers of reported speech, so that, in this case, we know what the rabbit and the wolf said because “they (storytellers) say” that they said it. As realized in discourse, these two layers are distinct in that one reflects more linear quoted speech, while the other reflects a more pictorial kind of evidential frame.

The examples above begin to reveal some of the linguistic aspects of Quichua storytelling that performers and listeners use to distinguish it from other genres. In order to summarize a characterization of the genre of traditional Quichua storytelling as Quichua speakers understand it, I suggest that two features of this genre are 1) limited Spanish content and 2) a reportive evidential frame conveyed through (grammaticalizing) reported-speech constructions. There are of course other features specific to Quichua stories, not the least of which is thematic content, which helps a hearer distinguish between a traditional story and a second-hand narrative assumed to have actually taken place in more tangible or immediate worlds. Both traditional stories and narratives that are being repeated and attributed to an original narrator share reported-speech construction because evidentially they are not personal experience but reported information, and they are obligatorily marked as such. While the absence of Spanish codeswitching can help a listener decide that she or he is hearing a *cuento*, the presence of talking animals or supernatural beings in the narrative could also cue a listener to receive a verbal performance as a traditional story based partly on its content.

Some traditional stories, however, are not based on fantastical themes but on the nitty-gritty realities of rural life. One common setting for stories is the hacienda period, when private landowning was uncommon among Quichua speakers, and most highland indigenous people lived bound to a hacienda and were under the control of its owner. The following example is from a story in which a Quichua-speaking worker tricks his *patrón*, or “boss,” of the hacienda

repeatedly. In this case he has disfigured the *patrón's* horse to make it seem to laugh at its owner. While the story in general is in Quichua with occasional Spanish loanwords, the punch line, within the boundaries of reported speech, is a complete sentence in Spanish (4). Class relationships between mestizos and indigenous people become salient through multilingual performance, where the story's Quichua frame is broken through reported speech in a way that artfully makes the trickster hero even slyer due to his linguistic abilities.

Example #6: Intersentential Codeswitching as Reported Speech in a Traditional Story

(1) Chay **hora-s** chaya-shpa, **patrón** shina chaya-sh riku-kpi-ka kay,
 that hour-pl arrive-CR boss like.that arrive-CR see-SR-FOC this
 At that time he arrived, the boss arrived and when he saw that,

(2) chay imashti, **trabajador** rinri piti-rka jita piti-rka-ka,
 that what.name worker ear split-3PAST (mouth/face?) split-PAST-FOC
 that whatchamacallit, that the worker had sliced the ears and the mouth,

(3) chay **trabajador** ni-rka nin,
 that worker say-3PAST say3PR
 the worker said, they say,

(4) "Ve **patrón, caballo est-á rei-ndo patrón,**" ni-rka nin,
 look boss horse be-3sgPR laugh-CON boss say-3sgPAST say3PR
 Look, the horse is laughing boss," he said, they say,]

(5) **bistia** kancha asi-ku-rka nin, uku jita piti-shka-ka.
 horse (?) laugh-CON-3PAST say3PR inside (mouth/face?) split-PART-FOC
 the horse was laughing, they say, with its mouth sliced.

While multilingual speakers can indeed draw on their abilities in Spanish during the performance of a Quichua story, they tend to keep switches neatly inside the boundaries of reported speech. This strategy not only livens up the dialogue of a story by realistically representing Spanish-speaking characters' speech, but it also maintains the largely Quichua frame of the story by keeping the switches bound to specific contexts.

8. Shifting Genres and Switching Codes

Traditional Quichua storytelling in Ecuador contrasts with other locally constructed genres in a marked way according to the characteristics that I have outlined above. Other regions of the Andes show similar patterns in how speakers define and create genres according to features such as the use of bilingual speech and reported speech. In the following example from Central Peru, a traditional *Achkay* story (the Peruvian equivalent of a *chificha* story) contrasts with another genre, a personal narrative or meta-narrative about the story; the speaker creates a linguistic border between two genres or speech styles with a code switch from Quechua to Spanish:

[Transcription and translation by Howard-Malverde (1989). Items marked in **bold** are my own emphasis. Spanish section is marked with *italics*.]

[Quechua section, Spanish-origin words in **bold**]
 Saychuumi ushan say **cwintu**, say Yana Quchapita
 say Achkaynintinchir tallukash. I say Wankarán
 hanallancuu kan. Saymi saychuu runa allaapa
 yachakansu, i say Ambraylla saychuu tash unaypita

say Ambray Llocllachaa, saypa **kastallan** taqaykuna
 kaykan, kay Lloclla. Aparaykan say **genionta**
 Achkaypita yachakush. Saychuupis surinkunata
 hapan chikin, surinkunata ashmansu. Say runa

ashmashtaaku i chikin hapanlla. Odyan.

Surinkunata. Say Achkaypa **desedyentín** Achkay.

[Spanish section begins. Quechua-origin items, except proper names, are in **bold**]

Así es. Este cuento de achkay, de Yana Quchua me ha contado don Quintín Sanchez de aca, lugareño de acá. Nosotros fuimos a Arancay, a Taso Chico, él me acompañó para ir allí, primeramente profesora, el año cuarenta. Entonces aquí en la Laguna Blanca el al cabecera había bonito pasto. Ahí hemos pasteado acémilas. “Aquí es bonito pasto mamita, vamos a pastear acá,” me dice don Quintín Sánchez.

*Entonces nos hemos sentdo junto a esa piedra donde él medice “Esta es la mujer que se ha convertido en piedra. La mujer que pareció acá.” Entonces “**Imapitata** pyedraman konbertish?” le digo, “¿De que es?” Entonces me comienza a contar “**Kay** kostami kanaa . . .” Todo todo ese cuento lo que he acabado de contar, el me contó hasta el Achkay. Ahí mientras que nosotros pasteamos, que comían El año cuarenta. Don Quintín Sánchez, él me contó.*

There the story ends. The one about Yana Quchua has got mixed with the one about Achkay. And it is just above Huancarán. That is why people can't get

used to living there, and only that Ambray Lloclla's descendants they live there, the Lloclla man. He still has that character learned from Achkay. He lives in that place too and he hates his children, he doesn't maintain his children. That man doesn't maintain his children and he hates them. He hates them. His children. He is descended from Achkay.

[Switches to Spanish]

And that's how it is. This story about Achkay and Yana Quchua, a man from these parts called don Quintin Sanchez told it to me. We went to Arancay, to Taso Chico, he accompanied me in nineteen forty when I went there to teach. There at the head of Yuraq Quchua there was some good pasture. So we put the mules to graze there. “Here's some nice pasture, mamita, let's graze the animals here,” don Quintin Sanchez says to me. So we sit down by that rock and he tells me, “This is the woman who turned into stone. The woman that appeared here.” So, “Why did she turn to stone?” I ask him, “What was the reason?” So he starts to tell me, “This used to be coastal here . . .” All the story that I have just told you, he told me, up to the part about Achkay. There while we were grazing the mules. In nineteen forty. Don Quintin Sanchez, he told me.

This excerpt does not convey evidential values through reported-speech construction as in the Ecuadorian stories presented earlier. In the story as a whole a “they say” device is used several times but never with the frequency of the Ecuadorian stories, which often show a “they say” every line or two. Peruvian Quechua dialects feature a range of different variant evidential systems, some similar to Ecuadorian Quichua and some quite different.⁶ While evidential marking is widespread in the Andes, not all Quechua dialects specifically mark reportives with speech verbs; different local manifestations through different discursive traditions have motivated different parallelisms and divergences.

In terms of bilingual speech, however, this excerpt clearly resembles Ecuadorian Quichua in that traditional stories appear to be performed with very limited Spanish content. There are two general speech genres represented in the excerpt: first, the end of a traditional story, and then a short personal narrative that serves as a metanarrative to the story. The code switch from Quechua to Spanish occurs just at the boundary between traditional story and personal narrative, showing how the speaker chose one code for one style and another code for a different style. This suggests that stories from different traditions around the Andes are understood as a relatively Spanish-free genre, in contrast with the performance of personal narratives and other genres that may be more receptive to Spanish content.

Also worth noting about this excerpt is that the Spanish section contains two brief code switches into Quechua and that both of these switches are sections of reported speech. The conversation that the speaker is describing as part of her personal narrative probably took place in Quechua, so it may be important that the conversation be linearly reported in the language in which it occurred. This point will be taken up below in examples #7 and #8, which show how

⁶ Felix Julca, Personal Communication (2003).

two kinds of Quichua speech incorporate code switches, this time from Quichua to Spanish, through reported speech.

9. Certainty and Sacredness

Above I stated that the use of the reportive “they say” device in Quichua traditional storytelling was a way to convey the evidential value that the story being told is not the direct experience of the speaker. One question about example #7 below, part of a bible story, might be: if this story is not the direct experience of the speaker, why doesn’t he use the “they say” device? The idea of direct experience has certain implicatures with regard to the dependability or certainty of the information conveyed, and reportives can be a way to flag doubtful information. The speaker of the bible story has the role of an informal religious leader in his community, and he takes biblical material very seriously. He often emphasized to me that the Bible was a source of true information. It may be that his conception of first-hand experience as well as implicatures regarding the validity of information motivated the speaker to choose a more direct frame. Such implicatures are perhaps best referred to in terms of epistemic modes, though they are heavily related to evidential values as well. Whatever the motivation, the absence of a reportive evidential frame in this story, combined with the special religious content, contrasts with the prototypical form of the traditional story as described above.

Example #7: Reported Speech in a Bible Story

(1) Shuk llakta shuk urku-kuna-ta ri-shpa-pish pay-ka maña-shka-mi kimsa-ntin, ari,
 one land one mountains-ACC go-CR-also he-FOC request-PART-AF three-together yes

As they went through the land, the mountains, he requested for the three of them, yes,

(2) chawpi-pi yarika-y **horas** miku-na, miku-na shina **horas**, pay-kuna maña-shka
 middle-LOC hunger-NOM hours food-NOM food-NOM like hours 3-pl ask-PART
 in the middle (of the day), the time when they hungered, food, food-time, they requested,

(3) shuk **burro mantel**-ta pampa-mi **monta**-shpa, “Ari **Dios**” ni-shpa, “Ari yaya” ni-shpa, ari,
 one donkey blanketDO ground-AF pile-CR yes god say-CR yes father sayCR yes
 spreading a donkey blanket on the ground saying “Yes God,” saying “Yes father,” yes

(4) kashna ni-shpa maña-shka, “**Ave ave Dios-ito, tene-mos hambre, ten-emos sed**,
 like.this say-CR request-PART ave ave god-DIM have-3PR hunger have3PR thirst
 they requested like this, “Hail, hail, dear God, we are hungry, we are thirsty

(5) **de-me de que de come-r, de-me de que de bebe-r**” ni-shpa pay-kuna ñawi-ta wichka-shpa maña-shpa,
 give-me of that of eat-INF give-me of that of drink-INF say-CR 3-pl eye-ACC close-CR request-CR
 give me something to eat, give me something to drink,” so saying they closed their eyes, requesting,

(6) ñawi-ta paska-kpi chawpi urku-pi
 eyes-ACC open-SR middle mountain-LOC
 and when they opened their eyes there in the middle of the mountains

chay **mantel** junta-ta-mi mikuna-ta **alimento**-ta siri-chi.shka Tayta **Dios**-ka.”
 that blanket full-ACC-AF food-ACC nutrient-ACC lie.CAUS.PART lord god-FOC
 the blanket filled, Lord God had laid out food.

This example also features an extended section of codeswitching in lines (4) and (5). Unlike the unmarked intrasentential codeswitching shown in examples #1 and #2, however, this

example shows an intersentential switch that is framed as reported or quoted speech. The other Spanish-origin items outside of the quotes are single words that, like those in examples #3 and #4, are established borrowings. It is within the boundaries of reported speech that full Spanish grammar is represented.

One point worth considering while examining this kind of codeswitching is that, although some Quichua religious texts exist, religious prayer as a local speech genre is often performed in Spanish even by those who are virtually monolingual Quichua speakers. The prayerful nature of the utterance within the bible story may have triggered a switch to Spanish, a code associated with prayer in local constructions of speech genre. A Quichua speaker might hear this as a genre nested within a genre, a prayer within a bible story.

Further examination of a range of genres and speech styles shows quoted speech as a likely place for a code switch into Spanish. Some of the earlier typologies of codeswitching have noted that in many different bilingual regions reported speech is frequently associated with code switches (Gumperz, 1982). While this is certainly true, such switches can be further categorized according to Voloshinov's linear/pictorial distinction cited earlier. These more linear instances of reported speech, which include cues such as shifts in pronouns, show a strong correlation with the boundaries of sections of bilingual speech.

10. Saying It as It was Said

In example #8 below, quoted Spanish is used in a highly illustrative manner as part of a personal narrative. While in example #7 the quoted Spanish does not appear to index any particular meaning beyond the construction of a specific register for prayer, the reported speech in example

#8 explicitly represents dialogue spoken Spanish, and the code switch is integral to the telling of this particular personal narrative. Language is one of the major issues dealt with in the narrative, and the speaker illustrates the kind of bilingual context that Quichua people navigate by artfully switching codes.

Example #8: Reported Speech in Personal Narrative

(1) Ñuka warmi-ta **duda-rka** ni-n, kutin, pay na **castilla** parla-n,

1sgPOSS wife-ACC doubt-3PAST say-3PR, however, 3sg no Castilian speak-3PR

My wife says (they) doubted (her), however; she does not speak Castilian.

(2) kay mishu **gente-kuna puro castellano** parla-k-kuna ka-n, **lengua** parla-k-kuna.

this mestizo person-pl pure Castilian speak-AG-pl be-3sg language speak-AG-pl

These mestizo people are pure Castilian speakers, speakers of that language.

(3) Kay ñuka warmi-ka — **solo-ka** ñuka parla-ku-ni — chay **palabra** kichwa-ta parla-n, mana pudin.

This 1POSS wife-FOC only-FOC 1sg speak-CON-1sg that word Quichua-ACC speak-3sg no be.able-3sg

So my wife—just I speak (Spanish)—she speaks in Quichua, she cannot (speak Spanish)

(4) Ñuka-ka ñuka-ka chay **oficina-kuna** yayku-shka, ñuka-ka ni-ni “**Buen-os día-s de dios, señorita licenciada,**

1-FOC 1-FOC-TO that office-pl enter-PART 1-FOC say-1sg good-pl day-pl of god miss licentiate

I, I entered that office and I said “Good morning of God, Miss Licentiate (holder of college degree),

(5) **que tuv-iera voluntad, tiene paciencia que, de haga favor-cito, aqui tengo una cedula,**

that have-2sgSUB will have2sg patience that of doSUB favor-DIM here have1sg aFEM ID.card
if you would be so kind to have the patience to do me a little favor, I have an ID card here,

(6) **vine a cobra-r, que me de la, da da-ndo, ese bono, plati-ta de bono,**
come1sgPAST to collect-INF that me of theFEM give3sg give-CR that benefit money-DIM of benefit
I came to collect, for you to give me, go ahead and give me that benefit, the little bit of benefit money.”

(7) **entonces “Bueno, señor,” le presente, le convers-amos,** chashna parla-nchik.

so good sir it present3sg it converse-1pl like.that speak-1pl
so (she said) “Of course, sir,” and she presented it, and we conversed about it, we talked like that.

(8) Kutin ñuka warmi na parla-y pudi-n, na parla-y pudi-n, **nega-n,** mancha-n.
now 1POSS wife no speak-NOM be.able-3sg no speak-NOM be.able-3sg refuse-3sg get.scared-3sg
However my wife cannot speak (Spanish), cannot speak (Spanish), she refuses, she gets scared.

In the first line, the speaker uses the word *nin*, but in this case it means not “they say” but “she says,” since he is reporting what his wife told him. The other cases of reported speech, in particular the exchange at the office, were actually directly experienced by speaker, spoken by him or to him. Because the words were spoken in Spanish, and because pointing out that they were spoken in Spanish is important in this narrative about multilingual life, the quoted words are also presented in Spanish. This is a common strategy that many Quichua speakers use when recounting situations in which Spanish was spoken: narration in Quichua with quotation in Spanish. The long switch to Spanish appears to have an interesting affect on the speaker’s switch back to Quichua, however, so that the Spanish language persists for a few seconds after the quoted speech ends. This kind of switch is less easily explained strictly based on the

boundaries of reported speech, but one possible explanation is that once the speaker was in a sustained performance of Spanish, returning to Quichua took a couple seconds of adjustment.

Quoted Spanish in Quichua context can appear in many places and is not confined to personal narrative. Stories that use the reportive “they say” device described above occasionally contain short quotes in Spanish, especially when told by younger Quichua speakers. Bilingual speech combines with reported speech, creating complex, multi-layered information: “they say that he said (in Spanish).”

12. Intergenerational Re-generation

Returning to the discussion of Quichua traditional storytelling, I will end this paper with a revealing example of the relationship among Quichua storytelling, reported speech, and bilingual speech across generations. I began by stating that studying the relationships among different linguistic features is a way to approach systems of integrated, interacting phenomena in language. Thinking about such systems through the way they are transferred from speaker to speaker over time helps illustrate what kind of changes are taking place in performance practices of verbal art in languages like Quichua.

As in the bible story above, some instances of Spanish quotation in Quichua stories describe events not assumed to be the direct experience of the speaker but have more to do with storytelling style. In that sense, Spanish quotation in storytelling may be optional and more at the discretion of the storyteller than if it were reported speech from personal experience. To illustrate this I will give examples from two versions of the same story as performed by a

grandfather and his grandson in which the same quote was presented in Quichua in one version and in Spanish in another.

The story is a variation of a common theme in which a band of traveling animals, here a cat and a sheep, manage to frighten a group of villains, often thieves but here lions and tigers, and live happily ever after in the house of the evil characters. Example #9 is taken from near the climax of the grandfather's story. This excerpt complies with the basic guidelines for Quichua traditional stories as set forth earlier—it contains limited Spanish content and is framed as reported speech:

Example #9: Generational Difference in Storytelling Style (Part One)

- (1) Jawa **alto**-pi talak talak talak ri-rka llama **tigre** kancha-man mitiku-rka “Alli” ni-shpa
 above high-LOC talak talak talak go3PAST sheep tiger outside-to flee-3sgPAST good say-CR
 Above from up high TALAK TALAK TALAK went the llama, making the tiger flee outside, saying “Good.”
- (2) chay-manta llama **silva**-rka nin “Japi-y! Miku-y! Tukuchi-y! Japi-y! Kati-y!” ni-shpa.
 there-from sheep whistle-3sgPAST say3PR grab-IMP eat-IMP destroy-IMP grab-IMP follow-IMP say-CR
 Then the llama whistled, they say, “Grab them! Eat them! Destroy them! Grab them! Follow them!” saying.
- (3) Shina ni-kpi-ka **tigre** kancha-man ri-rka wasi-ta shita-shpa
 like.that say-SR-FOC tiger outside-to go-3sgPAST house-ACC throw-CR
 So saying, (the) tiger went outside, throwing away (his) house.

The storyteller in example #9 has told this story often to his grandchildren, and some of the younger generation now tell their own versions. His twelve-year-old grandson told a shorter version of the same story, including less elaborate details than his grandfather but using many of

the same tones and rhythms, making it evident who had been his teacher. The grandson made certain modifications, however, one of which simultaneously involved reported speech and bilingual speech—the long string of five quoted exclamations was reduced to two words and switched to Spanish.

Example #10: Generational Difference in sStorytelling Style (Part Two)

(1) Chay-manta chay **leon-kuna malicia-rka garra-pi** tak tak tak pampaya-mu-rka, ñachu?

That-from that lion-pl suspect-3PAST claw-LOC tak tak tak fall-DIR-3sgPAST right

Then the lions suspected, on (his) claw TAK TAK TAK it fell, right?

(2) Chay-manta izh-ta miti-ku-rka punku-ta paska-shpa shita-shpa.

that-from fast-ACC flee-CON-3sgPAST door-ACC open-CR throw-CR

Then they were made to flee, throwing the door open.

(3) Chay-manta llama-ka jawa-man llukshi-shpa “**Coglele! comele!**” ni-shpa **silva-rka**.

that-from sheep-ACC above-from come.out-CR grabIMP eatIMP say-CR whistle-3sgPAST

Then the sheep came out from above “Grab them! Eat them!” saying, he whistled.

(4) Chay-manta pay-kuna-pak wasi tukuri-n.

That-from 3-pl-POSS house end.up-3sg

Then (it) ended up (being) their house.

As in examples #5, #6, and #7 above, the multi-word Spanish code switch is framed as reported speech. Where the grandfather had placed a string of Quichua imperatives with a repeating rhythmic parallelism (*japiy, mikuy, tukichiy, japiy, katiy*), his grandson inserts a shorter string of two Spanish imperatives. Contrasting with the other Spanish-origin items in this

except, which are all fully integrated into Spanish morphology in a way that resembles examples #3 and #4 above, these two Spanish imperatives reflect Spanish grammatical relationships, each one being a verb and pronoun pair: “*coge-le, come-le,*” literally “grab him, eat him.” Although this is still a very limited form of codeswitching in Quichua traditional storytelling, it contrasts with the version in example #7, in which Spanish content is limited to loanwords.

To put this young storyteller’s innovation in some social context, it is worth noting that the younger generations of Quichua speakers tend to have more contact with Spanish than the older members of their families, with increased formal education, transportation, and media such as television and radio. Many parents encourage Spanish usage among their children and often speak to them in Spanish, notably using many imperatives like the ones shown in the reported speech from example #10. Language contact, bilingualism, and all of the social and linguistic aspects of these phenomena are part of a constantly changing situation that will modify Quichua speakers’ performance of verbal art as well as many other aspects of the lives of Quichua people in the years to come.

13. Linking Aspects of Quichua Speech

In this paper I have explored the relationships among aspects of speech genre, reported speech, and bilingual speech in Ecuadorian Quichua. These three topics have particular connections that link to form a larger, interrelated system. Given the complex network of relationships among them, seeking to understand one of these topics means learning something about all three. This is an open-ended methodology, and I could very well have incorporated discussions of other linguistic features such as prosody or register, or addressed evidentiality further with regard to

social relations of politeness, or explored further ethnographic themes such as the identity of the speaker as narrator or storyteller. The boundaries for an integrated analysis of apparently “separate” features of discourse need to be set by the specifics of each project of analysis, of course taking into account that the more features one addresses the more unwieldy the argument might become. Drawing the boundaries around the three aspects that I chose to discuss allows a scope wide enough to show how they are interrelated but specific enough to present in a series of connected main points.

I began by noting that many Quichua people use extensive intrasentential codeswitching as one of their unmarked codes for everyday conversation. I then contrasted that kind of extreme language mixing with Quichua traditional storytelling, which contains only more integrated borrowings from Spanish. I suggested that one important characteristic of Quichua stories, as they are understood and constituted as a local genre, is limited Spanish content.

I also showed how Quichua uses reportive evidential marking conveyed by a speech verb to frame traditional stories as information that is not direct experience but something orally transmitted from speaker to speaker. The traditional story’s frame of second-hand information carries implications of epistemic uncertainty and contrasts with examples of other locally recognized genres such as bible stories, which may be assumed to be truths even though they are not directly experienced, and personal narratives, which the speaker can claim as direct experience. When performing these genres a Quichua speaker would not usually evidentially frame them as reported speech and often would add more Spanish content than in the performance of traditional stories.

Interestingly, the Spanish content in Quichua verbal art is frequently represented as quoted speech, a kind of reported speech different from that which is used to evidentially mark

traditional stories. Quotes in Spanish are sometimes accurate representations of dialogue that actually occurred in Spanish and sometimes simply reflect the bilingual storyteller's verbal artistry and ability to expressively use multiple codes. Although such Spanish quotes are good examples of extended code switches, they are intersentential switches that contrast with the extensive intrasentential switches that are often used in conversation. Personal narrative may sometimes show a degree of intrasentential switching, but traditional storytelling virtually never does so.

In the last example, I showed how a young storyteller had replaced a section of reported Quichua with a section of reported Spanish in his re-telling of a story he learned from his grandfather. It may be that language contact and shift will slowly allow intersentential Spanish code switches, especially in sections of reported speech, to become a part of Quichua storytelling style. However, as of yet there is no evidence that Quichua storytelling will eventually shift into a highly mixed mode of intrasentential switching, even though the same bilinguals who tell stories often converse in such a mode.

As I noted above, the scope of a discussion of interrelated features of a language like those I addressed here can be widened to incorporate even more linguistic and social aspects; one point that should be brought up, if only in closing, is the socio-linguistic context that Quichua exists in today, one of extreme language mixture, ongoing language shift, and increasing pressure of Spanish through the channels of media, school systems, circular migration, and other aspects of indigenous life in Ecuador. The fact that traditional Quichua storytelling has resisted increases in Spanish content for so long contrasts with the way that other local genres and modes of speech have become highly mixed. Woodbury (1998) suggests that expressive aspects of indigenous verbal art can be—and almost inevitably will be—lost in language shift. Attempts to

translate traditional indigenous style have met with such great obstacles that some suggest that translation into European languages is virtually impossible if the goal is to preserve the original forms or meanings (one example in Jocks, 1998). It may be that Quichua traditional stories, with their distinctively Quichua form, simply will not be translated into Spanish or into a more mixed code since limited Spanish content is one of the factors that distinguishes them as a genre among Quichua speakers. Complex systems of relationships and genre organization like the one described in this paper are certainly language-specific to a large degree. Dynamic situations of language contact are reshaping many aspects of verbal art, but as current trends in language shift continue, many traditional styles will no longer be heard, along with the languages in which they are performed.

Key to abbreviations

1, 2, 3 = person	INF = infinitive	ACC = accusative
pl = plural	CR = continued reference	FOC = focus marker
POSS = possessive	SR= switch reference	INT = interrogative
COND = conditional	IMP = imperative	LOC = locative
CON = continuative	PART = participle	LIM = limitative
PR = present	AG = agentive	NOM = nominal
PAST = past	LOC = locative	AF =affirmative
FUT = future	DIR = directional	
SUB = subjunctive	DIM = diminutive	

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