Towards a Reference-Based Genre Knowledge Model of Quechua Folk Tales

Hacia un modelo de conocimiento del género narrativo basado en referencias a cuentos populares quechuas

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Abstract: This article presents a reference-based genre knowledge model for Quechua folk tales (*kwintus*) based on an in-depth analysis of referential categories with the potential of characterizing a genre. Embedded in a cognitive framework, the study combines a data-driven approach, analyzing both discrete and non-discrete units as well as constructions, with a top-down approach starting from (genre specific) conceptual structures such as the role types proposed by Propp. By examining six folk tales related in Cuzco Quechua, shared linguistic features are hypothesized as central features of the genre of *kwintus*, while features determined by individual or stylistic choices are less representative.

Keywords: Quechua folk tales; genre knowledge; text referents; Proppian role types; referential stability; referential density; referential lexicality; perspective.

Resumen: Este artículo presenta un modelo de conocimiento del género narrativo basado en referencias a los cuentos populares quechuas (*kwintus*), sobre la base de un análisis en profundidad de las categorías referenciales con potencial para caracterizar un género narrativo. A partir de un marco cognitivo, este estudio combina un enfoque basado en datos –que analiza tanto las unidades discretas y no discretas como las construcciones– con un enfoque *top-down* que parte de estructuras conceptuales (específicas del género) como los tipos de roles de Propp. Mediante el examen de seis cuentos populares contados en quechua cuzqueño, se hipotetiza que los rasgos lingüísticos compartidos son rasgos centrales del género de los *kwintus*, mientras que los rasgos determinados por elecciones individuales o estilísticas son menos representativos.

Palabras clave: cuentos populares quechua; conocimiento de género narrativo; referentes del texto; tipos de roles de Propp; estabilidad referencial; densidad referencial; lexicalidad referencial; perspectiva.

1. Background and goal

This study is based on my dissertation project on describing a narrative typology of folk tales in Cuzco Quechua (Peng 2019). The main goal is to propose a reference-based genre knowledge model for traditional Quechua narrative, with a focus on agonists (agentive referents). The study is largely inspired by the work of Schulze (2018) on event image structures in narration as well as by genre studies within the Construction Grammar framework (Östman 2005; Nikiforidou 2016). Schulze defines genre as "a semiotic unit that combines a set of 'expression types' (in its broadest sense) with a conceptual layer" (2018, 168). In Nikiforidou's study on genre knowledge of Greek folk tales with a constructional approach, genre is "thought of as a frame creating conventional expectations in the choice and interpretation of lexis and grammar" (2016, 354). Following these cognitive approaches, the genre knowledge model proposed in this study consists of both conceptual structures and their linguistic expressions.

Based on the cognitive principle of "a prototype-based organization of genres and instances of genre" (Nikiforidou 2016, 348), the study starts from the premise that the genre knowledge model of Quechua folk tales consists of a set of central features shared by most of the instances of this genre. Moreover, this core structure is activated at the beginning of a narrative event as "part of the entrenched and conventionalized knowledge system" of the Quechua community (Schulze 2018, 173). Performance-centered studies have shown that folk tales can be varied by individual motivation of the narrator or the storytelling context.[1] These variations are seen as less representative features in the genre knowledge model.

In Quechua studies, linguistic research on oral narrative has focused on the grammatical categories of tense, aspect, epistemic modality, and especially evidentiality (Howard-Malverde 1989; Hintz 2007; Hintz 2011; Howard 2012; Howard 2018; and others). These works have mainly dealt with central Quechua dialects. The present study thus offers new insights into this field of research by examining reference-based genre features in Cuzco Quechua – a Southern Quechua variety.

2. Establishing conceptual and linguistic categories

As genres are defined as semiotic units with cognitive underpinnings and linguistic expressions, the modelling of a genre knowledge system can start with one of the two levels. Linguistically, the domain of reference can be examined along the continuum of lexis and grammar. The basic units for text counts conducted in this study include text referents/agonists, referential expressions in terms of lexical designations, grammatical

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1   Research on this aspect of Quechua folk tales has investigated individually reshaped traditional tales in Huamalíes Quechua (Howard-Malverde 1989; Howard 2018) and narratives in conversational form in Southern Peruvian and Bolivian Quechua (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998), among other subjects.

relations, and topic types as well as covert referential units, referring to conceptually existent referents in 'event images' underlying simple clauses.[2] The statistics are used to quantify and establish semantic categories like classes of nominal concepts underlying referential designation and referent types based on textual importance. Linguistic indexes such as referential stability and referential density are also measured based on the text counts. Following the 'syntagmatic' approach of including non-discrete units in genre analysis (Legallois, Charnois, and Larjavaara 2018; Schnedecker 2018), the study further looks at textual distribution of referential units such as that of noun anaphors referring to agonists apart from quantitative analyses. These linguistic features are then interpreted as manifestations of pertaining conceptual structures and cognitive processes.

One of the conceptual structures is the notion of perspective. In cognitive approaches to grammar, perspective belongs to the most fundamental conceptual structures.[3] The prominence of perspective in genre analysis is demonstrated by Nikiforidou in her study on Greek folk tales: "all features identified as part of the formal makeup of the genre pertain to perspective as part of their conventional semantic-pragmatic import" like the use of tense effecting a momentary zooming on the narrated events (2016, 348). The present study will show that some genre features of Quechua folk tales are affected by perspective in relation to narrative levels and narrative perspective in the sense of characters' points of view (Genette 1980, 186).

Another part of the analysis starts from conceptual structures and then investigates their linguistic expressions. The genre of folk tales has been studied extensively by functionalists and anthropologists in terms of its system of concepts, roles, and themes (Nikiforidou 2016, 346-347). Relevant for the domain of reference is the system of roles established by the Russian functionalist Propp (2009 [1927]). This study examines how these role types, or *dramatis personae*, are represented by agonists of the Quechua tales and further, how they are encoded in simple clauses in terms of semantic roles.

The following three categories are investigated in this study: lexical designation of agonists, types of roles and referents, and referential configuration in the organization of discourse. The first category deals with nominal concepts and role conceptualization underlying referential expressions of agonists. In the second category, agonists are viewed in the frameworks of Proppian roles and referent types based on textual importance. The third category examines two aspects from the organization of discourse: frequencies and distribution of overt referential expressions (in relation to covert ones)

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2 Schulze (2018) uses the term 'event image' to refer to the conceptual layer of a simple clause. In this study, simple clauses are clauses that contain one verb phrase, finite or non-finite.

3 According to Talmy (2000), perspective is one of the four schematic systems (along with configurational structure, attention, and force dynamics) that structure the meaning of the grammatical subsystem of language. In Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (2008), perspective is one aspect of construal (along with specificity, focusing, and prominence) underlying the meaning of an expression.

as well as the introduction of referents.[4] While the first two categories focus on agonists and lexical-semantic aspects, the third category examines grammatical-syntactic features based on all referential elements.

3. Data and method of analysis

The corpus of the study consists of six folk tales related in Cuzco Quechua, recorded from 1905 to 2000 by four different ethnographers (Uhle 1968; Lira 1990; Payne 2000; Itier 2007) (more basic information in Table 1).[5] The tales are called *kwintus* in Quechua (from Spanish *cuento*), stories that unfold in another world-age (Allen 1993, 91) or in a generic time and space (Howard 2018, 7). They all contain the recurrent theme of human-animal relationship from traditional Quechua narrative (Allen 2011, 44; Howard 2018, 24). MU ("A shepherdess and a bear"), JL ("The she-bear who has three sons"), and CI ("About a bear") are based on the son-of-bear story,[6] a well-known *kwintu* in the Andes with two main parts showing resemblance to three European tales (Itier 2007, 145-154). SIS ("Siskucha") is a two-part story about a boy's obsession with a dove girl, seamlessly combined with the story of the fox-condor-rivalry. SN ("The girl who has a snake husband") relates the liaison of a girl with a snake and her salvation by her parents. JP ("The she-calf") is again a combined story about the birth of a she-calf and a boy's obsession with her with elements from a Quechua myth as well as international and European tales (Peng 2019, 70).

As for the four older tales, there is no direct information about their storytellers or the circumstances under which the stories were recorded. Nevertheless, they share several formal features with the two more recent tales, which were orally told by bilingual speakers in Quechua and Spanish. The six tales belong to a similar text type in terms of lexical richness as suggested by their similar token-type ratios with a mean value of 1.74 (Peng 2019, 88); they all begin with the typical opening phrase for a *kwintu*: (*huq* +) *NP-s(i)* + *kasqa* 'once upon a time, there was a/were ...'; inter-clausal conjunctions (analogous to 'and then') are used to combine sequences of events; different grammatical tenses are used to mark different parts of a narrative: For instance, the narrative past mainly marks the beginning of a story and background information material, whereas the historical present marks most of the primary storyline (Peng 2019, 156). Stylistic differences between the six

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4   Due to space constraints, the topic of referential tracking in terms of anaphoric forms and referential distance/reference chains cannot be covered in this paper. For analyses in my dissertation see Peng (2019, 108-119).

5   For summaries of the tales see Peng (2019, 233-238). Section 4.2.1 includes a short summary of MU.

6   Following the definitions by Howard-Malverde (1989, 8), MU and CI can be considered two 'versions' of the same 'variant', whereas JL represents another "variant" of the son-of-bear story combined with another story. Although MU and CI do not have the exact same content, their storylines are quite similar. The part in JL that is based on the son-of-bear story, however, distinguishes itself strongly from MU and CI; the genders of the bear and his victim are swapped as well.

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI
Name of the story	*Ovejera p'asñamanta ukukumantawan* 'A shepherdess and a bear'	*Siskuchamanta* 'Siskucha'	*Ukuku kimsa wawayuqmanta* 'The she-bear who has three sons'	*Mach'aqway qhariyuqmanta* 'The girl who has a snake husband'	*Wakacha* 'The she-calf'	*Ukukumanta* 'About a bear'
Collector / Storyteller	Max Uhle / unknown		Jorge Lira / unknown		Johnny Payne / Teodora Paliza (69 y.o., Cuzco, bilingual Que./ Span.)	César Itier / Francisca Palomino (Cachora, bilingual Que./Span.)
Time of recording	~1905		1930s/40s		~1984	July, 2000
Token number	1226 (shortened)	905	1966	1221	1463	813
Stylistic differences	elaborate dialogic parts: high portion of dialogs, poetic phrasing, question-answer pairs, detailed hypodiegetic narration in SIS		Features of literary tale: frequent use of adnominal forms, elaborate temporal expressions, zoom-in construction		features of orality: frequent use of interjections and onomatopoeia, omission of dialogic matrix clauses, high portion of verbless clauses	least elaborate narrative: low dialogic portion, fewer descriptive details

Table 1. Basic information of the corpus.

tales are as summarized in the last row in Table 1. Note that linguistic features based on textual idiosyncrasies are less representative for the genre knowledge model (see Section 5).

For data processing, the six texts were digitized and deposited in a MySQL database by the author. After being imported into a table in a tokenized form, the texts were comprehensively annotated in terms of morphemes, phrases, grammatical relations, text referents (including covert referents), clause number etc. Analyses in this study are based on data queries from these tables. For example, for the investigation of nominal concepts underlying referent designation (see Section 4.1.1), nominal phrases referring to agonists were first extracted from the tables. The query results were further annotated in terms of lexical bases and semantic classes in a new table where their frequencies were queried.

In terms of selection of material, all six tales are examined in their full length in most of the quantitative analyses.[7] When the tales show similar numerical values in a category, the mean value is hypothesized as a central feature of Quechua folk tales. When the results span a numerical range, cross-genre data are needed to determine if the range or one end of the range is characteristic of the genre. In the case of nominal concepts that designate agonists, the results from the six tales are added together to generate a whole picture. As for non-discrete units like the choices of noun anaphors for agonists, text excerpts are quoted to illustrate the feature in question. In the linguistic analysis of Proppian roles, one tale is selected as an example due to time and space constraints; the representativity of the results is discussed subsequently.

4. Referential categories: Conceptual structures and linguistic features

4.1 Lexical designation of agonists

4.1.1 Nominal concepts and role conceptualization

Nominal concepts referring to agonists are investigated in terms of lexical bases of their referential expressions. In Table 2, the nominal concepts represented in the present Quechua tales are classified into seven semantic categories.[8] The categories are ordered by descending frequency from left to right, as indicated by the percentages in the bottom row of the table. In every column of the table, nominal concepts are ordered by descending frequency from top to bottom, with the eight most frequent terms (between 37 and 67 occurrences) set in boldface.

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7   In section 4.3.2, four tales were analyzed, with one tale from each story collection.

8   Quechua synonyms or their Spanish loans are subsumed under one nominal concept. For example, the nominal concept 'Girl' includes the two Quechua words *p'asña* and *sipas* along with the Spanish loan *chika*. The four nominal concepts in the category of form of address all contain kinship terms that are used in a non-kin relationship. Because of their derived meanings they are not listed under family relationship.

Human (generic)	Family and spiritual relationships	Animal	Form of address (non-kin)	Social status and profession	Supernatural being	Proper name
Girl **Baby/Child** **Person/People** **Boy** Young man Man Woman	**Mother** **Father** Parents Son Daughter Godfather Godchild	**Bear** Condor Dove Hummingbird Snake Young animal Cow Parrot Fox Cat Eagle	**Lady** Uncle Sir Brother	Mestizo Priest Schoolboy Seer	Condenado Devil God	Siskucha
28.14 % (Percentage of total occurrences)	23.25 %	20.08 %	11.23 %	8.06 %	5.15 %	4.10 %

Table 2. Nominal concepts of agonists and their semantic classes
in Quechua folk tales.

The results show the underlying conceptualization of agonist roles in the selected Quechua folk tales. The two most frequent role types are human roles determined by age and gender as well as those defined by family and spiritual relationships. They are followed by animal roles, whose above-average lexical frequency reflects the shared motif of human-animal interaction among the selected tales. The category of animal roles further stands out with its conceptual diversity. It includes three prominent figures of Quechua folk tales: the Bear, the Condor, and the Fox. The tales also feature various types of birds, which are typical mythic figures in the Andes (Steele and Allen 2004, 107-109). Among the eight most frequent nominal concepts, three of those that are at the top of their respective columns depict female roles: Girl, Mother, and Lady. This has to do with the recurring motif of female tragedy in the present corpus. In French fairy tales, analogously, the recurring theme of children left to their own devices is reflected in the high frequency of lexical terms related to children (Schnedecker 2018, 54).

4.1.2   Textual distribution of noun anaphors

Having looked at the quantitative distribution of nominal concepts, we will now turn to the textual distribution of referential expressions of agonists. The choice of these noun anaphors is in general affected by the narrative level and the point of view within a narrative level.

In reported speech, characters use terms of address different from those the narrator uses to refer to them. Kinship terms occur in vocative forms with the last syllable stressed: e.g. *mamáy* 'My mum!', *papá* 'Dad!', *taytáy* 'Sir! '(literally: 'my father'). Characters can

also be given nicknames such as *suit'u,* 'the long-snouted one' for the Fox[9] (SIS) and *misti q'ala*, 'Mr. Naked' for the Mayor (JL), who was naked when rescued by a she-bear.

Within the level of narrated events, two types of contexts are found sensitive to change of noun anaphors: physical transformation and interaction between characters in a family or spiritual relationship. The excerpt from the tale MU in (1) shows the beginning of the story where the Bear appears in the form of a young man to approach the shepherdess. In the first part of the excerpt, the Bear is referred to as *ukuku* 'bear'. After several lines of dialog, in the second part of the excerpt, its reference changes to *maqta*, 'young man'. The choice of the second anaphor is triggered by a change of perspective towards the character Girl, since she sees the Bear as a young man, not as a bear.

(1) *Hinaspa urqupi ovejata michikuskaqtin, **ukuku**qa maqtaman tukuspa, riqhurin p'asñamanqa. Paipas ovejallantintaq. Hinaspa **ukuku**qa nin p'asñata: "Yao sipas, michikusiasunchu ovejata?" nispa. Hinaspa p'asñaqa nin: "Chai taitai, michikusunyá!" nispa. Chaiqa michikusianku.*
One day when the girl was grazing sheep on the mountain, **the bear**, disguised as a young man, appeared in front of her. He also had sheep with him. Then **the bear** said to the girl: "Hey girl, shall we graze sheep together?" The girl said: "Alright sir, let's do it!" The next moment they were grazing sheep together. [...]

*Hinaspa **maqta**qa nillantaq: "A ver, puqllakusunyá!" nispa nin, **maqta**qa. Chaiqa p'asñaqa: "Bueno" nin. Hinaspa q'ipin p'asñaqa primerta. "Siempre ñawita ch'imllispapuni." nin **maqta**qa p'asñata.*
Then **the young man** said: "Well, let's play!" said **the young man**. The girl said: "Okay." Then the girl carried him first. "Keep your eyes closed all the time," said **the young man** to the girl. [...]
(MU)

The following example in (2) from the same story shows two family members in interaction. The first clause introduces the Boy-bear as *ukukuq churin* 'son of bear' into the story; his mother is referred to as *p'asña* 'girl'. Afterwards, the references of the two characters are switched to the kinship terms *wawan* 'her child' and *maman* 'his mother' respectively (-*n* as the possessive suffix for third person[10]). The use of kinship terms or terms of spiritual relationships in the reference of two interacting characters is typical for the present corpus, showing the importance of these relationships in Quechua folk

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9   The first letter of the name of a character is capitalized (except in translations).
10   Kinship terms are used obligatorily with a possessive suffix in Quechua. In a stretch of discourse like (2), possessive suffixes may not have the same anaphoric function as for instance possessive pronouns in English do. The literal translation of the excerpt in (2) thus sounds a little unusual in that English speakers would probably not alternate between two noun anaphors with a possessive pronoun for such a long stretch of text without referring to one referent by a pronoun.

tales. In contrast to excerpt (2), the Boy-bear is referred to as "son of bear" again in the later part of the story where he is no longer taken care of by his family and his godfather.

(2) *Hinaspa **ukukuq churin**ta wachakapun **p'asña**qa. Chaiqa **wawan**qa qharicha kasqa, uña ukukucha. Aichatari mana munankama apan, borregotaraq waka aichataraq hina. Chaiqa **wawachan**qa hatunchaña, ña tawa pisqa watachayuqña. Hinas **maman**qa sapa p'unchai waqasqallampi. Chaiqa **wawan**qa nin: "Mamai, imamantataq sapa p'unchairi waqanki?" nispa. Chaiqa **maman**qa willan: [...] Hinaspa **wawan**qa nin: [...]*
Then **the girl** gave birth to a son for the bear (**son of bear**). **Her child** was a little boy-bear. She brought him meat like lamb and beef until he didn't want any anymore. Then **her little child** became big, about four or five years old. **His mother** was crying every day. One day **her child** asked her: "Mother, why do you cry every day?" **His mother** said: [...] Then **her child** said: [...]
(MU)

4.2 Types of roles and referents

4.2.1   The Proppian system of roles and their textual behavior

The Russian structuralist Propp has established 31 'functions' and seven role types as recurring elements in Russian fairy tales. A 'function' is "understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action" (Propp 2009 [1927], 21). The seven role types, also called *dramatis personae*, are performers of their respective "spheres of action" consisting of certain "functions" (Propp 2009 [1927], 79-80). For instance, the sphere of action of the villain includes villainy, a fight or other forms of struggle with the hero, and pursuit of the hero. Five of the Proppian *dramatis personae* can be identified in the present Quechua tales: villain, donor, helper, dispatcher, and hero. The story MU ("A shepherdess and a bear") is taken as an example to show the distribution of these role types in a Quechua tale. A short summary of the story is given in the following:

A bear kidnaps a shepherdess and keeps her captive. The girl gives birth to a boy-bear. After learning about his mother's story, the boy-bear helps her escape. The bear is informed by a hummingbird about the escape of his wife and son. When he follows them to the girl's home, he is killed there (Part I).

The girl and her family fail to socialize the boy-bear, who behaves violently and has caused a lot of damage. He is then handed over to the priest, who also cannot keep him under control. After trying to murder him in vain, the priest sends the boy-bear away. On his way, the boy-bear meets a schoolboy who becomes his companion. The boy-bear decides to go to a village together despite being warned about a *condenado* who haunts the place; the scared schoolboy follows him. At the hacienda of the *condenado*, the boy-bear defeats him after a ferocious fight and frees the former *hacendado*. In gratitude for his salvation, he gives the boy-bear his property (Part II).

In Table 3, the Proppian dramatis personae are assigned to the seven most important characters of the tale. The first part of the tale is centered around a victim[11] and a villain. After the death of the villain, the victim's helper, the Boy-bear, becomes the hero in the second part of the story where he is confronted with two dispatchers, a companion and an opponent who gives him something valuable at the end (thus termed 'hostile donor'[12]). Two role types do not belong to the Proppian dramatis personae: the messenger and the hero's companion. The Hummingbird can be seen as the helper of the villain, whereas the Proppian helper is only designated for the hero. The main function of the Schoolboy as the hero's companion is to be a contrast to the Boy-bear's audacious behavior.

Characters	Dramatis personae	
	Part I	Part II
Girl	victim	dispatcher
Bear	villain	
Boy-bear	helper	hero
Hummingbird	messenger	
Priest		dispatcher
Schoolboy		hero's companion
Condenado		hostile donor

Table 3. Dramatis personae in the son-of-bear tale MU.

Linguistically, interactions between the characters as dramatis personae can be examined in terms of semantic roles manifested in simple clauses. By assigning the two macroroles defined by Van Valin (2001, 30), "actor" and "undergoer",[13] it can be determined which character acts upon the other in a simple clause. In Figure 1, the seven characters of MU are connected by arrows pointing from a semantic actor to a semantic undergoer. The numbers on the arrows indicate frequency.

Two types of role dynamics can be observed. In the first one, two of the dramatis personae alternate in the roles of actor and undergoer almost equally often, as in the cases of Bear (villain)/Hummingbird (helper), Bear (villain)/Girl (victim),[14] and Boy-bear (hero)/Condenado (hostile donor). This can be partly explained by action-reaction

11 Or victimized hero, a subtype of hero termed by Propp (2009 [1927], 36).
12 See also Propp (2009 [1927], 51).
13 The two macroroles represent groupings of more active thematic relations (like Agent and Instrument) and less active ones (like Patient and Theme) respectively.
14 In the case of the character Girl as the semantic actor towards the Bear, two plural referents consisting of the Girl and two of her helpers are included in the counting.

pairings in dialog or fighting scenes. In the second type of role dynamics, one of the dramatis personae behaves more actively towards the other, as in the cases of Priest (dispatcher)/Boy-bear (hero) and Boy-bear (hero)/Schoolboy (hero's companion).[15] The function of a dispatcher, by definition, is to send away the hero; he therefore dominates as the semantic actor. As a contrasting figure to the hero, the Schoolboy occurs more often as the semantic undergoer in his interactions with the Boy-bear. The Girl and the Boy-bear have two kinds of relationships: victim/helper and dispatcher/hero; the latter explains why the Girl slightly outnumbers the Boy-bear as the semantic actor.
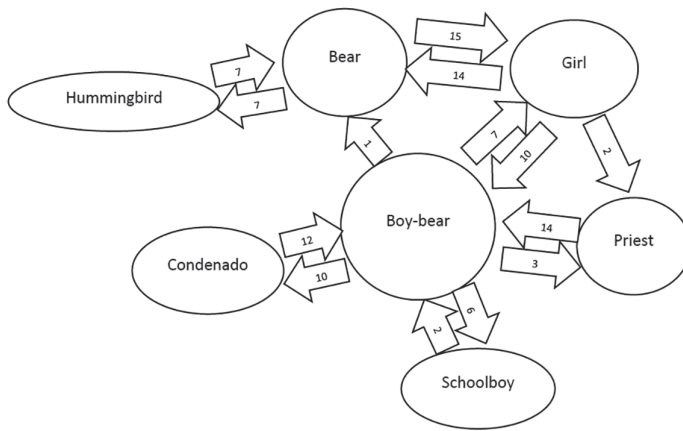

Figure 1. Frequencies of characters as semantic actor in MU.

The role dynamics between the dispatcher and the hero are implied in the definition of the former and thus apply to tales with an underlying Proppian system of roles in general. The first type of role dynamics may be characteristic of Quechua folk tales and narratives with a similar event structure where action-reaction pairings between two interacting roles dominate.

4.2.2   Referent types based on textual importance and referential stability
Agonists can be further categorized into primary actors, secondary actors, and background actors[16] based on their textual importance. Thematically, primary and secondary actors are the most relevant characters in a tale, serving as dramatis personae. They

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15   The interactions between Bear and Boy-bear as well as Girl and Priest are very rare since their spheres of action do not affect each other as *dramatis personae* much.
16   Following Schulze's terminology (2018, 202).

make up 54 % to 77 % of all referential elements[17] in the corpus (Peng 2019, 99). Due to the composite nature of most of the examined Quechua tales, there are usually three to four primary actors with a referential percentage above 7 % respectively. In MU for instance, the primary actors include the Bear (7 %), the Girl (12 %), and the Boy-bear (24 %). Background actors do not qualify as dramatis personae; they are typically family members or a group of people who are not identifiable individually.

Following Michèle Perret, the degree of referential stability (RS) of a certain referent is calculated by the division of "the total number of noun anaphors by the number of different designations" (2000, 17; cited in Schnedecker 2018, 49).[18] The index is used to differentiate genres (Schnedecker 2018) or referent types (Schulze 2018). As for Quechua agonists, the value of RS decreases when characters become less prominent – primary actors (mean value of the six tales): 5.73 > secondary actors: 3.28 > background actors: 1.72. A higher RS value means a higher referential stability and less lexical variations. The most central set of agonists in Quechua tales is thus referentially most stable. However, in comparison to the Udi (East Caucasian) folk tale analyzed by Schulze (2018, 202), where primary actors show a RS value of over 40, character reference in Quechua tales is more elaborate.

4.3 Referential configuration in the organization of discourse

4.3.1 *Referential density and lexicalities of grammatical relations*

Following Noonan (2003), referential density (RD) calculates the percentage of overtly (lexically and pronominally) expressed referents to conceptually existent referents in all simple clauses. In Table 4, the mean value of the first row of RD values of the six Quechua tales is under 0.5, which is considered low typologically in Noonan's study (2003, 6). In Cuzco Quechua, sentence subjects and non-subject SAP's (speech act participant) are encoded by verb-agreement markers. When the verb-agreement markers are added to the overt referential units, the mean RD value of the six tales rises to 0.75, as shown in the second table row.[19] Based on the RD value without verb-agreement markers, the language of Quechua folk tales can be described as verb- or event-prominent (Noonan 2003, 4), since more than half of the conceptually existent referents are expressed by instances of zero-anaphora. According to one of Noonan's assumptions (2003, 3), this means that the speakers' attention is directed more to the event itself than its participants. It is noteworthy that the two orally told tales, JP and CI, show the lowest and the highest RD value (without verb-agreement markers) of

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17   The referential elements counted here include overt and covert clausal arguments, possessor NPs, and possessive suffixes (when there is no possessor NP) (Peng 2019, 97).

18   In this study, lexical bases, i.e. noun phrases trimmed of adnominal elements and grammatical suffixes, are counted as referential designations.

19   Both RD values are close to those measured by Noonan (2003, 11) using data from Huallaga Quechua (Weber 1989): 0.43 and 0.70 respectively.

the corpus respectively. Assuming that the two tales are instances of the same genre narrated in similar situations, the discrepancy can be explained by individual preferences (see below). Cross-genre data from Cuzco Quechua are needed to determine to what degree the RD value of the present corpus is characteristic of the genre of folk tales:

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI	mean value
RD (w/o/ AGR)	0.42	0.43	0.43	0.38	0.35	0.56	0.43
RD (w/ AGR)	0.72	0.70	0.73	0.71	0.71	0.93	0.75

Table 4. Referential density (with and without verb-agreement) of six Quechua tales.

Regarding grammatical relations, the lexicalities of the three core categories – agentive (A; subject of a transitive clause), subjective (S; subject of an intransitive clause), and object (O) – in the six Quechua tales are presented in Table 5. Compared to the results from Haig and Schnell's study (2016, 600) based on nineteen corpora from fifteen languages, the lexicalities of A and S in Quechua are above their typological averages, whereas the lexicality of O lies significantly below it.[20] It is evident that the high number of covert O's has largely contributed to the low referential density of the narratives. Conceptually, this means that Quechua speakers are more attuned to inferring covert sentence objects (in the context of folk tales) than speakers of other languages.

	MU	SIS	JL	SN	JP	CI	mean value
Agentive	32.33 %	39.36 %	26.86 %	26.09 %	8.99 %	23.78 %	26.23 %
Subjective	45.95 %	42.86 %	46.90 %	40.11 %	36.40 %	51.35 %	43.93 %
Object	33.47 %	31.98 %	38.89 %	33.33 %	37.77 %	39.86 %	35.88 %

Table 5. Lexicalities of core grammatical relations in six Quechua tales.

Haig and Schnell (2016, 612) have drawn the conclusion that A and S referring to human subjects are rarely lexical. Despite the high lexicalities of A and S in the Quechua data, human or human-like S has a level of lexicality lower than that of non-human(-like) S and similar to that of A in all six narratives (Peng 2019, 95). This echoes Haig and Schnell's finding in that the feature of humanness impacts the lexicality of sentence subjects negatively.

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20 It should be noted that the linguistic coding system used in this study is slightly different from that of Haig and Schnell (2014). For instance, matrix clauses introducing direct speech are coded as ditransitive in this study, with three semantic roles: the speaker, the addressee, and the speech, which is annotated as a covert element and thus adds to the non-lexical objects. Haig and Schnell, on the contrary, code verbs of speech as intransitive.

Table 5 further shows some intertextual differences especially regarding the lexicality of A. MU and SIS exhibit a much higher lexicality of A than JP, a narrative with a low RD in general (see Table 4). The lexicality of A is closely connected with the lexicality of main agonists encoded as A. In JP, main agonists encoded as A show degrees of lexicality as low as about 5 %. The high lexicality of A in MU and SIS can be partly explained by the frequent lexical mentions of the semantic role 'speaker' in matrix clauses introducing direct speech (Peng 2019, 96). Contrary to that, speakers are often not mentioned lexically in speech introductory clauses in JP, if direct speech is introduced by any matrix clause at all in this narrative. According to Payne (2000, 15), who recorded the tale, the narrator was fond of voice mimicry; it is likely that she used this technique in JP to indicate which character is speaking so that dialogic matrix clauses become superfluous.

4.3.2   Introduction of referents

Referents mentioned for the first time are divided into new topics (NewTop) and indirect anaphors (IA). The former are introduced grammatically as indefinite NPs, the latter as definite NPs based on a cognitive anchor activated in prior text (Schwarz-Friesel 2007). In the Quechua tales, agentive IA's are typically frame participants like members of a social group or an institution; other IA's can be connected to a given topic via part-whole-relationship such as body parts or parts of a location (Peng 2019, 181-182). It is noteworthy that some stock characters from Quechua folk tales are introduced as known referents. For instance, the Bear in MU is referred to by a definite NP marked by the topicalizer -*qa* in its first mention: "One day when the girl was grazing sheep on the mountain, **the bear**, disguised as a young man, appeared in front of her" (original text in (1)).

The normed frequencies of the two topic types from four tales are presented in Table 6. The longest and most elaborate story JL has the lowest density of new referents with ca. 46 per 1000 words, whereas the other narratives (including the shortest one, CI) introduce around 80 new referents. This means that the number of new referents does not necessarily rise with increasing text length. The data also show that at least one third of the referents mentioned for the first time are introduced as NewTops, that is, as new information.

	MU	JL	JP	CI
NewTops	22.89	14.65	31.86	37.83
Percentage of NewTops	33 %	32 %	40 %	46 %
IA's	47.42	31.82	47.46	44.14
Percentage of IA's	67 %	68 %	60 %	54 %
Total number of NewTops and IA's	70.31	46.47	79.32	81.97

Table 6. Normed rates of occurrence for first-time mentioned topics
(per 1000 words) in four Quechua tales.

Table 7 shows in which grammatical relations the NewTops occur. These new referents are obviously less often introduced as the sentence subject than other syntactic functions. Moreover, they are rarely introduced as the agentive, i.e. the subject of a transitive sentence.

	MU	JL	JP	CI
S; A	4; 0	14; 0	11; 1	9; 1
non-subject GR's	26	17	34	20

Table 7. Grammatical relations of new topics in four Quechua tales.

Non-subject NewTops are introduced in the flow of events. In example (3), the three Boy-bears enter the stage in the event of being born and occur linguistically as the sentence object, marked by the accusative marker -*ta*.

(3) *kimsa**ta**s wachakun qhari**ta**kama*.
     (The she-bear) gave birth to <u>three</u> (babies), <u>all boys</u>.
     [JL]

The existential construction with the copular verb *kay* is the most common intransitive construction used to introduce NewTops. The first main character of a story is typically introduced by the story-opening expression: (*huq* +) NP-*s(i)* + *kasqa* 'once upon a time, there was a/were …', with the new referent marked by the reportative marker -*s(i)* and the copular verb marked by the narrative past marker -*sqa*. In the middle of a story, the existential construction, marked either in narrative past or historical present, can be used to introduce other new referents, typically props or locations.

In Table 7, JL strikes with its number of NewTops introduced as S. Furthermore, the narrative employs the what I have termed 'zoom-in construction' to do so. In this construction, the mirative marker -*sqa*[21] co-occurs with the progressive suffix -*sha* in the main verb. It describes an action or a state, while implying that the character in focus is perceiving the action or the state. The construction is thus a perspective-changing device which conveys immediacy and vividness. When a NewTop is introduced, the verb used in the construction is one of existence or appearance. The excerpt from JL in (4) shows four zoom-in constructions, two of which contain a NewTop: "a big mansion" and "blue lights". This passage describes what the character Mayor sees when he arrives at the Devil's mansion. The only clause which describes the Mayor's own action is not marked by -*shasqa*: "(The mayor) landed softly".

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21 The function of the polysemous suffix -*sqa* as a mirative marker in Quechua folk tales is described in Peng (2019, 190-191).

(4) *Hinas kharumanta rikhuriku**shasqa** <u>huq hatun hatun wasis</u>, kicharayamu**shasqa** ima hinaraqsi, <u>anqas k'anchaykunayuqsi</u> kamu**shasqa**. Chaymansi chaskisqa hina chayarqu-Ø-n payllamanta. Hinas chaypi chay sipas tiyapu**shasqa**.*

Then <u>a big mansion</u> appeared afar. It was open. There were <u>blue lights</u>. (The mayor) landed softly. (He saw) the girl sitting there.

[JL]

Nikiforidou (2016, 351-353) has described similar perspective-changing devices used in Greek folk tales and English empathetic narration to zoom in on narrated events or to take on the point of view of a third-person character. In Quechua folk tales, the distant and narrator-centered perspective is adopted by default. The use of the zoom-in construction introducing new topics is only typical for JL in the present corpus; it ties in with other features this tale exhibits towards a more literary style (see Table 1).

5. A reference-based genre knowledge model

Based on the linguistic features analyzed in Section 4, a reference-based genre knowledge model is established for Quechua folk tales in Table 8. Conceptual structures are listed in the left column and their linguistic expressions in the right column. Note that the table only contains superordinate conceptual domains whose subcategories are implied by the linguistic features in the right column. While most of the linguistic features are hypothesized as central features of the genre of *kwintus*, two of them are considered less representative, namely the lexicality of agentives (see Section 4.3.1) and use of the zoom-in construction introducing new topics (see Section 4.3.2). The respective sections have shown that these features are determined by individual preferences and stylistic choices.

6. Closing words

The study has presented a reference-based genre knowledge model for Quechua folk tales based on an in-depth analysis of referential categories with the potential of characterizing a genre. Embedded in a cognitive framework, the study combines a data-driven approach, using text counts as well as examining non-discrete units and constructions, with a top-down approach starting from (genre specific) conceptual structures. The genre knowledge model includes linguistic features that are mostly hypothesized as central features of the genre of *kwintus*. Text comparison has revealed features that are less representative in a prototype-based organization of genre determined by individual or stylistic choices such as lexicality of agentives and use of the zoom-in construction introducing new topics.

The size of the corpus, including six Quechua narratives, allows both the inclusion of a considerable number of linguistic features as well as analyses based on text comparison.

Conceptual structures	Linguistic features
Role conceptualization in terms of nominal concepts in the designation of agonists	– Generic human nouns and family relationship nouns make up more than half of the nominal concepts. – Female figures are the dominant category among the eight most frequent nominal concepts. – One fifth of the nominal concepts refer to animal figures such as the Bear, the Condor, the Fox, and various types of birds.
Proppian role types (dramatis personae)	– Five of the dramatis personae identified in Quechua folk tales: villain, donor, helper, dispatcher, and hero. – Two types of role dynamics: 1. two of the dramatis personae alternate in the roles of actor and undergoer equally often; 2. one of the dramatis personae behaves more actively towards the other, typically the dispatcher towards the hero.
Referential prominence	– Primary actors include three to four central characters with a referential percentage above 7 % respectively; primary and secondary actors make up 54 % to 77 % of total referential elements. – Referential stability drops with decreasing prominence of agonists: primary actors (5.73) > secondary actors (3.28) > background actors (1.72).
Referential inference	– the language of Quechua folk tales as verb- or event-prominent with an average referential density of 0.43 (0.75 with verb-agreement markers) – Domain of O is lexically underrepresented in typological comparison. – Human(-like) subjects have lower lexicality than non-human(-like) ones. – Lexicality of A can vary to a larger degree based on narrators' preferences.
Narrative discourse knowledge	– At least a third of all referents mentioned for the first time in a tale are introduced as new topics (the rest as indirect anaphors); some stock characters are introduced as known referents. – New topics are less often introduced as the sentence subject than other syntactic functions and seldomly as agentive. – The existential construction (*huq* +) NP-*s(i)* + *kasqa* 'once upon a time, there was a/were …' introduces a central character at the beginning of a story; in the middle of a story, existential constructions marked either in narrative past or historical present are typically used to introduce props or locations.
perspective	– Choices of noun anaphors are affected by the narrative level and the point of view within a narrative level. – The zoom-in construction NewTop(-*s(i)*) + V-*shasqa* as a perspective-changing device describes the emergence of a NewTop while implying that the character in focus is perceiving it.

Table 8. Reference-based genre knowledge model for Quechua folk tales.

On the one hand, the list of linguistic features that may be investigated in a genre analysis can be open-ended. In the domain of reference, there are features that are not considered in this study due to space constraints, such as adnominal elements of referential expressions and referential tracking. Further, the domain of reference is essentially connected to that of relation so that the analysis can be extended to features related to both domains like roles structured by social hierarchy governing the distribution of deictic verbs in Greek folk tales (Nikiforidou 2016, 336-338). On the other hand, comparison of (potential) instances of a genre becomes more challenging with increasing numbers of linguistic features. It requires a body of sufficiently annotated linguistic material; the investigation of non-discrete units also becomes more difficult with large data volumes. It is thus reasonable to keep the corpus small for a holistic genre analysis.

The study has drawn on results from other discourse and genre studies to put the genre features of Quechua folk tales into a narrative-typological context. To evaluate to what degree some features are distinctive for the genre of *kwintus*, more cross-genre or cross-linguistic data are needed for future research. The template of reference-based linguistic features and their underlying conceptual structures established by this study can contribute to the development of a more unified methodology in Andean narrative studies and (cross-linguistic) genre studies in general.

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