Indigenous Andean Voices at the Interface between the Oral and the Written: The Peruvian Quechua Traditions from Colonial Huarochirí (ca. 1608)*

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In colonial Peru, at the beginning of the 17th century, an anonymous author wrote down in Quechua what has become known as the Huarochirí Traditions. This author made use of his knowledge of writing which he had acquired in the missionary context (in ancient Peru writing was not known). In order to document the traditions of his people from the highlands of Central Peru within the framework of the dominant culture of the Spanish colonial empire, he re-formulated and wrote down myths and descriptions of rituals in their own language, Quechua, but following Spanish conventions of composing a book, and adding comments from a Christian point of view. The objective was the conservation of traditions (stated in the manuscript's preface) (sections 1.1 and 1.2). As the person responsible for composing this work has remained anonymous and the characteristics of the writer and the texts are complex, I will refer to him as an author-redactor-compiler (ARC) (section 1.3).

I will study how the texts change from (hypothetical) oral discourse to the written form and how far this results in textual re-creation, re-shaping or transmutation. Combining the pragmatics of writing and oral-to-written discussions (section 2) shows how the texts draw on both modes of expression (sections 3.1 and 3.2), and I will consider how these features are evident in the text layers which I identify (section 3.3.1). These are indigenous narrators' core voices (3.3.2), discourse and syntax in the enveloping texts which create the framework of a book (3.3.3), the close intertwinement of core and enveloping text layers, especially in the description of rituals and ceremonies (3.3.4) and the marginal notes (3.3.5).

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In this paper I draw to a large extent on the analyses I made of the discourse of these texts in my book *Die Stimmen von Huarochirí* (2003). In this follow-up study I focus on the debate of the interface of orality and literacy. For this field, studies on medieval literature have been especially useful. Oral theory, ethnopoetics as well as literary and discourse studies have contributed richly to ways of analysing oral verbal art (for an overview see Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2003: 24–29).

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My analysis shows that content, discourse and language use in the Huarochirí Traditions is multivocal and characteristic of texts which are situated between the oral and the written sphere and which can be seen as transitional texts, at the interface between the two modes of expression (section 4).

NOTE when printing the text: in some cases I have used colours to highlight suffixes and passages (see also section 5 Transcription and typographical conventions).

"cay simiri cay hinam" – 'And this is the hi/story, it is like this'
(*Huarochirí Traditions*)

1 Setting the scene: text and context

1.1 Introduction to the Huarochirí Traditions

T1 Runa yn[di]o ñiscap Machoncuna ñaupa pacha quillcacta yachanman carca chayca hinantin causascancunapas manam canancamapas chincaycuc hinacho canman himanam vira^{co}chappas sinchi cascanpas canancama ricurin hinatacmi canman chay hina captinpas canancama mana quillcasca captinpas caypim churani cay huc yayayuc guarocheri ñiscap machoncunap causascanta yma ffeenioccha carcan yma yñah canancamapas causan chay chaycunacta chayri sapa llactanpim quillcasca canca[1] (*Huarochirí Traditions* ca. 1608: fol. 64r).

If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now. As the mighty past of the Spanish is visible until now, so, too, would theirs be. But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now, I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather: What faith they held, how they live up until now, those things and more; village by village it will be written down: how they lived from their dawning age onward. (Salomon & Urioste eds. 1991: 41–42; see Figure 1.)

[1] I present the Quechua text in its original spelling only in this instance so as to give the reader an idea of what it looks like.

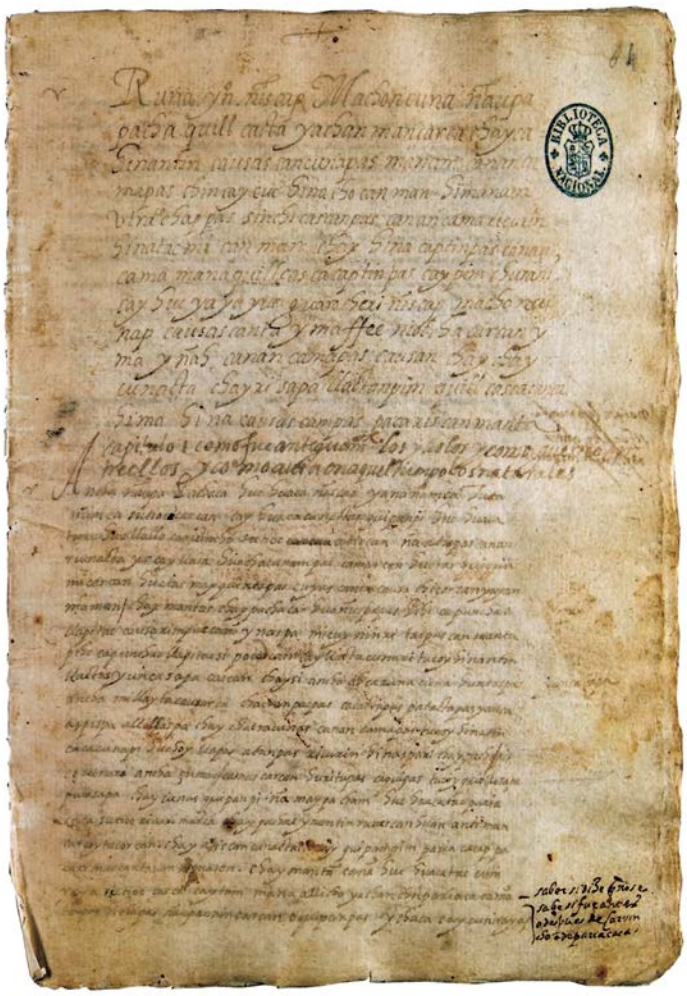

Figure 1: *Huarochirí Traditions* ca. 1608, first page:[2] *Runa yn[di]o ñiscap Machoncuna [...]*, Quechua manuscript, bound in the larger volume *Papeles varios sobre los indios Incas, Huarochiris y otras antigüedades del Perú*, fol. 64r
(All images from this manuscript volume in this article are from the collections of the National Library of Spain.)

The colonial Huarochirí manuscript, which I will call *Huarochirí Traditions*, is the earliest and only known surviving comprehensive Peruvian colonial text written by indigenous authors in an Amerindian language.[3] It dates from the

[2] The manuscript's first page is well-worn, giving evidence of its frequent usage as a separate booklet, although it has been bound (possibly by a Spanish historiographer of the 18th century) into a larger volume which includes several other manuscripts of Amerindian cultural interest (with Quechua passages).

[3] Indigenous voices are also present in Andean Quechua dramatic traditions. Existing manuscripts are anonymous and can be dated to the late 17th and to the 18th century. The 18th century dramatic works often romanticise Inca history or centre on Christian religious themes. Most famous is the drama *Ollanta*, clearly of colonial origin. Others are still being performed, especially the presentations about the death of Atahualpa, the last Inca ruler,

beginning of the 17th century and is penned, in Roman characters, entirely in Quechua, a widely spoken language in Peru since before the Incas,[4] and adopted by the Spanish colonisers as their 'general language' of Christianisation (cf. Durston 2014b).

The Quechua text consists of 100 pages and comprises 33 chapters of myths and descriptions of rituals of the peoples who lived in the central Peruvian highland region of Huarochirí (Figure 2; for the contents see Salomon & Urioste eds. 1991: Contents, vii–ix; Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2003: A12–21).

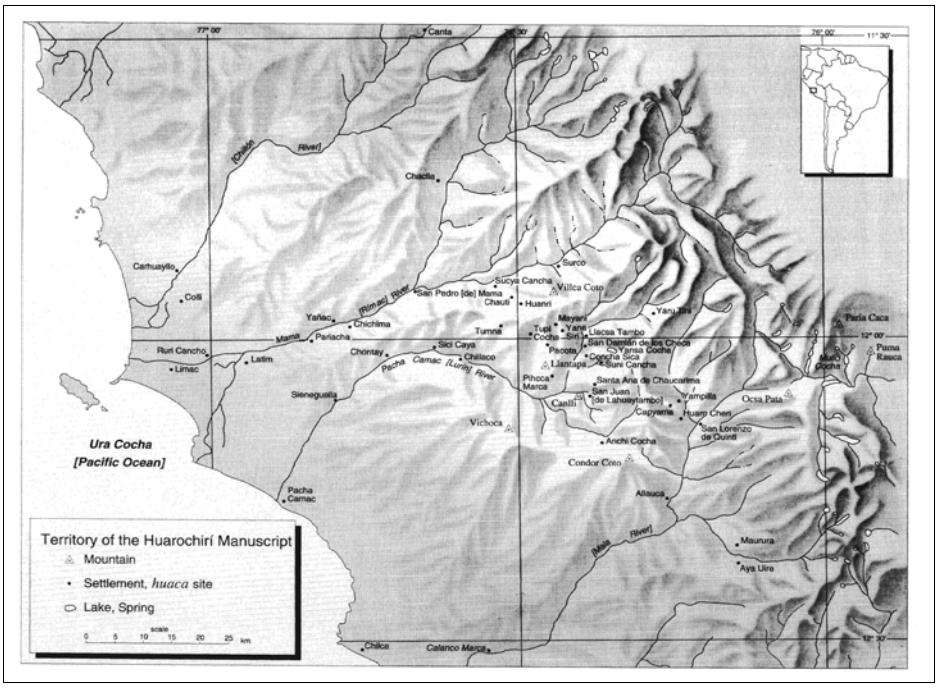

Figure 2: Map of Colonial Huarochirí
(Courtesy of University of Texas Press: Salomon & Urioste 1991)

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which seems to be rooted in the collective memory of Andean indigenous communities. (For overviews see Lienhard 2008: 95–96 and Beyersdorff 2008.)

[4] With an estimated 10 million speakers the Quechua language (also considered as a language family) is the largest Amerindian language of the Americas. It is mainly spoken in Ecuador, Peru (where it had its origin in pre-Hispanic times) and Bolivia. (See Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 165–191.) The Incas ruled the Central Andes from Ecuador to northern Chile for less than a century and a half when the Spaniards arrived.

There is some discussion about the variety of Quechua used in the *Huarochirí Traditions*. It seems that other languages were (also) spoken in the area at the beginning of the Spanish colonisation and that the language in which the manuscript is written – largely similar to the 'general language' – may not have been the ARC's first language (see Taylor [2012] 2024, 2024), but there is also some evidence that a native Huarochirí variety existed (see Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2003: 163–168, Adelaar 2022: 112–113).

The opening lines (Figure 1; T1) show how important and powerful writing was – a skill the Spanish had introduced in the Andes. The anonymous author of these lines wanted to 'prove' that indigenous mythistory[5] could be written down; at the same time he[6] seems to have been inspired by the Bible, in the ordering of the texts as well as in some of its contents.

The Huarochirí myths are often related to rituals which were carried out asking the deities for well-being and fertility. For example, the mythical story about the goddess Chuquisuso (*Huarochirí Traditions*: ch. 6, fols. 69v–71v) is followed by rituals related to her: 'How those Cupara people honour the one called Chuquisuso even until today' (ch. 7, fols. 71v–72r). In some cases, the redactor compares different versions: 'some people tell another story' (ch. 26, fol. 96v).

Finally, the *Huarochirí Traditions* also include a personal conversion narrative (chs. 20 and 21).

These texts reflect the survival of indigenous myths and rituals, but also that the author(s)/redactor integrated new materials and reworked them to comment on them from the point of view of a colonial world.

It is possible that the texts were collected and/or copied with the knowledge or even on behalf of the Peruvian-born Catholic priest from Cuzco, Francisco de Ávila (ca. 1573–1647) who was in charge of the San Damián parish of Huarochirí and then vicar of the province (1597–1608), before in later years becoming inspector of idolatry.[7]

A study of the notes in the margins, certain text passages, the reference to other parts of the work, the arrangement in chapters and the comparison with a

[5] The term 'indigenous' is controversial and imposed from the outside on culturally, socially, politically, linguistically and ecologically diverse peoples. I use it to refer to the native population of the Andes, especially with respect to the colonisers from whom I differentiate them. However, clear ethnic boundaries disappeared quickly after the European invasion which – as I show in this article – impacted and influenced the Andean peoples very soon. (Cf. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs – Indigenous Peoples 2006.)

Mythistory is used to construct socially and culturally relevant past events, often related to public rituals. Both history and myth claim to be authoritative and legitimate, and both highlight a continuing relevance of the past to the present and future. (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2012: 188). In my discussion of the texts I will refer to 'mythistory' as the concept and to '(mythical) story', 'myth' or 'hi/story' (calling our attention to history as a story) when discussing individual myths.

[6] For the sake of simplicity and clarity of expression I have decided to employ the masculine pronoun, not least because the indigenous (and most other) writers of the colonial period we know of were male.

[7] Antonio Acosta (1987: 562, 567, 604–607); Hampe Martínez (1999: 94–98). The manuscript found its way into Ávila's library and was later located in the National Library of Spain, where it is still kept (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2003: ch. 6).

partial translation (and comments) which Ávila, who was a knowledgeable Quechua speaker, made (and which is part of the same bound manuscript volume, Figure 3) suggests that both texts, the Quechua and the Spanish one, were created on the basis of an unknown earlier Quechua manuscript, a text 'X', which has been lost (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2016a: 36–41).

Due to the similarities and physical proximity of both, the Quechua texts have always been related to this cleric, but it is clear that they are multi-layered and re/present several voices, different narrative viewpoints and perspectives and are not authored by him. They have their origin in oral traditions which must have been narrated in their cultural context. In their written version, produced by one or more anonymous native Quechua speaker/s, they are 'remembered' after the invasion of the Spanish, but we don't know if they were still told in the same way they had been before the conquest. And, as is apparent from several types of corrections, the existent text is a copy.

Whoever was the one who laid the traditions down in writing, not only did he record what had been collected (by him and/or others), but he also modified it through additions and possibly through changes which cannot easily be disentangled.

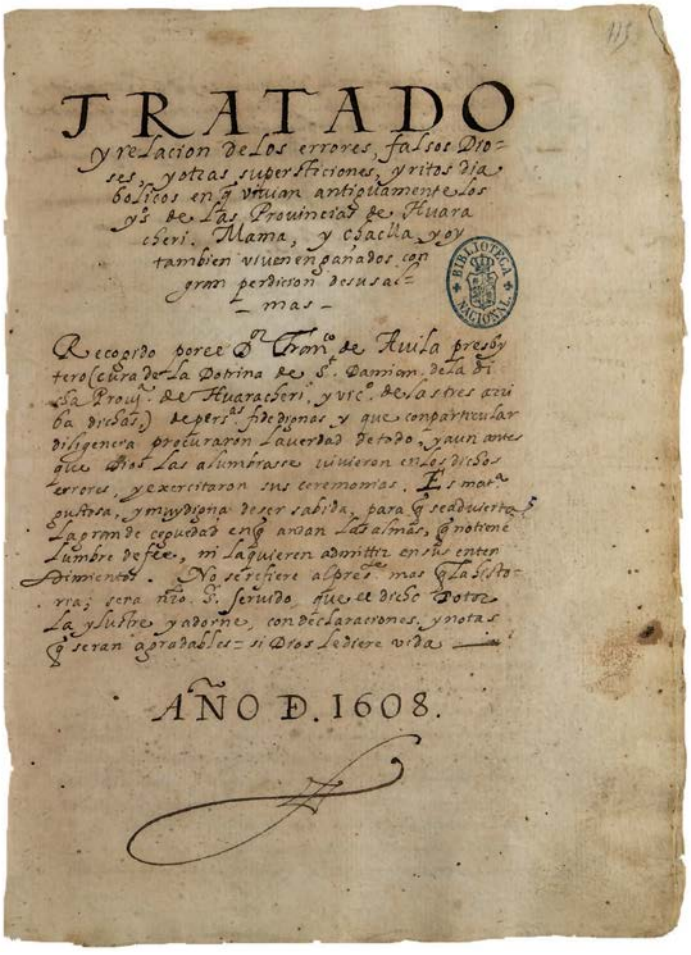


Figure 3: Francisco de Ávila: *Tratado y relacion de los errores [...]* 1608, fol. 115r

This complex multifacetedness of the contents is also reflected in the layout of the text itself which is divided into chapters – a structure obviously known to the redactor from European books (see section 3.2). Some chapters do not only have a Quechua title, but also include a Spanish one which was clearly inserted later (possibly when the translation into Spanish was begun) (Figure 5). The marginalia found on several pages are difficult to assign to a particular person due to the lack of a detailed analysis of the handwritings in the manuscript itself (Figure 4; section 3.3.5).

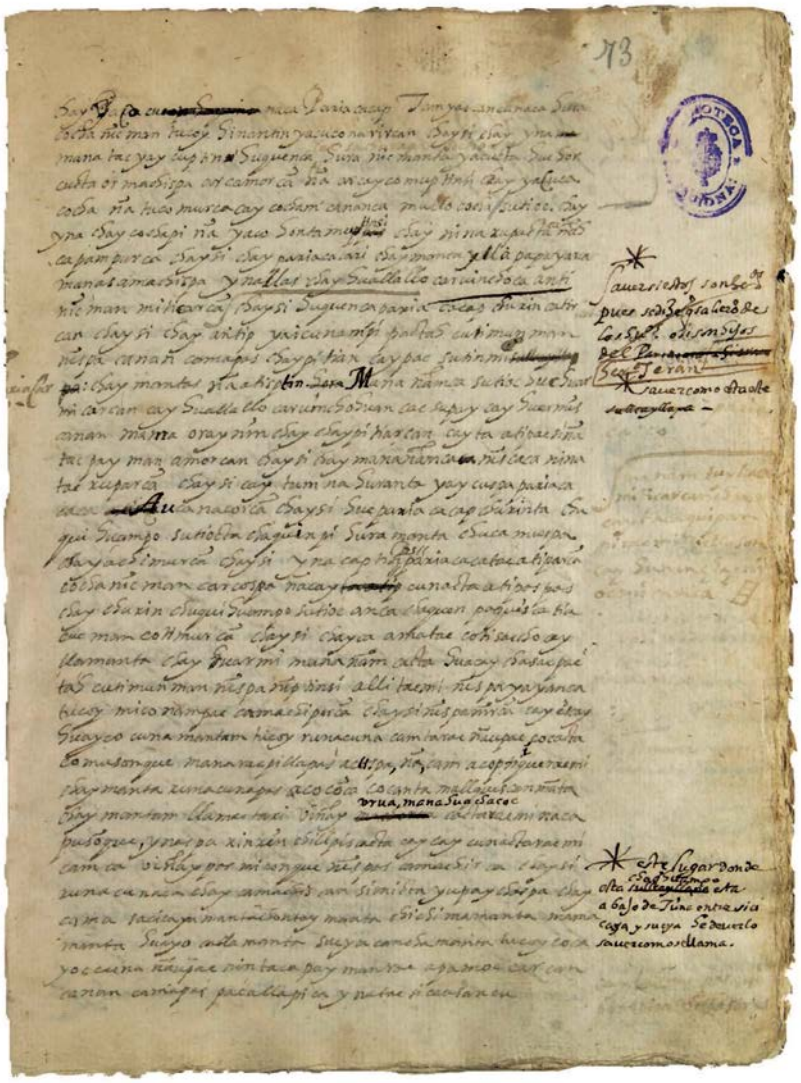


Figure 4: *Huarochirí Traditions*, chapter 8, fol. 73r

Thus these texts are a document of indigenous Andean belief, in places influenced by the recently imported Christian religion. They consist of multiple layers of writing which lay down, describe, re-formulate, re-shape or re-create oral myths and ritual performances. They reflect and give expression to the ever-changing knowledge and objectives of indigenous intellectuals, a phenomenon particularly characteristic of the colonial world.

1.2 From oral tradition to writing in the colonial Andes

Writing did not exist in the pre-European Andes and was introduced by the Spanish conquistadors who invaded South America in 1532 (Garatea 2017). Before that, cultural experience and knowledge was handed down through the telling of myths and stories (probably through dialogic interaction of narrator and audience) as well as the performance of rituals, often accompanied by music, dances and offerings. These were complemented by 'semiotic practices' (Brokaw 2010: ch. 1), such as 'visual languages' in drawings and designs on, for example, textiles, pottery, wooden boards and beakers (which were used in the rituals) as well as the knotted cords called *quipu*.[8]

During the colonial era, the indigenous population continued to use these practices, and at the same time alphabetic writing was introduced.

In Peru, in schools established by the Church, the children of the indigenous elites were instructed in reading and writing (in Spanish and, to a lesser degree, in Latin and Quechua), the Christian doctrine, music and arithmetic,[9] and they themselves became an elite, often called *ladinos* (Adorno

[8] Martínez C. (2012: 176–187) argues that certain groups of images on beakers represent narratives and were used to complement and support oral traditions (also Martínez C. & Martinez S. 2013).

The *quipu* was an important device for record-keeping: a complex decimal mnemotechnic accounting system for recording and storing information on strings with knots which represented numbers, their meanings further detailed by, for example, knot directions and colours (see Rostworowski & Morris 1999: 812–815; Brokaw 2010; Hyland 2017; Medrano & Khosla 2024). They would be used for counting goods, livestock or registering astronomical data, and they may also have been employed to remember persons and dates. They continued in use after the conquest and were adapted to colonial administrative needs. For many years there has been a debate as to whether (more recent) *quipus* recorded more than numbers and may be seen as "logosyllabic writing systems", but there is no conclusive evidence as to this hypothesis, especially in the case of pre-Spanish *quipus* (cf. Hyland 2017: 412, 417).

Bennison (2024: 208) calls our attention to possible links through *quipus* between the 17th century *Huarochirí Traditions* and an early 20th century manuscript from Huarochirí in which ritual obligations are recorded in Spanish.

[9] Colegio de Caciques (1923); Hartmann & Oberem (1981); Alaperrine-Bouyer (2007: ch. 6); Charles (2014: 63–64).

1994), but only few indigenous individual authors are known thanks to their writings which have come down to us in Spanish, with only some passages in Quechua (above all Guaman Poma [ca. 1615] 2004 and Pachacuti Yamqui ca. 1615–20?). The *Huarochirí Traditions* are the only comprehensive text in Quechua written by an indigenous author (unlike in Meso-American languages, for example Chimalpahin in Nahuatl [c. 1606–1631] 1997; the *Popol Vuh* in Quiché Maya [existing copy from ca. 1700] 2003). Due to their creative and innovative works these Andean authors can be called an indigenous 'intelligentsia' (cf. Lamana 2019: 8–14). It has to be noted that none of these texts were printed in the colonial era,[10] possibly due to a lack of interest by potential publishers, but more probably because their contents did not coincide with an accepted version of the cosmovision and history presented by Spanish authors – in the colonial system Amerindian authors were powerless intellectuals.

Apart from these texts authored by Andean individuals, as far as writing in Quechua (and other Amerindian languages) is concerned, a large number of texts for Christian instruction as well as grammars and dictionaries written by missionary-linguists was published from the 16th century onwards. An important purpose of teaching indigenous persons to write in Quechua was to train them as catechists and helpers in the translation of these Christian instruction materials; also, in areas where different Amerindian languages were spoken, to introduce a 'general' Quechua as a unifying language of conversion.[11]

Thus, in the colonial era, some indigenous persons would have been able to make use of traditional oral and ritual means of expression as well as the written medium.

1.3 The Huarochirí texts: contents and authorship

In this context, I will now try to elucidate the writer(s)' characteristics.

Creating a text that follows Spanish writing conventions, not only in the composition of chapters but also in the consistent application of the Spanish-based orthography and division of words (although as in the Spanish of the time, not always consistent) means that the person responsible for the existent copy had learned to write Spanish first and probably also read Quechua texts for Christian instruction. That would explain his rather professional orthography and composition of the text.

[10] The first printing press was established in Lima in 1584 (Durston 2007b: 100–101).

[11] Hartmann & Oberem (1981); Charles (2004). For a summary of the debate on Quechua varieties and Quechua as *lingua franca* (in Inca and then in colonial times) see Durston (2007b: 37–42).

As mentioned above, we can suppose with relative certainty that the person responsible for the texts was of indigenous extraction from the Andes, but we don't know whether it was one person or several, when exactly the manuscript was produced and what the original of the existent copy would have looked like.

Under these challenging circumstances of origin, how can we denominate the person who is responsible for this work? So far I have used the terms 'author', 'redactor' and 'narrator' rather haphazardly; therefore, considering the complexity of the voices and their interrelation and presentation, I will now try to untangle the authorial puzzle. What is an author, narrator, redactor, compiler? And how are they presented in these texts?

When considering some general definitions, we can see that the person/s who created our texts has/have some characteristics of all the following:

– narrator – someone who tells a story in detail; a person who narrates or gives an account of something
– author – writer of a book, literary work; one who creates something
– writer = author; also: a person engaged in writing by hand; the producer of a particular handwritten text or document
– scribe = writer; also: a copier of manuscripts
– redactor/editor – works source material into a distinct, usually written, form
– compiler – composes, collects, puts together materials from other documents into a treatise; edits, constructs into a volume, a written or printed work by arrangement of materials collected from various sources

(Sources: *Oxford English Dictionary* 2023, *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* 2023).

Thus, with respect to the Huarochirí stories, these must be based on the memory of one person and/or collected from others, probably the original *narrators*; then they were noted down or even dictated(?) and *compiled*. With respect to the descriptions of rituals and ceremonies one can see the person responsible as an *author* because he may have witnessed some and been told about others, and on that basis created a coherent discourse about these performances. Most content is of Andean character, but there are also the commentaries from a Christian point of view, as well as other notes, for example, asking for a more exact geographical indication of certain places; one can therefore consider this the work of a *redactor* or *editor*. Finally, everything is presented in the form of a book which can be considered the work of a *compiler*.

The most generally applicable term might be that of a *writer*, but a combination of all the above-mentioned roles would do the texts more justice. I will therefore call the overall responsible person *author-redactor-compiler*, abbreviated as *ARC* (something shaped like a bow or arch, which here encompasses different functions of the supposed writer). I use the singular when

speaking about the ARC, although underlying and 'inside' are the voices of several persons; and different stages of redaction may be due to several persons. The book, organised as a coherent entity, is the result, and I suggest that one person was responsible for it.

What adds an additional layer of complexity is that the Huarochirí texts as well as others included in one bound volume, and which were in the possession of the priest Francisco de Ávila (*Papeles varios* 1575–1662?]), are copies. It is possible that, not unlike during medieval times and as documented for colonial Mexico, clerics ran workshops where manuscripts were written and copied, and colonial Andean authors may also have collaborated in terms of content (Martínez Sagredo 2011: 102–107; Bistué 2012: 51–59).

We don't know whether a copy was an exact reproduction of the original or might in some cases have been modified. In any case, in a hypothetical scenario the priest Ávila may have surrounded himself with *ladino* Indians for the purpose of producing clean copies of notes and manuscripts. In that case yet another layer of expression or voices underlying the finalised extant copy of the Huarochirí texts would have to be taken into consideration.

As to a particular individual who could have been the ARC, there has been some, inconclusive, discussion that it may have been the historically documented Cristóbal Choquecassa who is mentioned in the texts.[12] I will therefore not put the question about the historical author-redactor-compiler(s) in the centre of this paper, but study how the texts draw on written and oral traditions, which will give us some insight into the process of their creation.

2 Methodological considerations: from oral voice to literalisation

As we have seen, the ARC of the *Huarochirí Traditions* found himself at the interface of a society shaped by orality and literacy.

In terms of my methodological approach I will therefore situate the texts in the study of the orality-literacy continuum and the concept of literalisation (*Verschriftung*)[13] and apply a 'pragmatics of written texts' to analyse these writings.

[12] For discussions about the authorship of Choquecassa see Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (2003: esp. 157, 162; 2016a: 7–25); Durston (2007a, 2011, 2014a, 2024); de la Puente Luna (2015); Martínez Céspedes (2016); de la Puente Luna & Martínez Céspedes (2021: 18–20, 68–77, 117–118); León Llerena (2023: 135–142).

[13] Ní Úrdail's definitions (based on Clanchy, Tristram and Schaefer): *Verschriftung* – the making of a script; *Verschriftlichung* – the keeping and using of a script (1997: 222). Schier (1975: 174) speaks of "literalisation".

Research has long recognised that there is no ‘great divide’ between written and oral discourse, no fundamental difference in grammatical elaboration, lexical density, the formulation of abstract thinking and informational structure. Written text, however, often reduces to one ‘orthodox’ version what in a non-literate society is a comprehensive diversity of oral information communicated in a dynamic and performative manner. Especially in the colonial context the power of literacy can undermine oral culture, but intellectually and in terms of expressive means there is no difference in texts produced orally or in writing.[14]

The difference is in the process and outcome of the composition. Written texts which are based on oral tradition re/present a (new) genre, where remains of performative acts and thus oral mechanisms of transmission can be recognisable in the written form, but these oral sources constitute a ‘fictitious orality’, i.e. such a text can only *imitate* oral voices (Ostria González 2001). At best these are “oral-residual” texts (as Doane 1991: 79 calls them with respect to Old English literature): they reflect specific, individual encounters in the past, the interface of the oral and written, and they are the only ‘oral literatures’ we can study. As such these written texts go beyond conveying or ‘translating’ oral events; writing down traditions which were first orally transmitted is not only a mechanical reproduction, but it also means reshaping them and adapting them to the new, literary medium. The role of those who write down the texts is that of re-creating them, but still based on the same traditional means of expression.

Kelber (1983: 91) sees such a strong impact of writing on the spoken word that he calls the process “transmutation”: texts at the interface of oral and written transmission lose touch with the living matrix, i.e. the text loses its permanent action and reaction between speaker and addressee and the control of the text by both participants of this social speech act; a new context has to be (re-)constructed. The text, transferred into a different genre, receives a new coherent organisation which is linear and sequential (ibid. 106–114). Form and organisation change, but, in the same way as the performer of the oral tradition strives to tell the “truth”, this written text conveys a truth valid for the speaker/writer as well as for the audience/reader (ibid. 81–82). The Huarochirí texts end with the sentence: *kay chikallam chika simika*, ‘these all are true words’ (*Huarochirí Traditions*: Supplement 2, fol. 114r).

In a nascent indigenous written tradition in the colonial context, where writers use (and modify) written genres of the dominant culture, they empower themselves by ‘elevating’ their own ‘low’ code, in our case Quechua, to a ‘high’

[14] Finnegan (1973); Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (2003: 57–59); Roberts & Street (2017 [1997] 168, 170); Barton (1994: ch. 6); Nunn (BBC 2023, Nunn 2023).

code.[15] The resulting multiple complex (reconstructed) layers pose the question how the texts construct meaning in a particular context, and how the contextualisation feeds into wider sociocultural formations and power structures and how they reflect those.

What identifies this kind of text from a historical sociolinguistic perspective is the loss of direct interaction between speaker and listener, replaced by an imagined target person, which will lead to an equally imagined identity and role of the addressee/potential reader. Typical characteristics of written texts are also the loss of oral utterance-determining characteristics: the lack of real-world dialogic and/or performance features; instead, the text is created on paper, as a physical object. In contrast to oral expression, in writing the creation is silent; intonation is lost; ordering is linear; and the one who writes the text has to cope with writing individual words, i.e. concentrate on small units. Especially in colonial contexts there will also be a recognisable influence of the dominant language with a literary tradition, and this will lead to a change of genre from oral to written.[16]

Therefore, the features which enable us to study 'transitional' texts (Lord 1987: 337) from a pragmatic point of view are, for example, the layout as a book, person-marking, evidence-marking, focus-marking, deixis, dialogue presentation, the connection of sentences, the use of more conjunctions and less morphologisation; changes in word order; and the integration of loanwords. There are also features of style which characterise oral and written texts in varying degrees, but obviously both employ similar figures of speech.

With respect to the creation of the Huarochirí book and in the light of these considerations, I will now study its composition process and outcome (section 3): drawing on two traditions – oral myths and written texts (3.1); books and other written texts as models for the Huarochirí ARC (3.2); how the transition from oral voices to written text is manifest in the text layers (3.3.1), indigenous core texts (3.3.2), enveloping texts (3.3.3), the intertwinement of core and enveloping texts (3.3.4) and meta-text (3.3.5).

[15] For the concepts and their application see Fishman (1980: 4) and Wardhaugh & Fuller (2021: 219–221).

[16] For the study of these features in different kinds of texts see esp. Mithun (1992); also Anderson (1992), Bredella (1992), Bergner (1992); Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (2003: ch. 3 "Die Verschriftungsproblematik: Am Schnittpunkt von Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit" – summarised presentation of different authors' approaches); cf. also Finnegan (1992). These studies have inspired the analysis in this paper.

3 Composition process and outcome

3.1 Drawing on the oral and the written

As alphabetic writing did not exist in the pre-European Andes, the ARC had to adopt written conventions from a European literate culture in which to embed different kinds of non-written traditions, i.e. orally presented myths and performances of rituals. These, together with his own observations and explanations, he collected into what was for him a relatively new format: the book. He was able to use as resources (a) literary conventions (chapters, cross-references), (b) myths from the oral sphere and (c) festivals and rituals which were performed, for example, through dances and songs. Thus, besides using literary techniques, he drew on oral genres which he had to adapt to a different pragmatic and communicative framework that was not produced in an interactional situation. In doing so he had to move away from the dialogic setting characteristic of oral communication, towards an imagined reader who could have been an indigenous peer, and he seemed to find it necessary to conceive of this reader as a Christian.

Moving at the interface between the oral and the written, he created and composed a book in which, as he says in his preface, he can now, in writing, lay down the history of the Huarochirí people (see T1), implying that the information he uses is not written.

In order to create cohesion in the written text, he interrelates the contents, according to chronological or local cultural or associative criteria, and comments on them, with geographical explanations, comparisons of different versions and evaluations from a Christian point of view. These explanatory and validational elements are the mortar which he uses to build the structure that follows a literary pattern. Using the techniques of ethnography, he produces a readable re/presentation by creating a complex layering of different types of texts; yet these are interlaced to form one narrative entity. Like an ethnographer, he presents materials, comments on them critically, offers different versions and even admits a lack of knowledge (see esp. section 3.3.4).

But unlike an ethnographer, he talks about his own culture, and the distance from certain narrated elements we sometimes perceive has its origin in the fact that he refers to different villages and ethnic groups of the region (Salomon 1991: 6–9, 11–14) and that he presents himself as a Christian who strives to distance himself from traditional beliefs and practices (in this sense somewhat like the ethnographer who analyses and comments). Like the ethnographer, he uses this re/presentation of the speech of others to convey his own status and character: “the choice of conventions is thus a choice about the representation of persons as social and moral actors in the text” (Atkinson 1992: 24).

When the ARC of the Huarochirí texts writes down what we suppose is, or what he wants to be, his consultants' 'real' speech (the mythical stories), by commenting on it, the framework changes. The resulting text is a multivocal discourse, binding together individual voices; as in ethnography, "the spoken narrative is translated into conventions and appearances of written discourse" (Atkinson 1992: 26).

Thus, in literalisation different voices are re-shaped, possibly re-created, rather than rendering them literally, not only because he composes them to form a (new) whole, but also because he uses a new format (writing), an overarching new genre (book), as well as unifying orthographic and grammatical conventions.

3.2 Written texts as models for the Huarochirí ARC

Whilst it is, of course, possible that the ARC had a 'mentor' who might have told him what Spanish histories or chronicles looked like, he would certainly also have been familiar with some of these books or similar written materials that could have inspired him in organising the texts.

If we suppose that he learned and worked in Francisco de Ávila's environment, he must have had access to at least some of the books of the priest's library, the inventory of which is known (Hampe Martínez 1996). As the document in its present form was probably written during Ávila's time in Huarochirí, i.e. between 1597 and 1608, work with and on the materials could have begun at the end of the 1500s. With respect to the books which might have served the ARC as models, he could have been interested especially in works about the history, the indigenous peoples and their conversion to Christianity in the Americas, and he must have had circa ten years to learn to read and write and to perfect his reading and writing skills as well as studying available books.[17]

One of the earlier published books which figure in Ávila's library inventory is José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* ([1590] 1954). Another book in Spanish he might have seen could have been the first part of Pedro de Cieza de León's *Crónica del Perú* ([1553] 1984). In addition to treating topics some of which are related to those of the *Huarochirí Traditions* (such as religion and worldview), the books are organised in 'books' and 'chapters' and could have served the ARC as models for his composition.

[17] The Jesuits were present in Huarochirí from 1569 onwards, but there were not enough of them to cover the province permanently; rather they carried out what can be described as itinerant mission, and the school they established for indigenous children must have come too late for the ARC (founded apparently only briefly before 1600) (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2003: 132–133).

However, the chronicles narrate the history of the Americas from a different perspective, that of the conqueror and 'civiliser'; they address a different reader, that is the king and his son (Acosta and Cieza resp.), and as such the Spaniards in general; and they adopt the detached, third-person stance of the outsider (writing about 'them', the Indians). Therefore they would have been of interest to the ARC mainly because of their organisation, and possibly as voices he wanted to refute or at least relativise.

The Huarochirí ARC may also have had access to at least some of the handwritten materials which belonged to Francisco de Ávila and which are now bound together with the *Huarochirí Traditions*, e.g. the *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los incas* by the priest Cristóbal de Molina. In some respect the Huarochirí Quechua texts even seem to be a 'response' to Molina's *Relación*. It is especially the compensation for the lack of the knowledge of writing which motivated the ARC to write down the *Huarochirí Traditions* (Preface, in T1); he may have felt challenged by Molina who writes that the Andean 'idolatries' were due to that 'they did not use writing' ([ca. 1575–80] 2010: 35; 2011: 4) and that 'because of a lack of memory and writing they accepted this fable' (ibid. 38, transl. SDS; 2011: 8). In the *Huarochirí Traditions* the ARC seems to react to this by re-telling myths (often introduced with formulas like 'and this is the hi/story, it is like this' (ch. 17, fol. 82r; cf. 3.3.2) (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2024.)

As Salomon (1991: 2–3) has pointed out and discussed, it is apparent that the ARC started composing his 'book' following the organisation of the Old Testament, although he does not keep this up beyond the first chapters. Salomon supposes that the presentation of the Old Testament stories and that of the ones in the Huarochirí texts similarly portray hero-ancestors. It is also possible that the ARC tried to arrange the texts in the biblical order, or – Salomon's final suggestion – that the Andean explanation of the past may have been influenced by or even fused with Spanish-colonial conceptualisations.

As far as available texts written in Quechua and published at the time are concerned, a comprehensive catechism, confession manual and sermon collection, edited by the Catholic Church's Third Lima Council in 1584–85,[18] was in Ávila's library (Hampe Martínez 1996: 29) and could have been a model for writing in Quechua as well as for having the Christian vocabulary at his disposal. The orthographic conventions and Christian lexicon used in the

[18] Concilio Provincial de Lima (ed.): *Doctrina christiana* 1584; *Confessionario para los curas de indios* 1585a; *Tercero cathecismo* 1585b. All 'composed and translated into the Quechua and Aymara languages, under the authority of the Provincial Council of Lima 1583' (transl. SDS).

Huarochirí manuscript very much coincide with those used in the Third Lima Council's Christianisation manuals.

What at first sight seems to be a collection of texts based on oral traditions can now also be seen as the outcome of the ARC's knowledge of and familiarity with written texts, and among those covering similar themes. However, what differentiates these texts from the European ones is that they are not about 'the other', detached and distanced, but about 'us', involved with the portrayed culture and society, although at times the ARC is critical and adopts Christian diction (see section 3.3.4). Thus, whilst the ARC uses a format and layout of alphabetic writing, he makes an innovative use of viewpoint and contents in this medium, combining oral with written means of composition and presentation in a new genre.[19]

3.3 From oral voices to written text

3.3.1 *Text layers*

In the case of Huarochirí, on a synchronic level, the texts can be conceived of as a tapestry, but several voices which re/present the discourse from a number of points of view and have contents referring to different times, let us think of the texts as a palimpsest. We will therefore find that the texts reveal several layers when analysed with a view towards their diachronic development.

As the myths show, these layers are constructed by the ARC and show his intentions: by directing himself at a group he also belongs to (inclusive plural), in chapter 4, for example, he reminds his readers of what happened when the sun died. What must have been an oral myth about the death of the sun is introduced first in a title in Quechua, and in the margin (with weaker ink, probably inserted later) by a chapter number and a Spanish title (Figure 5; T2). Following the myth, there is an explanation from a Christian point of view, although this shows a certain degree of uncertainty. Thus the Andean narrative is embedded in the formal framework of a book and a religious point of view different from the original mythical one. By re/presenting different voices, the ARC joins together past and present, oral and written discourse, old and new genres, and thereby reveals the complexity not only of the texts but also of his intentions and cultural background.

When looking more closely at the contents, one can detect what I call 'layers' and which belong to different phases, but are, of course, only visible synchronically: (1) the innermost and oldest as well as originally oral layer, the

[19] Not unlike in European medieval literature: in terms of how a new genre was created in the presentation of myths, for example, in Icelandic writings, Clunies Ross (2000: 129, 134) finds that the author Snorri (13th century) combined modes of medieval writing with Icelandic narrative techniques and thereby created a new medium, showing his synthetic abilities.

'core', is the (re-shaped) myth, followed by (2) a commentary, both then (3) embedded in a Quechua title chapter framework, and later (4) some titles (of the first six chapters) were translated into Spanish – all these additions 'enveloping' the core (Figure 5).

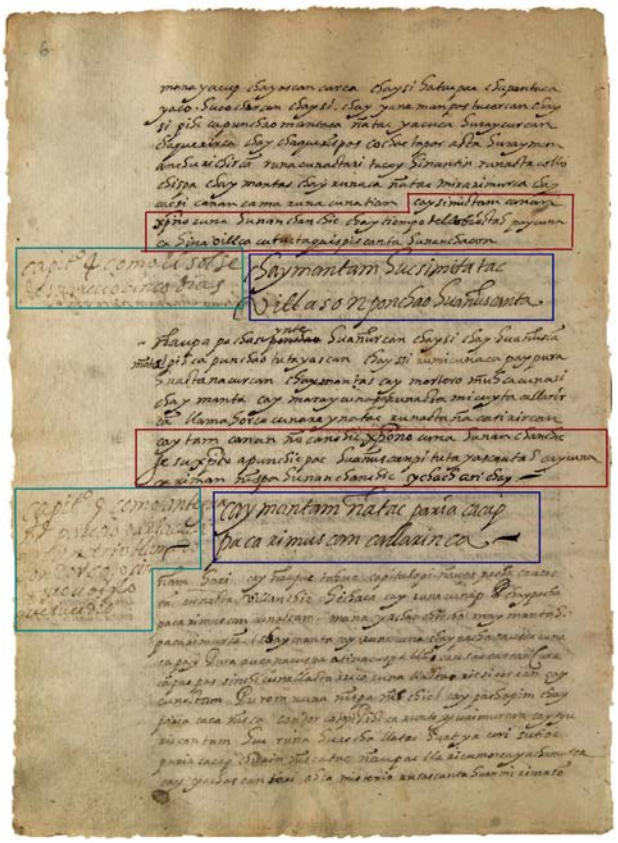
(1) unmarked – 'core' text of myth (originally orally presented) (4) blue green – Spanish chapter title – inserted later		(3) blue – Quechua chapter title (2) dark red – 'Enveloping' comment from Christian point of view

Figure 5: The *Huarochirí Traditions* as presented on paper: chapter 3 (end of 'When the ocean overflowed'), chapter 4 (whole 'Death of the sun'), chapter 5 (beginning of 'Paricaca's appearance'), fol. 66v: synchronically visible tapestry with diachronically originated layers

T2 Translation of the text of chapter 4 in Figure 5

(3) 'Enveloping' the core text: Quechua chapter title
And next [I know the story][20] we will tell the true story of the death of the day.

(4) Chapter title in Spanish inserted at the left
Chapter 4 How the sun disappeared for five days

[20] I have added in brackets the evidential validation, which in this case is personal knowledge translating the Quechua clitic *-mi*. For a detailed explanation of the evidential system see section 3.3.2 Indigenous narrators' core voices.

(1) 'Core' text: myth
In ancient times, they say, the ~~day~~ sun died. Then, because of his death, it became night for five days. Then the stones among themselves beat against each other. And then the mortar, the grinding stones, and then also their top stones began to eat the people. And the house-llamas and the ones on the hills, like this, they already began to herd the people.

(2) 'Enveloping' text: comment
This [we know], we Christians [you and I] now consider that maybe it was the darkness at the death of Jesus Christ, our Lord [in Quechua *apu*, lit. highest mountain spirit]. But these [other ones] say: "we imagine that it may have been like that" [like in the Andean or the Christian story?].

I will now explore the grammatical, syntactic and discourse features of these voices present in the different layers.

3.3.2 *Indigenous narrators' core voices*

What I call 'core' voices is found in the myths which make up a large part of the Huarochirí texts and follow, as I will show, a specific narrative mode.

Myths are originally orally narrated hi/stories, and both myth and history, or mythistory, are considered in their own societies to be true and explain past, mostly long-passed, events which affect a people's society at the time of narration (see footnote 6). In the Huarochirí texts myths are often opened with the formula: *kay simiri kay hinam*, 'and this is the hi/story, it is like this' (ch. 17, fol. 82r); apart from meaning 'mouth', 'word' and 'language', *simi* refers to a well-formed utterance made with authority (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2003: 105–107). Although the word clearly belongs to the oral sphere, the ARC uses it now in the written text.

Many myths are etiological, i.e. explanatory, of creation, human behaviour or characteristics of certain groups (Eller 2007: ch. 4). Others may explain the relationship between humans and animals, like, for instance, the narrative of a big flood caused by rising water levels (tsunami?) (*Huarochirí Traditions* ca. 1608: ch. 3, fol. 66r–v). Reflecting an Andean view of the world, this flood-myth differs from the Bible (*The Holy Bible* 1611: Genesis 6–7) in the motivation: it did not happen because of a deity's wrath with humankind, but because the world 'wanted to come to an end'; the circumstances: it did not rain incessantly, but the ocean overflowed; and the agent: it was not a man who acted on God's command, but a llama that saved humankind by guiding its herder to a high mountain top not reached by the water. The story is told in a traditional Quechua narrative mode and therefore most probably based on an oral myth, but at the end an apparently Christianised narrator, or a redactor, comments: 'This

hi/story [known to us] we Christians now consider as what may have been the time of the deluge' (see Figure 5; cf. Hartmann 1997, González Díaz 2023).

A myth of the rebellion of objects and animals explains that on the occasion of the disappearance of the sun (eclipse?) the world order was reversed: objects became alive and rebelled against human beings (ch. 4, Figure 5, T2). This uprising, also known in other Amerindian cultures, could refer to the end of one of the eras of generations that followed each other in Andean mythistory (Salomon & Urioste 1991: 53).

Myths also explain certain characteristics of landscape features, plants or animals; for example, in our texts – where the main protagonists are deities –, when a male deity meets certain animals who will or will not lead him to the goddess he pursues, he ascribes them positive or negative characteristics, depending on whether the message for him is positive or negative, and thereby the myth explains the animals' traits (*Huarochirí Traditions*: ch. 2, 'The life of Cuniraya Viracocha', fols. 64v–66r).

With respect to the people of Huarochirí, their deities and culture heroes, their lives and society, and their interaction with other peoples (of the region as well as Incas[21] and Spaniards), myths explain or justify the cultural and geographical power structure, reflected in the dominance of one deity and group over another. For instance, Pariacaca and deities related to him are more powerful than other deities, representing the highlands and their peoples vs. the lowlands whom they defeat (e.g. ch. 8, fols. 72r–73r; ch. 12, fols. 106v–107r).

These myths are clearly of Andean origin, as their contents as well as their linguistic structure show. In Quechua, in the oral narrator's discourse, a myth consistently uses hearsay or reported evidence for the story itself and, when appropriate, witness evidence within the story's reported speech (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2005: 83–105). To get a better understanding of these 'modes' it is necessary to discuss them in some detail.

Quechua, like a number of languages, marks the source of information grammatically.[22] It uses evidential suffixes which as clitics affect a whole phrase or sentence beyond the word they are attached to. They mark the speaker's source of knowledge as well as his/her attitude towards it.[23]

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[21] Huarochirí had been conquered late by the Incas (Spalding 1984 for a history of Huarochirí); the Huarochirí texts show that the people saw themselves as equal (if not more powerful) partners of the Incas (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1999a).

[22] Quechua is an agglutinative language, and all grammatical functions are expressed through suffixes.

[23] See Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (1997; 2003: 269–294; 2005: 81–83); Mannheim & van Vleet (1998: 337–339); Floyd (1999); Faller (2002); Hannß (2003).

The meaning and function of $_{v}$*-s*/$_{c}$*-si* (henceforth *-si*) (green)[24] is rather straightforward: it is reportative, documents knowledge acquired from hearsay and not through personal experience (‘it is said’, ‘as one hears’). The speaker is not a witness of the event or action; s/he only reports it. This, however, does not imply that the speaker thinks that what is reported is not true. Any event to be considered culturally true (such as the actions of deities in a myth) would have to be marked with *-si* because the speaker has not personally witnessed the events described. It can also have a mirative element, i.e. the speaker is surprised. In brief, the speaker is not involved in what s/he says.

The suffix $_{v}$*-ch*/$_{c}$*-cha* (*-cha*) (violet) expresses that the speaker sees the events as probable or doubtful; s/he infers that something may have happened or may be correct or true (‘possibly, maybe’). This suffix occurs infrequently (not only in the texts of Huarochirí.)

The clitic $_{v}$*-m*/$_{c}$*-mi* (*-mi*) (light blue), on the other end of the scale, marks that the speaker has witnessed an action or event (‘I have seen/experienced it’), but it can also be assertative (‘that’s what it is/will be’), or possibly even validational (judging that an action is true or correct). Therefore using *-mi* involves the speaker in what is said; s/he has less distance from it.

I suggest seeing these suffixes on a scale of the speaker’s personal involvement, his/her participation in and knowledge of the action: none in the case of *-si*, ambiguous with *-cha* and personally involved with *-mi*. So far there are no studies for Quechua about why a certain word carries the clitic attached to it and not to another one. Its position in the sentence (as focus marker) also seems to be related to its distribution together with the topic marker (*-ka*). Topic-focus distribution in Quechua has long been observed and is used in our texts, as it is in contemporary language, to indicate the change of topic, also beyond one sentence. It is employed relatively consistently in the mythical Huarochirí stories (see -ka with wavy underlining in T3), but in a more liberal way in the descriptions of rituals. It is possible that this marks the difference between a more fixed artful style vs. more personalised or daily usage, or even an oral traditional style as opposed to a written style. In how far the ARC as redactor is responsible for a more personal, spontaneous usage, but in the stories takes over the original narrators’ style cannot be clearly determined. (Cf. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2003: 257–262).

It is intriguing to speculate whether the ARC had a clear conception of the function and meaning of the evidential suffixes, if he changed them according to what he wanted to express when writing them down, or if he was simply reproducing his speech, or possibly (to make it even more complicated) the speech of the consultants he ‘quoted’.

[24] See section 5 for typographical highlighting, transcription and translation conventions.

An example of the usage of the evidential modes is a passage from chapter 6 where the myth text is marked with reportative evidence through the clitic *-si*. In contrast, experienced or witnessed events in the quoted speech of the protagonists in the dialogues take on the witness evidence, marked by the clitic *-mi*.

There is no indirect, reported speech in Quechua ('he said that ...'); all speech has to be presented as literally quoted ('he said: "..."'). This is a grammatically determined feature which can be used to 'dramatise' the dialogue, and the exchange between two persons becomes embedded in complex subordinated sentences (cf. Mannheim & van Vleet 1998: 332–334 for reported speech in stories).

Clauses are constructed through subordinating nominalisations (typical Quechua complex sentence building), using *-spa* and *-pti* for a gerund-like nominalisation (shaded), with *-spa* referring to the same subject and *-pti* marking switch reference. When bouncing the dialogue from one speaker to the other, the Huarochirí narrator does not often use the names of the protagonists; they are only marked by a third person switch reference; pronouns are not obligatory in Quechua, and there is no gender-marked third-person pronoun in the language. This results not only in a dramatising effect, but it is also helpful if the addressee knows the story.

The above-mentioned features can be found in the Huarochirí mythical stories. Here is a brief passage from a much longer interaction and dialogue of two protagonists, in which a female deity negotiates with a powerful male deity to have him release water for the irrigation of her fields:

T3[25] Chaysi payka [chay warmi] **SHE**
"kay sarallaymi yakumanta chakipuwan, yaya" ñispa ñirkan.

Chaysi Pariacacaka **HE**
"ama llakiychu, ñukam yakuktaka kay kuchaykimanta ancha achka yakukta lluksichimusak; ichaka kamwan ñawpakrak puñusun" ñispa ñirkan.

Ñiptinsi kanan, **HE**

payka [chay warmi] ñirka **SHE**
"ñawpakrak kay yakukta lluksichimuy; chakray parkuska kaptinka, allitakmi, puñusun"
ñirkan.

[25] Here I use indentations to break down a sentence into clauses: left-aligned – main clause, one indent – subordinate clause same subject, two indents – subordinate clause switch reference.

Chaysi
"allitakmi" ñispa **HE**
yakuktaka ancha achkakta lluksichimurkan. (Ch. 6, fol. 70v.)

But then [so it is told] she [that woman said]:

"This maize of mine [I know this] is drying because of [lack of] water, father", saying [this]
she said.

Then [so it is told] Pariacaca [said]:

"Don't be sad! I will [certainly] make the water from this lake of yours flow there, very much water; but first let us sleep with you [with each other], saying [this]
he said.

When he had now said this [as is told],
she said:

"First let the water flow here; when my field is irrigated, very well [assertative], then we will sleep [with each other]" saying [this]
she said.

Then [so it is told]:

"Very well [assertative]" saying,
he let much water flow down [to her field].

Discourse features, such as the introduction of sentences with the connective *chaysi*, lit. 'that-reportative', meaning 'and then, it is said / the story goes' help the flow of the story.

We can also see parallel syntactic structuring, with the repetition of keywords or phrases, such as 'making water flow there/here' (depending on the speaker) – *yakuta lluksichimu-* (dotted underlining). This kind of connection can also take up a word in another grammatical form, which can be observed in *ñi-*, 'to say' (T3, also T4 – underlined). Thus, in order to create coherence, transition and rhythm, the ARC uses "linking repetition" (Tannen 2007: 58–59, or polyptoton; see also T7). Another example of this stylistic means is found in chapter 8 (fol. 72r) where it is described how the mighty god Pariacaca fought with torrential rain against another god whose weapon was fire:

T4 Chaysi kayka ñawpa pacha hanak Pariaca[ca] ñikpi tiyarkan. {Chay tiyaskanpa sutintam mana allichu yachanchik.} [...] [fol. 72v] Pariacaca, pichka runa kaspas, pichka pachamanta tamyayta ña kallarirka. Chay tamyas kanan killu puka tamya karkan. [...] [fol. 73r] Chaysi chay hina manatak yaykuptinsi, hukinka [above the line:] Llacsa Churapa sutiyuk

> ura ñikmanta yakukta, huk urkukta urmachispa, harkamurkan. Ña harkaykumuptinsi, chay yakuka kucha ña tukumurkan. {Kay kucham kananka Mullococha sutiyuk.}
>
> Thus then [it is told], in old times this one [Huallallo] resided in the region of Pariacaca. {We [certainly] don't know the name of that residence well.} [...] Pariacaca, being five persons[26] [it is told], began to rain from five places. Now, that rain [it is told] was yellow and red rain. [...] Then, when in this way it could definitely not enter [into the lake without making it overflow] [so it is told], one of them called Llacsa Churapa obstructed the water from below, making a mountain fall. After having obstructed [it] [so it is told], that water became already a lake there. {This lake [I/we know it] is now called Mullococha.}

We have seen in these examples that the text is rhythmic, and it is easy to imagine an oral narrator telling, even varying, a story, but keeping it very similar in terms of its rhythm and mode.

In the example text, reportative evidence is used for the 'mythical narrative mode' (*-si*), but the passage includes two pieces of information in the running text (which I have put in curly brackets {...} in T4) in the 'witness evidence mode' (*-mi*) where a commentator (different from the one who narrated the myth) 'interferes' briefly, referring to geographical locations addressing someone who is not familiar with the area. This would not have been necessary for a local recipient; so it was probably not part of the oral story. But it is interesting that the linking repetition is also used in the 'inserted' sentences to connect them to the previous ones; and it is found in intertwining texts as well (see T20). In this way the new writing style makes use of oral devices and as such re-shapes both the underlying oral and the written mode.

Similarly, there is also some lexical evidence of re-formulation in myth narratives. The one who writes them down is sometimes influenced by a particular (colonial) usage of Quechua and Spanish vocabulary. An example is found in chapter 2 (fols. 64v–66r), 'The life of Cuniraya Viracocha', which begins with the pregnancy of the deity Cauillaca, who is said to be a 'virgin', *doncella* (Spanish loanword). At the end of the same chapter, Quechua *yuma-*, 'semen' (noun), 'to introduce one's semen', 'to beget' (verb), has been crossed out and replaced by the euphemism *puñu-*, 'to sleep' (of common usage in Spanish at the time): the cunning Cuniraya (the father of Cauillaca's child) had seduced (or raped) another deity's daughters whose mother got very angry when she learned from her daughter that 'he slept with me [original Quechua meaning:

[26] For the multiplicity of Andean deities and the Christian Trinity see Dedenbach-Salazar Saénz (2016b).

he introduced his semen into me]': [crossed out:] *yuma[-]* [inserted above:] *puñu[-]huan* (Figure 6).

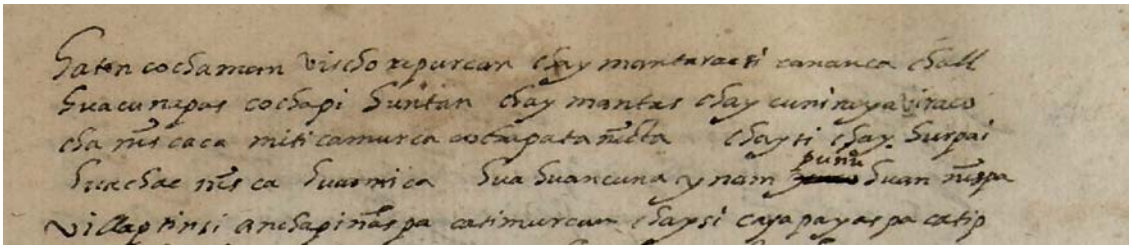


Figure 6: *Huarochirí Traditions*, chapter 2, fol. 66r

The adaptation of some Andean diction to Christian usage and occasional deletion and change in the text itself point to a redaction from the originally oral to the colonially more acceptable, written choice of word. This is early evidence of language contact and, in social terms, possibly of the ARC's (self-)censure.

Thus the ARC has captured and remembered the style and structure from Andean tradition, but he has also re-shaped at least the vocabulary in some parts of the stories, or his consultants could have done so. On the whole there are only a few features – and these don't apply to the overall discourse – which indicate that the myths were adapted to the new medium and situation, but a detailed study of all texts is still outstanding. Register, style and syntax characterise orally composed formal texts, and my hypothesis is that the myth narratives represent a pre-Hispanic oral genre, known by the ARC and with a limited need on his part to rephrase them and introduce new lexical or grammatical structures.

3.3.3 *Discourse and syntax in the enveloping texts*

Whilst these stories form the core of the book, its inner layer, which reflects older oral narratives and their voices, the Huarochirí ARC embeds them in the written genre of a book so that at the other end of the spectrum we find what I will call an enveloping, outer layer of text. Visible indicators of a book are the chapter titles which set out the content of the chapter and are obvious in the layout of the text itself (Figure 5). Introductory comments are used to open the mythical story; and at the beginning or end of a chapter the ARC often refers to a preceding or following one (T9–12, T15). Other comments are those made from a Christian point of view which normally follow the end of a myth (T5).

More than the mythistories, which are 'reproduced' in the third person singular or plural with respect to the characters and their actions in the story and somewhat detached from the reader, in these parts we see the ARC's intention to interact with an imagined reader.

As shown above, mythical stories always have to be told in a hearsay, reportative mode because the narrator cannot have witnessed the events, but this does not make them less true. In contrast to mythical stories these outer text layers include changes of perspective in the evidence-marking by using hearsay (*$_v$-s/$_c$-si)*, supposition (*$_v$-ch/$_c$-cha)* or personal witnessing (*$_v$-m/$_c$-mi)*.
Chapter 3, about when the ocean overflowed, for example, ends with an observation from the Christian point of view (fol. 66v):

T5 Kay simiktam kanan *christiano*kuna unanchanchik chay tiempo *dellobio*ktach. Paykunaka hina Villcacutukta kispiskanta unanchakun.

This hi/story [known to us] we Christians now understand/consider as what may have been the time of the deluge. But they imagine it was like being saved by [the mountain] Villcacoto [where they went when the water rose].

Here the ARC's witness evidence refers to the fact that he knows the story (*-mi*), but he is not very sure about the Christian interpretation of it, i.e. that it refers to the deluge (Span. *diluvio*), because he uses *-cha* which expresses a supposition, together with *unancha-*, which means 'to make signs, understand, consider, draw an outline; imagine'.[27]

Similarly he shows some uncertainty as to whether the Christian interpretation at the end of chapter 4 (fol. 66v, see Figure 5), which is about the death of the sun, is correct. The Christian voice has doubts, but the persons he quotes also seem to have doubts:

T6 Kaytam kanan ñukanchik *christiano*kuna unanchanchik Jesu Christo apunchikpak wañuskanpi tutayasqantach. Kaykunaka riman ñispa "unanchanchik ichach ari chay".

This [we know] we Christians [you and I] now consider that maybe it was the darkness at the death of Jesus Christ, our Lord. But these [other ones] say: "we imagine that it may have been like that" [like in the Andean or the Christian story?]

Here the ARC takes a position about his own knowledge or lack of it.

[27] González Holguín ([1608: Qu.-Sp. p. 357] 1989: 355 s.v. vnanchani); ibid. ([1608: Qu.-Sp. p. 55] 1989: 63 s.v. ccazccaylla).

In other instances he adopts the tone of an ethnographer, without validating one version or another.[28] He does not identify with the parties he writes about, but gives personal, witness evidence which documents that he knows that people were asked (one wonders by whom and why). For example, chapter 13 (about the community of Mama) begins as follows (fol. 78r):

T7 Mama runakunakta tapuskam kanan chay waka Chaupiñamuca wakapak huktatak rimanku. Chay rimaskan siminri kay hinam.

[When] the people of Mama are now asked [I know that they *are*] about the *waka* [deity][29] Chaupiñamca, they tell something different about the *waka*.[30] That mythical story told by them is like this [I know it].

After having presented the female deity Chaupiñamca as being five sisters, the ARC finishes the chapter (13, fol. 79v) with the following commentary in which he marks his own knowledge about what was said in the witness-mode (*-mi*) at the beginning of the chapter, as opposed to what people told him and he could not have witnessed, marked with reportative *-si*. Here the presentation of several voices which document mythical (not witnessed) knowledge show that the ARC has gathered oral tradition from different sources whom he has probably spoken with; note that he uses the present tense (*ñi-nku*, 'to say-3rd person plural general/present tense'):

T8 Hukinmi Chaupiñamcakta "Pariacacap paninsi" ñinku.
Hukmi "Tamtañamcap churinsi karka" ñinku.
Kay Tamtañamca ñiskanchiktam ari ñawpaknin pichkantin *capitulo*pi rimarkanchik.
Wakinmi kanan "Intip churinsi" ñinku.
Chay hinam MANA UNANCHAYPAKCHU.

Some [I have heard them] say of Chaupiñamca: "She is Pariacaca's sister [so the mythical story goes]".

[28] Salomon (1991: esp. 6–8) studies different perspectives which are presented in the texts, e.g. that of the Checa group to whom one of the narrators may have belonged.

[29] See Allen (2015) and Mannheim & Salas Carreño (2015) for their thoughts and analyses of this complex concept in Andean culture.

[30] The difference in the versions seems to refer to chapter 10 which is also about Chaupiñamca. The formulation may hint at the use of some kind of questionnaire (cf. Taylor ed. 1987: 223; Salomon 1991: 2–3; Martínez Sagredo 2016: 129, 143). This might be the background when different versions are offered, but certainly not in all or even the majority of the texts; one cannot detect a structure consistent with a questionnaire (like that found in inspection documents).

> Others [I have heard them] say: "She was Tamtañamca's daughter [so the mythical story goes]".
> About the so-called Tamtañamca [a story we know] we spoke in the fifth chapter.
> Still others [I have heard them] say: "she is the Sun's daughter [so the mythical story goes]".
> Thus [from what we know] IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND.

The ARC concludes that he cannot understand why there are different explanations; and in another case he recognises his lack of knowledge (SMALL CAPITALS), adding a supposition about the origin of the deity (*-cha*), as in the opening of chapter 5 (fol. 66v; see also T4):

T9 Ñam ari kay ñawpak tawa *capitulo*pi ñawpa pacha kawsaskankunakta willanchik. Ichaka kay runakunap chay pacha pakarimuskankunaktam MANA YACHANCHIKCHU, MAYMANTACH pakarimurkan.

> In the four preceding chapters [as we told there] we have just already told of their lives [lit. them having lived] in ancient times. Nevertheless, WE DON'T KNOW the origins [lit. them having originated] of the people of those days, or FROM WHERE THEY MAY HAVE emerged.

The ARC uses the particle *ichaka*, 'but', 'rather' (interrupted underlining), in order to contrast two affirmations. This particle also occurs, for example, in dialogues, but is especially frequent at the beginning and end of chapters (ch. 6, fol. 71v):

T10 Chaypim kanan Cuniraya puchukarkan. Ichaka ima hayka ruraskantaka kay wakin kipanpi *capitulo*kunapim willasun.

> There then [as we know] Cuniraya ended. But all he did (lit. his deeds) we will [definitely] tell in these later chapters.

These enveloping passages tend to include more particles and adverbial locutions (also *ña*, 'already'), which are characteristic of Spanish rather than Quechua that uses a combination of (mostly) subordinating nominalisations and discourse suffixes to construct complex sentences (Dedenbach–Salazar Sáenz 2003: 305–308).

We also find more clauses created with the help of basic nominalisations, mostly the perfective -ska (dot-line underlining; T9–12). These are used in Quechua, but much less than subordinating nominalisations, and it is possible that this syntactic construction was overused first in what has been called the

Quechua of Christianisation (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1999b: 234). We also find these basic nominalisations when one chapter is linked to another one (T11 and T12). Possibly this is a stylistic resource created by the ARC for expressing himself in writing.

In two sentences of chapter 6 about Pariacaca's birth and deeds (fol. 70r) the conjugated verb does not come last (as would be usual in Quechua SOV) (CAPITALS), and the sentences definitely follow Spanish word order (SVO):

T11 Kaytam kay kipanpi CHURASUN atinakuskantawan. Ñam ari chay Huallallo Carvinchup kawsaskantaqa runa mikuskantawanpas ima hayka ruraskantawanpas ñawpaq *capitulo*pi rimarkanchik. Kananmi RIMASUN Huarocheripi chay chay kitipi ruraskankunakta.

This WE WILL [certainly] LAY DOWN later, together with how they fought with each other (lit. together with their having fought with each other). We have also already [definitely] spoken in an earlier chapter of how Huallallo Carvinchu lived (lit. HC's having lived), together with how he ate human beings (lit. his having eaten human beings), and whatever else he did (lit. his other deeds). Now WE WILL [definitely] SPEAK of what he [Pariacaca] did (lit. his having done) in that region of Huarocheri.

Referring to a previous chapter, the title of chapter 3 (fol. 66r) uses a basic nominalisation (perfective *-ska*) and twice *ñatak*, 'again':

T12 Kaypim ñatak ancha ñawpa runakunap rimakuskanman ñatak kutisun.

Here again we will [definitely] return again to what was told about the people of the ancient times.

In contemporary Quechua *-ñatak* is more frequent as a suffix which joins two independent clauses ('and') (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2005: 77).

Both, the basic nominalisations and the use of the connective as independent particle, seem to be influenced, directly in the first case (T11), and indirectly in the second (T12), by the Quechua of Christianisation and Spanish.

These passages show the ARC's intention to present the stories in an overall framework which is not limited to an isolated section or story, but to a whole book. Thus he emphasises the larger entity by cross-references to earlier or later chapters or parts of his book (T7–12, T15–16). In this case it is straightforward to use the adverbial expressions *ñawpa(k)* and *kipa(n)*, 'before, in front of' and 'after, behind' respectively because they are not restricted to speaking or writing and can have temporal or spatial meaning.

Verbs of narrative communication (orange) constitute the semantic field for 'writing'. They occur especially at the beginning and end of chapters when referring to other chapters.

We find *kuti-*, 'to return' (T12) which does not primarily refer to narrative communication. Similarly the word *chura-*, 'to put or lay something down', which does not refer to any particular medium, is now used to lay the words down on paper (T11).

Other words can easily be understood in written texts, such as *willa-*, 'to tell', 'to communicate' (T9, T10), but – at least implicitly – they have to be extended in their semantic components to include the written aspect: the medium is now not mouth and voice, but pen and paper:

T8, T11 *rima-*, 'to speak' ('hablar')

T13 *uyarichi-*, 'to make (someone) hear/listen' (ch. 20, fol. 86r):

Kay simiktam kay kipanpi uyarichisun.

(lit.) This story [we know it], we will make [you all and me] hear [it] hereafter.

Whilst the above words, originally used with respect to oral communication, were adapted to the written medium in the texts, the word *killka-* always referred to a non-oral activity. In the first Quechua dictionary Santo Tomás ([1560] 1951: fol. 170r) has the meanings 'to paint', 'to draw', but he also gives several more words which use *killka-* (pink) for writing, derived from 'to write, or paint in general'. Thus early on the meaning received a colonial semantic extension because it became the generally used word for 'to write' and for written objects (like books and paper).

In his introduction to the *Huarochirí Traditions* the ARC emphasises the importance of writing, and considering that in the Christian manuals *killka-* is almost always related to the writing on order of the King or to the writing of the Scripture,[31] its usage becomes even more weighted with authority and divine legitimation, as can be seen in the preface to the Huarochirí texts:

T14 Runa *yndio* ñiskap machunkuna ñawpa pacha killkakta yachanman karka, chayka hinantin kawsaskankunapas manam kanankamapas chinkaykuk

[31] Interestingly, in the Third Lima Council Christian instruction manuals *killka(-)* is only used in Quechua in nominal forms, such as 'paper' (Concilio Provincial de Lima (ed.) 1585b: sermon 19) 'the Holy Script' (17, 27), 'the King's Seal' (19) or 'book' (31). It has also become a loan in Spanish: 'a royal provision or *quellca*' (10), 'the King's *quillca*' (19).

> hinachu kanman [...] Chay hina kaptinpas kanankama mana killkaska kaptinpas, kaypim churani kay huk yayayuk Guarocheri ñiskap machunkunap [...] chayri sapa llaktanpim killkaska kanka [...].
>
> If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not [I know] have faded from view until now [...]. But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now, I [definitely] set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huarocheri people from one forefather [...] and that will [certainly] be written down village by village it [...] (see the complete preface in T1).

It is then frequently used as a verb (with a direct object) to open or close a chapter, e.g.

T15 [...] chaytaka kay kipanpim killkasun Pachacamacpa kaskantawanpas.

> [...] it is that [an offering] which we will [certainly] write about later, together with Pachacamac's (a deity's) life (end of ch. 21, fol. 89r).

T16 Capitulo 27 – Imanam runakuna ñawpa pacha, wañuspa, "pichka punchawpim kutimuni" ñispa, rimarkanku. Chay chaykunaktam killkasun.

> Chapter 27 – How [I know about that] people in the old times when they died spoke the words: "in five days I will [certainly] return here". About all this we will [certainly] write (title of ch. 27, fol. 97v).

Throughout the enveloping text the ARC uses the inclusive first person plural (*-nchik* present tense, *-sun* future tense; T8–13, 15–16), except for the introduction where he writes in the first person singular (T14). This 'we' means 'you (all) and I' and allows him to make himself and the reader part of the Huarochirí traditions and customs, even when commenting from a Christian point of view.

Thus, when doing so, the ARC uses inclusive 'we', sometimes specified as 'we Christians', and he contrasts it to 'they' and their belief or understanding. Here he includes a potential reader in his discourse (see T2 and T5), and, besides this kind of communicative approach, it is possible that he emphasises his authority by employing 'we' in a majestic tone.[32] An example is found in

[32] It is possible that the inclusive plural suffix had become the only actively used first person plural form in this particular Quechua variety, because the exclusive plural (which excludes the addressee) is (with one exception) only found in quoted speech and in mythical texts; it also occurs only from chapter 21 onwards, which could indicate different narrators. Its usage

chapter 8 when the ARC inserts his disclaimer into a mythical story using the personal knowledge evidential *-mi*: 'We [certainly] don't know the name of that [deity's] residence well' (see T4) – but one would not necessarily expect that native-language readers would share his ignorance. Maybe the first person plural inclusive was used in order to emphasise the collective authorship of all the Huarochirí peoples, as opposed to the individuals who wrote a history in Spanish (like the mentioned Pedro de Cieza de León and José de Acosta).

All this is an indication that the ARC found it difficult to manage a written text whose addressee was not a real person but an imagined reader, unlike oral storytelling in Quechua which is not unidirectional but includes dialogue and interaction with the listener (Mannheim & van Vleet 1998; Becker & Mannheim 1995: 240–243). If this was also the case in ancient Andean storytelling, the ARC could have 'translated' and re-created in writing the mentioned social practices in which oral narratives are embedded. He transferred some oral (and aural) means of communication to the written word, where he had to imagine or invent a reader. This is especially evident in the enveloping (this section) and intertwined texts (3.3.4) as opposed to the more 'traditional' mythical stories. In the myths the narrator/redactor simply tells a story in the third person; in descriptions and comments he has to address an unknown reader.

With respect to the grammatical features the caveat is that we do not know what a formal oral Quechua style was like in pre-Hispanic usage, i.e. did our ARC make use of existing structures? It is also possible that the linguist-missionaries used certain features (particles and basic nominalisations) with exaggerated frequency, and the ARC could have been influenced by this usage. A similar question applies to the semantic adaptation and extensions for words now used in the written domain.

In any case, whether the ARC made use of the Quechua structure which he was familiar with through Christian instruction manuals in his language, whether he based himself on narrative and conversational Quechua patterns and/or combined them, this is an early instance of the creativity and innovation of a Quechua speaker producing a written text.

3.3.4 *Close intertwinement of core and enveloping texts*

As we have seen, the core texts are narratives of myths which use mostly traditional patterns of storytelling. The enveloping texts are used to introduce the myths or comment on them at the end, to interconnect different parts of the book and to address the reader (implicitly), and verbs of speech are transferred to

itself though indicates that the ARC would have been aware of the difference. (For discussions of the usage of the inclusive plural see also Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2003, p. 409, footnote 15; Durston 2014a: 167, footnote 12.)

writing. As opposed to these relatively clear divisions of discourse patterns, we also find a much closer intertwining of the narration of events and comments about them. This is the case in a number of chapters about ceremonies and rituals. We can say with relative certainty that at the time of writing down the Huarochirí texts the myths were still being told (although they had to be 'de-contextualised' in writing), and we do know that the rituals related to them were definitely still being carried out.[33] They would normally not have been narrated at all but performed and are now described in writing, which must have been a challenging task. Sometimes variations of traditional performances are contrasted, and there are comments on their change in the particular colonial situation. In these cases it is more difficult to distinguish core and enveloping layers of text, especially when certain discourse and grammatical features vary within small units of text.

In chapter 10, after introducing the goddess Chaupiñamca, the narrator describes her festival, which he himself seems to have attended once, as he uses the witness mode *-mi* to present the different dances. He only switches to reportative *-si* when describing a dance that was performed without clothes.

T17 Huktam kanan Casayaco sutiyukta takik karkanku. Kay Cassayacokta takiptinsi, Chaupiñamca ancha kusikuk karkan, *porque* kayta takispaka llatansi. Wakillan wallparikunanta churaspallas, takik karkan, pinkaynintari huk wara utku pachallawan pakaykuspa (fol. 77r).

They used to dance another one now [I have seen it] with the name of Cassayaco. [It is said that] when they danced this Cassayaco, Chaupiñamca used to be very happy, because when they danced this, they used to be naked [it is said]. [It is said that] putting on only some of their ornamental signs they used to dance, hiding their shame [euphemism for sexual organs] only with a cotton cloth.

Could the influence of Christian education of the ARC, his knowledge of ecclesiastical moral concepts, or even knowing that Ávila was a potential reader,

[33] Bennison found that, for example, stories about Cauillaca (personal communication, February 2024; *Huarochirí Traditions*, ch. 2) and about lake Yansa (Bennison 2016: 91; *Huarochirí Traditions*, ch. 31) are still being told today (although in Spanish now); it is therefore safe to suppose that they were also still known at the beginning of the 17th century. In the *Huarochirí Traditions* themselves (e.g. ch. 7, 9, 28) it is said that the festivals and rituals were still performed, and we also know this from other sources of a later time and other areas (e.g. Duviols ed. 2003 [17th c.]: 270). In Huarochirí canal cleaning ceremonies which testify to the continuing importance of a sacred landscape are still being carried out today (La fiesta del agua 1995; Bennison 2023).

perhaps have led him to express clearly that he had no personal knowledge of such 'barbaric' customs, but rather knew them from hearsay?

An indication of this, besides the evidential suffix of hearsay, is the use of *pinkaynin*, 'her shame'. Maybe the ARC, with his redactional voice, had inserted these disclaimers of 'indecent' behaviour and language later, using an "extrafictional voice" (Lanser 1981: 124, cf. 13–14) that redacts the information several individuals had originally told him.

In the chapters discussed we can explain the alternating use of witness/experience *-mi* and reportative/hearsay *-si* in terms of the ARC's personal relation to what is being narrated.

In other chapters of the manuscript the ARC intertwines mythical stories and ceremonies related to them with comments of his own, thus showing that the distinction between core mythical stories and enveloping comments is more complex: an originally oral expository descriptive discourse of customs ("to explain or to describe") becomes intermingled with procedural written discourse ("how-it-is-done"), sometimes with a hortatory undertone (Longacre 1974: 358–359). Grammatical features show as well that it is not easy to disentangle narrative and commenting voices.

Chapter 24 (fols. 91v–95v), for example, describes how different groups came into being, what distinguished them and what customs they had. In the first part, two versions are given of how the Checa group received a golden headdress from the god Pariacaca to enhance their social status (fol. 92r–v). The two versions are introduced as follows:

T18 wakinmi kanan rimanku [...], wakinmi runakuna ñinku [...] (fol. 92r)

some [I know] speak now [like this] [...], some (other) people [I know] say [...]

The introduction to the second version is followed by the narrative about this golden headdress. And then another, more detailed account is presented, which is similarly introduced with

T18 (cont.) wakinmi kanan ñinku [...] (fol. 92v)

'[I know that] some [others] now say [...]'.

The detailed versions which follow the introductory sentences are characterised by the reportative mode and use the simple past and, in some places, the iterative past to describe repetitive processes. In the second part of this chapter – after a

summary of the origins of the groups discussed in the first part and the redistribution of the communities and their deities – various customs and rites of some of these groups are described: the Ñamçapa festival with the Chutacara festival (fol. 93v) and the Machua dance (fol. 94r). In this second part, reportative *-si* and witness *-mi* are not used consistently at first sight, for instance for different events and groups. But some *-mi* insertions are obviously explanatory additions from the ARC's direct experience, as opposed to things not experienced by him:

T19 Kay kikintaka Yngas kipanpi aparkan. Chaypak *teniente*ntas ñatak hukta rurarkanku, chaytam *señor doctor* ña aparkan (fol. 93v).

This same [*waka*-effigy], the Inca [so it is said] took it with him later. For that one they made [another one as] his representative [it is said], and yet another one; that one [I saw/know it] was already taken away by the Doctor [Ávila].

T20 Chaysi, huk wakamayup [original: wakamaypak] rikranta *o* imallantapas apaspa, yañcakta kuk karkan. {Kay yañcam Checamanta kipanpas Martyn Misayauri karkan. Allaucamantam Juan Chumpiyauri wañuk.} Kay yañca ñiskanchiksi [...] chay chutaman llukarkan [...] (fol. 94v).

Then [it is said] he used to give the *yañca* [Andean priest] a parrot's wing or something else that he brought. {This *yañca* from Checa was later also Martín Misayauri [I knew him]. From Allauca [I knew him] it was Juan Chumpiyauri, who has died.} This *yañca* whom we mentioned [and have heard about] [...] went up to the *chuta* [effigy] [...].

The ARC's personal addition, incorporated in the continuous text {...}, hints at his usage of narrative techniques known in contemporary storytelling which address the listener directly (cf. section 3.3.3; Mannheim & van Vleet 1998; Becker & Mannheim 1995: 240–243). Possibly he also wanted to be seen as personally familiar with Huarochirí society of his time.

In these passages the ritual is described as one not witnessed, but connected to the ARC's life because he inserts his particular knowledge of persons related to the events, using the witness mode.[34] The ritual itself is

[34] This is very similar in other chapters about rituals (e.g. 7 and 9), but there it is clearly said that these are still carried out at the time of narration, and the present tense is used. In chapter 7, for example, the description is introduced with *chayri kay hinam*, 'and this [is] so' (ch. 9, fol. 74r), interestingly quite similar to the formulaic introductions to mythical stories.

documented collectively (first person plural reportative and experienced mode often alternate within one small block of content).

On the whole the ARC has interwoven statements which belong to different speakers/sources and therefore have different evidence markers (*-si* reportative, *-mi* witness mode). Even the witness mode could in some cases be the ARC's explanation and in others what he had heard from members of the community (in their own words?). This compilation of an almost ethnographic nature is also plausible because different groups (*ayllu*) are mentioned whom he would have known about personally and/or through different consultants. In chapter 24, for example, the rituals of the Checas are explained (cf. Salomon 1991: 5). To put this into writing, the ARC has interwoven the different statements into one text by directly linking them in traditional Quechua style, e.g. through the anaphoric use of a demonstrative pronoun and/or by reusing a word, often in a different grammatical form (underlined) (see section 3.3.1):

T21 Umanpim kanan caçira sutiyuk uksatak. Kaypa sapinmi puka pukalla. Kaytas churak karkan, "Kaymi akchan" ñispa. Chaymantas, ña tukuyta allichaspa, hukta "Yomca" ñispa, karip unanchayninta churarkan. Huktari Huasca sutiyukta warmip unanchayninta churarkan. Ña churaspam [...] (ch. 24, fol. 94r–v).

And on the [effigy's] head now [I have seen it] is the grass called *caçira*. The roots of this [I have seen it] are deep red. This [it is said] they used to put on it with the words: "This is their hair". Then [it is said], after they had prepared everything well, they set one up which they called "Yomca", as sign of the man. And another one, called "Huasca", they set up as sign of the woman. After they had set (them) up [I have seen it] [...].

T22 Chay pacha, kay caullamakunaman rispas, chay *caracol* ñiskanchikta wakachispa, pukupayaspa, rik karkanku. Chaypakmi [original: chaypammi] sapanpi runakunapas, wakinnin tarikninkunaka, kay *caracol* ñiskanchikta hatallirkanku (fol. 94v).

Then, [it is said] when they went to these *caullama* [small llama figures], they used to go by blowing and sounding again and again the shell-horn we have mentioned. For this [I have seen it], among each of them, and also the people, [and] others whom they met [or: who found shell-horns), kept this shell-horn we mentioned [in their hands].

T23 Chaymantam kanan ñatak kayantin punchaw ancha tutamanta Quimquillaman tukuy runakuna rik karkanku. Chay Quimquilla ñiskanchik wakas ancha llamayuk ima haykayuk (fol. 95r).

Then now [I have seen it] all the people used to go to Quimquilla on the following day early in the morning. [It is said that] the *waka* Quimquilla mentioned by us owned many llamas and everything else.

Here it becomes even clearer that the ARC functions as a redactor of the written text. On the one hand, he uses the evidential suffixes in elaborate differentiations; on the other hand, he still employs traditional stylistic means of linking, such as the word-repetition in a following sentence (underlining in T21–23). It is not possible to identify the style of individual narrators or consultants, but certain types of formulation are found very frequently, for instance especially the connective word group *chaymantam kanan*, 'then now' (six times in ch. 24); and these will still have to be analysed according to the type of other texts they are also used in. What we can see is that, by using certain oral means of composition, the ARC creates an interconnected written text.

A narrator's or consultant's discourse of a certain event is interlaced with a commentator's voice by the ARC. Besides these varied Quechua constructions, the ARC also shows Spanish influence when he uses loanwords, such as *teniente* for 'representative' (T19) or *caracol* for 'shell-horn' (T22) – both refer to essential elements of pre-Christian culture and therefore had their own Quechua word.[35] But there are also a number of loans from the Spanish religious sphere, such as *maestro*, 'master [of an indigenous cult]' (ch. 9, fol. 74r). Maybe, in a way similar to transforming the oral 'low' code into written expression, the 'high' code, the ARC intended to ascribe indigenous (religious) objects and concepts an 'equal' value in the dominant framework (cf. Salomon 1982: 28–31). As there are, indeed, Quechua terms which denominate indigenous priests (e.g. T20), one might even think that in some of the texts an early fusion of both religions may have been expressed (if not necessarily intended). This could also be extended to the use of Spanish objects in indigenous rituals themselves, like when the cross is used with an 'ornamental covering' in an indigenous ritual, using the Spanish word *manga* (Figure 8).

Christian influence in the ARC (or narrators of the rituals) can also be seen in the usage of *supay* (ch. 21, fol. 87v *passim*) which had originally referred to a being of the shadow world of the ancestors but became quickly the

[35] González Holguín ([1608: Qu.-Sp. p. 311] 1989: 312): "Ranti. Substituto lugar teniente legado" ('substitute, deputy, ambassador'); ibid. ([1608: Qu.-Sp. p. 116] 1989: 123, s.v. churu): "Huayllaqquepa. Caracol grande de comer que es la trompeta" ('large edible shell which is the trumpet').

'devil' in Christian Quechua and is used with that meaning in the Huarochirí texts. However, in mythical stories, we find the Quechua word *waka* for the same indigenous supernatural being (and its representations) (ch. 20, fol. 84v) (cf. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2013: 369–370). Another indication of the influence of Christian conversion is the word *vergüenza*, 'shame' for 'sexual organs', which is obviously a euphemism and may reflect some kind of (self-) censure of the Christian(ised) ARC (cf. section 3.3.2).

As mentioned in the case of the enveloping passages, in the intertwined layer we also find a number of particles and adverbial locutions, a structure typical of Spanish, for example, ***porque*** *kayta takispaka llatansi*, 'because when they danced this, they used to be naked [it is said]' (T17), introduces a Spanish conjunction (*porque*, 'because') where the Quechua nominalisation *takispaka*, *-spa* with topic marker *-ka*, would normally be used for a causative clause, with no need to add a Spanish loan. (Cf. 3.3.2.)

The ARC certainly inserted Spanish words, particles and conjunctions because of his everyday contact with Spanish-speaking people and the familiarity with Spanish administrative structures. Brody (1988: 322, 325) notes that in contemporary Maya stories Spanish particles and conjunctions[36] are more characteristic of spoken speech. Maybe in our case their usage reflects an individual expression in this kind of description of a ritual, as opposed to the style of set stories of mythistorical events.

The loans are largely limited to the lexical domain, although – as we have seen – there are also a few conjunctions, most of which are redundant because they duplicate Quechua constructions. The loanwords are entirely incorporated into the morphological structure of Quechua. The content of the texts means that most loanwords and resemantisations are in the religious field and, of course, also those that refer to the new technology of writing and are necessary for the meta-discourse (e.g. *capitulo*). Some loanwords obviously refer to objects or phenomena which did not exist before contact with the European world. Through their accumulation in certain chapters they may (under closer scrutiny) provide hints as to different narrators or consultants.

On the whole, loan phenomena reflect that the ARC lived in a colonial world where he would have been aware of and used the Spanish language in certain communicative situations. We don't know how far these loans were part of his own diction or taken literally from his consultants.[37]

[36] It is interesting that neither in the case studied by Brody nor in that of Huarochirí these particles and conjunctions have any semantic content. According to Brody (1988: 325), "[a]s fillers in spoken language, these words allow speakers to gain time to gather their thoughts, to make dramatic pauses, and to exhibit personal style".

[37] For a detailed discussion of loans in the Huarochirí texts see Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (2003: 385–398). Cf. also Urioste (1982: 106–108).

More than in the core (myths) and enveloping layers (introductions and final commentaries), in descriptions of festivals and rituals and the discussion of different versions of certain stories, register, grammar and style are a highly intertwined mixture of oral-derived and recently created written features. The differentiation and intertwinement of evidence modes reflects vestiges of the dialogic oral interaction, now re-created in writing; but loanwords and certain nominalisations as well as the contents themselves and how they are presented and organised show the distance of the text from an oral means of expression in a purely Quechua-speaking society. We may want to differentiate a personalised mode or style of writing, which transfers oral speech into written text, from a conventional, formally patterned transmission (and possibly re-shaping) of story texts.

3.3.5 *The meta-text*

The manuscript also has many marginal notes (Figs. 4, 7–13). I consider these annotations to be a 'meta-text' (analogous to metadata which provide information about other data), visually and in terms of their content outside core, enveloping and intertwined texts.[38]

Without any certainty about their author(s) we can still study the marginal notes in terms of their content and relation to the main text body. They are brief, mostly in Spanish, in 'annotation' style, i.e. often in the infinitive or in the first person singular. They comprise questions or requirements for clarification which the ARC in most cases would not have needed to make because – as we can

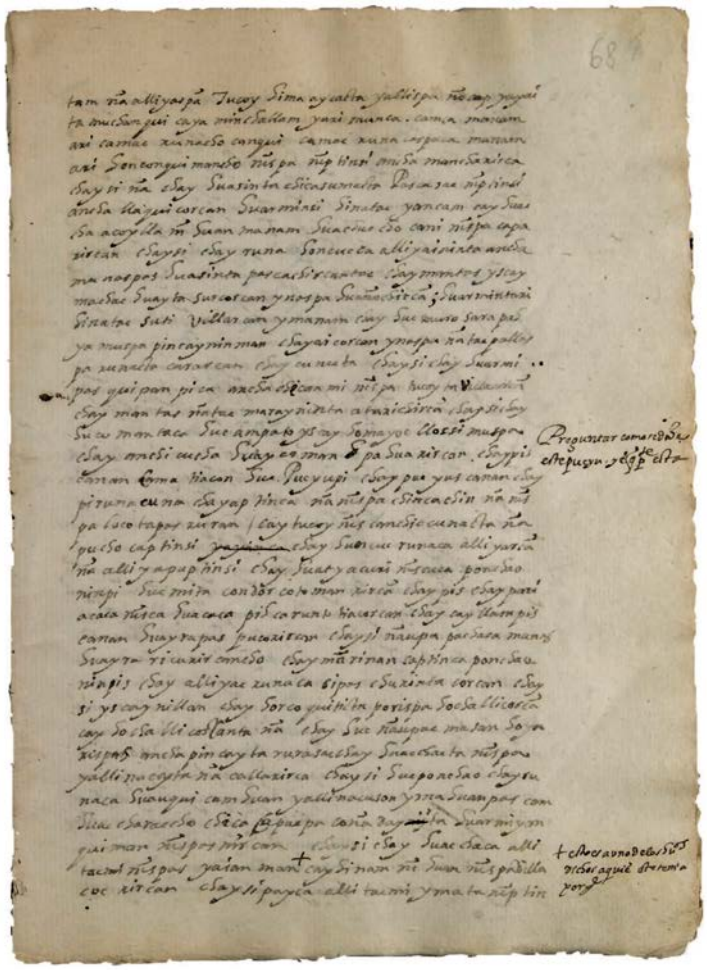
[38] Some marginal notes contain corrections of letters, syllables or words (e.g. fol. 67v). This kind of emendation is also frequently found in the text itself (e.g. in Figure 4). A further example is chapter 2 (fol. 65v) where the ARC seems to have added himself a larger passage of text which he must have forgotten when copying the chapter. I do not consider this kind of emendation as having a meta-textual function because it is part of the text itself (although it is not always clear whether the changes were made when penning the text or later).

See Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (2003: ch. 6) for detailed observations and a discussion about handwriting, corrections and marginal notes. Martínez-Sagredo (2023: 28–29) supposes that Ávila himself made these annotations; see also Martínez Sagredo (2016: 130–131). A renewed look at the *Huarochirí Traditions* Quechua manuscript and the *Tratado* manuscript (Ávila 1608, English transl. [1608] 1873) also gives me the impression that the handwriting of the marginal notes in the Quechua manuscript and the first five chapters of the *Tratado* may be identical, therefore probably by Ávila himself.

However, I would like to add that in case the author-redactor-compiler had learned writing and reading from Ávila, it would not be surprising if his handwriting was similar to the priest's (cf. de la Puente & Martínez C. 2021: 75–77).

What is needed is a palaeographer to analyse the handwritings of all the manuscripts in the bound volume (which includes our text and belonged to Francisco de Ávila [*Papeles varios* 1575–1662?]). The manuscript texts with all their characteristics of different ink intensity and colour etc. would have to be consulted and compared in the original manuscript.

suppose that he was Andean and from Huarochirí – he would have known the answers. There are many pages without marginal notes; others have several or even many. Most are written with ink less faded than that of the texts and therefore suggest that they were added after having made the copy of the entire text.



<Text: there is a spring>
Margin: 'Ask how this *pucyu* [spring] is called and where it is'

<Text: he went to tell his father +[39]>
Margin: '+ that is, [he went] to one of the mentioned eggs that this one had as father [explaining that Pariacaca was Huatyacuri's father and had been born (as/from) five eggs, told at the beginning of the chapter]'

[both in Spanish]

Figure 7: *Huarochirí Traditions*, chapter 5, mythical story of the encounter between Huatycuri from Huarochirí with Tamtañamca from the lowlands, and how he defeats the latter, fol. 68r

[39] The notes are often marked with a special sign in the text, and this is repeated at the beginning of the note.

See the chapters of the respective translations by Taylor (ed. 1987: 172–173) and by Salomon & Urioste (eds. 1991) who comment in detail on some of the marginal notes.

Overall, the first nine chapters, esp. 8 and 9, have more marginal notes than the other ones, mostly elucidations and questions as to clarification about places and concepts (Figure 9).[40] More comments are also found in the two supplements;[41] these provide mostly detailed information about words and circumstances (Figure 8). As the supplements are about rituals for particular kinds of births, the annotator's attention could have been drawn to them because these rituals may still have been common in colonial times.

[40] Considering that only the first chapters were translated by the priest Ávila, it is possible that he dedicated more time to reading these chapters and made these marginal notes. His translation breaks off at the beginning of chapter 7. In this context it is also interesting to note that only the first six chapters have the title translated into Spanish.

[41] The supplements are written in less careful handwriting and may have been attached to the booklet after finishing the first draft of numbered chapters.

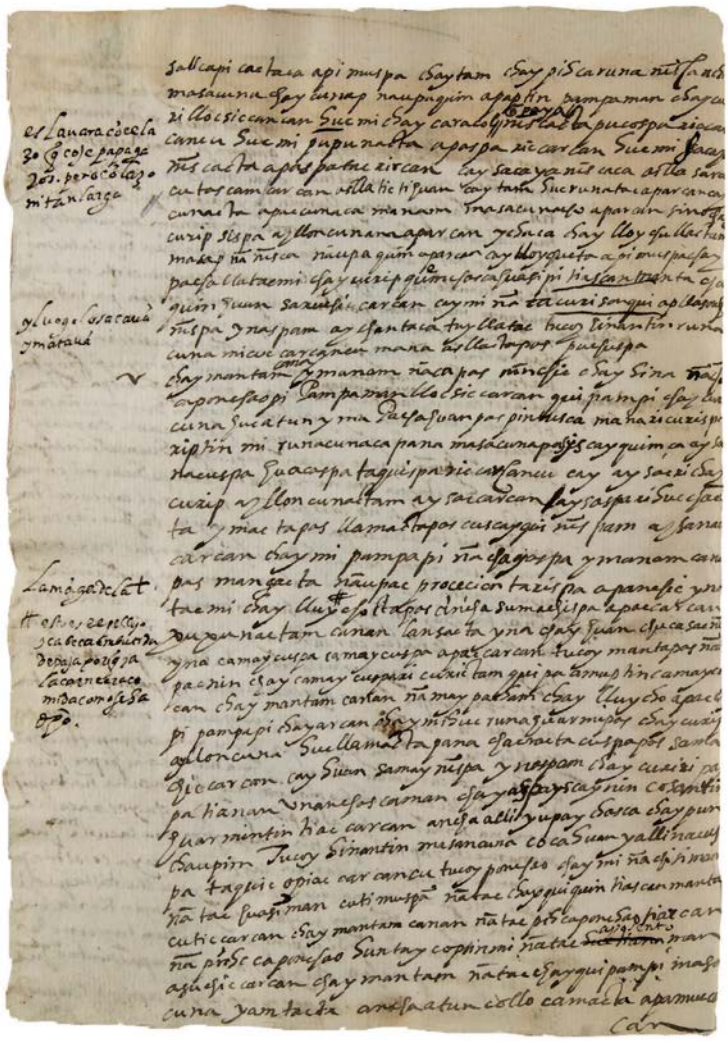
<Text: [for the ritual] others brought a ¯ *pupuna*> Margin: ‘it is the staff with the lasso which catches parrots but with a lasso not that long’ <Text about a deer that was captured and the treatment of it and what it had done to them> Margin: ‘and then they took it out and killed it [the deer]’ <Text: refers to Spanish loanword *manga* used in text> Margin: ‘the *manga* [= the ornamental covering] of the cross + [sign of a cross]’ <Text: refers to *lluycho #*, ‘deer’, in Quechua text> Margin: ‘that is the hide and the head stuffed with straw, because the meat had already been eaten, as has been mentioned’ [all in Spanish]	

Figure 8: *Huarochirí Traditions*, [Supplement 1], about rituals at the birth of twins, fol. 108v

Here are some examples of the marginal notes with different functions:

(1) Explanatory additions to the text, in Quechua

A myth about an irrigation canal and its course ends with the two deity protagonists' copulation and their turning into stone, which in the Andes can be a symbol of fertility.[42] According to the text, 'having turned into stone, the woman called Chuquisuso now dwells at the mouth of the irrigation canal called Cocochalla. And likewise, Cuniraya, turned into stone, now still dwells above this at another canal, that place is called Vincompa'. The note reads: 'Cuniraya's residence is close to Chuquisuso's [I know it]' (Figure 9).

This seems to have been written at the same time as the body of the text, even without refreshing the ink. It could therefore also have been part of the mythical story.

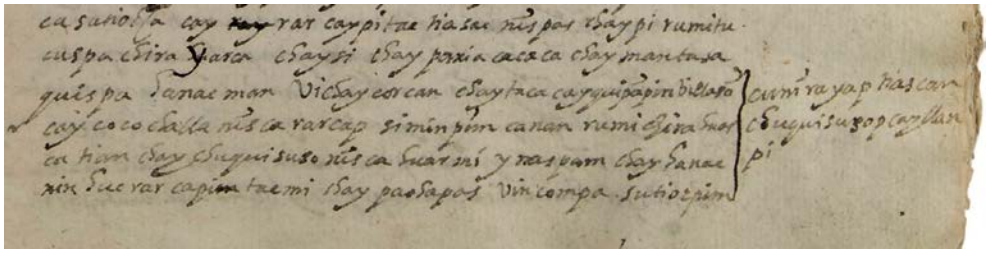


Figure 9: *Huarochirí Traditions*, chapter 6, fol. 71r

(2) Notes asking for clarification, in Spanish

Example from a mythical story about the encounter between Huatycuri from Huarochirí with Tamtañamca from the lowlands, and how he defeats the latter.

A few times *ojo*, 'Note!', is found in the margin, written with stronger ink; in this case the word is crossed out, probably to clarify the name *Tamtañamca*, of which the final syllable had been missed out in the text and had been, indeed, inserted above the line, but also merited the extra mention at the margin. (Figure 10.) The deity plays an important role in this chapter.

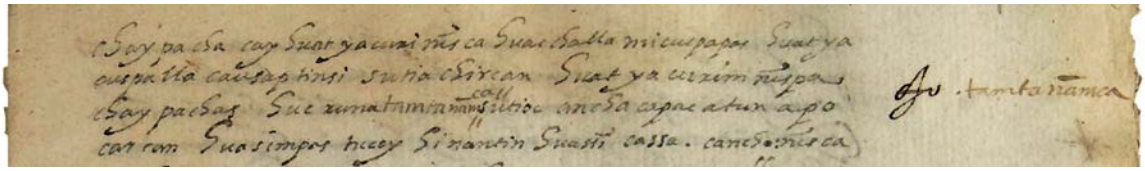


Figure 10: *Huarochirí Traditions*, chapter 5, fol. 67r

[42] Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (2003: 311). For the importance of stones and the transformation of deities from and into stone also see Fernández Murillo (2018: 321–328).

The chronological sequence of the in-text addition, the complete word at the margin and the word ‘Note!’ remains unclear.

(3) Crossed-out marginal notes with added answers documenting that the questions have been clarified, in Spanish

The text to which the marginal note refers reads as follows: ‘And he lives there at the entrance to the lowlands until today, to take care that [Huallallo Caruincho] does not return. His name is Pariacarco.’

In Spanish:

*
[crossed out:] find out [lit. know] if these are brothers because it is said that they emerged from the eggs, or if they are sons of Pariacaca
[added beneath in a box:] brothers they were [interesting because the word order hints at a translation from Quechua]
* find out how this is
[a name, crossed out:] *sullcayllapa* (Figure 11)

Here the annotator’s concern with the genealogy of the deities is evident.

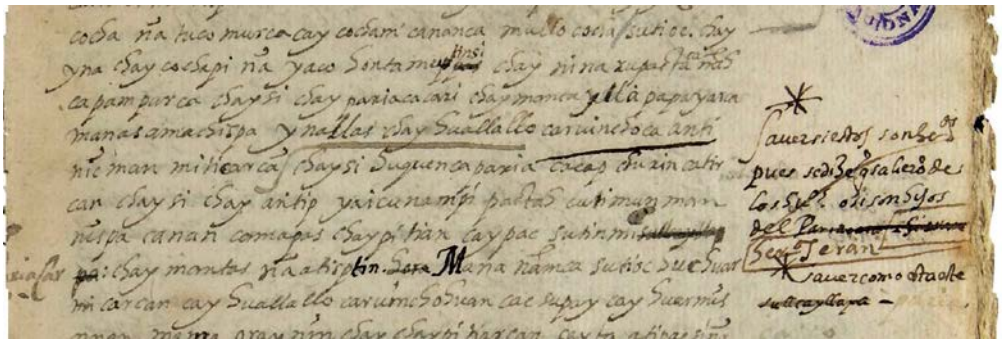


Figure 11: *Huarochirí Traditions*, chapter 8, fol. 73r

(4) Questions that require further information, in Spanish

The chapter which describes traditional practices and names the fields of certain coca plantations, ends with ‘and until now they are said to live like this hiding it’.

The writer of the note wants to know:
* this place, where is it. Sullcayllapa [crossed out; above:
Choq[ue]huampo] is below Túna [Tumna] between Sicicaya and Sucya, I have to see it, find out what it is called. (Figure 12.)

This seems to reflect a sinister reason, especially when we take into account that Ávila himself – after having experienced severe problems in the communities due to his abuse and exploitation of indigenous people – became a fervent 'extirpator of idolatry', documenting in his letters that he had burned native statues and shrines (cf. Antonio Acosta 1987 for a study on Ávila; summary in Martínez Sagredo 2011: 100–102). He could have identified those through details of the rituals and mythical stories which indicated place names, e.g. an area where, so the manuscript reads, some people secretly still followed ancient rites (e.g. ch. 7). It is therefore easily imaginable that the priest, with an interest in destroying places of Andean worship and beliefs, wanted to locate the exact places.

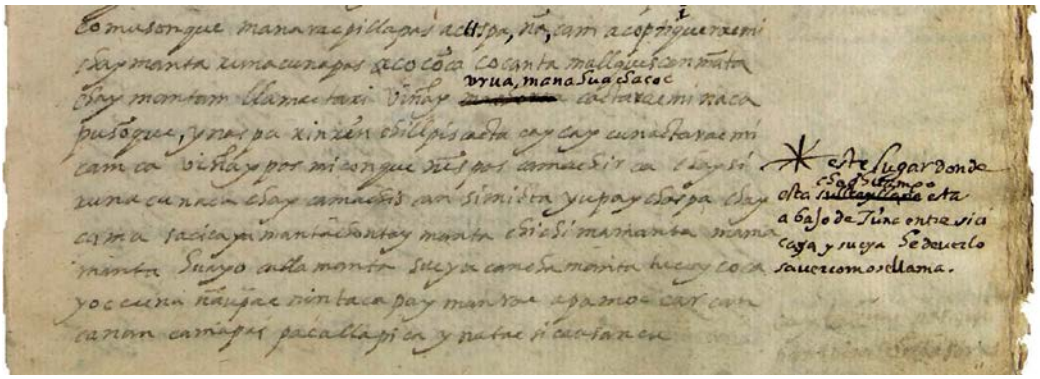


Figure 12: *Huarochirí Traditions*, chapter 8, fol. 73r

In this passage it is also interesting to observe that a correction in the Quechua text was made, possibly at the same time as the Spanish marginal note because the ink intensity is the same – but it is, of course, also possible that a correction was made at any moment after dipping the pen in the inkwell again.

The text emendation is about ordering the people which kind of llama to sacrifice to the deity: the Spanish word "machorra", 'female sterile lama', is crossed out, and written above it, in Quechua, is: "vrua, mana huachacoc", 'without child, not giving birth',[43] thus eliminating a loanword.

[43] *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Tomo IV (1734): "Machorra"; González Holguín ([1608: Qu.-Sp. p. 359] 1989: 357): "vrua", ibid. ([1608: Qu.-Sp. p. 162] 1989: 168): "huachay".

(5) Remarks that explain words of the Quechua text in Spanish

At the end of a ritual, '*llactacuna* (the villages) distributed llamas'.

> *llactacuna* (which literally means 'the villages, regions, peoples') is explained at the margin as: 'it means idol' (referring to local or regional deities who are in charge of these villages) (Figure 13).

Both are in a box so as to make clear which word the translation refers to.

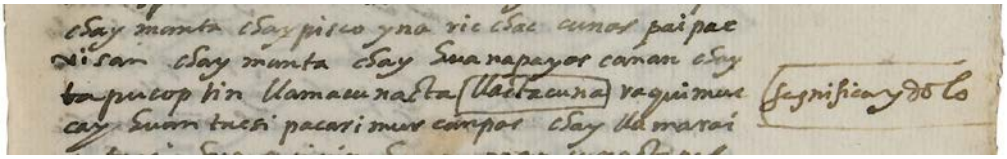


Figure 13: *Huarochirí Traditions*, chapter 24, fol. 94r

Here I have discussed only a few marginal notes and their different characteristics; a detailed study and close reading of the corresponding text passages as well as an examination of the ink would be needed in order to learn more about the notes and their interrelationship with the text.

The marginal notes in our text show that the copyist (and/or another reader) studied the text very carefully (see, e.g., second annotation in Figure 7) and that he knew Quechua well. Although writing is normally a solitary and linear occupation, a number of notes indicate that there was not only a (silent?) dialogue with the text ('find out ...'), but they also included notes based on a conversation with someone, possibly the ARC or other persons knowledgeable in Huarochirí culture, which led to answers which the copyist then wrote down in the margin and which seem to point to Ávila. One can almost imagine both persons poring over the text, and the annotator answers his points or queries by adding them in the margin. Some notes could also stem from the ARC himself (it remains open if they are parts of the story or answers to a question). As Ávila was eager to eliminate Andean religious practices, he would have needed concise information about deities, religious practices and locations. Thus, whilst the marginal notes are a clear sign of a written text, some of them also reflect and imply some oral, dialogic communication which must have taken place after the copy of the manuscript itself had been finished or while it was being finished. We can only guess whether these conversations were between Ávila and the ARC and/or other indigenous parishioners, and it seems that Ávila used some of them for his translation.

The person who asked the questions which the marginal notes contain was familiar, although not too closely, with the cultural and geographical environment in which the narratives' events and the rituals took place. We can suppose that the indigenous ARC (author, redactor or compiler) himself would not have had the need to produce the marginalia which ask for information because their content would have been part of his own cultural knowledge, but he may well be responsible for some of the explanations in these annotations.

In any case, the contents of the marginal notes give evidence of a – possibly direct – interaction between the ARC and the one responsible for the questions and/or comments in these notes.

4 Summary and conclusions

As the only surviving comprehensive Quechua text from the early colonial era the Huarochirí manuscript lends itself to studying how the oral and the written was interlaced by an indigenous author-redactor-compiler (ARC), rooted in native Andean society as well as familiar with the colonial influence and impact on it.

The combination of methodological approaches to the transition from oral to written discourse and applying certain aspects of pragmatics to written historical texts can help us understand the interface between the two spheres. My analysis of some features of the contents, discourse and linguistics of the Huarochirí texts shows that they are situated between the oral and the written mode of expression and can be seen as transitional texts. What is synchronically visible on the surface is a tapestry of texts, which, on analysis, diachronically reveals different layers.

At one end of the spectrum, the *core texts*, i.e. the mythical stories, follow mostly a traditional oral pattern in terms of their content and setup as well as their linguistic and stylistic characteristics, and although these myths must have been modified and changed by the author-redactor-compiler (ARC), they do reflect oral stories, and rather than a transmutation I would categorise them as a re-shaping of these; we notice that there are no completely clear-cut lines between these core texts and the interlacing of them with other types and layers of text (enveloping as well as intertwining texts).

Framed in an *enveloping layer*, the texts present the conventions of a written text, by interconnecting and remitting to chapters as well as by transferring verbs of oral communication to the written sphere. At the same time, the ARC re-created some of the pragmatic factors which determine oral narratives.

Interlacing the narratives as well as combining the core texts and the enveloping framework is a considerable achievement, especially by an

indigenous person who, in the absence of systematic formal schooling and European-style education, had to familiarise himself with writing and literary conventions.

What makes it even more extraordinary is that these core and enveloping texts and their techniques are *intertwined* more closely when rituals and ceremonies are described. These descriptions of enactments through the written word create a truly new original, using and combining linguistic and stylistic techniques of both core and enveloping texts.

Finally the *meta-text*, i.e. the marginal notes, shows the redaction of a written text very clearly, but also give evidence of a dialogue between two participants of the project.

Characteristics of orally composed and transmitted as well as written expression are detectable, to different degrees, in the core, the enveloping and the more intensive interlacing of the types of text. Thus individual passages and sections of the *Huarochirí Traditions* show different – older, underlying – voices, but in the book in its entirety these voices are orchestrated by the ARC who, I think the data shows, was *one* person. He adapts his texts to a new pragmatic context: the absence of oral utterances creates a change in discourse and grammatical structure because the process and type of composition are now different. The loss of direct interaction between speaker and listener; an imagined but not explicit target person; the absence of dialogic and/or performance features; the silent creation (including the loss of intonation and the concentration on small units, individual words); the linear ordering – that is to say, the entire way of coping with writing and the influence of a dominant language with a literary tradition leads to a change of genre, but there is an echo of oral transmission in this "oral-residual" text corpus (Doane 1991: 79).

Features which reflect an oral mode or style are mainly found in the core texts, i.e. the mythical stories, and comprise: parallel syntactic structuring, the connection of sentences by linking repetition, dramatised dialogue presentation and clear evidence-marking (of reported vs. experienced events). These stories represent an oral pre-Hispanic genre which was not re-phrased or re-structured to a large extent.

Cementing the texts as a cohesive book are: the adaptation of verbs of communication to the purpose of a written text; conversational or dialogic features become monologic, but the inclusive first person-marking gives the texts the appearance of interpersonal communication. The interweaving of sections by using chapter numbers and adapting deixis to written communication as well as marginal notes are the clearest indications of the creation of a written text.

In the intertwining texts there is even more variety of stylistic and syntactic resources: the (more or less consistent) mixing of evidential markers in

descriptions of rituals; the structure of clauses where particles, adverbial locutions and basic nominalisations replace a higher degree of morphologisation (the latter being characteristic of oral Quechua); changes in word order; more use of loanwords and semantic extensions; documenting and disclaiming knowledge; in places also a kind of anthropological stance.

These features seem to be a reflection of the colonial influence of language contact and imposed features of literalisation on the text, but we have to be careful because we do not know what Quechua discourse was like in pre-Hispanic Peru, i.e. if it showed these characteristics in (formal) oral communication, and also how much is idiolectal style. To varying degrees these features reproduce oral patterns and written models, but there is also a combination of both. However, the 'Quechua-ness' of syntax and discourse is more obvious in the core mythical texts and less so in the other texts which probably combine consultants' and redactor's voices.

Thus, reflecting Bakhtin's approach, in the Huarochirí texts we can observe – beyond a well-used narrative and descriptive genre, often typical of an authorial voice – a polyphony of voices which express autonomous forms of consciousness and disparate points of view.[44] The voices are related to others' voices' meaning and content, but the ARC makes a perceptible effort to keep control over the work and allows a dialogic view only to a certain extent: some myths are framed in the Christian worldview. In the description of some Andean rituals the ARC also delegitimises their validity, for example in chapter 7 (fols. 71v–72r) where the religious aspects of cleaning a canal are still being expressed in the ceremonies and the ARC comments critically on the participants' attitudes. Here the ARC, in this case as redactor, imposes his monologic authority on the texts and the readers, and this could be related to his intention and motivation of the project and his relationship with the priest Francisco de Ávila.

Although further studies about this kind of text are needed, I would suggest calling it a new genre, considering a genre as dynamic and – beyond the formal aspects of style, form and content – "a more or less stabilized and habitual linguistic way of acting and interacting, characterized by a distinctive

[44] Here I only relate loosely to Bakhtin's complex concept of polyphony and dialogism, which he discussed in detail, but without clear definitions (cf. Morson & Emerson 1990: ch. 6). But his following observation sheds an interesting light on the *Huarochirí Traditions*: "*A plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices is in fact the chief characteristic of Dostoevsky's novels.* What unfolds in his works is not a multitude of characters and fates in a single objective world, illuminated by a single authorial consciousness; rather a *plurality of consciousnesses, with equal rights and each with its own world,* combine but are not merged in the unity of the event." (Bakhtin [1963] 1984: 6, italics in the original).

linguistic form or structure, associated with specific communicative purposes, and with particular social or institutional contexts" (Fairclough 2009: 293, cf. Corbett 2009: 287), and, I would add, in our case taking into account its oral-literary background or interface.

With respect to the contents, we can see that the ARC is a careful commentator, not an omniscient narrator. What does this imply for his relationship with his imagined readers? As mentioned above, it is only in the preface that the ARC identifies himself using the first person singular. Everywhere else he uses the first person inclusive plural and thus includes himself in the group of his supposed readers. He portrays them, and himself, as Christians. Yet, it seems to be an ambiguous voice. As Paulson (1990: 61) puts it: it is the "double-talk" of "subtly interwoven voices [...] of the Catholic convert and that of the traditional native". As a Christian the ARC can therefore hardly be impugned by Christian readers, but neither can he be impugned by Andean readers who receive much information about their own faith and religious practices to help them keep their cosmovision alive. In a way, the Andean contents reflect what Scott (1990: xii, 5) has called the "hidden transcript", as opposed to the "public transcript" of the Christian comments, hinting at the colonial power struggle and showing how the dominated person finds himself caught between the fronts. Writing down Andean cultural knowledge for posterity uses the 'oppressors'' techniques, but at the same time it is a counter-discourse against those who wanted to eradicate it.

So, what are the characteristics of the author-redactor-compiler? The organisation and linguistic structure show that the ARC was conscious of Quechua discourse and grammar and familiar with Andean oral traditions and rituals; he was equally knowledgeable in Spanish written conventions and traditions. In this way he was able to transfer oral communication to the written medium and re-shape it, to a lesser extent in the mythical stories. This is evidence of the ARC as a highly creative and innovative indigenous intellectual person, literate in Spanish and in Quechua, knowledgeable in both cultures and religions, and who had good ties to the Andean community and equally relations to the parish priest (whom he mentions, mostly in a praising undertone). We can suppose that he learned reading and writing in the environment of a Christian priest, but I would be reluctant to put a name to him. Like the different narrative modes and voices, the ARC reflects the tension between an indigenous person who wants to perpetuate Andean traditions and the knowledge about them on the one hand, and strives to be seen as the 'good' Christian, on the other. This creative author-redactor-compiler binds together and orchestrates on the highest level of discourse different voices reflecting several narrators of oral stories and descriptions. Composing all this in the form of a book, he empowers himself in colonial society through the 'elevation' of his native language to the prestigious

written format and genre. Whoever the ARC was, an indigenous writer who wanted to perpetuate his own cultural traditions or a Christian who was sceptical towards them (probably a bit of both), by writing down indigenous knowledge and tradition he created a physical document which is a record of native beliefs and practices for posterity.

And finally, who would be the readers? Indigenous people were not normally literate. So was it written for a Spanish reader after all (the 'authorities'? Francisco de Ávila?), but in that case why the preface and using the first person inclusive plural? Or was it meant to be read to Quechua-speaking people? Would they not know all this? Was it thought for the future, maybe later, when they might have lost their cultural inheritance and knowledge? Oral texts and performed rituals were memorised and handed down to the following generations, but once re-shaped and re-created in writing, they could also have been penned down to be read out.[45]

"unanchanchic ichach ari chay" – 'We imagine that it may have been like that' (*Huarochirí Traditions*)

5 Transcription and typographical conventions

All examples are numbered consecutively as T[ext] 1 etc. In order to make the reading of the quoted text passages easier, I use a modernised orthography (for a detailed discussion see Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2003: 163–168; cf. Adelaar 2022: 112–113).

Names are kept in their original spelling but are written with a capital initial (unlike in the manuscript). In the Quechua text passages Spanish loanwords are in italics. In the manuscript the text flows without any paragraph markings and markers of direct speech, which is not unusual for Spanish texts of the time either. To facilitate reading, I have introduced punctuation which is not present in the manuscript. In my transcription and translation I have not included minor corrections and changes of the text (such as crossed out and modified words) unless I discuss them.

In the text examples I provide my own translation which aims at being literal rather than elegant so as to capture Quechua morphology, syntax and discourse as exactly as possible. The original (*Huarochirí Traditions* ca. 1608)

[45] This was common practice in medieval times, and Coleman (1997: 157–158) ponders if one would have to consider this as "literate orality" or "oral literacy", thereby adding the question of performance modes to the transitional character of writing and reading at the interface of both forms of expression.

is digitised and available at the National Library of Spain, and Úzquiza (ed. 2011) includes a facsimile edition. Excellent editions, each with transcription, translation and a detailed critical apparatus on linguistic phenomena as well as the cultural context were made by Taylor (ed. 1987, Spanish) and by Salomon & Urioste (eds. 1991, English).

Typographical highlighting

Quechua, Spanish and English words and morphemes in another language, different from that of the text	*italics*
[text added by SDS]	[brackets]
'SDS's translations from Quechua' in the running text	'...'
evidential clitic reportative $_{v}$*-s*/$_{c}$*-si* (*-si*)	green
evidential clitic dubitative $_{v}$*-ch*/$_{c}$*-cha* (*-cha*)	violet
evidential clitic assertative $_{v}$*-m*/$_{c}$*-mi* (*-mi*)	light blue
topic marker -*ka*	wavy underlining
subordinating nominalisation same subject -*spa*	shaded
subordinating nominalisation switch reference -*pti*	shaded
basic nominalisation perfective -*ska*	dot-line underlining
connection in other verb form and/or linking repetition, anaphoric usages	underlining
parallel syntactic structuring	dotted underlining
particles and adverbial locutions	interrupted underlining
{additional information in text body by the ARC}	{curly brackets}
DISCLAIMER OR RELATIVISATION OF KNOWLEDGE	SMALL CAPITALS
WORD ORDER UNUSUAL IN QUECHUA: SVO (Subject-Verb-Object)	CAPITALS
verbs of narrative communication	orange
Quechua word for 'writing': *killka-*	pink
<main text on manuscript page> when explaining meta-text	<angle brackets>

6 References

All hyperlinks links were last accessed on 13 July 2024 (some links have to be copied into the command line of the search engine to open them).

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