Theses and Dissertations   Theses, Dissertations, and Senior Projects

7-1992

Affixes of Salasaca Quichua with special attention to derivational affixes which attach to verbs

Kristine E. Waskosky

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

Follow this and additional works at: https://commons.und.edu/theses

Part of the Linguistics Commons

AFFIXES OF SALASACA QUICHUA

WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO

DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES WHICH ATTACH TO VERBS

by

Kristine E. Waskosky
Bachelor of Arts, Concordia College, 1974

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfullment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota
July 1992

This thesis, submitted by Kristine E. Waskosky in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

_____
J. Albert Bickford, Chairperson

_____
Robert A. Dooley

_____
Virgil L. Stenberg

This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

_____
Dean of the Graduate School
7-20-92

ii

PERMISSION

Title   AFFIXES OF SALASACA QUICHUA
                   WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO
              DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES WHICH ATTACH TO VERBS

Department   Linguistics

Degree   Masters of Arts

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a graduate degree from the University of North Dakota, I agree that the Library of this University shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor who supervised my thesis work or, in his absence, by the Chairperson of the Department or the Dean of the Graduate School. It is understood that any copying or publication or other use of this thesis or part thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of North Dakota in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Signature_____Kristine Waskosky_____

Date   _July 15, 1992_____

iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

v

LIST OF FIGURES

viii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a synchronic description of the morphology of Salasaca Quichua (SQ) with extensive examples in interlinear texts. The meaning of each suffix and its order relative to other suffixes is described. A more expanded description is given for each of the deverbalizers (suffixes which create non-finite verbs), especially their use in subordinate clauses.

SQ is a member of the family of languages called Quechua A or Quechua II. It is an agglutinating language with up to six suffixes possible on a single root. Derivational suffixes, of which there are 15 possible for verb formation and 16 for noun formation, are positioned nearest the root. A combination of one of the twelve verbal inflectional suffixes, twelve nominal inflectional suffixes, or four adverbializing suffixes follow the verb stem, which may or may not have derivational suffixes present. Ten independent suffixes are described including the evidential suffix -la which is unique to SQ.

The eight deverbalizing suffixes are highlighted because of their importance in clause formation. Four (-sha, -qui, -ngabug, and -chun) are a part of the

xi

switch-reference system and serve in adverbial and purpose clause formation. The other four (**-shca**, **-g**, **-na**, and **-i**) are predominately nominalizers, and are used to form relative and complement clauses.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

This is a list of the abbreviations which are used in the text of the thesis. It does not include the standard glosses which are used for each suffix. Those abbreviations can be found in Appendix A, immediately following the interlinear glossed texts.

ChQ	Chimborazo Quichua
DNN	denominative nominalizer
DNV	denominative verbalizer
DVA	deverbative adverbializer
DVN	deverbative nominalizer
DVV	deverbative verbalizer
IQ	Imbabura Quichua
PrE	Proto-Ecuadorian Quichua
SQ	Salasaca Quichua
UnQ	Unified Quichua
X	variable which is used in the English meanings of the suffixes; it takes the place of the verb or nominal stem.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF THE THESIS

The content of the thesis is a synchronic description of the suffixes used in Salasaca Quichua (SQ) with extensive examples in interlinear texts. Each suffix is compared to the suffix posited for Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua (Parker 1965) and the suffix used in Unified Ecuadorian Quichua (CIEI 1985). The meaning of the suffix and its order relative to other suffixes is described. Examples are cited from SQ texts and natural speech. A more expanded description is given for each of the deverbalizers (suffixes which create non-finite verbs), including their use in subordinate clauses.

1.1 Salasaca Quichua Language

Salasaca Quichua is a language spoken by approximately 10,000 people in the central highlands of Ecuador, South America. No official census has been taken among the Salasaca people, but community leaders quote this as an accurate figure. The population has increased from the 1974 national census which recorded 4,236 people living in Salasaca.

1

Located in the province of Tungurahua, the village of Salasaca lies about 14 kilometers east of Ambato, the provincial capital. (See Figure 1.) The area where the Salasaca speakers live is divided into 17 districts, called 'caseríos' or 'manzanas'. (See Figure 2.)

Bilingualism is increasing among the population as more and more children and young people attend school in Salasaca and neighboring towns. The language of instruction is Spanish in all but a few grades of a few elementary schools. However, use of the Salasaca Quichua language is still strong. Not only is it spoken in the home, across the fence, and on the foot paths, but it is also the means of community announcements, business meetings, and worship in the evangelical church. Spanish use is limited to instruction in the schools, shopping in Spanish-speaking towns, selling tapestries to tourists, and the Catholic mass.

Ecuadorian Quichua languages, as a whole, fall into what is called Quechua A by Parker (1963) and Quechua II by Torero (1964); this large division of Quechua languages includes northern and southern Peru. Central Peruvian Quechua is referred to as Quechua B or Quechua I.

Salasaca Quichua, in particular, is closely related to the other Ecuadorian Quichua languages, especially to those from the neighboring provinces of Chimborazo and

Figure 1. Map of Ecuador

4
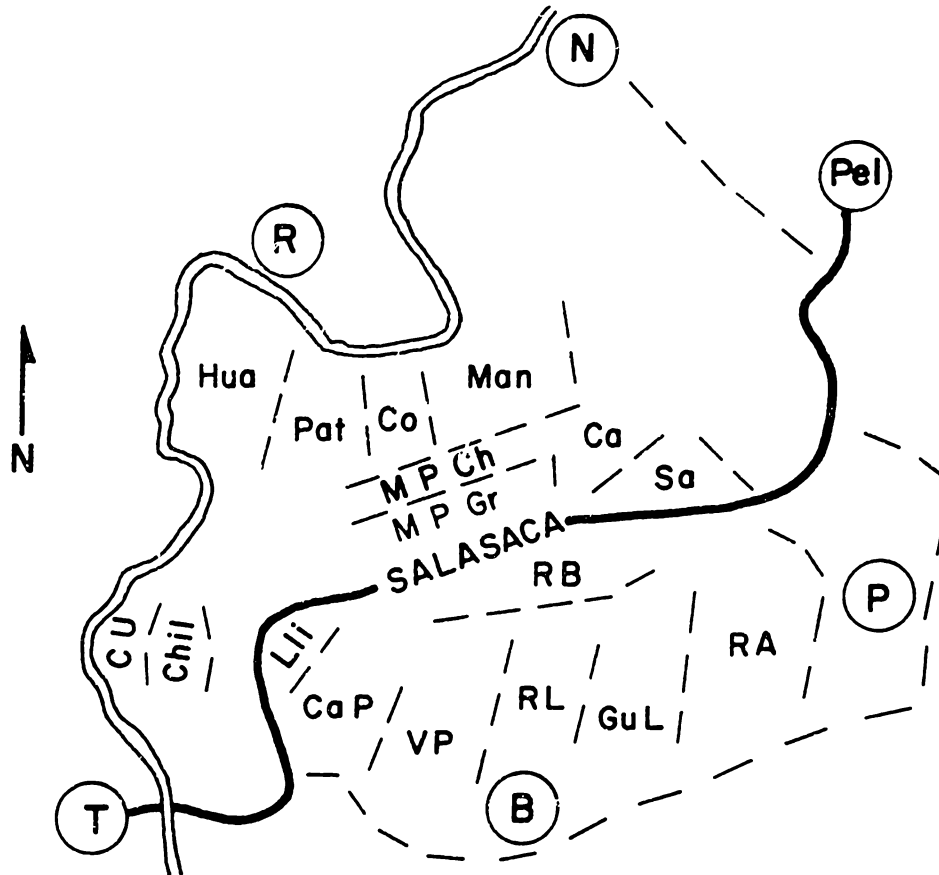
The 'manzanas'

Huasalata
Patuloma
Cochapamba
Manguihua
Manzana Pamba Chico
Manzana Pamba Grande
Catitahua
Sanjaloma

Capilla Ucu
Chilcapamba
Llicacama
Capilla Pamba
Vargas Pamba
Ramos Loma
Guaman Loma
Rumiñahui Bajo
Rumiñahui Alto

The surrounding towns

Rosario
Niton
Pelileo

Totoras
Benitez
Pintag

Figure 2. Map of Salasaca

Cotopaxi. Many of the lexical items are identical among these three provinces, as are many of the suffixes and grammatical forms. However, the Salasaca people take pride in having some distinctions which makes their way of speaking not like any other Quichua language.

Salasaca Quichua is set apart phonologically[1] from other Ecuadorian Quichua languages by its frequency of aspiration, voiced stops and vowel changes. (For a phonological description of SQ, the reader is referred to S. Waskosky (1990).) In addition, Salasaca speakers often contract affixed forms so that the resulting contractions are not easily recognizable to speakers from other areas of Ecuador. To cite an example, the suffix for accompaniment is -huan in other areas and -n in Salasaca. These contractions are particularly prevalent in compound verb tenses with the verb root **ga** meaning 'to be'; for example **parlagshcaga** is shortened from **parlag gashcarga**, 'he had been a talker'.

Two suffixes found in Salasaca Quichua are not documented in other Quichua languages: -la 'SURprise[2], excitement' and -qui 'NOIse'. These are described in detail in sections 2.5.8 and 2.2.1.1.5. Another suffix, -ma 'CERTain', has an added usage which is not documented elsewhere.

1.2 Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua & Unified Ecuadorian Quichua

Two main linguistic studies are referenced in this thesis as the basis to which Salasaca Quichua suffixes are compared. The first study is Parker's description of Proto-Quechua (1965). From his Proto-Quechua description, Parker reconstructs the morphological innovations which took place for Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua.

The second study is Unified Quichua as described in Ñucanchic Llactapac Shimi (1983), a work of Universidad Católica in Quito, Ecuador. The purpose of Unified Quichua has been to unite the form of Quichua throughout Ecuador so that there might be one and only one standard for writing Quichua, broadcasting Quichua on radio, and teaching Quichua in the schools. An effort was made to choose authentic Quichua words rather than loan words from Spanish.

In this present work, I cite both Parker's Proto-Ecuadorian (PrE) Quechua form and the Unified Quichua (UnQ) form after each suffix of Salasaca Quichua. This thesis is intended as a description of the language presently spoken by the Salasaca people; it takes no position for or against the aim of Unified Quichua, nor on Parker's historical reconstruction.

1.3 Deverbalizers

The Quechua languages are agglutinating; suffixes are added to the nominal or verb root to create words which may express ideas which non-agglutinating languages, such as English or Spanish, express by using several words. (Six suffixes seem to be the maximum number permitted in a particular SQ word.) Most suffixes are optional; however, a finite verb must contain a suffix for tense and a suffix for person, or a suffix which combines the meaning of both tense, person, and sometimes number, e.g. -shun which means first person plural of future tense.

This thesis describes the suffixes of SQ with special attention to the deverbalizers (following the terminology of Hopper and Thomson 1984), those suffixes which derive non-finite verb forms. The term 'deverbalizer' was coined from the observation that these suffixes derive verb forms which are less verb-like in that they do not show the tense or agreement morphology found on verbs in ordinary simple clauses. A deverbalized form still retains part of the function of a verb in that it may have a subject or an object or both. However, it has lost the full capacity of a verb to be inflected for tense and person. Deverbalizers, then, are the group of suffixes which attach to a verb stem and make it become <u>less</u> of a verb so

that 'verbal trappings' (ibid) cannot subsequently be added.

Constructions using deverbalizers are very common and important in Quichua because they are used to form subordinate clauses. The deverbalizers in this study include both nominalizers and adverbializers. There are eight suffixes which change a verb stem into a deverbalized form: -sha, -qui, -ngabug, -chun, -shca, -g, -na, and -i. Of these, the first four are part of the productive switch reference system: adverbial clauses except purpose clauses are formed with -sha 'ADVerbializer Same Subject' and -qui (ADVerbializer Different Subject', while purpose clauses are formed with -ngabug 'PURpose Same Subject' and -chun 'PURpose Different Subject'. Other deverbalizers are the participial -shca, the agentive -g, the infinitival -na, and the action nominalizer -i. In order to form subordinate clauses, such as relative and complement clauses, one of these deverbalizers must be used.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the entire morphological system of SQ. First I describe the suffixes used to form verbs, then those which form nominals, followed by the switch reference suffixes which form adverbial clauses. In the last section of Chapter 2 the independent suffixes which attach to words from any part

of speech are described. Chapter 3 gives a more complete description of the deverbalizing suffixes and how they are used to make subordinate clauses. Chapter 4 contains nine interlinear glossed texts from a variety of genres, chosen to illustrate actual usage of most of the SQ suffixes.

It may be helpful to consult one of the three appendices. Appendix A is a list of abbreviations employed for each suffix. Appendix B provides a paradigm of the verb ri 'go' in all tenses. Appendix C is an index by suffix with a reference to the sentences in which it occurs in the interlinear glossed texts of Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 2

SALASACA QUICHUA MORPHOLOGICAL SYSTEM

This chapter describes the morphological system for Salasaca Quichua. First, an overview of the structure of verbs and nominals is given. Each suffix of the language is then described within its appropriate section, e.g. the suffix -shun meaning 1st person plural future tense is described as a part of the inflectional structure of the verb.

The discussion of each word type is subdivided into derivational and inflectional morphology. I use the terminology employed by Parker (1965) regarding the derivational suffixes. I use the word 'nominal'[1] to refer to both nouns and adjectives. Suffixes which change a nominal stem into a verb stem are denominative verbalizers (DNV). Similarly, those which change a verb stem into a nominal stem are deverbative nominalizers (DVN). Suffixes which augment the meaning of a verb stem without changing the category of the stem are deverbative verbalizers (DVV); those on a nominal stem, denominative nominalizers (DNN). Although Parker cites no deverbative adverbializers (DVA), I use this term to refer to suffixes which create an adverb from a verb.

10

There are also a set of suffixes which attach to either nominals, verbs, adverbs, or sometimes phrases. Parker has referred to these suffixes as 'enclitics'. Cole (1985:163) uses the term 'independent suffix' and states, 'Independent in this sense means that they can be used with all parts of speech, and not just with nominal or verbal stems as is true of other suffixes.' The SQ independent suffixes (enclitics) are discussed after verb formation and nominal formation have been described.

2.1 Structure of the Word

As is normal for all languages, derivational suffixes are added first, nearest to the root. Within the derivational suffixes, the ones which change the root to a new category, i.e. the DNVs or the DVNs, occur further to the left than the ones which change the meaning of the stem without changing the category, i.e. the DVVs or the DNNs. After the derivational morphology is complete, then the inflectional suffixes (such as tense and person for verbs and case for nominals) are added. Finally, the independent suffixes (enclitics) appear.

Figure 3 shows the structure of verbs. In 2.2.1 of this chapter, the verbal derivational suffixes are described in detail; in 2.2.2, the verbal inflectional suffixes. In Figure 4 the structure of nominals is shown.

Figure 3. Structure of Verbs.

						I N D E P E N D E N T	S U F F I X E S
COMPLETE VERB							
VERB STEM					Tense + Person		
VERB ROOT		DEVERBATIVE VERBALIZERS			————————		
NOUN ROOT	DNV				Imperative		

Derivational Suffixes	Inflectional Suffixes

Figure 4. Structure of Nominals.

						I N D E P E N D E N T	S U F F I X E S
COMPLETE NOMINAL							
NOMINAL STEM			P O S S E S S	C A S E		
NOMINAL ROOT		DENOMINATIVE NOMINALIZERS					
VERB ROOT	DVN						

Derivational Suffixes	Inflectional Suffixes

The deverbative nominalizers are an important focus of Chapter 3, along with the deverbative adverbializers. The rest of the nominal derivational suffixes are described

in 2.3.1; the inflectional, in 2.3.2. The four switch reference adverbializers are discussed in 2.4. Independent suffixes are discussed in 2.5.

2.2 Verbs

This section describes the morphology of SQ verbs. Derivational morphology is described first; attention is given to how the meaning of the verb stem changes when one of these suffixes is added. Inflectional morphology, including tense and person, is described afterward in 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Derivational Morphology of Verbs

As shown in Figure 3, a verb stem may contain derivational suffixes of two types: DNV's and DVV's. In 2.2.1.1 the five SQ denominative verbalizers are described. The ten deverbative verbalizers are described in 2.2.1.2.

2.2.1.1 Denominative Verbalizers

The five DNVs, -ya, -chi, -naya, -lli and -qui, occur immediately after the nominal root. Each is used with only certain nominals. In all cases the DNV's change a nominal stem into a verb stem. Two of the DNVs, -chi and -naya, are also described in the section on DVVs. The DNV

-qui has not been documented for any other Quichua language.

2.2.1.1.1 -ya (PrE ya, UnQ ya) 'BEComes'

The suffix -ya, which results in an intransitive stem, means 'becomes X'^{2}; it usually implies a change of state which happens as the result of a natural process or involuntarily. It occurs with more nominal roots than the other denominative verbalizers. It may be followed by -mu (2.2.1.2.6) which gives the idea of motion toward a hoped-for state or position.

It may occur with color and related nominals:

(1) puca   'red'   > pucaya   'become red, blush with embarassment'
   qu'illu 'yellow' > qu'illuya 'become yellow, pale with fright'
   uqui   'brown' > uquiya   'become brown with age'
   yana   'black' > yanaya   'become black from the fire'
   yuruj   'white' > yurujya   'become bleached in the sun'
   mapa   'dirty' > mapaya   'get dirty'

(2) Chi ginti mancha-ri-sha   qu'illu-ya-n-∅.
   That person fear-REFL-ADVSS yellow-BEC-PRES-3
   That person, being afraid, turns pale.

-Ya may occur with time expressions:

(3) p'unlla 'day'   > p'unllaya 'become day'
   tarde   'afternoon' > tardeya   'become afternoon'
   tuta   'night' > tutaya   'become night'
   qu'ipa   'after' > qu'ipaya   'become late'

(4) Condor-ga   indi tarde-ya-mu-j-da   soltera-da-ga
    Condor-TOP sun late-BEC-HERE-AG-ACC girl-ACC-TOP
    c'ac'a-mun pusha-sha   ri-shca-∅.
    cave-DAT   lead-ADVSS go-PERF-3
    *The condor in the afternoon (when the sun became
    late), went, leading the girl to the cave.*

-Ya may indicate a change in physical state when used

with the following roots:

(5) cunuj   'warm'   > cunujya   'warm up'
    chiri   'cold'   > chiriya   'cool off'
    yacu   'water' > yacuya   'melt'
    mishqui 'sweet' > mishquiya 'ripen' (as with fruit)
    irqui   'weak'   > irquiya   'weaken' (from disease
                                            or age)
    rucu   'old'   > rucuya   'age'
    cushi   'happy' > cushiya   'delight'
    lapuj   'wet'   > lapujya   'get wet'
    ñañu   'thin'   > ñañuya   'wear thin' (such as
                                            clothing)
    tsala   'thin'   > tsalaya   'become thin' (from
                                            disease)

(6) Capus   ña mishqui-ya-mu-n-∅.
    Capulíes now sweet-BEC-HERE-PRES-3
    The capulí berries now are become ripe.

When added to roots which refer to location, -ya

gives the sense of arriving at a new position:

(7) caru   'far'   > caruya   'become removed'
    cuchu   'near'   > cuchuya   'approach, get close'
    huasha   'behind' > huashaya   'regress, go backwards'
    jahua   'above'   > jahuaya   'move up' (as does
                                            boiling milk)
    pamba   'plain'   > pambaya   'arrive at a plain'
    siqui   'bottom' > siquiya   'sink in water'
    ucu   'inside' > ucuya   'go inside, go
                                            underwater'
    uri   'under'   > uriya   'deflate, lower oneself'

(8) Aguatero upa-lla-hua   cuchu-ya-shca-∅.
    Water.man quiet-JUST-DIM near-BEC-PERF-3
    *The man who guards the irrigation ditches
    very quietly approached.*

2.2.1.1.2 -chi (PrE chi, UnQ chi) 'CAUsative'

The suffix -chi, which results in a transitive stem, may usually be translated as 'cause to be X' or 'make X'. It is found with a limited number of nominals:

(9) chichu   'pregnant one' > chichuchi   'empregnate'
    huaira   'wind'   > huairachi   'winnow'
    junda   'full'   > jundachi   'fill'
    mishqui   'sweet'   > mishquichi   'season,
                                              sweeten'
    p'iña   'angry'   > p'iñachi   'annoy'
    shijshi   'itching'   > shijshichi   'tickle'
    jucha   'wrongdoing'   > juchachi   'sin; blame'

It may be added to a Spanish nominal with the same causal idea, as in the following example:

(10) Ima-sha   ñuca-da sueño-chi-n-gui?
     What-SIM I-ACC   dream-CAU-PRES-2
     Why do you cause me to dream (give me a dream)?

With two nominal roots, the meaning of -chi is somewhat irregular. Shuti means name; shutichi does not mean make a name or cause a name, but to give a name, i.e. to baptize. Jucha means fault or sin; juchachina may mean to sin, but it also may mean to blame or demand payment.

The suffix -chi also belongs to the category of deverbative verbalizers (2.2.1.2.2). The causative meaning is similar; but -chi when it attaches to verb stems is more productive than when it attaches to nominal stems.

2.2.1.1.3 -naya/-na (PrE naya, UnQ naya) 'DESired
            causative'

-Naya/-na changes a nominal into a transitive stem;
the direct object of a verb formed with -naya/-na is the
person who has the desire for the particular nominal used
in the verb stem. SQ speakers understand and use this
suffix in its full form as -naya but quite frequently
contract it to its shortened allomorph -na. It is used
with a limited number of nominal roots. With one set of
nominals the meaning of -naya is 'makes one want X' or
'gives one desire for X'. These nominals are:

(11) aicha   'meat'   > aichanaya   'makes you want meat'
     cunuj   'warmth' > cunujnaya   'gives you desire for
                                      warmth'
     huarmi 'woman'   > huarminaya 'makes you want sex'
     puñu   'sleep'   > puñunaya   'makes you sleepy'
     yacu   'water'   > yacunaya   'makes you thirsty'

(12) Ñuca-da-ga   yacu-na-n-Ø-lla-mi.
     I-ACC-TOP   water-DES-PRES-3-JUST-AFFIR
     It just makes me thirsty.

(13) Ñuca-da cunu-na-n   mijur chiri-n-Ø.
     I-ACC   warmth-DES-3 much   chill-PRES-3
     It makes me desire warmth (when) it's very chilly.

With a second set of nominals the meaning of -naya is
'makes one feel X' or 'gives one the feeling of X'. These
nominals are:

(14) llaqui   'sadness'   > llaquinaya 'makes you feel sad'
     mancha   'fear'   > manchanaya 'makes you fearful'
     milla   'nausea'   > millanaya   'gives you the
                                         feeling of nausea'
     pinga   'shame'   > pinganaya   'makes you feel
                                         shame'
     quilla   'laziness' > quillanaya 'makes you feel lazy'
     yarija   'hunger'   > yarijanaya 'makes you hungry'

(15) Ginti   ñaubu-qui   parla-na-da   pinga-naya-n-∅.
     People front-ADVDS   speak-INF-ACC   shame-DES-PRES-3
     *When I am in front of people, it makes me feel
     ashamed to speak.*

The suffix -naya also belongs to the category of deverbative verbalizers (2.2.1.2.1). The causative suffix -chi combines with -naya to give a reflexive rather than an impersonal meaning. This is discussed in 2.2.1.2.2.

2.2.1.1.4 -lli (PrE (none), UnQ lli) 'DReSs'

The suffix -lli attaches to a nominal which is an article of clothing and causes the nominal to become a verb meaning 'put on X'. -Lli results in a transitive stem which accepts the person to be dressed as the object. This denominative verbalizers occurs with only a few nominals:

(16) p'acha   'shawl'   > p'achalli   'put on a shawl'
     chumbi   'belt'   > chumbilli   'put on a belt'

(17) Pai-da chumbi-lli-ch-i.
     3-ACC   belt-DRS-CAUS-IMP
     Dress her with the belt. Make her put her belt on.

2.2.1.1.5 **-qui** (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'NOIse'

The suffix -qui, which has not been documented in other Quichua languages, attaches to a nominal which is associated with a sound and means 'make X sound' or 'do the activity associated with X'. -**Qui** results in an intransitive stem. This denominative verbalizer occurs with several nominals:

(18) carrus 'so d of chewing'
             > carrusqui 'chew noisily'
     c'utsul 'sound of leaves falling'
             > c'utsulqui 'make sound of leaves falling'
     gulun   'sound of thunder'
             > gulunqui   'to thunder'
     jis   'sound of blowing nose'
             > jisqui   'blow nose'
     lutus   'sound of slapping with open hand'
             > lutusqui   'slap with open hand'
     lli   'sound of tearin paper'
             > lliqui   'tear paper'
     mutus   'sound of gnawing'
             > mutusqui   'make noise while gnawing'
     p'atsar 'sound of wings fluttering'
             > p'atsarqui 'flutter wings'
     p'a   'sound of splitting'
             > p'aqui   'split'
     t'alu   'sound of knocking'
             > t'aluqui   'knock'
     zalu   'sound of crashing or hitting something'
             > zaluqui   'crash or hit someth ng'
     zas   'sound of cloth ripping'
             > zasqui   'rip cloth'

(19) Chi   poncho-ga   lli-qui-ri-qui,   quitu-guna-ga
     That poncho-TOP tear-NOI-REFL-ADVDS squash-PLUR-TOP
        pamba-mun   urma-rga-∅.
        ground-DAT fall-PST-3
     *While that poncho tore (made the noise of tearing)
        itself, the pumpkins fell to the ground.*

(20) Maqui luts-qui-nucu-sha   puglla-n-∅-guna.
     Hand slap-NOI-RCPR-ADVSS play-PRES-3-3PL
     They play, slapping each other's hands.

2.2.1.2 Deverbative Verbalizers

There are ten deverbative verbalizers in SQ: -naya, -chi, -ri, -nucu, -gu, -mu, -ba, -gri, -lla, and -jichi. As a group they occur immediately before the inflectional suffixes.

The SQ deverbative verbalizers occur in the following order. -Gu and -mu may not co-occur, nor may -naya and -jichi.

```
(21) Order of occurrence of SQ DVVs
     -naya  -chi  -ri  -nucu ¦ -gu  -ba  -gri
     -jichi                  ¦ -mu
```

The description of SQ suffixes in this thesis follows the framework of Parker (1969) for Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua in order to facilitate comparative work among Quechua languages, i.e. to allow Quechuists familiar with Parker's work to see at a glance how SQ compares with PrE.

Another analysis which may reflect the facts of SQ better would be to place the derivational/inflectional division earlier in the formation of the verb. Specifically, a natural division, indicated by the vertical line in (21), seems to occur between the valence changing suffixes (-naya, -chi, -ri, and -nucu) and the suffixes which do not change valence (-gu, -mu, -ba, and -gri). Only -jichi does not follow this pattern, in that it is located with the valence changing suffixes but does not change the valence. Another attractive feature about

this analysis would be that the aspectual/modal suffixes, -gu, -mu, -ba, and -gri, which Parker would classify as part of the DVVs, would then be brought together with the perfective aspect -shca and the conditional -mu, which Parker would classify as part of the inflectional suffixes.

A variety of orders of the deverbative verbalizers has been reported in Quichua. SQ seems to follow most closely the order reported for Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua (22) and Chimborazo Quichua (23).

(22) Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua (Parker):
    -naya -gri -chi -nucu -gu -mu   -ba
                        -ri   -(wa)

(23) Chimborazo Quichua (Ross):
    -gri -nucu -chi -ri -mu -gu -(wa) -ba
    -naya

2.2.1.2.1 -naya/-na (PrE naya, UnQ naya) 'DESired causative'

This suffix functions similarly on intrasitive verbs and nominals (2.2.1.1.3), resulting in a transitive stem. When added to a verb stem it means 'makes one desire to X'. An impersonal sense is given to the expression, and the previous subject is the derived direct object. Its use is not frequent in Salasaca in the full form -naya; speakers prefer to shorten the suffix to -na. It an be added to several verb stems.

(24) Llullu mara-da   isma-na-n-∅.
     Young child-ACC defecate-DES-PRES-3
     It makes the young child need to defecate.

2.2.1.2.2 -chi (PrE chi, UnQ chi) 'CAUSative'

This is one of the most productive and widely used of the deverbative verbalizers. The meaning of -chi is 'cause o..e to X'. The addition of -chi results in a transitive stem; the direct object is not always overt since it often may be determined from the context.

(25) Achcu-hua-ga ñauba-sha   ricu-chi-ngabuj ri-shca-∅.
     Dog-DIM-TOP hurry-ADVSS look-CAUS-PURSS go-PERF-3
     The little dog, hurrying, went to show (them).

In combination with the suffix -ya (presented in 2.2.1.1.1), the meaning (of -ya + -chi) is 'cause one to become X'.

(26) Manga-munda micu-na-da chushug-ya-ch-i.
     Pot-ABL   eat-INF-ACC empty-BEC-CAUS-IMP
     Empty the food from the pot.

When used in combination with -na(ya), the suffix -chi results in an intransitive (reflexive) stem meaning 'cause oneself to want or feel X'.

(27) ¿Mana-chu mancha-na-chi-n-gui?
     Neg-YNQ   fear-DES-CAUS-PRES-2
     Don't you make yourself feel fear?

2.2.1.2.3 -ri (PrE ri, UnQ ri) 'REFLexive'

The suffix -ri is the reflexive suffix; it produces an intransitive stem. The subject and the direct object

are co-referential. In most cases, as in (28) there is no overt direct object; the notional direct object is incorporated into the morphology as -ri. Sometimes it is possible to have an overt direct object if that object is a body part of the subject, as in (29).

(28) Ñuca churi iña-ri-n-∅-mi.
My   son   grow-REFL-PRES-3-AFFIR
My son grows (stretches himself).

(29) Pai rigra-da   aspi-ri-gu-n-∅.
3   arm-ACC   scratch-REFL-PROG-PRES-3
He is scratching his arm.

This suffix also serves frequently with inanimate subjects to give a reflexive passive meaning. A previously transitive verb becomes intransitive.

(30) Yacu-ga   chaqui-ri-shca-∅-mi.
water-TOP dry-REFL-PERF-3-AFFIR
The water dried up.

(31) Qu'ihua   carga pasca-ri-n-∅.
Alfalfa load open-REFL-PRES-3
The load of alfalfa opens.

In combination with certain verb roots, the suffix -ri has a somewhat different sense:

(32) cacha   'send'   > cachari 'let go of'
     chari   'have'   > chariri 'support,
                                              maintain'
     mancha 'fear'   > manchari 'get frightened'
     panda 'make a mistake' > pandari 'get confused'

These are the only verbs with -ri that I am aware of that can take a direct object which is not co-referential with the subject. This shows they have neither reflexive

meaning, nor passive meaning, but a meaning specific to that word.

(33) Ñuca chari-ri-n-i   shuj huarmi-da.
     I   have- ? -PRES-1 one   wife-ACC
     I sustain one wife.

(34) Limosnero-ga chi-da   mancha-ri-sha, yuya-rga-Ø.
     Beggar-TOP   that-ACC fear- ? -ADVSS, think--PST-3
     The beggar, getting frightened of that, thought.

2.2.1.2.4 -nucu (PrE naKU, UnQ nacu) 'ReCiPRocal'

The suffix -nucu, which results in an intransitive stem, is the reciprocal suffix; it indicates that the action is being done to each other or with each other. -Nucu is used more commonly with the following verbs than with others:

(35) ni   'say'   > ninucu   'talk together'
     parla 'talk'   > parlanucu 'talk together'
     maca 'hit'   > macanucu   'hit each other'
     tanda 'join, reunite' > tandanucu 'meet with each
                                          other'
     yuya 'think'   > yuyanucu   'think of each
                                          other'

(36) Taita-n   mama-n   maca-nucu-gu-n-Ø-guna.
     Father-WITH mother-WITH fight-RCPR-PROG-PRES-3-PLUR
     *My father and my mother are hitting (fighting
     with) each other.*

This suffix occurs often with the nominal suffix -pura 'AMONG' in the subject or in a phrase which refers to the subject.

(37) Inga-guna pai-guna-pura-lla-dij   ni-nucu-rga-Ø.
     Inca-PLUR 3-PLUR-AMONG-JUST-EXCL say-RCPR-PST-3
     *The Incas, among only themselves, said to one
     another.*

2.2.1.2.5 -gu (PrE ku, UnQ cu) 'PROGressive'

The suffix -gu is the durative/progressive suffix; it expresses the idea of duration or progression of the activity or that the activity is in the process of being realized. No valences are changed with the addition of -gu.

(38) Pai ashna-ri-gu-n-Ø   mana arma-shca-munda.
     3   smell-REFL-PROG-PRES-3 not bathe-PTCPL-ABL
     He is stinking from not having bathed.

With one verb root, **yacha** (know), the addition of -gu gives the new stem the meaning of learn.

(39) Mara-guna   escuela-bi yacha-gu-n-Ø.
     Child-PLUR school-LOC know-PROG-PRES-3
     Children learn at school.

2.2.1.2.6 -mu (PrE mu, UnQ mu) 'HERE'

The suffix -mu, which changes no valences, is the motion suffix; it indicates that there is motion taking place toward the direction of the speaker. It is primarily used with verbs that have inherent motion, such as:

(40) apa   'take'   > apamu   'bring'
     cati   'follow' > catimu   'follow here'
     chaya   'arrive' > chayamu   'arrive here'
     vuilta 'return' > vuiltamu 'return here'

(41) Huasi-mun vuilta-mu-shca-Ø.
     House-DAT return-HERE-PERF-3
     They returned (here) to the house.

This suffix may combine with the denominative verbalizer -ya to mean 'arrives at becoming' or 'moves toward becoming'.

(42) Ña p'unlla-ya-mu-n-∅.
     Now day-BEC-HERE-PRES-3
     Now it arrives at becoming day. Now it moves toward being day. Now it is almost day.

2.2.1.2.7 -ba (PrE pa, UnQ pa) 'POLite'

The suffix -ba is the politeness suffix; it indicates that consideration is being shown toward the person to whom the speaker is addressing. It may be used with imperatives (second person singular and plural and first person plural) and future tense (second person singular and plural and first person plural). No valences are changed with the addition of the suffix -ba.

(43) P'ungu-da ichca-ba-shun jatun ga-shca-munda.
     Door-ACC close-POL-FUT1p great be-PTCPL-ABL
     Let's please close the door because it is big.

(44) Ija mama, shamu-ba-ngui ñuca-da ayuda-ngu.
     Dear ma'am, come-POL-FUT2 I-ACC help-PURSS
     Dear ma'am, please come to help me.

-Ba is also used to soften the harshness of a negative command.

(45) Ama ri-ba-i-chu.
     Don't go-POL-IMP-NEG
     Please don't go.

2.2.1.2.8 -gri (PrE ri, UnQ cri) 'INCeptive'

The suffix -gri is the inceptive (ingressive) suffix; it indicates that an action is beginning or is about to take place. No valences are changed with the addition of -gri.

(46) Yacha-gri-n-i.
     know-INC-PRES-1
     I am about to discover something.

This suffix is not used often in SQ; the idea of beginning to do something is more often expressed by combining two verbs, the first ending with -ngabug, and the second being the verb callari (begin).

(47) Yacu-ga   puri-ngabug callari-shca-Ø.
     Water-TOP walk-PURSS begin-PERF-3
     The water began to run.

2.2.1.2.9 -lla (PrE ~la, UnQ lla) 'JUST'

The suffix -lla when used as a deverbative verbalizer takes on the limitative meaning of 'just' or 'only'. It shows that the activity can be done easily. -Lla does not change the valence of the verb stem.

(48) Huagra-guna-da   ricu-chi-shun-lla-mi.
     cattle-PLUR-ACC look-CAUS-FUT1p-JUST-AFFIR
     We will just (easily) show (you) the cattle.

When -lla occurs on commands (either with or without -ba) it softens the harshness of the command.

(49) Miqu-i-lla.   (50) Micu-ba-i-lla.
     eat-IMP-JUST   eat-POL-IMP-JUST
     Just eat.   *Just eat please.*

2.2.1.2.10 -jichi (PrE ykacha?, UnQ cacha?) 'CLOSE'

This deverbative verbalizer occurs with verbs of motion, whether they are transitive, such as 'follow' or intransitive, such as 'run'; no valence changes result from adding -jichi. It means 'do X closely behind another'. The following example is taken from <u>Urdimal Tiempomunda</u>. (Athens et al:32)

```
(51) Pishta-da ricu-j gente-guna  pai-lla-da-mi
     Party-ACC see-AG people-PLUR 3-JUST-ACC-AFFIR
         cati-jichi-sha       ri-cu-shca-Ø.
         follow-CLOSE-ADVSS go-PROG-PERF-3
     The people who watched the fiesta were going,
     following closely behind just him.
```

-Jichi seems to be a cognate to a modal suffix /-ixacha/ cited by Muysken for Ecuadorian Quichua. The verb roots which Muysken (1977:115) says occur with /-ixacha/ are the corresponding SQ verb roots which combine with -jichi. However, Muysken's gloss of 'to and fro' or 'around and around' is different from the SQ idea of 'following closely behind'.

```
(52) puri-ixacha   to wander aimlessly in every direction
     bula-ixacha   to flit back and forth
     muyu-ixacha   to circle around wildly
```

The gloss for Muysken's /-ixacha/ seems related to that of Parker's /-ykacha/ -- 'action performed in a non-serious manner, diffusing in space, time, and importance' (1969:137). It thus seems likely that the SQ -jichi is a reflex of PrE /-ykacha/. Further evidence for

this is that both -jichi and /-ykacha/ are positioned
immediately after the verb stem, i.e. they are the first
of the DVVs.

2.2.2 Inflectional Morphology of Verbs

In this section Figure 5 shows the inflectional
suffixes and the position in which they may occur.
Following Figure 5 each of the inflectional suffixes of
the verb are explained.

There are two aspect/mood suffixes, which may occur
in conjunction with the tense markers. These suffixes
are: -shca 'PERFective aspect' and -mu 'CONditional mood'.
There are six suffixes which represent three tenses and
one imperative suffix. The present tense suffix is -n;
the past tense suffix, -(r)ga; the future suffixes -sha,
-ngui, -nga, and -shun; and the imperative suffix, -i.
There are two suffixes in SQ for person: -ni for first
person and -ngui for second person. There is no overt
suffix for third person. Plurality is shown on verbs by
the use of one of the following two suffixes: -chi(g/j) or
-guna.

Figure 5. Relative Position of Verbal Inflectional
         Suffixes.

ASPECT MOOD	TENSE	PERSON	PLURAL
PERFECT -shca CONDI- TIONAL -mu	PRESENT -n PAST -ga	-ni 1st (-n with plur) -ngui 2nd -∅ 3rd	-chi(j) -guna
	FUTURE (tense + person + number for 1st -sha 1st sg person) -ngui 2nd -nga 3rd -shun 1st pl		

The combination of the previously discussed tenses and aspect/mood results in a total of 11 different sets of verb forms: present tense, past tense, future tense, present tense with perfective aspect, past tense with perfective aspect, future tense with perfective aspect, present tense with perfective and habitual[3] aspects, past tense with perfective and habitual aspects, present tense with conditional mood, and past tense with conditional mood. A full conjugation of the SQ verb ri 'go' is given in Appendix B.

2.2.2.1 -shca (PrE sh+qA, UnQ shca) 'PERFective'

     The suffix -shca is used for the perfective aspect. It indicates that the action has been completed at the time of speaking. In describing past actions within

folklore, perfect tense is used for most situations, including: general description or scene setting, change from a previous state or condition, temporary activity, or sudden happening.

```
(53) Ujala; antis    na    chinga-chi-shca-n-gui-chi-chu.
     I.hope before not   lost-CAUS-PERF-PRES-2-PLV-NEG
     I hope (ı'm glad) you haven't caused (them) to be
     lost before.
```

2.2.2.2 -mu(n) (PrE man, UnQ man) 'CONditional'

The suffix -mu(n) is the conditional suffix. It indicates that the action is a possibility but not a reality. Two positions are possible for the conditional -mu(n): after the person suffix as in **rinimu** in present conditional tense or after the verb stem as in **rimurgani** in past conditional tense. The allomorphy of this suffix depends on the segment which follows it: -mun is used when a voiced segment follows and -mu occurs elsewhere.

```
(54) Sino    chi-guna   na    cushtul-da pashca-sh
     If.not that-PLUR not   sack-ACC    open-ADVSS
     ri-cu-shca-qui-ga          illa-n-∅-mu-mi
     go-PROG-PERF-ADVDS-TOP lack-PRES-3-CON-AFFIR
     ga-j nin usa   ni   piqui-ma-sh.
     be-AG RPT louse nor flea-CERT-TOO
     If they had not been going, opening up the sack,
     lice and fleas would lack, i.e. there would not
     be lice and fleas.
```

2.2.2.3 -n (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'PRESent'

The suffix -n is used in present tenses. In folklore, present tense is used to describe past

activities that were: 1) stable conditions, 2) activities of lengthy duration, or 3) climactic events.

Note the following paradigms, and the contrast between final n in 3rd present, and its absence in 3rd past.

```
(55)        Present:                    Past:
         ri-n-ni   = rini          ri-ga-ni    = rigani
         go-PRES-1      I go        go-PST-1      I went

         ri-n-ngui = ringui        ri-ga-ngui  = rigangui
         go-PRES-2      you go      go-PST-2      you went

         ri-n-Ø    = rin           ri-ga-Ø     = riga
         go-PRES-3      it goes     go-PST-3      it went
```

I suggest that -n marks present tense and deletes under identity with a following -n; this occurs in 1st and 2nd person.

```
(56) Ri-n-(n)-chi   chi   shuhua-guna-j   huasi-da
     Go-PRES-1-PLV that thief-PLUR-POSS house-ACC
     p'a-qui-shta-ngag.
     knock-NOI-ALOT-PURSS
     We are going to knock down the house of those
     thieves.
```

Others claim that present tense is unmarked and that the 3rd person singular is -n. It seems better, however, to claim that the 3rd person singular is null because it does not surface in past tense.

```
(57) Ima-da    rura-n-Ø?     (58) Ima-da    rura-ga-Ø?
     What-ACC do-PRES-3           What-ACC do-PST-3
     What is it doing?            What did it do?
```

2.2.2.4 -(r)ga (PrE r+qA, UnQ rca) 'PaST'

The suffix -ga (or -rga depending on speaker preference) is used to form past tenses.

(59) Ñuca uya-**rga**-ni cai parlanti-bi capari-j-ta.
    I   hear-PST-1 this loudspeaker-LOC yell-AG-ACC
    I heard someone yelling on this loudspeaker.

The suffix -ga as used in simple past tense describes events in the past that are downplayed. It shows up in conclusions or summary statements of folklore.

2.2.2.5 -sha (PrE sha, UnQ sha) 'FUT1s'

The suffix -sha indicates future tense for first person singular.

(60) Ñuca caya   Quitu-mu ri-**sha**.
    I   tomorrow Quito-DAT go-FUT1s
    Tomorrow I will go to Quito.

(61) Saqu-i-lla.   Ñuca chari-**sha**-lla-mi!
    Leave-IMP-JUST   I   have-FUT1s-JUST-AFFIR
    Just leave it be. I will just have it!

2.2.2.6 -ngui (PrE NIyki, UnQ nqui) 'FUT2'

The suffix -ngui indicates future tense for second person singular. Formation of second person singular future tense is the same as formation of second person singular present tense, so the meaning is determined by the context.

(62) Cai finados-da alli cuilla-hua-da pasa-**ngui**-chi.
    This Finados-ACC good pretty-DIM-ACC pass-FUT2-PLV
    Have a very good Finados this (time).

2.2.2.7 -nga (PrE n+qA, UnQ nca) 'FUT3'

The suffix -nga indicates future tense for third person singular.

(63) Talvez ima-sh   sucedi-nga-mi.
     Maybe   what-TOO happen-FUT3-AFFIR
     Maybe anything will happen.

2.2.2.8 -shun (PrE shu+n, UnQ shun) 'FUT1p'

The suffix -shun indicates future tense for first person plural. -Shun is also used for first person plural imperative, as in the English imperative, 'Let's...'.

(64) Huagra-guna-da   ricu-chi-shun-lla-mi.
     Cattle-PLUR-ACC look-CAUS-FUT1p-JUST-AFFIR
     We will just show (you) the cattle.

2.2.2.9 -i (PrE y, UnQ i) 'IMPerative'

The suffix -i is the imperative suffix; it is used only for second person.

(65) Huasha Patati yacu-bi   shita-mu-gr-i.
     Behind Patate water-LOC throw-HERE-INC-IMP
     Go and throw it behind in the Patate River.

The imperative commonly occurs with the suffix for politeness -ba.

(66) Ima-da   rur-i pudi-sha-ga,   rura-ba-i-cna.
     What-ACC do-NOM able-ADVSS-TOP do-POL-IMP-PLV
     When you are able to do something, please do (it).

2.2.2.10 -ni (PrE NI, UnQ ni) '1'

The suffix -ni indicates first person singular for

all non-future tenses, i.e. for the present and past tenses.

(67) Na   yuya-ri-n-(n)i   pero taugua pugll-i
     Not think-REFL-PRES-1 but alot play-NOM
        tiya-n-∅.
        exist-PRES-3
     I do not remember (the games) but many games exist.

(68) Pedru-g   auto-bi ri-ga-ni.
     Peter-POSS car-LOC go-PST-1
     I went in Peter's car.

(69) Quero pasa-ga-n(i)-chi.
     Quero pass-PST-1-PLV
     We passed by Quero.

2.2.2.11 -ngui (PrE NIyki, UnQ nqui) '2'

The suffix -ngui indicates second person.

(70) Talvez ña   cunga-n-(n)gui-chi-chari.
     Maybe now forget-PRES-2-PLV-DUB
     Maybe now you all forget.

(71) Cunun mai-bi   shita-ga-ngui-chi chi   tuqui
     Now   where-LOC throw-PST-2-PLV   that all
        huagra-da-ga?
        cattle-ACC-TOP
     *Now where did you (both) abandon (throw away)
        all the cattle?*

2.2.2.12 -∅ (PrE NIn, UnQ n) '3'

There is no overt suffix for third person singular.

(72) Puñu-n-∅   parti; parti-ga shamu-n-∅.
     Sleep-PRES-3 some   some-TOP come-PRES-3
     Some sleep; some come.

2.2.2.13 -chig/-chij/-chi (PrE NInchik, UnQ nchic) 'PLural Verbal'

The suffix -chig indicates plural for first and second person. -Chig is used when followed by a voiced

segment; -chij, by voiceless. -Chi is often found in word final position where consonants are commonly deleted.

(73) Chi-munda-ga ri-ga-n-chi ricu-ngu.
That-ABL-TOP go-PST-1-PLV look-PURSS
Then we went in order to look.

(74) Si talvez rura-sh ni-sha,   rura-n-gui-chi.
If maybe do-ADVSS want-ADVSS do-PRES-2-PLV
If maybe want.ng to do (it), you do (it).

2.2.2.14 -guna (PrE kuna, UnQ cuna) '3rd person PLural'

The suffix -guna indicates plural for third person. In SQ this suffix is not often used; plurality of a third person subject is more often shown on the subject itself rather than on the verb. Absence of -guna on the verb does not necessarily mean 'singular', since the subject could be marked for plurality.

(75) Puglla-sha p'aca-ri-n-Ø-guna   y ubia-n-Ø-guna.
Play-ADVSS hide-REFL-PRES-3-3PL & drink-PRES-3-3PL
As they play, they pass the time and they drink.

2.3 Nominals

This section describes the morphology of SQ nominals. In Quechua   there   are   no distinctions within the morphological system between a concrete object (which we call in English a noun) and an attribute of an object (which we call an adjective). Weber (1983:7-8) gives four morpho-syntactic   environments   shared by 'nouns' and 'adjectives': 1. major sentence constituent marked by case, 2. prenominal modifier, 3. predicate complement to

the verb 'to be', and 4. followed by one of the
(de-substantival) verbalizers. He states, 'Data such as
these lead to the conclusion that Quechua *syntax* does not
distinguish between nouns and adjectives.' (ibid:8) In
this thesis the term nominal includes words which
semantically may appear more noun-like or more
adjective-like.

The derivational morphology of nominals is described
first; attention is given to how the meaning of the
nominal stem changes when one of these suffixes is added.
Inflectional morphology, including case marking, is
described afterward in 2.3.2.

2.3.1 Derivational Morphology of Nominals

There are 16 derivational suffixes which are used in
forming nominals.

Figure 6. Derivational Suffixes of Nominals.

NOMINAL STEM				
VERB ROOT + DVN	DENOMINATIVE NOMINALIZERS (DNN)			
	(like) (size)(has/feel) (plur) (just)			
-na	-laya -gu -yuj -guna -lla			
-i	-shna -hua -nai -pura			
-shca	-rucu			
-g/j	-sapa			
NOMINAL ROOT	-siqui			

As shown in Figure 6, a nominal stem may contain derivational suffixes of two types: DVN's and DNN's. The four deverbative nominalizers are introduced in 2.3.1.1 and described in more detail in Chapter 3. The twelve denominative nominalizers are described in 2.3.1.2.

2.3.1.1 Deverbative Nominalizers

These deverbalizing suffixes are the focus of Chapter 3. They are simply introduced here.

2.3.1.1.1 -na (PrE na, UnQ na) 'INFinitive'

The infinitival suffix -na means 'to X' or 'future action of X' or 'instrument of X'.

```
(76) Chi-da    maña-qui  cara-na  tucu-j     ca-shca-∅.
     That-ACC  beg-ADVDS feed-INF become-AG be-PERF-3
     While they begged for that, the others used to
        become to feed (begin to feed).
```

2.3.1.1.2 -i (PrE y, UnQ i) 'NOMinalizer'

The action nominalizer -i means 'abstract action of X' or 'something to be Xed'.

```
(77) Shug pugll-i  ga-n-∅     huagra-guna-da
     One  play-NOM be-PRES-3 cow-PLUR-DO
        aisa-mu-sha.
        lead-HERE-ADVSS
     One game is leading the cattle.
```

2.3.1.1.3 -shca (PrE shqa, UnQ shca) 'ParTiCiPLe'

The participial suffix -shca means 'completed state of having Xed' or 'result of having been Xed'.

(78) Cai   huras graba-shca-da   can-guna-mun chi-bi
     This time   record-PTCPL-ACC you-PLUR-DAT that-LOC
     parlu-ngu   ri-nga.
     speak-PURSS go-FUT3
     *He will go in order to talk there to you all on
     this (right now) tape recording.*

2.3.1.1.4 -g/-j (PrE q, UnQ c) 'AGentive'

The agentive suffix which means 'one who Xs'. The
suffix is voiced before voiced segments and voiceless in
other environments.

(79) Can yachi-j ca-n-gui na-chu?
     You know-AG be-PRES-2 not-YN
     You are one who knows, right?

2.3.1.2 Denominative Nominalizers

There are twelve denominative nominalizers in SQ:
-laya, -shina, -gu, -hua, -rucu, -sapa, -siqui, -yuj,
-nai, -guna, -pura, and -lla. As a group they occur
immediately before the inflectional suffixes of the
nominal.

2.3.1.2.1 -laya (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'LIKE'

The suffix -laya means 'like X' or 'similar to X'.

(80) Chi   cusa-laya-cu-ga ni-shca-∅ 'Mana ñuca huarmi-ga'
     That man-LIKE-DM-TOP say-PERF-3 Not   my   wife-TOP
     *That small one who was like her husband said, "It's
     not my wife."*

2.3.1.2.2 -shina/-shna (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'SIMilar'

The suffix -shna also means 'like X' or 'similar to
X'. It is seldom used.

(81) Can-guna maqui mailla-sh ni-n-gui-chi,   mana
     you-PLUR hand wash-ADVSS want-PRES-2-PLV not
       yachi-g-shna-lla, mana ricu-g-shna-lla.
       know-AG-SIM-JUST no: see-AG-SIM-JUST
     You all want to wash your hands, not like ones who
     know, not like ones who see.

When it is added to the word **ima** 'what, thing' it
means literally 'like what', that is 'why'.

(82) Ima-shna huaca-sha puri-ngui-chi?
     What-SIM cry-ADVSS walk-PRES-2-PLV
     Why are you (both) walking around crying?

2.3.1.2.3 -gu/-cu (PrE (none), UnQ cu) 'DiMinutive'

The suffix **-gu** is a diminutive suffix, indicating
affection, tenderness, or smallness of size. The
alternation in pronunciation seems to be free variation.

(83) Shuj ucucha-cu cai-bi   tiya-shca-∅.
     One mouse-DM this-LOC exist-PERF-3
     One little mouse lived here.

It has been observed in only one instance on an
inanimate object: **puca-gu-n** (red-DM-WITH) 'with a little
bit of red'.

2.3.1.2.4 -hua (PrE (none), UnQ hua) 'DIMinutive'

The suffix **-hua** is the most common diminutive suffix;
it may express affection or tenderness.

(84) ¿Can-hua-lla shamu-n-gui?
     You-DIM-JST come-PRES-2
     Is it only dear little you who comes?

When used with an inanimate object it can only refer to size.

(85) p'iti-hua   (86) mundungu-hua-lla
     piece-DIM   head-DIM-JUST
     small piece   *just a small head*

(87) Casha-da ishqui rigra-hua-guna-bi sati-shca-Ø.
     spine-ACC two   arm-DIM-PLUR-LOC insert-PERF-3
     They inserted spines in their two little arms.

The suffix -hua when preceded by -lla takes on an adverbial meaning, 'very X-ly'.

(88) Aguatero upa-lla-hua   cuchu-ya-shca-Ø.
     Water.man quiet-JUST-DIM near-BEC-PERF-3
     The man who guards the irrigation ditches
        very quietly approached.

SQ -hua never has the meaning of IQ -hua, which indicates 1st person direct object. Nor does SQ -hua mean accompaniment or instrument as does -huan in IQ and ChQ. In SQ the sequence huan is two suffixes: -hua (DIM) plus -n (WITH).

2.3.1.2.5 -rucu/-rcu/-r (PrE (none), UnQ rucu) 'DEPrecative'

The suffix -rucu/-rcu/-r is a deprecative (DEP) suffix meaning 'dirty' or 'awful'. The allomorphy is related to rate of speech, with the shorter forms being used with more rapid speech.

(89) Mai-bi   chai shuhua-r-guna tiya-shca-mun.
     where-LOC that thief-DEP-PLUR exist-PTCPL-DAT
     to where those dirty thieves lived

2.3.1.2.6 -sapa (PrE sapa, UnQ sapa) 'MUCH'

The augmentative suffix -sapa means 'has X in abundance' or 'with larger than usual X'.

(90) Ñuca churi mijur jumbi-sapa -mi-Ø-shca-Ø.
     My   son   very sweat-MUCH -AFFIR-(be)-PERF-3
     My son has been one characterized by much sweat, or my son is a sweat hog.

One interesting comparison is seen between **jaccha-sapa** (much hair) and **uma-sapa** (much head); while the first means the person has a lot of hair, the second means that hair is uncombed.

2.3.1.2.7 -siqui (PrE (none), UnQ siqui) 'BASE'

The suffix -siqui is the 'character' suffix; it means 'one who is like X in abundance' or 'one who exhibits X as a personality tendency'. It comes from the nominal **siqui**, meaning 'bottom part, base, or foundation'. Etymologically, someone who is described as being X-siqui has that characteristic to the very depths of his personality.

(91) Huaqu-i-siqui mara-guna-da   cucu apu-ri-nga.
     Cry-NOM-BASE   child-PLUR-ACC ghost take-REFL-FUT3
     The ghost will take children who always like to cry, who have a habit of crying.

-Siqui commonly occurs in the following words:

(92) manchi 'fear' > manchisiqui 'scares easily'
     puglli 'game' > pugllisiqui 'always plays'
     puñu   'sleep' > puñusiqui   'sleepyhead'
     ubi   'drink' > ubisiqui   'drunkard'

2.3.1.2.8 -yuj/-yug (PrE yuq, UnQ yuc) 'HAS'

The suffix -yuj/-yug is the possessor suffix; it means 'owns X' or 'one who has X'.

(93) Pai-ga oso laya millma-yuj-mi ga-shca-∅.
     3-TOP bear like fur-HAS-AFFIR be-PERF-3
     He had fur like a bear.

Usually the meaning is regular as for **juchayug** (one who has sin, i.e. sinner) or **naniyuj** (one who has pain). However, in one instance, **urayug**, literally 'has under', the sense has shifted to 'goes crazy during the new moon'.

2.3.1.2.9 -nai/-ai/-i (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'FEEL'

The suffix -nai/-ai/-i is the feeling suffix; it is used when the speaker wants to add feeling or emphasis to what is being said.

(94) Na-chu   shuj-ta-sh   cutin shina-i-dij   bajo
     Not-YN? one-ACC-TOO   again thus-FEEL-EXCL low
        precio-bi c'at-i-buj   ga-n-gui.
        price-LOC sell-NOM-POSS be-PRES-2
     *Aren't you about to sell at a low price just like
     the other one?*

2.3.1.2.10 -guna (PrE kuna, UnQ cuna) 'PLURal'

The suffix -guna is the plural suffix; it means 'more than one'. -Guna is used with all nominals and with the following pronouns: can (you), pai (he, she), cai (this), chai (that), and chi (that). One loan word ginti which in Spanish has a collective meaning (people) almost always occurs as ginti-guna. The suffix -guna shortens to -na

when it follows -hua (DIM), as in **pani-hua-na** (the dear

sisters).

(95) Sisa-guna, luzira-ma, indi-laya-guna-ma
     Flower-PLUR star-CERT sun-LIKE-PLUR-CERT
       tiya-n-∅.
       exist-PRES-3
     There are flowers and stars and sun-like things.

2.3.1.2.11 -pura (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'AMONG'

The suffix -pura is similar to a plural suffix in

that more than one person or part of a person are

involved. The suffix means 'between' or 'among'.

(96) Cai-ga   ñucuchi-pura-lla yachi-shca quida-ri-chun.
     This-TOP we-AMONG-JUST   know-PTCPL stay-REFL-PURDS
     That this known thing would stay just among us.
     (That among us we would not let out this secret.)

Often the -pura gives an adverbial sense as to how

the VERB was done. These constructions also contain the

suffix -nucu (RCPR) within the verb.

(97) Chimba-pura tiyi-sh   parla-nucu-n-∅-chi.
     across-AMONG exist-ADVSS talk-RCPR-PRES-1-PLV
     Sitting face-to-face we talk with each other.

The order is flexible between -guna and -pura, but it

is more common to have -guna appear first:

(98) ginti-guna-pura   (99) chinga-pura-guna
     people-PLUR-AMONG   lost-AMONG-PLUR
     Among the people   *Among the lost ones*

2.3.1.2.12 -lla (PrE ~la, UnQ lla) 'JUST'

The denominative nominalizer suffix -lla is very

similar in meaning to the DVV -lla described in 2.2.1.2.9; it means 'JUST, only'.

(100) Puri-j-lla-mi   ga-shca-∅.
      Walk-AG-JUST-AFFIR be-PERF-3
      They were just walkers. They used to just walk.

When -lla is followed by -da 'ACCusative', the -lla may be shortened to -l, as (101) illustrates.

(101) Tanda-l-da   randi-gu-n-i.
      Bread-JUST-ACC buy-PROG-PRES-1
      I am buying only bread.

When the -lla is added to some nominals, the meaning becomes adjectival.

(102) mapa   'dirtiness' > mapalla   'very dirty'
      rumi   'stone'   > rumilla   'very stony'
      yahuar 'blood'   > yahuarlla 'very bloody'

-Lla following -na is used to show that the action can be done easily and without problems. The following list show how an adjectival meaning is derived from the infinitival form.

(103) p'aquina 'to break' > p'aquinalla 'easily broken'
      p'itina 'to cut'   > p'itinalla 'easily cut'
      rurana   'to make' > ruranalla   'easily made'

The suffix -lla may indicate the manner in which the verb was performed.

(104) Mama-ga   llaqui-lla parla-shca-∅.
      Mother-TOP sad-JUST   speak-PERF-3
      The mother spoke sadly.

(105) Parl-i   gushtu-lla.
      Speak-IMP pleasure-JUST
      Speak slowly.

Other words which commonly take -lla to indicate   the

manner in which the verb was done include:

(106) paca 'hidden'   > pacalla 'secretly'
      alli 'good'   > allilla 'well'
      cushi 'contentment'   > cushilla 'happily'
      upa   'mute'   > upalla   'quietly'

When -lla follows the same-subject adverbializer of

time (-sha), it intensifies the manner in which   the   verb

was done.

(107) Achcu-hua-ga llaqui-n huaca-gu-sha-lla
      Dog-DIM-TOP   sad-WITH cry-PROG-ADVSS-JUST
         huañu-rga-∅.
         die-PST-3
      With sadness the little dog died crying a lot (lit.
      just crying).

2.3.2 Inflectional Morphology of Nominals

There   are   twelve inflectional suffixes possible for

nominals. They include the suffixes which mark case.

Figure 7. Inflectional Suffixes of Nominals.

NOM. STEM	POSSESSIVE, NEAR, ETC.		CASE	
	-buj	'POSS'	-bi	'LOC'
	-qui	'AT'	-da	'ACC'
	-ladu	'SIDE'	-gama	'TIL'
	-n	'WITH'	-mu	'DAT'
	-ndij	'JOIN'	-munda	'ABL'
	-nij	'NEAR'		
	-shuj	'ONE'		

The first seven suffixes are grouped together because they cannot co-occur. They are positioned after the DNN -lla 'JUST' and before the suffixes for case. There are five case suffixes: -bi 'LOCative', -da 'ACCusative', -gama 'unTIL', -mu(n) 'DATive', and -munda 'ABLative'. These twelve inflectional suffixes are described below.

2.3.2.1 -buj/-bug/-j/-g (PrE PaK, UnQ pac) 'POSSessive'

The suffix -buj/-bug/-j/-g is the possessive suffix; it means 'of, possessed by, or for X'.

The forms ending in -g are found when followed by a voiced segment; the -j forms occur in other environments. When the stem which preceeds this suffix ends in a vowel and is at least two syllables in length, many speakers prefer to contract the suffix by omitting the **bu**. Personal pronouns illustrate this tendency to contract:

(108)

	Base form	Possessive form
1 sg.	ñuca	ñuca or ñucaj
2 sg.	can	cambuj
3 sg.	pai	paibuj
1 pl.	ñucuchi	ñucuchibuj or ñucuchij
2 pl.	canguna	cangunabuj or cangunaj
3 pl.	paiguna	paigunabuj or paigunaj

Two or more words in a row may carry the possessive suffix; that is, one possessor may be embedded in another.

(109) Cam-buj taita-j   huasi-bi-mi.
      You-POSS father-POSS house-LOC-AFFIR
      It is at your father's house.

48

The possessor (the word containing the possessive suffix) need not be followed by the possessed item; the implied possession is generally clear from the context.

(110) Caya-ndij   p'unlla cam-buj micu-ngu ri-sha.
      Tomorrow-JOIN day   you-POSS eat-PURSS go-FUT1s
      The day after tomorrow I will go to your (house)
      in order to eat (with you).

2.3.2.2 -qui (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'AT'

In Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua and Unified Quichua, this suffix does not exist; it is replaced by two suffixes combined: -j (AGentive) plus -pi (LOCative). In SQ the suffix -qui means 'at place of X' or 'at home of X'. It may be used with pronouns, as in ñuca (I) + -qui meaning 'at my place', or with nominals, as in **Rudyqui** 'at Rudy's home'.

(111) Muti-qui yanta sati-sha   ayuda-n-∅.
      Hominy-AT wood insert-ADVSS help-PRES-3
      (They) help by putting wood under (lit: at) the
      hominy, i.e. where it is cooking.

2.3.2.3 -ladu (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'SIDE'

The suffix -ladu is borrowed from the Spanish word 'lado' meaning side. It means 'side of X' or 'X side'.

(112) Ishqui ñahui-yuj huasha-ladu-mu ñauba-ladu-mu
      Two   face-HAS behind-SIDE-DAT front-SIDE-DAT
      ñahui chari-shca-∅.
      face have-PERF-3
      The one with two faces put a face to the back side
      and one to the front side.

2.3.2.4 -n (PrE wan, UnQ huan) 'WITH'

The suffix -n is for 'instrumental' case which may
indicate either instrument or accompaniment; it means 'by
means of X', 'with X', or 'and X'.

(113) Capus yura huaira-n cuyu-n-∅.
Berry tree wind-WITH be.moved-PRES-3
The berry tree is moved by means of the wind.

(114) Yacha-chi-j-ga tisa-n yacha-chi-n-∅.
know-CAUS-AG-TOP chalk-WITH know-CAUS-PRES-3
The teacher teaches using chalk.

(115) Pedro-ga huarmi-n shamu-ga-∅.
Peter-TOP wife-WITH come-PST-3
Peter came with (his) wife.

2.3.2.5 -ndi (PrE tin, UnQ ntin) 'JOIN'

-Ndi means 'with X and no other' or 'close
accompaniment of X'. It is used frequently with a pair
that belongs together, such as 'my brother and I' or 'the
husband and wife'. The difference between it and -n
'WITH' is illustrated in (116) and (117); in (116) the
husband and his wife are a pair which are 'joined'
together and accompanying each other closely, while in
(117) María and José are two distinct people who were not
necessarily together (to begin with) but who met each
other.

(116) Chi-munda ri-shca-∅ cusa-ndi huarmi-ndi,
That-ABL go-PERF-3 man-JOIN wife-JOIN
chagra-ngabug.
harvest-PURSS
Then the husband and wife went to harvest.

(117) Marya-n   Juzi-n   tupa-nucu-ga-∅.
      Maria-WITH Jose-WITH meet-RCPR-PST-3
      María and José met each other (together).

A better analysis of -ndi would be to consider it   as

two   separate   suffixes: -n 'WITH' plus -di 'EXCLusive'.

This analysis would be syncronically correct, although   it

would   not reflect the historic facts that -n and -ndi are

derived from separate suffixes.

2.3.2.6 -nij (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'NEAR'

The suffix -nij means 'near or in the vicinity of'.

(118) Chai-nij-mun   ri-gu-n-i.
      That-NEAR-DAT go-PROG-PRES-1
      I am going (to) near there.

2.3.2.7 -shuj (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'ONE'

The suffix -shuj means 'one'. It is used most often

with demonstrative pronouns: **cai** (this) and **chai** (that).

(119) Pai-mun-ga chai-shuj cai-shuj tuqui-da cu-shca-∅.
      3-DAT-TOP   that-ONE   this-ONE all-ACC   give-PERF-3
      One after another gave him everything.

2.3.2.8 -bi (PrE pi, UnQ pi) 'LOCative'

The suffix -bi is for locative case.

(120) Huasi-mun chaya-sha-ga   caballo-bi siqui-ngu
      House-DAT arrive-ADVSs-TOP horse-LOC   climb-PURSS
          muna-ga-∅ burro-bi-sh.
          want-PST-3 burro-LOC-TOO
      *Arriving home, they wanted to mount on the horse and
      on the donkey.*

(121) Chai-bi   tauga tiya-n-∅.
      That-LOC much   exist-PRES-3
      There is(/are) much(/many) there (at that place).

```
(122) Cai   almacen ucu-bi      ricu-sha   cuilla-da
      This  store   inside-LOC look-FUT1s pretty-ACC
         ahua-shca-da.
         weave-PTCPL-ACC
      Inside this store I will look for a pretty weaving.
```

2.3.2.9 -da (PrE ta, UnQ ta) 'ACCusative'

The suffix -da is for accusative case; it indicates the direct object of a transitive verb or the goal of an intransitive verb.

```
                            | directOBJ |
(123) Chi   huarmi pai-bug | mara-da    | chapa-ga-Ø,  ama
      That  woman  3-POSS  | child-ACC | guard-PST-3, not
      | goal   |
      | caru-da | ri-chun.
      | far-ACC | go-PURDS
      That woman watched her child so that it would not go
      far.
```

Some speakers also use -da instead of -mu (ABL) for the indirect object.

```
                        | indirect |
(124) Chai-da ñuca | can-da   | ruga-n-i.
      That-ACC I   | you-ACC | beg-PRES-1
      I beg that of you. I beg you for that.
```

The suffix -da also has other uses. It may be used adverbially with words referring to time such as days of the week; then it means 'on', 'at', or 'for'.

```
(125) Lunes-da    shamu-rga-n-chi.
      Monday-ACC come-PST-1-PLV
      We came on Monday.
```

```
(126) Ima huras-da   cam-buj  churi shamu-nga?
      What time-ACC you-POSS son   come-FUT3
      At what time (when) will your son come?
```

(127) Llaquimi   tiya-rga-n-chi   ishqui huata-da.
      Sad-AFFIR exist-PST-1-PLV two   year-ACC
      Unhappily we lived for two years.

(128) Huarmi huasi-bi   saqui-ri-shca-Ø   quinsa quilla
      Woman house-LOC stay-REFL-PERF-3 three month
        yalli-da.
        more-ACC
      The woman remained at home more than three months.

When used with words referring to a location, **-da**
means 'through X' or 'by way of X'. The verbs in these
sentences must convey the idea of motion.

(129) Huaicu-da-bish ri-n-Ø-chi.
      gorge-ACC-TOO go-PRES-1-PLV
      We go through the gorge also.

(130) Na ñan-da   ri-n-Ø,   sino derecho ri-n-Ø-lla
      Not path-ACC go-PRES-3 but straight go--PRES-3-JUST
        mai-da-sh.
        where-ACC-TOO
      *They do not go by way of the path but instead they
        just go straight through wherever.*

-Da may be used to indicate the manner in which
something was done.

(131) Chai-bi   cuilla-da pasa-rga-n-chi.
      That-LOC nice-ACC pass-PST-1-PLV
      There we passed the time nicely (wonderfully).

(132) Parl-i   jinchi jinchi-da.
      Speak-IMP strong strong-ACC
      Speak loudly (lit. strongly).

2.3.2.10 -gama (PrE (none), UnQ caman) 'unTIL'

The suffix **-gama** means 'until X'. It almost always
occurs with a nominal referring to a place or a time:
Quito-gama (as far as Quito), **tardi-gama** (until this

afternoon), **ocho-gama** (until eight o'clock), **lunes-gama** (until Monday), etc.

(133) Parti huahua-lla-guna-da   chari-n-∅ enero-**gama**.
　　　Some child-JUST-PLUR-ACC have-PRES-3 January-TIL
　　　Some have the child-breads until January.

2.3.2.11 -**mun**/-**mu** (PrE man, UnQ man) 'DATive'

The suffix -**mun**/-**mu** is for dative case; it indicates the indirect object of a bitransitive verb. -**Mun** occurs when a voiced segment follows it; -**mu** occurs elsewhere.

(134) Chi-da   mama   taita cu-ga-∅   ñuca-**mu**.
　　　That-ACC mother father give-PST-3 I-DAT
　　　Mother and father gave that to me.

-**Mu(n)** also indicates the place or objective toward which the motion is directed for an intransitive verb.

(135) Huarmi-ga jahua-**mu** sica-shca-∅.
　　　Woman-TOP above-DAT climb.up-PERF-3
　　　The woman climbed (to) up above.

In the following example -**mu(n)** contrasts with -**bi** to give the idea of location further inside, as an extension of its 'motion toward' sense.

(136) Siqui ucu-bi-di-mi   piqui
　　　Bottom inside-LOC-EXCL-AFFIR flea
　　　　tiya-gu-n-∅-mi   pero ucu-**mun**-di-mi.
　　　　exist-PROG-PRES-3-AFFIR but inside-DAT-EXCL-AFFIR
　　　*Fleas are living inside your anus, however way
　　　　inside (toward the very inside).*

2.3.2.12 **-munda** (PrE man+ta, UnQ manta) 'ABLative'

The suffix -munda is for ablative case; it indicates the place, time, or person from which the motion or action came.

(137) Jambato-**munda** shamu-n-∅-chi.
Ambato-ABL   come-PRES-1-PLV
We have just come (are coming) from Ambato.

(138) Ocho-**munda** diez-gama tanda-nucu-shca-∅.
eight-ABL   ten-TIL   meet-RCPR-PERF-3
From eight until ten they held a meeting.

(139) Pai-guna-**munda** chican-ya-n-gui.
3-PLUR-ABL   distinct-BEC-PRES-2
Separate yourself from them.

-**Munda** also indicates the cause or reason. In this usage it often follows the participial -shca as part of a subordinate clause.

(140) Tanto mara-guna-da   micu-shca-**munda**, chi
Many child-PLUR-ACC eat-PTCPL-ABL   that
huarmi-da-ga   shuj rucu   ni-shca-∅.
woman-ACC-TOP one old.man say-PERF-3
Because of having eaten so many children,
an old man said to that woman, ...

-**Munda** combines frequently with the demonstrative pronoun chi; the resulting word **chimunda** (from that) is used as a conjunction in narrative material to mean 'next' or 'then'.

(141) Chi-**munda**-ga mancha-ri-shca-∅ nin chi huarmi-ga.
That-ABL-TOP fear-REFL-PERF-3 RPT that woman-TOP
Then that woman was afraid, it is said.

2.4 Switch Reference Adverbializers

The switch reference adverbializers are introduced briefly in this section. They are described in detail in Chapter 3. They are suffixed to verb stems which oftentimes are part of a clause. The switch reference suffixes result in an adverb or an adverbial clause.

The suffixes -sha 'ADVSS' and -qui 'ADVDS' are used in the formation of adverbializers of time and condition, to express the ideas of 'when', 'while', or 'if'. The suffixes -ngabug 'PURSS' and -chun 'PURDS' are used in the formation of adverbializers of purpose, to express the ideas of 'in order to'.

2.4.1 -sha (PrE shpa, UnQ shpa) 'ADVerbializer Same Subject'

The adverbializing suffix -sha indicates a subordinate clause whose subject is the same as the subject of the main clause.

(142) Huarmi-ga punchu churu-sha sica-shca-∅.
      Woman-TOP poncho put-ADVSS climb.up-PERF-3
      While she put on the poncho, the woman climbed up.

2.4.2 -qui (PrE Kpi, UnQ cpi) 'ADVerbializer Different Subject'

The adverbializing suffix -qui indicates a subordinate clause whose subject is different than the subject of the main clause.

(143) Yanta-da p'iti-qui-ga, yanu-sha.
Wood-ACC cut-ADVDS-TOP cook-FUT1s
If/when someone else cuts the wood, I will cook.

2.4.3 -ngabug/-ngabuj/-ngabu/-ngaug/-ngag/-ngu
(PrE nqa+Pak, UnQ ncapac) 'PURpose Same Subj'

The adverbializing suffix -ngabug means 'in order to do X'. The subject of the purpose clause is the same as the subject of the main clause. There is a wide variation in the allomorphs which occur for this suffix; the shorter forms seem to be the most widely used.

(144) Parlu-ngu   ri-shca-∅ chi huarmi-ga.
Speak-PURSS go-PERF-3 that woman-TOP
That woman went in order to speak (with someone).

2.4.4 -chun (PrE chu, UnQ chun) 'PURpose Different Subject'

The adverbializing suffix -chun means 'in order for someone else to do X'. The subject of the purpose clause is different than the subject of the main clause.

(145) Trabaja-n-i ñuca huarmi micu-na-da   randi-chun.
Work-PRES-1 my   wife   eat-INF-ACC buy-PURDS
I work in order for my wife to buy food.

2.5 Independent Suffixes (Enclitics)

The independent suffixes appear in the following order at the end of a word.[4]

Figure 8. Independent Suffixes.

	EVIDENTIALS	
-dig 'EXCL'	-chu 'NEG' -mi 'AFFIR' -chari 'DUB' -shi 'WON' -ri 'EMPH' -ga 'TOP' -ma 'CERT' -la ? 'SUR'	-bish 'TOO' -la ? 'SUR'

The first of the independent suffixes, **-dig**, expresses the idea of exclusivity, i.e. 'this thing and no other'. The eight evidential suffixes are found next in the word: **-chu** 'NEGative', **-mi** 'AFFIRmation', **-chari** 'DUBative', **-shi** 'WONder', **-ri** 'EMPHative', **-ga** 'TOPic', **-la** 'SURprise', and **-ma** 'CERTain'. The final suffix possible on a word is **-(bi)sh** meaning 'TOO, also'.

2.5.1 -dig/-dij/-di (PrE taq, UnQ tac) 'EXCLusive'

The independent suffix **-dig/-dij/-di** may be attached to the question word of an information question as a sort of question marker. The allomorphy is determined by the segment which follows, with **-dig** chosen when a voiced segment follows, **-dij** chosen when a voiceless segment follows, and **-di** possible at the end of a word.

(146) Ima-dij   ca-n-gui? -- amu-ga   tapu-shca-∅.
      What-EXCL be-PRES-2   boss-TOP ask-PERF-3
      What are you? -- asked the boss.

(147) Ima-munda-di   chura-n-∅-guna?
       What-ABL-EXCL clothe-PRES-3-PLV
       Why dress (like that)?

Most SQ speakers prefer to use question words without the suffix -dig, reserving the -dig only for added emphasis. Compare the following two examples.

(148) Mai-mun   ri-n-gui?
       where-DAT go-PRES--2
       Where are you going?

(149) Mai--mun-dig   ri-n-gui?
       where-DAT-EXCL go-PRES-2
       Just where are you going?

The suffix -dig is also used to express the idea of exclusion, especially when used in conjunction with the denominative nominalizer -lla. Can-lla-dig means 'just you and only you'; similarly ñuca-lla-dig means 'me myself'. The combination -lla-dig may also be translated as 'the very same' or 'indeed' as the following sentences illustrate.

(150) Achcu-ga chai tuta-lla-dij   cuchqui-da
       Dog-TOP   that night-JUST-EXCL money-ACC
         pai-buj huasi-bi   chura-shca-∅.
         3-POSS   house-LOC put-PERF-3
       That very same night the dog put money in his house.

(151) Ucucha-j   familia-guna-ga shamu-shca-∅
       Mouse-POSS family-PLUR-TOP come-PERF-3
         tauga-lla-dij.
         many-JUST-EXCL
       The mouse's family, many indeed, came.

2.5.2 -chu (PrE chu, UnQ chu) 'NEGative'

The suffix -chu is the negative suffix. It is found on the verb or on the verbal element of a subordinate clause.

(152) Mana cacha-sha-chu cai sacha-munda.
Not send-FUT1s-NEG this woods-ABL
I will not send (you) from these woods.

(153) Ni ima maijin na miqu-i pudi-j-chu ca-shca-Ø
Not what which nct eat-NOM be.able-AG-NEG be-PERF-3
None of them were able to eat.

Many SQ speakers prefer to replace the verb root 'to be' with the negative suffix -chu, which then serves as a root meaning 'to not be', as in (155).

(154) Na ñuca cusa-chu ga-shca-Ø.
Not my husband-NEG be-PERF-3
He was not my husband.

(155) Na ñuca cusa chu-(O)-shca-Ø.
Not my husband NEG-be-PERF-3
He (was) not my husband.

In SQ the use of the negative -chu is optional in sentences which contain the word **mana** 'no, not'.

(156) Pero pai-guna mana intindi-ga-Ø-chu.
But 3-PLUR not understand-PST-3-NEG
But they did not understand.

(157) Pero pai-guna mana intindi-ga-Ø.
But 3-PLUR nct understand-PST-3
But they did not understand.

-Chu must always appear on a negative command. These commands are preceded by **ama** 'don't'.

(158) **Ama   pasca-sha ri-cu-n-gui-chi-chu.**
Don't open-ADVSS go-PROG-PRES-2-PLV-NEG
Don't you all open (them) up.

The independent suffix -chu is also the question marker for yes-no questions. It attaches to the word in the sentence which is being questioned.

(159) Can ropa-da   chari-n-gui-chu?
You clothes-ACC have-PRES-2-NEG
DO you HAVE clothing? (or do you not have it?)

(160) Can ropa-da-chu   chari-n-gui?
You clothes-ACC-NEG have-PRES-2
Do you have CLOTHING? (or do you have something else?)

(161) Can-chu ropa-da   chari-n-gui?
You-NEG clothes-ACC have-PRES-2
Do YOU have clothing? (or does someone else?)

2.5.3 -mi (PrE mi, UnQ mi) 'AFFIRmation'

The independent suffix -mi indicates that the speaker has firsthand information about what he has said. The -mi usually attaches to the verb.

(162) Tuqui laya pugll-i   tiya-n-∅-mi   velorio-bi.
All   like game-NOM exist-PRES-3-AFFIR wake-LOC
There are all kinds of games at a wake.

When the verb 'to be' is omitted in the sentence, the last word in the sentence (which is the predicate complement of the subject) invariably takes a -mi.

(163) Cai-bi   sam-i-ga   alli-mi.
This-LOC rest-NOM-TOP good-AFFIR
Resting here (is) good.

(164) Chai huasi ñuca taita-bug-**mi**.
That house my father-POSS-AFFIR
That house (is) my father's.

The suffix -**mi** is often used in response to a question.

(165) Ima p'unlla Quito-mu ri-n-gui? -- Caya-**mi**.
What day Quito-DAT go-PRES-2 Tomorrow-AFFIR
When will you go to Quito? -- *Tomorrow.*

2.5.4 -chari (PrE chi, UnQ chari) 'DUBitive'

The independent suffix -**chari** indicates uncertainty. It is used in situations when the speaker is uncertain about what the situation really is and is thinking of possibilities or supposing what might be true. It is often used in the same sentence with Spanish loan words such as 'talvez' (maybe) or 'quizas' (perhaps). Frequently the tense on the verb is future tense, thus further substantiating the idea that -**chari** has to do with conjecture about the future.

(166) Pai-ga shamu-na-mi ga-n-∅, cai mayu-da talvez
3-TOP come-INF-AFFIR be-PRES-3 this May-ADV maybe
shamu-nga-**chari**.
come-FUT3-DUB
He is supposed to come; maybe he will come this May.

(167) Can-ga nusi-ri ima-laya causa-n-gui-**chari**
You-TOP who.knows what-like live-PRES-2-DUB
chai-bi.
that-LOC
I don't really know what you live like there.

-**Chari** may be shortened to -**cha**. In this case, it usually carries the stress on the -**cha** rather than on the

previous syllable as would be expected. (Normal stress

falls on the penultimate syllable.)

(168) Shamu-nga-lla-chá?
      Come-FUT3-JUST-DUB
      Might he still come, do you think?

(169) No se,   mana yacha-n-i-chu   pishta
      No I.know not know-PRES-1-NEG party
        tiya-n-Ø-chari o na-chá tiya-gu-n-Ø.
        exist-PRES-3-DUB or not-DUB exist-PROG-PRES-3
      *I do not know if maybe there is a fiesta or
      maybe it is not taking place.*

2.5.5 -shi (PrE chi, UnQ shi) 'WONder'

      The   independent   suffix   -shi   indicates   that   one

doesn't know and can't know the answer. It is used to ask

a question that really doesn't have an answer.

(170) After their grandson disappeared, some grandparents
      asked:

        Mai-da-shi   ri-ga-Ø?
        Where-ADV-WON go-PST-3
        Where in the world did he go?

(171) After a poor man appeared wearing beautiful
      clothing, his neighbors asked:

        Mai-munda-shi chi   rupa-da-ga
        Where-ABL-WON that clothes-ACC-TOP
          apa-mu-rga-Ø?
          take-HERE-PST-3
        Wherever did he get that clothing?
        (It's impossible!)

(172) After not receiving any news for years from a
      friend in another country, a man asked:

        Ima huras-shi cai-mu   tigra-mu-ngui-chu-shi?
        What time-WON this-DAT return-HERE-FUT2-NEG-WON
        When in the world might you come back here?
        (Will you even come back?)

When -shi is added to a form of the verb **nina** 'to say' it means 'wondering' or 'hoping to find out'.

(173) Ima-munda larca-ga t'uni-gu-n-∅-lla? --
      What-ABL ditch-TOP collapse-PROG-PRES-3-JUST --
      ni-n-∅-shi.
      say-PRES-3-WON
      Why is the ditch caving in like that? -- he wonders.

(174) Maijin rupa-hua-da-sh cu-i-lla. --
      Which clothes-DIM-ACC-TOO give-IMP-JUST --
      ni-sha-shi pai-ga ruga-n-∅.
      say-ADVSS-WON 3-TOP beg-PRES-3
      *Just give me whichever 'little' clothes -- he begs,
      hoping and wondering.*

2.5.6 -ri (PrE (none), UnQ carin) 'EMPHatic'

The independent suffix -ri is not used often. It adds emphasis like the English phrases 'of course' or 'clearly' or 'at least', or like English emphatic stress.

(175) Ima-da rura-sha-ri?   (176) N-i-ri!
      What-ACC do-FUT1s-EMPH   say-IMP-EMPH
      NOW what will I do?   *Say SOMETHING!*

2.5.7 -ga (PrE qa, UnQ ca) 'TOPic'

The independent suffix -ga has been called the topic marker by many who have studied Quechua languages. (See Weber 1980 for an excellent summary of the literature about this suffix.) Its functions are many and complex; they primarily relate to discourse features such as highlighting a change in topic or highlighting sentences which are climatic and important to the development of the story line (K. Waskosky, 1991, unpublished draft).

The following sentence which contains two -ga's appears at the climax of a story about the beggar and some devils who spent the night in an abandoned mill. The first -ga is attached to a sentence-initial adverbial phrase which relates back to the previous sentence of the story. The second -ga is attached to the new subject, devils, which contrasts with the previous subject, the beggar. Highlighting of the sentence is achieved because more than one -ga occur together within the sentence.

(177) Shina ni-qui-ga   diablo-guna-ga mancha-ri-sha
      Thus say-ADVDS-TOP devil-PLUR-TOP fear-REFL-ADVSS
      linshu   ri-shca-∅-guna.
      completely go-PERF-3-3PL
      *When (the beggar) said that, the devils completely
      left, fearing.*

2.5.8 -la (PrE (none), UnQ (none)) 'SURprise'

The independent suffix -la has not been documented in other Quechua languages. It is used in animated speech when the speaker is excited, happy, or surprised.

(178) Some children were looking for something in someone
      else's house. When they found it, they said,

      Chi-la!
      That-SUR
      That's it!

(179) *The mean boss beat-LA the young men and said, 'Give
      me back my cattle! Now where did you get rid of
      all the cattle?!' (Text 1, sentence 5)*

(180) *The entire herd-LA of cattle was walking on the back
      of the mountain! (Text 1, sentence 31)*

(181) *'Wow!' they said (about) that-LA (that is, about the
      cattle being solid gold). (Text 1, sentence 52)*

2.5.9 -ma (PrE (none), UnQ (mari)) 'CERTain'

The independent suffix -ma as used in SQ indicates reaffirmation, as in other Quichua languages.

(182) Uchinlla billi-r-cuna-ma-sh   linshu, rucu
      small   calf-DEP-PLUR-CERT-TOO total   old
          turu tucu-shca-∅-lla   chuscu tuta-lla-bi.
          bull become-PERF-3-JUST four   night-JUST-LOC
      *Indeed, the small little calves had just matured
      into bulls in only four nights.*

In SQ -ma also acts as a conjunction, joining clauses or phrases together which are related in some way. For example, it may appear on the end of a verb which is repeating the idea of the previous verb.

(183) Ñuca-g huañu-g churi mas   reza-ba-ngui.
      I-POSS die-AG   son   more recite-POL-FUT2
          Ñuca-da reza-ba-ngui-ma.
          I-ACC   recite-POL-FUT2-CERT
      *Please recite another prayer for my dead son, and
      also recite a prayer for me.*

The suffix -ma may occur on the end of a dependent clause following one of the adverbial suffixes -sha or -qui.

(184) Tarbu-shca   ga-qui-ma,   p'utsu pamba
      Plant-PTCPL be-ADVDS-CERT thorn ground
          ga-qui-ma   na importa-n-∅.
          be-ADVDS-CERT not matter-PRES-3
      *If there are fields planted or even if there is
      thorny ground, it doesn't matter.*

(185) Ña chi-guna si yanu-n-∅   ña, puzun
      Now that-PLUR if cook-PRES-3 now intestines
          llugshi-sha-ma   puzun   mailla-sha-ma   ña.
          go.out-ADVSS-CERT intestines wash-ADVSS-CERT now
      *Now if they are cooking, they are taking out the
      intestines plus they are washing them.*

Most frequently the suffix -**ma** occurs on nominals, in which case it joins the nominals together. It often occurs when a list of things is being given.

(186) Uchu-n   moti-**ma**   rura-n-∅,   caldu-**ma**   yanu-n-∅.
      Ají-WITH mote-CERT make-PRES-3 soup-CERT cook-PRES-3
      They make ají plus mote, plus they cook broth.

(187) Culis-hua-na-**ma**   arroz-hua-na-**ma**,
      Cabbage-DIM-PLUR-CERT rice-DIM-PLUR-CERT
          papa-na-**ma**   llugshi-g yanu-n-∅   ña.
          potato-PLUR-CERT go.out-AG cook-PRES-3 now
      The ones-who-take-out now cook a bit of cabbage
      plus a bit of rice plus some potatoes.

2.5.10 -**bish**/-**sh** (PrE pis, pish, pas, pash, UnQ pash)
       'TOO'

The independent suffix -**bish** or -**sh** means 'X also' or 'X too'. It is another method in SQ of indicating an additional piece of information. The full form of -**bish** may appear on all nominals and pronouns. The shortened form of -**sh** appears only when the nominal or pronoun ends with a vowel, as in **ñucash, ñucuchish, paigunash, chish,** etc.

(188) Pi-**bish** na rijsi-n-i-chu?
      Who-TOO not know-PRES-1-NEG
      Who else do I not know?

(189) Cai   auto ucu-bi   ñuchi-**sh** tiya-rga-n-chi.
      This car room-LOC we-TOO   exist-PST-1-PLV
      We too were inside this car.

When the suffix -(bi)**sh** follows one of the adverbializing suffixes -**sha** or -**qui**, it invariably shortens to -**sh**.

(190) Chi-munda ri-qui-sh   tiya-qui-ga,
     That-ABL   go-ADVSS-TOO exist-ADVSS-TOP
       policia-guna-ma   libri ri-ga-∅-mi.
       police-PLUR-CERT total go-PST-3-AFFIR
     Then while we saw that and while we were there,
     the police completely left.

(191) Tauga-mi   tiya-n-∅;   riqu-i-lla   maijen-da
     Many-AFFIR exist-PRES-3 look-IMP-JUST which-ACC
     ni-sha-sh.
     say-ADVSS-TOO
     There are many; just look at whichever one you are
     wanting.

-(Bi)sh may be added to words which refer to time or

which are adverbials of another type.

(192) Ña-sh   ga-qui   alli-mi   ga-n-∅.
     Now-TOO be-ADVDS good-AFFIR be-PRES-3
     Considering that it is now, he is good.

(193) Chashna-sh causa-gu-sh   ga-n-∅-chi   cunun
     Thus-TOO   live-PROG-ADVSS be-PRES-1-PLV today
       ratu-gama.
       moment-TIL
     We are living thus as well until the present.

-Sh may be added to the negative **na** to mean 'not

even'.

(194) Pai ñuca-da jucha-chi-nga na-sh   apu-qui.
     3   I-ACC   sin-CAUS-FUT3 not-TOO take-ADVDS
     He will blame me in vain (lit. not even taking).

The suffix -(bi)sh is the final suffix on any word,

following the other independent suffixes.

(195) Ñuca-ga pichca-lla-mi-sh   cai yuyu-ga-ni.
     I-TOP   five-JUST-AFFIR-TOO here think-PST-1
     I thought (there were) also just five here.

(196) Illa-n-∅-mu-mi   ga-n-∅   ni   us.., ni
      Lack-PRES-3-CON-AFFIR be-PRES-3 not lice not
         piqui-ma-sh.
         flea-CERT-TOO
      There would not be either lice or fleas.

CHAPTER 3

DEVERBALIZING AFFIXES

This chapter describes the SQ deverbalizers: the suffixes which derive non-finite verb forms from finite verbs. The deverbalized forms are less verb-like as a result of the addition of the deverbalizing suffixes. These suffixes are positioned after the verbal stem formation suffixes and before the emphatic suffixes.

The SQ deverbalizing constructions are verb-like in that they can take arguments (i.e. subjects or objects), but they are nominal-like in that they are able to exhibit suffixes for plurality or case or both. These deverbalized verb forms are unlike verbs in simple clauses in that they do not show tense or agreement morphology.

The main body of this chapter is organized around the syntax of SQ nominalizations and subordinate clauses. This is because there is no simple one-to-one correspondence between any particular deverbalizer and the constructions in which it occurs. The agentive suffix -g, for example, forms nominals and relative clauses. Two other deverbalizers, -shca and -na also form nominals and relative clauses. By describing all three suffixes within the context of nominalizations, and later relative

clauses, it is possible to contrast the meaning of the three suffixes and better understand each one.

Following the descriptions of nominalizations, relative clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial clauses, a summary is given for each of the eight deverbalizing suffixes.

In SQ the eight deverbalizing suffixes are:

'nominalizing/relativizing' deverbalizers
-shca (PTCPL)
-g (AG)
-na (INF)
-i (NOM)

'adverbializing' deverbalizers
-sha (ADVSS)
-qui (ADVDS)
-ngabug (PURSS)
-chun (PURDS)

The first four deverbalizers are 'nominalizing/relativizing' suffixes: participial -shca, agentive -g, infinitival -na, and action nominalizer -i. The participial -shca creates a nominal from a verb or a relative clause from a sentence; in both cases the meaning is realis, something which has happened. The agentive -g creates a nominal meaning 'one which VERBS' from an action verb. The -na and -i create either concrete or abstract nominals from a verb, such as 'thought' from 'think' or 'game' from 'play'; they may also create subordinate clauses.

The other four deverbalizers are primarily 'adverbializing' suffixes and form the switch reference system: adverbial clauses of time and condition are formed with -sha (same subject) and -qui (different subject); purpose clauses are formed with -ngabug (same subject) and -chun (different subject).

3.1 Derived Nominal Forms

The four nominalizing affixes are used to derive some conventionalized nominals (with idiosyncratic semantics); these are described here. The syntactic uses of these affixes are described in 3.2.

3.1.1 -shca as Nominal

In SQ, -shca functions like an English or Spanish past participle; it represents a present state which resulted from a past action. In the case of certain participial constructions the usage has become fixed as a nominal: ahuashca 'a weaving' (lit 'weaved' from ahua 'weave'), yanushca 'soup' (lit. 'cooked' from yanu 'cook'), and yuriyashca 'dawn' (lit. 'dawned' from yuriya 'to dawn'):

(1) Chai-ga [yuri-ya-shca-bug-ca   ] asuhua-sh listu
    that-TOP [dawn-BEC-PTCPL-POSS-TOP] chicha-TOO ready
       tiya-shca   nin-ga ubiya-na-lla   ña.
       exist-PTCPL RPT-TOP imbibe-INF-JUST now
    *Then at dawn the chicha was, they say, now
    completely ready for drinking.*

3.1.2 -g as Nominal

The suffix -g is used to form agent nominalizations. It means 'the one who does VERB' or 'the VERB-er.' It is commonly used to describe one's profession or work. Several common occupations are formed by suffixing -g to the verb stem which signifies the activity performed in that line of work.

(2) yachachi 'teach'   yachachig 'teacher'
    michi   'put to pasture'   michig   'shepherd'
    c'atu   'sell'   c'atug   'seller'

Depending on the phase of the agricultural cycle, a farmer may be known as one of the following titles:

(3) tarbu   'sow'   tarbug   'sower'
    jallma 'dig'   jallmug '(potato) digger'
    yapu   'plow'   yapug   'one who plows'
    p'iti   'cut'   p'itig   'reaper'

(4) Pugllu-g-guna maqui luts-qui-nucu-sha
    Play-AG-PLUR hand slap-NOI-RCPR-ADVSS
        puglla-n-Ø-guna.
        play-PRES-3-3PL
    The players play slapping each other's hands.

3.1.3 -na and -i As Nominals

Certain words formed with -na and -i are nominals. They can take the nominal suffixes -guna 'PLUR', -bi 'LOC', or -da 'ACC'. -Na derived nominals differ in meaning from -i derived nominals in that -na gives the sense of a tangible item, whereas -i gives the sense of something abstract, especially an action, as in p'ichana 'broom' compared to p'ichi 'sweeping'.

(5) Chura-na-da tacsha-ba-i.
    Put-INF-ACC wash-POL-IMP
    Please wash the clothes (things-to-put-on)

(6) Tuqui laya pugll-i tiya-n-Ø-mi.
    All   kind play-NOM exist-PRES-3-AFFIR
    There are all kinds of games playing in general)

3.1.4 Comparison of -shca, -g, -na and -i

Three commonly used verbs ar given below to show the meanings which result fro the addition of the 'nominalizing' suffixes descri d previously. As described above, -shca indicates the result or product of the action, -g indicates the ne doing the action, -na indicates the item to whic or with which the action will be performed, and -i indic es the process of doing the action or the abstract en ity involved in that process.

(7) **ahua**   'weave'
      ahuashca   'woven product'
      ahuag   'weaver'
      ahuana   'product to weave'
      ahui   'design, weaving (abstract)''

    puglla   'play'
      pugllashca   'completed game'
      pugllag   'player'
      pugllana   'a toy to play with'
      puglli   'game, in general'

    micu   'eat'
      micushca   'one who has eaten'
      micug   'eater'
      micuna   'food to eat (present on table)''
      micui, miqui 'food, in general or abstract'

3.2 Subordinate Clauses

There are three main types of subordinate clauses in SQ: relative clauses (which are formed with -shca, -g, and -na), complement clauses (which are formed with -ngabug, -chun, -shca, -na, and -i), and adverbial clauses (which are formed with -sha, -qui, and -shca).

3.2.1 Relative Clauses

A relative clause is a subordinate clause which replaces an adjective. In SQ an adjective appears within a nominal phrase immediately preceding the head nominal (in almost all cases). Relative clauses, as adjective replacers, are found in the same position preceding the head nominal. In the examples, head nominals are underlined and clauses bracketed, as in (8) and (9).

(8) [Shita-shca] <u>molino-bi</u> limosnero-ga puñu-shca-∅.
    [throw-PTCPL] <u>mill-LOC</u> beggar-TOP   sleep-PERF-3
    The beggar slept in an abandoned mill.

(9) [C'atu-na] <u>tanda</u> jatun precio-da chari-n-∅.
    [sell-INF] <u>bread</u> great price-ACC have-PRES-3
    This bread which is to sell is expensive.

3.2.1.1 Comparison of -shca, -g and -na

-Shca 'PTCPL', -g 'AG' and -na 'INF' are commonly used to form relative clauses. All three may be used to form subject relativization, in which case there is no overt subject because of <u>equi-deletion</u>, i.e. the subject

of the relative clause is identical (<u>equi</u>valent) with the head nominal and is <u>deleted</u> under identity.

Which deverbalizer is chosen to form the relative clause depends on the tense to be expressed. As the following examples illustrate, -shca is used for something which happened in the past (compared to the time of the matrix clause), -g for something happening concurrently with the matrix clause, and -na for something happening in the future (compared to the time of the matrix clause).

(10) Tupa-n-∅-lla   nin-mi   [yurug caballu-bi
     find-PRES-3-JUST RPT-AFFIR [white horse-LOC
        sica-shca   ] yurug punchu <u>amu-rcu</u>.
        mount-PTCPL] white poncho <u>boss-DEP</u>
     *The old white-poncho'd boss who **was seated** on a
     white horse just meets (him), it is said.*

(11) [Achpa-bi   tiya-gu-g   ] <u>puñu-ga</u> ñuca
     [earth-LOC exist-PROG-AG] <u>bowl-TOP</u> my
        ñaña-bug-mi.
        sis-POSS-AFFIR
     *That container which **is sitting** on the ground is
     my sister's.*

(12) [Shamu-na] <u>runa-ga</u> Otavalo-bi   trabaja-n-∅.
     [Come-INF] <u>man-TOP</u> Otavalo-LOC work-PRES-3
     *The man who **will come** works in Otavalo.*

Object relativization is possible in relative clauses formed with -shca or -na but not in those formed with -g. The head nominal of a relative clause formed with the agentive suffix -g must always be co-referential with the subject of the relative clause, i.e. only subject relativizations are possible with -g.

(13) Tuqui [Dius cu-shca   ] <u>granu-da</u> tarbu-n-i.
     all   [God give-PTCPL] <u>grain-ACC</u> plant-PRES-1
     I plant all the grains which God has given.

(14) Chai [runa rura-na] <u>huasi-ga</u> jatun-mi   ga-nga.
     that [man make-INF] <u>house-TOP</u> great-AFFIR be-FUT3
     *That house which will be built by indigenous
        people 'runa' will be big.*

(15) *Chi   runa-mi   [Juana c'uya-g] <u>c'ari</u>.
     That man-AFFIR [Juana love-AG] male
     That indigenous man is the man whom Juana loves.

Since -g is not available for forming object
relativizations, either -shca 'PTCPL' or -na 'INF' must be
used to form object relativizations with a 'present'
meaning. This creates ambiguity in interpreting the time
of the relative clause.

(16) Chi   runa-mi   [Juana c'uya-shca] <u>c'ari</u>.
     That man-AFFIR [Juana love-PTCPL] male
     *That indigenous man is the man whom Juana
        loves/loved.*

(17) [Can rijsi-na] <u>huarmi-da</u> ayuda-ga-ni.
     [You know-INF] woman-ACC help-PST-1
     I helped the woman whom you know/will know.

The relative clause may contain an adverb of time   or
a locative:

(18) [Caina-dig   shiti-shca] <u>caspa-da-mi</u>   chai
     [yesterday-EXCL throw-PTCPL] <u>cob-ACC-AFFIR</u> that
        yacu pugyu-munda japi-shca-∅.
        water spring-ABL take-PERF-3
     *He took from the well the golden corn cob which
        was thrown away yesterday.*

(19) [Urcu-bi tarbu-g] <u>runa-ga</u> ñuca churi-mi.
     [Hill-LOC plant-AG] <u>man-TOP</u> my   son-AFFIR
     That man who sows on the hill is my son.

Direct objects in main clauses exhibit some flexibility in regard to where they are located within the sentence, but a direct object in a relative clause must occur immediately preceding the deverbalized word.

(20) [Uru-da   japi-g] ansiya-ri   <u>pai-ga</u>, ...
     [gold-ACC take-AG] lustful-EMPH <u>3-TOP</u>, ...
     The lustful one who takes the gold, ...

The **-da** (ACC) is normally omitted in this case; the meaning is understood from the context and the object is in the position one would expect, i.e. immediately followed by the nonfinite verb.

(21) Chi   [huahua   apa-ri-shca   ] <u>huarmi-ga</u>...
     that [child   take-REFL-PTCPL] <u>woman-TOP</u>
     That woman who carried a baby ...

(22) Chai [papa   c'atu-g] <u>huarmi</u> piña-ri-ga-Ø.
     that [potato sell-AG] <u>woman</u>   angry-REFL-PST-3
     That woman who sells potatoes got mad.

3.2.1.2 'Headless' Relative Clauses

The phrase 'headless relative clause' is used to refer to relative clauses for which the head noun is absent, that is, there is no noun which the relative clause modifies.

Because of the fact that in Quechua languages, adjectives are not distinguished morpho-syntactically from nouns (2.3), but rather all such words form a single class of nominals, it follows that nominals can be used either as heads of the noun phrase or modifiers of the head.

Relative clauses show almost the same distribution as nominals; they can be used either as modifier to a head or as the entire noun phrase. Thus, relative clauses and 'headless' relative clauses are essentially one and the same. This parallelism is illustrated below. Note that inflectional morphology that normally occurs on nominals is attached directly to the clause.

(23) Ishqui jatun huagra-da chari-n-i.
     Two   big   cow-ACC   have-PRES-1
     I have two big cows.

(24) Ishqui jatun-da chari-n-i.
     Two   big-ACC   have-PRES-1
     I have two big (ones).

(25) [Shita-shca] molino-bi limosnero-ga puñu-shca-$\emptyset$.
     [throw-PTCPL] mill-LOC   beggar-TOP   sleep-PERF-3
     The beggar slept in an abandoned mill.

(26) [Shita-shca]-bi limosnero-ga puñu-shca-$\emptyset$.
     [throw-PTCPL]-LOC beggar-TOP   sleep-PERF-3
     The beggar slept in an abandoned (place).

Several examples of 'headless' relative clauses are given below so that the reader may compare their use to the relative clauses of 3.2.1.1. 'Headless' relative clauses may appear as the subject of the sentence (27) and (28); as the direct o ject of the sentence (29) and (30); or as the predicate c' a copula (31) and (32).

(27) Chi-bi-ga   [libri cuirpu intiru-bi millma
     that-LOC-TOP [whole body   entire-LOC wool
      iña-shca]-guna-mi   llugshi-mu-shca-$\emptyset$ nin.
     grow-PTCPL]-PLUR-AFFIR leave-HERE-PERF-3 RPT
     *(The ones) having grown wool on their entire body
     left there, it is said.*

(28) [Jambato-mun shamu-g] chai-bi   randi-gu-n-Ø.
     [Ambato-DAT   come-AG] that-LOC buy-PROG-PRES-3
     (The one) who comes to Ambato is buying over there.

(29) [Churi trabaja-shca]-da   micu-shun.
     [son   work-PTCPL   ]-ACC eat-FUT1p
     Let's eat (that which) our son did.

(30) [Can-guna muna-shca]-da
     [you-PLUR want-PTCPL]-ACC
        chagra-m-i-chi-lla.
        harvest-HERE-IMP-PLV-JUST
     Just harvest (what) you-all wanted.

(31) Pai-ga [chi uru-ri,   rupa-ri   linshu
     3P-TOP [that gold-EMPH clothes-EMPH completely
        apa-ri-shca   ]-cu-dig-ca   cunun.
        take-REFL-PTCPL]-DM-EXCL-TOP now
     *Now he is (one who) completely carried the gold and
     the clothing.*

(32) [Achca-da muna-g] ga-n-i-mi.
     [much-ACC want-AG] be-PRES-1-AFFIR
     I am (one who) wants a lot, i.e. I am envious.

3.2.2 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a subordinate clause which replaces a nominal. In SQ most complement clauses occur as the direct object of the sentence; complement clauses are also possible as subjects or predicate complements.

3.2.2.1 Complement clauses with -shca, -na, and -i

The three SQ deverbalizers -shca 'PTCPL', -na 'INF', and -i 'NOM' may be used in the formation of direct object complement clauses. Complement clauses which serve as subjects are rare and are formed with either -na or -i.

Complement clauses formed with -shca appear as direct objects of verbs such as **yacha** 'know'. Just as the nominalizing -shca represents the result of a past action, so too a -shca complement clause represents the result of an action which took place prior to the action of the matrix clause.

(33) Diablo-guna-ga na   [limosnero jahua alto-bi
     devil-PLUR-TOP not [beggar   above high-LOC
        siri-shca-da   ] yacha-sha ...
        remain-PTCPL-ACC] know-ADVSS
     *The devils, not knowing that the beggar rested high
     above, ...*

(34) Yaya   mama-da rigsi-chi-ngaug   [churi mai-bi
     dad   mom-ACC acquaint-CAUS-PURSS [son   where-LOC
        tiya-shca-da   ] ...
        exist-PTCPL-ACC]
     *In order to indicate to the parents where the son
     was seated ...*

A clause formed with -na or -i may also occur as the direct object of the main clause. In contrast to **-shca** complement clauses, -na clauses indicate an action that will be performed and -i clauses indicate an ongoing state or a more abstract process. -Shca is used when the clause is already completed, i.e. past with respect to the main clause, or when a state or condition which resulted from a past action is being described, -na is used when the clause is not yet completed or when the clause represents something which will happen in the future with respect to the main clause, and -i is used when the clause represents

an ongoing state of being or activity which is happening
at the same time as the tense of the main clause.

-Na direct object complements may occur with any verb
that takes an -i direct object complement. The inventory
of verbs that take an -i complement are limited to: **pudi**
'be able', **ministi** 'need', **callari** 'begin', and **muna**
'want', although more often **muna** takes a -na direct object
complement, probably because of the strong suggestion of
future implied in the meaning of 'want'. The subject of
the main clause and the complement clause must be
identical for this set of four verbs.

(35) [Ahu-i-da   ] callari-n-∅-chi.
     [weave-NOM-ACC] begin-PRES-1-PLV
     We begin weaving.

(36) Pai-guna-ga [Pulucati-mun ri-na-da   ] muna-n-∅.
     3P-PLUR-TOP [Pulucate-DAT go-INF-ACC] want-PRES-3
     They want to go to Pulucate.

Other verbs may occur with -na complements, and
allow a different subject in the complement clause than is
in the main clause. These verbs include **yuya** 'think',
yacha 'know', and **cri** 'believe'. Notice the future sense
of the -na complement.

(37) [Juanchu shamu-na-da] yacha-n-i-mi.
     [John   come-INF-ACC] know-PRES-1-AFFIR
     I know that John will come.

When a -na clause occurs as a complement to a copula,
it takes on the meaning of obligation:

(38) [Micu-na-da   yanu--na] ga-n-gui.
     [Eat-INF-ACC cook-INF] be-PRES-2
     You have to cook food.

(39) Mara [huagra-da c'atu-na] ga-rga-∅.
     Child [cow-ACC   sell-INF] be-PST-3
     The child had to sell a cow.

Present (38) and past (39) obligation are formed by using either present or past tense copulas. Future (40) obligation is expressed using a present tense copula plus an adverb with future meaning.

(40) [Caya   trabaja-na] ga-n-i.
     [Tomorrow work-INF   ] be-PRES-1
     I have to work tomorrow.

Obligation constructions with the infinitive **rina** 'to go' are usually contracted by deleting the copula **-ga**:

(41) rina gani   > rinani   *I must go.*
     rina gangui > rinangui *You must go.*
     rina gagani > rinagani *I had to go.*

Rarely, clauses with -na or -i may occur as subject of the main clause:

(42) [Huasi-da   rura-na-ga] jinchi-mi ga-n-∅.
     [house-ACC make-INF-TOP] hard-AFFIR be-PRES-3
     To build a house is difficult.

(43) [Cai-bi   ga-i-ga   ] alli-mi   ga-n-∅.
     [this-LOC be-NOM-TOP] good-AFFIR be-PRES-3
     To be here is good.

3.2.2.2 Complement Clauses with -ngabug and -chun

Normally the suffixes -ngabug 'PURSS' and -chun 'PURDS' are used following a verb of motion to indicate the purpose or goal of the motion, as in the English sentence, 'I went to college *in order to study psychology.*' There are, in addition, two patterns of use in SQ in which -ngabug and -chun are used in complement clauses.

With certain verbs expressing volition, -chun is used if the subjects of the matrix and complement clause are different. The verbs of volition that this occurs with include: **muna** 'want', **cacha** 'send', **manda** 'order', and **ni** 'say'.

(44) Ñucuchi muna-n-Ø-chi   [cai libro vali-chun].
     we   want-PRES-1-PLV [this book value-PURDS]
     We want this book to have worth.

(45) Ima-munda [huasha-ladu-da   na   ricu-chun]
     What-ABL [behind-SIDE-ACC not look-PURDS]
        ni-n-Ø-shi.
        say-PRES-3-WON
     Why didn't he want me to look at his back side?

One verb, **callari** 'begin', may occur with a -ngabug complement clause:

(46) Pai-bug masha-ga   [chupa-n   rupa-chi-shca-da
     3P-POSS son.law-TOP [tail-WITH burn-CAUS-PTCPL-ACC
        p'ichi-ngabug] callari-shca-Ø.
        sweep-PURSS] begin-PERF-3
     *Her son-in-law began (in order) to sweep the ashes
     with his tail.*

3.2.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are formed with one of the four switch reference suffixes: -sha 'ADVerbial Same Subject', -qui 'ADVerbial Different Subject', -ngabug 'PURpose Same Subject', or -chun 'PURpose Different Subject'. In a few instances the participial suffix -shca may be used in the formation of adverbial clauses.

3.2.3.1 Comparison of -sha and -qui

-Sha and -qui are used to form adverbial clauses of time and condition. -Sha is used when the adverbial clause has the same subject as the next higher clause. -Qui is used to indicate that there is a different subject in the two clauses.

3.2.3.1.1 Time

Although the words containing -sha and -qui do not exhibit person agreement or tense, the time of the adverbial clause can be determined from the tense of the main verb. That is, the sense of the adverbial clause is future when the main verb is future, and likewise, for past tense, as the following examples indicate.

```
(47) [Taita    shamu-sha-ga   ] tanda-da-mi      churi-mun
     [father come-ADVSS-TOP] bread-ACC-AFFIR son-DAT
        apa-mu-nga.
        take-HERE-FUT3
     When/if the father comes, he will bring his son
        bread.
```

(48) [Ñuca chaya-qui-ga   ] pai ña   ri-shca ga-rga-Ø.
     [I   arrive-ADVDS-TOP] 3P   now go-PTCPL be-PST-3
     When I arrived, he had already gone.

This construction is one of the most commonly occuring constructions in spoken and written Quichua. Clauses with -sha or -qui appear in sentence-initial position to repeat what has already happened and provide continuity from one action to the next.

(49) One paragraph describes how the devils spent the
     night, and the next paragraph begins:

     [Tuqui tuta   paca-ri-gu-qui,   ] limosnero-ga
     [All   night pass-REFL-PROG-ADVDS] beggar-TOP
       ni-shca-Ø...
       say-PERF-3
     *While (the devils) were spending all night (that
     way), the beggar said ...*

(50) That paragraph finishes by telling what the beggar
     said, and the next paragraph begins:

     [Shina ni-qui-ga   ] diablo-guna-ga ri-shca-Ø-guna.
     [Thus say-ADVDS-TOP] devil-PLUR-TOP go-PERF-3-3PL
     Saying thus, the devils left.

3.4.3.1.2 Condition

-Sha and -qui, when found in a sentence in which the main verb is in future tense, are also used to form adverbial clauses of condition, such as are expressed in English with the word 'if'. These clauses may also be translated with the word 'when' and therefore may be interpretted as a time clause; if the main verb is in the past tense as in (48), the only interpretation is 'when'.

The switch reference system is the same as explained in 3.2.3.1.

(51) [Tamya-qui-ga] na chagra-mu ri-sha.
     [Rain-ADVDS-TOP] not field-DAT go-FUT1s
     If/when it rains, I will not go to the field.

(52) [Misi micu-sha-ga] na huañu-nga.
     [Cat eat-ADVSS-TOP] not die-FUT3
     If/when the cat eats, it will not die.

3.2.3.1.3 Manner

     -Sha may be used to express manner. The -sha clause is usually a single word; it occurs primarily with verbs of motion to indicate an action that takes place during the movement.

(53) [Jumbi-sha] chaya-rga-∅.
     [sweat-ADVSS] arrive-PST-3
     He/she arrived sweating.

(54) [Canta-sha] shamu-n-i.
     [sing-ADVSS] come-PRES-1
     I come singing.

(55) Tanda-da ruru-j-ga [llaqui-lla huaca-sha]
     bread-ACC make-AG-TOP [sad-JUST   cry-ADVSS]
        huasi-mun ri-ga-∅.
        house-DAT go-PST-3
     *The one who makes bread, crying sadly, went
        home.*

     Although polite requests are most often expressed with the addition of the suffix -ba 'POL' immediately preceding the imperative suffix -i on the verb, they may also be expressed using the -sha form of a verb followed by cuna 'to give' in either imperative or 2nd person future.

(56) [Apa-mu-sha   ] cu-i.
     [take-HERE-ADVSS] give-IMP
     Bringing give.
     Please bring it.

(57) [Cara-sha   ] cu-ngui.
     [feed-ADVSS] give-FUT2
     Feeding give.
     Please feed (me).

3.2.3.2 Comparison of -ngabug and -chun

The suffixes -ngabug and -chun form adverbial clauses of purpose. -Ngabug is used when the subjects of both the adverbial clause and the main clause are the same; -chun is used when they are different.

The next higher verb in a sentence which has a purpose clause is often a verb of motion: ri 'go', shamu 'come', huaigu 'enter', chaya 'arrive', etc.

(58) [Can-da   ricu-ngabug] shamu-rga-n-chij.
     [you-ACC look-PURSS] come-PST-1-PLV
     We came in order to see you.

(59) Jambato-mun ri-ga-ni [ñuca churi colegio-bi
     Ambato-DAT go-PST-1 [my   son   high.sch-LOC
       puri-chun].
       walk-PURDS]
     I went to Ambato in order for my son to attend high
     school.

(60) [Pai-bug singa utcu-bi   chupa-da sati-ngabug]
     [3P-POSS nose hole-LOC tail-ACC insert-PURSS]
       r-i.
       go-IMP
     Go in order to put (your) tail up his nose.

When used in a main verb, -chun signifies a 3rd person command (also called optative).

(61) [Dios bendicia-chun].
     [God bless-PURDS]
     May God bless (you).

3.2.3.3 Adverbial Clauses with -shca

The participial suffix -shca may also be used in
adverbial clauses. Depending on which case suffix follows
-shca, adverbial clauses of cause or time may be formed.

When combined with the ablative suffix **-munda**
(ABLative), the participial indicates 'from where' or
'because of':

(62) Jata-ri-sha-ga   cholo-da   cati-shca
     raise-REFL-ADVSS-TOP mestizo-ACC follow-PTCPL
       ri-n-∅   nin-ga [chura-chi-shca-munda] pacha.
       go-PRES-3 RPT-TOP [put-CAUS-PTCPL-ABL] world
     Standing up, the one who followed the mestizo goes,
     it is said, from the land where he put on (the
     rosary).

(63) [Quilla ga-shca-munda] shina huaicu lubu
     [lazy   be-PTCPL-ABL] thus gorge wolf
       tucu-shca-∅.
       become-PERF-3
     Because of having been lazy he became like the fox.

(64) Cunun-ga can [cai tuqui llaqui-nai-da
     now-TOP you [this all   sad-FEEL-ACC
       causa-shca-munda-ga] ...
       live-PTCPL-ABL-TOP]
     Now because of having lived with all this sadness,
     you ...

The participial clause may be an adverbial of time
when followed by the accusative suffix -da:

(65) Ña [punlla pamba tucu-shca-da   ]
     now [day   floor become-PTCPL-ACC]
       llujshi-mu-shca-∅.
       leave-HERE-PERF-3
     At daybreak he left (came out).

3.2.4 Clauses with -i plus tucu 'become'

A clause with -i, the action nominalizer, may occur with tucu 'become' as the main verb. This construction is seldom used, and there is much disagreement among speakers concerning whether forms are grammatical or not. (66) receives universal approval; it is an active sentence in normal SOV word order.

```
(66) Ñuca-ga jatun mara-da    ricu-n-i.
     I-TOP    great child-OBJ see-PRES-1
      S    ¦    O      ¦    V
     I see the youngster.
```

(67) is almost always considered grammatical, although some say it is not from SQ but another dialect. (67) might be used in a game of hide-and-seek by a younger child who has just discovered the hiding place of an older child. It would most likely be shortened to **Riqui tucun** ('He became for seeing', 'He is discovered', 'He let himself be found', 'He got found'.)

```
(67) ?Jatun mara-ga     [ñuca riqu-i  ] tucu-n-∅.
      great child-TOP [I     look-NOM] become-PRES-3
                      ¦ S      V    ¦
        S             ¦ Complement ¦   Copula
      The youngster becomes I-am-seeing-(him).
      The youngster becomes seen by me.
```

(68) is the least natural sounding of all and not universally accepted in Salasaca. Some speakers accept the accusative marker **-da** in place of the dative marker **-mun** so that it would read as in (69). Others do not like

the riqui tucuni construction in (68) or (69) but change
it to ricuni as in (66) above.

(68) ??Ñuca-ga [jatun mara-**mun** riqu-i] tucu-n-i.
      I-TOP   [gre.t child-DAT look-ɈOM] become-PRES-1
                         O   V
         S   Complement   Copula
I become seeing-the-youngster.
I am able to see the youngster (and I wasn't
able to previously).

(69) ??Ñuca-ga [jatun mara-**da** riqu-i] tucu-n-i.
      I-TOP   [great child-ACC look-NOM] become-PRES-1
                         O   V
         S   Complement   Copula
I become seeing-the-youngster.
I am able to see the youngster (and I wasn't
able to previously).

Cole's observation about Imbabura Quichua that the
subject of sentences like (67) must be animate normally
holds true in Salasaca also. (70) is never accepted. (One
SQ speaker explained that the corn doesn't have
understanding like humans so it could not ALLOW itself to
become seen, unless this sentence were from a make-believe
folktale where the house, animals and trees had human-like
characteristics.)

(70) *Sara-ga [huarmi riqu-i] tucu-n-∅.
      corn-TOP [woman look-NOM] become-PRES-3
                  S   V
         S   Complement   Copula
The corn becomes (allows) woman-seeing-it.

One SQ speaker said (71) would be the correct way to
express that a child had accidentally eaten poison which
had been placed out to kill a mouse. I have no

explanation for why an inanimate subject would be permitted in this situation.

(71) Veneno-ga miqu-i tucu-shca-∅.
poison-TOP eat-NOM become-PERF-3
The poison became for eating.

3.3 Summary by Suffix

What follows is a summary of what has been described in this chapter. The four 'nominalizing/relativizing' suffixes will be summarized first, followed by the four 'adverbializing' suffixes. A few miscellaneous facts, not presented earlier, are also included here.

3.3.1 -shca 'ParTiCiPLe'

-Shca is the most widely used of the deverbalizers. It represents a state or product of an action. Certain words with -shca have become fixed in usage, such as yanushca 'cooked' (3.1.1). -Shca occurs in relative clauses (3.2.1.1). In relative clauses -shca is used for something which happened prior to the event of the main clause. A -shca clause may occur as a direct object complement following the verb yacha 'know'. (3.2.2.1). When -shca is followed by -munda or -da, the clause takes on an adverbial meaning. (3.2.3.3).

3.3.2 -g 'AGentive'

-G is used to form derived nominals which mean 'one who does', as in yachachig 'one who teaches, teacher'. (3.1.2 and 3.1.4.) -G also forms relative clauses (3.2.1.1). -G is used when the time frame of the relative clause is the same as that of the main clause and when the head nominal is co-referential with the subject of the relative clause.

When -g is preceded by the progressive suffix -gu, i' means that the activity is taking place at the time of the action of the main verb.

(72) Yacha-gu-g   mara-guna puglla-n-∅.
     know-PROG-AG child-PLUR play-PRES-3
     The students (lit. who-are-learning children) play.

-G is commonly used in combination with the copula ga 'be'. In this case the meaning is not simply 'one who does' but 'one who habitually does'. This construction is used frequently in texts which describe what someone was like in the past.

(73) Huagra michi-g ga-ga-ni.
     Cattle herd-AG be-PST-1
     I used to herd cattle.

The 3rd person singular past tense form of the verb 'to be' may be omitted in this construction.

(74) Mañu   yacha-chi-g   ga-ga-mi.
     Manuel learn-CAUS-AG be-PST-AFFIR
     Manuel used to be a teacher.

```
(75) Mañu    yacha-chi-g-Ø-mi.
     Manuel  learn-CAUS-AG-(be)-AFFIR
     Manuel used to be a teacher.
```

3.3.3 -na 'NOMinalizer'

-Na may derive concrete nominals (3.1.3 and 3.1.4). -Na is also used in the formation of relative clauses (3.2.1.1). -Na indicates that the situation described in the relative clause will hold after the time of the main verb. -Na complement clauses (3.2.2.1) may appear as direct objects. Sometimes a -na complement clause is the subject of the sentence.

3.3.4 -i 'INFinitive'

-I is used to form nominals which are abstract in nature (3.1.3 and 3.1.4). -I complement clauses may be the subject of a sentence. -I is also used in forming direct object complement clauses following a few verbs such as pudi 'be able' and ministi 'need' (3.2.2.1). -I is used in a special construction with tucu 'become' (3.2.4).

3.3.5 -sha 'ADVerbializer Same Subject'

-Sha is used in the formation of time (3.2.3.1.1), condition (3.2.3.1.2), and manner (3.2.3.1.3) adverbials. -Sha may occur only when the subject of the subordinate clause is identical with the subject of the main clause.

3.3.6 -qui 'ADVerbializer Different Subject'

-Qui is used in forming adverbial clauses of time (3.2.3.1.1) and condition (3.2.3.1.2). -Qui indicates that the subject of the subordinate clause is different than the subject of the main clause.

3.3.7 -ngabug 'PURpose Same Subject'

The most common usage of -ngabug is in the formation of purpose clauses following verbs of motion; the subject of the purpose clause must be identical with the subject of the main clause (3.2.3.2). Preceding the verb **callari** 'begin', a -ngabug direct object complement clause may occur (3.2.2.2).

3.3.8 -chun 'PURpose Different Subject'

-Chun is used in the formation of purpose clauses when the subject of the purpose clause is different than the subject of the main clause (3.2.3.2). Preceding verbs of volition, a -chun direct object complement clause may occur (3.2.2.2).

CHAPTER 4

SQ INTERLINEAR GLOSSED TEXTS

This chapter contains nine SQ texts from a variety of genre. Each text is presented in interlinear format. The texts included in this chapter are:

1. The Lost Cattle   folklore
2. The Bear Who Killed the Husband   folklore
3. The Gray (Intestine) Rock   folklore
4. They Went to Our House   personal account
5. The Thieves   personal account
6. The Sevilla Bead Necklace   descriptive
7. Games at a Wake   customs
8. About Finados   procedural
9. I Greet You All   hortatory

These texts were recorded on audio tape, transcribed and checked with the narrator. Eight texts were my transcription, but one text, The Lost Cattle, was transcribed by Hugh Dufner. Hugh's text is valuable because it has three instances of the rare suffix -la.

The computer aided in producing the interlinear glossed texts. First, AMPLE (Weber, Black and McConnel 1988) was used to morphologically parse each text. Next, INTERGEN (Black and Chase 1987) was used to insert the line with morpheme-by-morpheme English glosses beneath the corresponding line of parsed SQ text. Finally, PTPC in combination with the INTER.PTP program (Zook 1983) was

used to align the hyphenated SQ words with their glosses and to insert the free translation. Several minor editing steps were also part of the procedure.

There is footnoted material for each of the texts found at the end of this chapter; these notes contain information about the narrator, the situation in which the text was recorded, cultural or background material which is helpful in understanding the text, and a brief resumé of the content of the text. In Appendix C there is an index of the suffixes found in these texts; the index is useful for locating in which sentences each suffix is found.

CHINGA-CHI-SHCA HUAGRA-MUNDA
lost-CAUS-PTCPL cow-ABL

THE LOST
CATTLE[1]

1. Ñauba timpu-ga cai Chimburasu pamba-ri-ga
olden time-TOP this Chimborazo floor-LOC-TOP

shuj huasi-cama-guna-ga huaca-sha puri-g
one house-GUARD-PLUR-TOP cry-ADVSS walk-AG

ni-g-mi-ca-n-Ø,[2] jazinda huagra-da
say-AG-AFFIR-be-PRES-3 ranch cow-ACC

chinga-chi-sha. 2. Linshu, jazinda huagra intiru-da
lost-CAUS-ADVSS total ranch cow entire-ACC

chinga-chi-shca-Ø ni-g-ca-n-Ø-ga. 3. Chi-ga
lost-CAUS-PERF-3 say-AG-be-PRES-3-TOP that-TOP

huaca-sha puri-g-hua-na nin-mi mashca-sha.
cry-ADVSS walk-AG-DIM-PLUR RPT-AFFIR look.for-ADVSS

4. Nima, ña chuscu p'unlla na japi-n-Ø-chu nin.
none now four day not take-PRES-3-NEG RPT

1. In the olden days here near the foot of Mt. Chimborazo, some hired hands walked around crying, because of having lost the hacienda's cattle. 2. They completely lost the entire herd of cattle from the hacienda. 3. Those poor herders walked around crying as they searched (for the cattle). 4. They found nothing in four days (of searching).

5. Chi-ga mashca-sha puri-qui-ga
that-TOP look.for-ADVSS walk-ADVDS-TOP

amu-rcu-ga taqu-i-ga-la nin-ga muchachu-guna-da
boss-DEP-TOP fight-NOM-TOP-SUR RPT-TOP boy-PLUR-ACC

'¡Huagra-da cu-ngui-chi!' ni-sha. 6. '¿Cunun
cow-ACC give-FUT2-PLV say-ADVSS now

mai-bi shita-ga-ngui-chi chi tuqui huagra-da-ga?'
where-LOC throw-PST-2-PLV that all cow-ACC-TOP

5. As the herders were walking and searching, the mean boss beat the young men and said, 'Give me back my cattle! 6. Now, where did you get rid of all the cattle?'

7. Chimburasu chaqui, chaqui, chaqui huaca-sha
Chimborazo foot foot foot cry-ADVSS

7. The herders were walking around

ri-gu-g-lla-bi-dig.   8. Ishqui chula,   gringa
go-PROG-AG-JUST-LOC-EXCL   two   mestizo woman

shina-lla-r-cuna-ga,   arma-shca-∅ nin-ga;
make.it.so-JUST-DEP-PLUR--TOP bathe-PERF-3 RPT-TOP

puca-dig juaccha-r-cuna-ga.
red-EXCL hair-DEP-PLUR-TOP

crying at the
foot of Mt.
Chimborazo.
8. There, two
mestizo women,
who were just
like
white-skinned,
red-headed
(blond)
foreigners,
were bathing.

9. '¿Ima-sha huaca-sha puri-n-gui-chi?' nin
   what-SIM cry-ADVSS walk-PRES-2-PLV   RPT

nin-ga.
RPT-TOP

9. 'Why are
you walking
around crying?'
they said.

10. '¡Pur Dius, Siñura! 11. ¿Na-chu cai-bi   shug
    for God   ma'am   not-NEG this-LOC one

huagra-guna-da ricu-n-gui-chi? 12. Ñucuchi huagra-da
cow-PLUR-ACC   look-PRES-2-PLV   we   cow-ACC

chinga-chi-sha-mi   puri-gu-n-∅-chi.'
lost-CAUS-ADVSS-AFFIR walk-PROG-PRES-1-PLV

ni-n-∅   nin-ga. 13. Ishqui siñura-da-ga tapu-n-∅
say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP   two   ma'am-ACC-TOP ask-PRES-3

nin-ga huagra-da chinga-chi-sha puri-g-cuna.
RPT-TOP cow-ACC   lost-CAUS-ADVSS walk-AG-PLUR

14. Chi-ga   '¿Na-chu ricu-ba-n-gui?' ni-sha
    that-TOP   not-NEG look-POL-PRES-2 say-ADVSS

tapu-n-∅   nin-ga chi ishqui runa-lla-dig.
ask-PRES-3 RPT-TOP that two   man-JUST-EXCL

10. 'Please,
oh, please,
ladies!
11. Haven't you
seen some
cattle around
here? 12. We
caused the
cattle to get
lost, so we are
walking
around,' they
said. 13. The
herders, who
were walking
around having
lost t' cattle
asked the two
ladies,
14. 'Haven't
you please seen
them?', those
two indigenous
men asked.

15. Tapu-qui-ga   nin nin-ga 'Buinu, ñucuchi-da
    ask-ADVDS-TOP RPT RPT-TOP well   we-ACC

yum-i-chi   huagra-guna-da
have.sex-IMP-PLV cow-PLUR-ACC

ricu-chi-shun-lla-mi.'   ni-n-∅   nin-ga.
look-CAUS-FUT1p-JUST-AFFIR say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP

15. After they asked, (the women) responded, 'Well, make love to us and we will show you the cattle,' they said.

16. 'Yuma-n-∅-chi'   ni-n-∅   nin-ga
    have.sex-PRES-1-PLV say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP

'huagra-da ricu-chi-chun' ni-sha-ga
 cow-ACC   look-CAUS-PURDS say-ADVSS-TOP

ishqui-ndi-hua-i-dig,   ishqui siñura-cu-da-ga.
two-JOIN-DIM--FEEL-EXCL two   ma'am-DM-ACC-TOP

16. 'We will make love to you so that you show us the cattle,' the two of them said to the two women.
17. After making love, the women thanked (the men).

17. Yuma-qui-ga   ashtan   agradisi-n-∅-cuna, nin
    have.sex-ADVDS-TOP moreover thank-PRES-3-3PL   RPT

nin-ga, huarmi, chi siñura-r-cuna.
RPT-TOP wife   that ma'am-DEP-PLUR

18. 'Buinu, cunun-ga ña huagra-da-ga
    well   now-TOP now cow-ACC-TOP

ricu-chi-shun-mi'   ni-n-∅   nin-ga.
look-CAUS-FUT1p-AFFIR say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP

yuma-sha   tucu-chi-shca   q'uipa. 19. 'Caya
have.sex-ADVSS become-CAUS-PTCPL after   tomorrow

a_las_cuatru quinri-da jahua Chuqui p'ugyu luma
at_4.oċlock about-ACC above Spear spring back

urcu-munda-ga   tuca-ngui-chi' ni-n-∅   nin-ga
mountain-ABL-TOP play-FUT2-PLV say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP

18. 'Okay, now we will show you the cattle,' they said, after having finished making love.
19. 'Tomorrow at about four o'clock, blow on the bugle above Spear-spring from the back of the mountain,' they said. 20. Blow on the bugle,' they said.
21. 'But I (we)

'buzina-bi. 20. Buzina-un-ga   buzinau-ngui-chi'
trumpet-LOC   trumpet-WITH-TOP trumpet-FUT2-PLV

ni-n-∅   nin-ga 21. 'Piru chi jicundu
say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP   but that huicundu.plant

apa-ri-shca   cachu-da-ga can-guna-mu-mi
take-REFL-PTCPL horn-ACC-TOP you-PLUR-DAT-AFFIR

cu-n-i'   ni-n-∅   'ishqui-ndig-mu; cada_unu
give-PRES-1 say-PRES-3   two-JOIN-DAT   each.one

shug, shug. 22. Patrun-bish mana mitsa-nga-chu'
one   one   boss-TOO   not scrimp-FUT3-NEG

ni-n-∅   nin-mi. 23. 'Chi jicundu
say-PRES-3 RPT-AFFIR   that huicundo.plant

apa-ri-shca-da-ga   can-guna-mu butu-sha
take-REFL-PTCPL-ACC-TOP you-PLUR-DAT signal-ADVSS

cacha-sha' ni-n-∅   nin-ga chi siñura-r-cuna-ga.
send-FUT1s say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP that ma'am-DEP-PLUR-TOP

will give you the cattle with horns bearing huicundo plants,' she (they) said, 'to the two of you, one for each of you. 22. Even the master will not withhold (two animals from you),' they said. 23. 'I (we) will send you the animals bearing huicundo plants, as a gift given in your name to you,' those women said.

24. Chi-ga,   huagra-da butu-sha   cacha-shca-ga,
    that-TOP cow-ACC   bequeath-ADVSS send-PTCPL-TOP

ña siñala-shca-∅ nin-ga pai-guna apa-na.
now signal-PERF-3 RPT-TOP 3P-PLUR take-INF

25. Chi-da-ga   ni-n-∅   ña 'Patrun-da
    that-ACC-TOP say-PRES-3 now boss-ACC

"cu-i"   ni-ngui-chi-lla-dig   "chai huagra
give-IMP say-FUT2-PLV-JUST-EXCL that cow

turu-da; chi jicundu   apa-ri-shca-da
bull-ACC that huicundo.plant take-REFL-PTCPL-ACC

24. Those women, having sent (cattle) giving them for the men, now signalled which ones the men were to take. 25. Now the women told them, 'You just tell the boss, "Give us those bulls, the ones bearing the huicundo plants." 26. Now with a sign, with the huicundo plant,

piru." 26. Ña siñal-un ri-nga' nin-ga   the cattle
but   now sign-WITH go-FUT3 RPT-TOP   will go.'

'Jicundu-n.'
huicundo.plant-WITH

     27. ¡Cachu-guna-bi jicundu iña-shca-∅ chuscu   27. The
         horn-PLUR-LOC plant grow-PERF-3 four   huicundo plant
     grew out of the
     horns in just
tuta-lla-bi-dig!   28. ¡Ima-laya timpu-shi ca-rga-∅!   four nights!
night-JUST-LOC-EXCL   what-LIKE time-WON be-PST-3   28. What
     strange times
     those were!

     29. Chi-munda-ga 'Ni-shca uras tuca-n-∅-chi'   29. Then the
         that-ABL-TOP say-PTCPL time play-PRES-1-PLV   men said, 'We
     will blow at
     the said time.'
ni-n-∅   nin-ga. 30. Chuqui p'ugyu urcu   30. They blew
say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP   Spear spring mountain   the bugle from
     the back of the
     mountain at
luma-munda buzinau-n-∅.   31. Huagra canlla-ga-la   Spear-spring.
back-ABL trumpet-PRES-3   cow herd-TOP-SUR   31. The entire
     herd of cattle
     was walking on
intiru urcu   luma-da puri-shca-∅, nin nin-ga.   the back of the
entire mountain hill-ACC walk-PERF-3 RPT RPT-TOP   mountain!

     32. Chi-ga, cuntintu-lla-dig nin, 'Huagra-da-ga   32. Being
         that-TOP happy-JUST-EXCL RPT   cow-ACC-TOP   happy through
     and through,
     they said 'Now
ña cacha-ri-shca-∅' ni-sha.   33. Al=cabu, ishqui   the women sent
now send-REFL-PERF-3 say-ADVSS   finally two   us the cattle.'
     33. Finally
     the two animals
jicundu apa-ri-shca-r-cuna   shamu-shca-∅ nin-ga.   bearing
plant take-REFL-PTCPL-DEP-PLUR come-PERF-3 RPT-TOP   huicundo plants
     came. 34. The
     small little
34. Uchinlla billi-r-cuna-ma-sh   linshu, rucu turu   calves had
     small calf-DEP-PLUR-CERT-TOO total old bull   simply matured
     completely into
     bulls in only

tucu-shca-Ø-lla   nin-ga chuscu tuta-lla-bi.   four nights!
become-PERF-3-JUST RPT-TOP four   night-JUST-LOC   35. That's
                                                            really
                                                            something!

35. ¡Chi-dig-ca!
    that-EXCL-TOP

36. 'Chaya-n-Ø-chi'   ni-n-Ø   nin-ga   36. 'We have
    arrive-PRES-1-PLV say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP   come,' they
                                                            said, 'to show
                                                            our master all
'patrun-mun-ga ricu-chi-ngug   huagra-guna-da-ga,   the cattle, the
 boss-DAT-TOP look-CAUS-PURSS cow-PLUR-ACC-TOP   whole herd.
                                                            37. The boss
                                                            also is happy,'
tuqui, linshu. 37. Patrun-cu-sh cuntintu' ni-n-Ø   they said.
all   total   boss-DM-TOO happy   say-PRES-3

nin-mi.
RPT-AFFIR

38. '¡Carajo!' ni-n-Ø   nin-ga   '¿Donde   38. 'My
    My.gosh! say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP   where   gosh!' he (the
                                                            boss) said.
                                                            'From where did
traiste?   39. ¡Simijanti huagra-da   you bring them?
you.brought   excessive cow-ACC   39. You've made
                                                            these into
                                                            magnificent
rura-mu-shca-n-gui-chi!' ni-n-Ø-shi.   cattle,' he
make-HERE-PERF-PRES-2-PLV say-PRES-3-WON   said with awe.
                                                            40. The happy
                                                            boss took the
40. Cuntintu japi-n-Ø   huagra-da amu-rcu-ga.   cattle.
    happy   take-PRES-3 cow-ACC   boss-DEP-TOP

41. Chi-ga   'Jahua urcu-bi-mi   41. The men,
    that-TOP above mountain-LOC-AFFIR   still
                                                            awestruck, said
                                                            to the owner,
puri-shca-Ø, Patrun' ni-sha-shi   nin pai-guna-ga   'They were
walk-PERF-3 boss   say-ADVSS-WON RPT 3P-PLUR-TOP   wandering above
                                                            on the
                                                            mountain,
duiñu-cu-mu.   Master.'
owner-DM-DAT

42. 'Ujala;   antis   na   chinga-chi-shca-
    I.hope before not   lost-CAUS-PERF-

n-gui-chi-chu; japi-mu-shca-n-gui-chi-mi'
PRES-2-PLV-NEG take-HERE-PERF-PRES-2-PLV-AFFIR

ni-sha-ga   cuntintu-shi.
say-ADVSS-TOP happy-WON

42. 'I'm just glad that you didn't cause them to be lost (like they were before); you brought them here instead,' said the happy, amazed (boss).

43. Rucu patrun-cu-da-ga ni-n-∅   '¡Piru,
    old   boss-DM-ACC-TOP say-PRES-3   but

Patrun-situ! 44. Cai   jicundu apa-ri-shca-
boss-SDM   this plant   take-REFL-PTCPL-

guna-da-ga   ñucuchi-mu cu-i'   ni-n-∅
PLUR-ACC-TOP we-DAT   give-IMP say-PRES-3

nin-ga 'ishqui-ndig-lla-mun-dig, shug, shug-hua.'
RPT-TOP two-JOIN-JUST-DAT-EXCL   one   one-DIM

43. They said to the old boss, 'But master!
44. Give us these (animals) bearing the huicundo plants, just one to each of us,' they said.

45. 'Buinu' ni-n-∅   pai-ga. 46. 'Apa-ngui-chi
    well   say-PRES-3 3P-TOP   take-FUT2-PLV

chi jicundu apa-ri-shca-guna-da-ga   shina-ga.
that plant   take-REFL-PTCPL-PLUR-ACC-TOP thus-TOP

47. Na chinga-chi-shca-∅' ni-sha-shi   cuntintu
    not lost-CAUS-PERF-3   say-ADVSS-WON happy

pai-ga. 48. Chi uchilla-r-cuna-sh manchanai-dig-cuna
3P-TOP   that small-DEP-PLUR-TOO many-EXCL-PLUR

tucu-mu-shca   ña, cuntintu cu-n-∅   nin-ga chi
become-HERE-PTCPL now happy   give-PRES-3 RPT-TOP that

jicundu apa-ri-shca-guna-da.
plant   take-REFL-PTCPL-PLUR-ACC

45. 'Okay,' he said.
46. 'Take those huicundo bearing ones, like you asked.
47. They didn't lose them,' he pondered; he was happy.
48. Because those small little animals became so big, he was happy and therefore gave them the ones bearing the huicundo plants.

49. Chi jicundu apa-ri-shca-guna-da
    that plant take-REFL-PTCPL-PLUR-ACC

49. After the boss gave them the huicundo bearing animals, the men left their boss's house.

cu-qui-ga   llugshi-n-∅-guna nin pai-guna-bug
give-ADVDS-TOP leave-PRES-3-3PL RPT 3P-PLUR-POSS

patrun-bug huasi-munda. 50. Chi-ga   huañu-chi-sha
boss-POSS house-ABL   that-TOP die-CAUS-ADVSS

50. Those two killed their animals and discovered: Those cattle were solid gold as far as the tips of their hooves.

ricu-qui-ga,   ¡ashtaqui sillu punta-gama uru sulu
look-ADVDS-TOP until   nail point-TIL gold one

ga-shca-∅ chi huagra-ga! 51. ¡Jatun, linshu ashtaqui
be-PERF-3 that cow-TOP   great total until

51. They were completely gold to the end of the horn.

puntu di cachu uru sulu-rcu! 52. '¡Uchica!' nin-ga
point of horn gold one-DEP   wow!   RPT-TOP

52. 'Wow!', they said with tremendous excitement.

chai-ga-la. 53. Chi-ga   ricu tucu-n-∅   nin-ga.
that-TOP-SUR   that-TOP rich become-PRES-3 RPT-TOP

53. So they became rich.

54. Ricu-qui-mi   patrun-ga atraza-ri-n-∅
    rich-ADVDS-AFFIR boss-TOP behind-REFL-PRES-3

54. While they got rich, the boss got poorer.

nin ashtaun. 55. 'Sham-i-chi' ni-n-∅   nin
RPT moreover   come-IMP-PLV say-PRES-3 RPT

55. 'Come, (to herd),' he said to them, to his first hired hands that herded the cattle.

pai-guna-da, chi pimiru muchachu huagra-cama
3P-PLUR-ACC that first boy   cow-GUARD

puri-g-hua-na-da   56. 'Sham-i-chi-lla-dij. Huagra
walk-AG-DIM-PLUR-ACC   come-IMP-PLV-JUST-EXCL cow

56. 'Just come (and help). The cattle do not want to grow,' he said.

na iña-sha   ni-n-∅-chu'   ni-n-∅   nin-ga.
not grow-ADVSS want-PRES-3-NEG say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP

57. Chi-ga   'Na' ni-n-∅-shi   nin 'cunun-ga
    that-TOP not say-PRES-3-WON RPT now-TOP

57. They said, 'No, we won't go (work for you) any

na ri-shun-chu. 58. Taca-g-lla   can-gu-i-ga'
not go-FUT1p-NEG   fight-AG-JUST you-DM-FEEL-TOP

more.
58. You're just
a fighter,'
they said.

ni-n-∅-shi.   59. P'iña-rcu-chari-gari chi rucu
say-PRES-3-WON   angry-DEP-DUB-EMPH   that old

59. That old
boss really got
angry.
60. 'You're
just a
fighter,' they
said, 'No.'

patrun-cu-ga. 60. 'Taca-g-lla   can-gu-i-ga'
boss-DM-TOP   fight-AG-JUST you-DM-FEEL-TOP

ni-sha   'na' ni-n-∅.
say-ADVSS not say-PRES-3

61. Huagra-guna-ga linshu huañu-sha
    cow-PLUR-TOP   total die-ADVSS

61. Then it
happened that
all the cattle
died. 62. He
(the boss) was
really set
back, complete-
ly set back.
63. He sold his
land to just
those (herders)
alone. 64. They
bought (took)
the land with
the money and
gold from when
they skinned
those cattle
which were sent
from
Chimborazo.
65. The men
became very
rich. 66. They
became even
richer than
their master.
67. The one,
who previously
would walk
around beating
them, was now
poor.

tucu-ri-gu-n-∅   nin. 62. Bin atrazu
become-RFFL-PROG-PRES-3 RPT   well setback

tucu-n-∅;   linshu atrazu. 63. Chi-ga   ashpa-da-sh
become-PRES-3 total setback   that-TOP   earth-ACC-TOO

ña c'atu-n-∅ nin-mi   ashtan
now sell-PRES-3 RPT-AFFIR moreover

chi-guna-lla-mun-dig.   64. Ashpa-da-sh   apa-n-∅
that-PLUR-JUST-DAT-EXCL   earth-ACC-TOO take-PRES-3

nin-mi   chi Chimburasu-munda cacha-shca, chi
RPT-AFFIR that Chimborazo-ABL   send-PTCPL that

huagra-da lluchu-shca uru cuchqui-lla-un. 65. Ricu
cow-ACC   skin-PTCPL gold money-JUST-WITH   rich

sulu tucu-n-∅   nin-ga. 66. Linshu ashtan
only become-PRES-3 RPT-TOP   total moreover

patrun-da yalli ricu tucu-ga-∅-ri.   67. Pai-ga
boss-ACC more rich become-PST-3-EMPH   3P-TOP

pubri, ñauba   taca-sha   puri-g-ca.
poor   formerly fight-ADVSS walk-AG-TOP

68. Chashna-mi   ni-g-ta   uya-g   ca-n-i,
    so.thus-AFFIR say-AG-ACC   hear-AG   be-PRES-1

68. I am used to hearing stories like that from the olden days.

ñauba timpu cuintu-guna-da. 69. Ñucuchi-g yaya-bug
olden time story-PLUR-ACC   we-POSS   daddy-POSS

69. Our father's stories are like that.

cuintu-mi   shina ga-n-Ø.   70. Mashna-diqu-ish-mi
story-AFFIR thus be-PRES-3   how.many-EXCL-TOO-AFFIR

70. How many stories are being lost?

pirdi-ri-shca   cumu chinga-shca cuinta
loose-REFL-PTCPL   how lost-PTCPL account

71. They say that many are.
72. Now as it becomes even longer away from (the olden days) the stories are becoming forgotten even more.

tiya-gu-n-Ø.   71. Jatun ima-da-mi
exist-PROG-PRES-3   great what-ACC-AFFIR

ni-g-ca-n-Ø.   72. Ña uni-ya-sha-ga
say-AG-be-PRES-3   now long.ago-BEC-ADVSS-TOP

cunga-ri-mu-n-Ø   chi-guna-da   cutin.
forget-REFL-HERE-PRES-3 that-PLUR-ACC again

OSO CUSA-DA   HUAÑU-CHI-SHCA-MUNDA
bear husband-ACC   die-CAUS-PTCPL-ABL

ABOUT THE BEAR WHO KILLED THE HUSBAND[3]

1. Callari-sha ñuca ñauba tunu-guna-da   ahuila
   begin-FUT1s I   olden song-PLUR-ACC grandma

1. I will start this old tale from what my grandmother told. 2. I know only a little. 3. My grandmother

parla-shca-munda. 2. Ñuca p'iti-hua-da   yacha-n-i.
talk-PTCPL-ABL   I   piece-DIM-ACC know-PRES-1

3. Ñuca ahuila ñauba parla-ga-∅ shuj cuento-da. 4. Na
   my grandma olden talk-PST-3 one story-ACC   not

yacha-n-i ima shuti.
know-PRES-1 what name

told this story long ago. 4. I don't know the name.

5. Shuj cusa   trabajo-mun ri-sha   puri-g
   one husband work-DAT   go-ADVSS walk-AG

c'ari-da parla-sha. 6. Chi cusa   trabajo-mu
man-ACC talk-ADVSS   that husband work-DAT

ri-shca-∅ ni-ga-∅. 7. Huarmi huasi-bi
go-PERF-3 say-PST-3   wife   house-LOC

saqui-ri-shca-∅   quinsa quilla yalli-da, chi huarmi.
leave-REFL-PERF-3 three month more-ACC that wife

5. A husband went to work out of town speaking to (& influenced by) a man who was walking (that is, running out on his wife). 6. That husband went to work, it's said. 7. The wife stayed at home more than 3 months.

8. Shina shamu-sha   cusa   puri-sha   ga-shca-∅.
   thus come-ADVSS husband walk-ADVSS be-PERF-3

9. Chi huarmi chapa-shca-∅ cusa-da.   10. Chi-munda
   that wife   guard-PERF-3 husband-ACC   that-ABL

cusa-da   shuj animal ni-shca   micu-shca-∅ ni-ga-∅.
husband-ACC one animal say-PTCPL eat-PERF-3 say-PST-3

11. Chi pai-buj cara, chi aicha cara-da   lluchu-sha
    that 3P-POSS skin that meat skin-ACC skin-ADVSS

chi oso-mi   ima-sh   animal micu-shca-∅. 12. Shina
that bear-AFFIR what-TOO animal eat-PERF-3   thus

chura-shca-∅ ni-ga-∅, pai-buj cusa-j   cara-da
put-PERF-3   say-PST-3 3P-POSS husband-POSS skin-ACC

8. Coming like that, the husband lived walking around (cheating on his wife). 9. The wife checked on her husband. 10. Then (something) known as an animal ate the husband. 11. Skinning his (the man's) skin, his very flesh, the bear, or whatever kind of animal it was, ate him. 12. Thus (the bear) dressed;

chura-shca-Ø.
put-PERF-3

he put on her
husband's skin.

13. Chi shini-sha cusa-da
    that make.it.so-ADVSS husband-ACC

13. The bear, when he had eaten the husband like that, after her (new) husband (the bear) had come he said to that one's wife, 'Pick off my lice.'

micu-shca-munda shuj pai-buj cusa shamu-shca q'uipa
eat-PTCPL-ABL new 3P-POSS husband come-PTCPL after

shina-j huarmi-da ni-shca-Ø ni-ga-Ø 'Usa-da
thus-POSS wife-ACC say-PERF-3 say-PST-3 louse-ACC

jap-i.' ni-sha. 14. Chi pai-buj animal-buj ñahui
take-IMP say-ADVSS   that 3P-POSS animal-POSS face

14. He wore his animal's face toward the back, toward the back side, grandmother said. 15. That fellow, the 'husband' came approaching the woman.

cai huasha-mu tiya-shca-Ø ni-ga-Ø, huasha-ladu-mu.
this behind-DAT exist-PERF-3 say-PST-3 behind-SIDE-DAT

15. Cusa tal shamu-shca-Ø ni-ga-Ø shina huarmi
    husband such come-PERF-3 say-PST-3 thus wife

cuchu-mu.
near-DAT

16. Chi huarmi-ga cusa-da japi-shca-Ø.
    that wife-TOP husband-ACC take-PERF-3

16. The wife took (had sex with) her 'husband'. 17. They showed only their front sides, saying, 'Let's take each other face to face.' 18. The bear said, 'But please don't look here. 19. Here I have pain from having been hit,' he said.

17. Ñaubuj-guna solo-da shina 'Ñaubuj-cuna-n-da
    front-PLUR only-ACC thus front-PLUR-WITH-ACC

japi-shun' ni-sha ricu-chi-shca-Ø. 18. 'Pero
take-FUT1p say-ADVSS look-CAUS-PERF-3   but

cai-da-ga mana ricu-ba-ngui-chu. 19. Cai-bi-ga
this-ACC-TOP not look-POL-FUT2-NEG   this-LOC-TOP

taca-ri-shca nan-i-yuj ca-n-i' ni-sha nin pai.
fight-REFL-PL hurt-NOM-HAS be-PRES-1 say-ADVSS RPT 3P

20. Chi-munda huarmi ña   pai shina cusa
    that-ABL wife   now 3P thus husband

changa-bi puñu-qui   ricu-n-∅   nin usa-guna-da
thigh-LOC sleep-ADVDS look-PRES-3 RPT louse-PLUR-ACC

shina ñaubuj-cuna. 21. 'Ima-munda huasha-ladu-da na
thus front-PLUR   what-ABL   behind-SIDE-ACC not

ricu-chun   ni-n-∅-shi'   ni-sha   ricu-shca-∅ nin
look-PURDS say-PRES-3-WON   say-ADVSS look-PERF-3 RPT

huarmi. 22. 'Chi huasha-ladu-mu-sh   ñahui puñu-shca-∅'
wife   that behind-SIDE-DAT-TOO face sleep-PERF-3

ni-n-∅.   23. 'Ñaubuj-mi   ñahui puñu-shca-∅'
say-PRES-3   front-AFFIR   face sleep-PERF-3

ni-n-∅.   24. 'Chi na ñuca cusa   ga-shca-∅.
say-PRES-3   that not my   husband be-PERF-3

25. Shuj animal-ma   ima-cu-cha   chari-shca-n-i'
    one animal-CERT   what-DM-DUB   have-PERF-PRES-1

ni-sha   huarmi. 26. Alli-lla   shuj jatun p'undu
say-ADVSS wife   good-JUST   one great water.jug

lungu-da   cusa   cuchu-bi quimi-chi-sha
bumpkin-ACC husband near-LOC move.up-CAUS-ADVSS

shita-j   ri-shca-∅ nin huarmi.
throw-AG go-PERF-3 RPT wife

27. Chi-munda shuj turi   huasi-chi-gu-shca-∅
    that-ABL one brother house-CAU-PROG-PERF-3

20. Next the wife, while the 'husband' slept at her thigh, saw lice on his front. 21. 'Why did he not want me to look at his back side?' she said as she looked.
22. 'That face on the back side fell asleep' she said. 23. 'The front face fell asleep' she said.
24. 'That is not my husband. 25. I have had (relations with) who-knows-what-kind-of an animal,' said the wife.
26. Carefully coming up near the 'husband', the woman threw him into a big pot and left.

27. Now one of her brothers was building a house very far

nin mas shina caru-bi. 28. Chi parlu-ngu ri-shca-∅
RPT more thus far-LOC   that talk-PURSS go-PERF-3

away. 28. The woman went there in order to tell him.

nin chi huarmi-ga. 29. 'Na ñuca cusa ga-shca-∅.
RPT that wife-TOP   not my   husband be-PERF-3

29. 'It was not my husband. 30. It was scary; it had two faces.

30. Manchanai-di, ishqui ñahui-yuj. 31. Huasha-ladu-mu
    many-EXCL   two   face-HAS   behind-SIDE-DAT

31. It had a face on the back side and on the front side,' she said.

ñauba-ladu-mu ñahui chari-shca-∅' ni-sha,
front-SIDE-DAT face have-PERF-3   say-ADVSS

parla-shca-∅ nin.
talk-PERF-3 RPT

32. Chi-munda chi turi-ga   ni-shca-∅ nin,
    that-ABL   that brother-TOP say-PERF-3 RPT

32. Then the brother said, 'Take these. 33. Put on these pants and this poncho; put on this old hat. 34. Climb up to the roof' he said 'while that crumb (the bear) sleeps.'

'C'aiga. 33. Calzon punchu-da chur-i; paya sumiru-da
take!   pants poncho-ACC put-IMP lover hat-ACC

chur-i. 34. Jahua cumba-mu siqui' ni-shca-∅ nin
put-IMP   above roof-DAT bottom say-PERF-3 RPT

'chi-cu puñu-qui-ga.'   35. Huarmi-ga jahua-mu
that-DM sleep-ADVDS-TOP   wife-TOP above-DAT

35. The woman climbed above to the roof. 36. Putting on pants, putting on a poncho she climbed up.

sica-shca-∅   nin. 36. Cumba-mu calzon chura-shpa
climb.up-PERF-3 RPT   roof-DAT pants put-ADVSS

punchu churu-sha sica-shca-∅   nin.
poncho put-ADVSS climb.up-PERF-3 RPT

37. Chi-munda chi animal-ma   ima-cu-shi
    that-ABL   that animal-CERT what-DM-WON

37. Then that animal, whatever creepy animal it was, came at that moment in order to ask

shamu-shca-∅ nin ratu-hua-bi   ña tapu-ngu.
come-PERF-3 RPT moment-DIM-LOC now ask-PURSS

questions.

38. Tapu-ngu   shamu-sha-ga,   'Na-chu ñuca huarmi
    ask-PURSS   come-ADVSS-TOP   not-NEG my   wife

    ricu-ba-n-gui'   ni-n-∅   turi-da   tapu-n-∅   nin.
    look-POL-PRES-2   say-PRES-3   brother-ACC ask-PRES-3 RPT

38. Coming to ask, he said, 'Please, haven't you seen my wife?' he asked the brother.

39. Chi-munda-ga 'Na' ni-sha   parla-shca-∅ turi.
    that-ABL-TOP not say-ADVSS   talk-PERF-3 brother

39. So the brother answered, 'No.'

40. Chi-munda shina parlu-shca q'uipa-ga ni-shca-∅
    that-ABL thus talk-PTCPL after-TOP say-PERF-3

    chi cusa-laya-cu-ga   'Mana huarmi, ñuca huarmi-ga.
    that husband-LIKE-DM-TOP   not   wife   my   wife-TOP

40. Then after having said thus, that so-called 'husband' said, 'Is that woman not my wife?

41. Chi-gari jahua-bi   shaya-shca' ni-n-∅
    that-WH above-LOC stand-PTCPL say-PRES-3

    pai-lla-dij. 42. Ricu-shca-∅ nin.
    3P-JUST-EXCL   look-PERF-3 RPT

41. Surely that's her seated there up above,' he said to himself.
42. He looked.

43. Chi-munda-ga huarmi-ga ni-shca-∅ nin 'Na ñuca
    that-ABL-TOP wife-TOP say-PERF-3 RPT not my

    cusa-chu   0-shca-∅. 44. Huañu-chi-shun-lla'
    husband-NEG   be-PERF-3   die-CAUS-FUT1p-JUST

    ni-shca-∅ nin, chi minga-j   ginti-guna-da,
    say-PERF-3 RPT that work.group-POSS   people-PLUR-ACC

    minga-j   shaya-j   ginti-guna, chi tuqui-da.
    work.group-POSS   stand-AG people-PLUR that all-ACC

43. So the woman said, 'He was not my husband.
44. Let's just kill him,' she said to the people working, to the people standing around working, to all of them.

45. Chi-da,   chi-munda-ga, mashti-shca-mu
    that-ACC   that-ABL-TOP   UHMM-PTCPL-DAT

45. Then, because (she said that), the kind crew boss

cepi-sha   amu-hua 'Ima-laya-ti   huañu-chi-shca-∅'   said, as he was
brush-ADVSS boss-DIM what-LIKE-EXCL die-CAUS-PERF-3   sweeping, 'How
                                                                 do you want him
                                                                 killed?'
ni-n-∅.   46. Huañu-chi-qui-ga, nina-n   46. Killing
say-PRES-3   die-CAUS-ADVDS-TOP fire-WITH   him, they
                                                                 burned (him &)
                                                                 the entire new
rupa-chi-shca-∅   nin shina mushuj huasi tuqui.   house with
get.burned-CAUS-PERF-3 RPT thus new   house all   fire. 47. When
                                                                 they burned the
                                                                 new house, they
47. Chi   mushuj huasi-bi-ga   rupa-chi-sha-ga   filled all the
    that new   house-LOC-TOP get.burned-CAUS-ADVSS-TOP   ashes into
                                                                 large bags,
                                                                 three or four
sacu-bi cushtal cushtal nin chi-bi   aciniza-ma   sacks.
sack-LOC bag   bag   RPT that-LOC ash-CERT   48. Filling
                                                                 them, she
                                                                 said, 'Go and
ushpa-guna-da junda-chi-shca-∅ nin quinsa o   chuscu   throw this
ashes-PLUR-ACC fill-CAUS-PERF-3 RPT three or four   behind into the
                                                                 Patate River.'

saco-bi. 48. Chi   junda-chi-sha-ga,   'Huasha Patati
sack-LOC   that fill-CAUS-ADVSS-TOP behind Patate

yacu-bi   shita-mu-gr-i'   ni-shca-∅ nin.
water-LOC throw-NEAR-INC-IMP say-PERF-3 RPT

    49. Chi-munda-ga ri-shca-∅ nin pai-guna Patati   49. So they
        that-ABL-TOP go-PERF-3 RPT 3P-PLUR Patate   went to throw
                                                                the ashes in
                                                                the Patate
yacu-bi   shitu-ngu   ushpa-da. 50. Chi-munda-ga   River. 50.
water-LOC throw-PURSS ashes-ACC   that-ABL-TOP   'Careful, if
                                                                you go opening,
                                                                don't open
'P'ajta pasca(-sha)[5] ri-cu-ngui-chi-mu   cai-da-ga   (the sacks),'
careful open(-ADVSS) go-PROG-FUT2-PLV-CON this-ACC-TOP   she said.
                                                                51. The people,
                                                                not listening
ama   pasca(-sha) ri-cu-ngui-chi-chu' ni-n-∅.   to that,
don't open(-ADVSS) go-PROG-FUT2-PLV-NEG say-PRES-3   passing by the
                                                                ashes, they
                                                                opened up the
51. Chi-ga   na uyi-sha,   pai-guna ushpa-da   sacks.
    that-TOP not hear-ADVSS 3P-PLUR ashes-ACC   52. After they
                                                                opened the

pasi-sha   pasca(-sha)   ri-cu-shca-∅   nin chi
pass-ADVSS   open(-ADVSS) go-PROG-PERF-3   RPT that

saco-da. 52. Sacu-da pascu-shca q'uipa pai-guna-ga
bag-ACC   bag-ACC open-PTCPL after   3P-PLUR-TOP

chi   ushpa-bi   ushpa tucu-shca-∅   nin, piqui, iñu,
that ashes-LOC   ashes become-PERF-3 RPT   flea   worm

usa   tucu-shca-∅   nin. 53. Chi-ga   libri paya
louse become-PERF-3 RPT   that-TOP   total old

ginti-guna-da   micu-shca-∅ nin.
people-PLUR-ACC   eat-PERF-3 RPT

54. Chi-munda piqui, usa,   libri micu-sha
     that-ABL flea   louse   total eat-ADVSS

tullu-gu-nai-da   chura-sha shita-shca-∅ nin chi
bone-DM-FEEL-ACC   put-ADVSS throw-PERF-3 RPT that

ginti-guna-da.   55. Shinu-sha   cai-bi   usa,
people-PLUR-ACC   make.it.so-ADVSS this-LOC louse

piqui, iñu tiya-n-∅   nin cai-bi.   56. Sino
flea   worm exist-PRES-3   RPT this-LOC   if.not

chi-guna   na   cushtul-da pashca(-sha) ri-cu-shca-
that-PLUR   not sack-ACC   open(-ADVSS) go-PROG-PERF-

qui-ga,   illa-n-∅-mu-mi   ga-j nin usa,   ni
ADVDS-TOP   lack-PRES-3-CON-AFFIR   be-AG RPT louse not

piqui-ma-sh.   57. Chi-lla.
flea-CERT-TOO   that-JUST

sacks, the
things in the
ashes, the
ashes, became
fleas, worms
and lice.
53. These
creatures
completely ate
the people (our
ancestors).

54. Then the
fleas and lice
completely ate
the people up,
throwing away
only the bones.
55. Everything
being like
that, we have
lice, fleas,
and worms here.
56. If they had
not been
opening the
bags, there
would not be
lice nor fleas
either.
57. Just that.

PUZUN[6]   RUMI
intestines rock

1. Chi puzu rumi-da parla-sha.
   that gray rock-ACC talk-FUT1s

   1. I will
tell about the
gray rock.

2. Chi puzu rumi-ga shuj huarmi ni-shca
   that gray rock-TOP one woman say-PTCPL

   2. That gray
rock was a
so-called
woman. 3. It's
said that that
woman cared for
the children of
the women who[8]
went to work.
4. That woman
who worked by
caring for
children) used
to walk around.
5a. From the
women who had
children, she
used to beg for
those women's
children,
5b. saying, 'I
will have it.
Loan me the
child.' 6. That
woman was a
child-eating
woman. 7. As
she carried the
children, that
woman used to
just walk.
8. That one
used to walk
carrying just
the head; she
was a
child-eating
woman.

-mi-∅-shca-ga-∅.   3. Chi huarmi-ga shina
-AFFIR-be-PERF-PST-3   that woman-TOP thus

huarmi-guna-da trabaja-ngu ri-c-ta   chapa-n-∅   nin.
woman-PLUR-ACC work-PURSS go-AG-ACC guard-PRES-3 RPT

4. Chi trabaja-sha huarmi puri-j-∅-shca-∅.
   that work-ADVSS woman walk-AG-be-PERF-3

5a. Mara-i-yuj   huarmi, chi huarmi-guna mara-da
    child-FEEL-HAS woman   that woman-PLUR child-ACC

maña-j ca-shca-∅. 5b. 'Ñuca chari-sha. Mara-da
beg-AG be-PERF-3   I   have-FUT1s child-ACC

maña-ch-i'   ni-sha. 6. Chi mara-da   chi huarmi
beg-CAUS-IMP say-ADVSS   that child-ACC that woman

micu-g huarmi ga-shca-∅. 7. Chi-ga   mara-da
eat-AG woman be-PERF-3   that-TOP child-ACC

apa-ri-sha,   puri-g-lla   pai ga-shca-∅. 8. Chi
take-REFL-ADVSS walk-AG-JUST 3P be-PERF-3   that

apa-ri-sha,   mundungu solo-da apa-ri-sha,
take-REFL-ADVSS head   only-ACC take-REFL-ADVSS

puri-g ca-shca-Ø; micu-g huarmi ··mi-Ø-shca-Ø.
walk-AG be-PERF-3 eat-AG woman -AFFIR-be-PERF-3

9. Chi-ga   ña   tuqui-g huarmi-guna-da mañu-g
   that-TOP now all-POSS woman-PLUR-ACC beg-AG

9. Now that woman used to beg from all the women.

ca-shca-Ø; 10a. 'Maña-ch-i' ni-sha   'Mara-da ñuca
be-PERF-3   beg-CAUS-IMP say-ADVSS child-ACC I

10a. 'Loan me,' she said, (thinking) 'I will trick the child,' 'Just loan me,' she said.

ingaña-sha, maña-ch-i-lla'   ni-sha;   10b. 'Can-ga
cheat-FUT1s beg-CAUS-IMP-JUST say-ADVSS   you-TOP

10b. 'Go to work just you (without taking your children), she said.

shina-lla-hua puri-g shina-lla-hua trabaja-ngu r-i.'
thus-JUST-DIM walk-AG thus-JUST-DIM work-PURSS go-IMP

11. Then all the women who previously had not given to the woman said, 'Here, take it!'

ni-sha.   11. Chi-ga   huarmi-guna-g   cu-gu-j
say-ADVSS   that-TOP woman-PLUR-POSS give-PROG-AG

illa-shca-Ø, tuqui huarmi-guna 'C'aiga' ni-sha.
lack-PERF-3 all   woman-PLUR   take!   say-ADVSS

12. That woman carried (the children), saying absolutely nothing.

12. Chi-ga   apa-ri-shca-Ø   tullu ni-gu-g-lla
    that-TOP take-REFL-PERF-3 quiet say-PROG-AG-JUST

nin. 13a. Chi-munda ratu-bi   ña huarmi mama-ga
RPT   that-ABL moment-LOC now woman mom-TOP

13a. Then at that moment one mother said, 'Loan me my child.'

'Maña-ch-i   ñuca mara-da' ni-qui-ga;   13b. 'Mana
beg-CAUS-IMP my   child-ACC say-ADVDS-TOP   not

13b. The woman responded, 'No, the child is a little sleepy. Just let it be.

mara-ga   puñun-hua-mi.   Saqu-i-lla'   ni-sha;
child-TOP sleepy-DIM-AFFIR leave-IMP-JUST say-ADVSS

13c. I will just keep it,' she said.

13c. 'Ñuca chari-sha-lla-mi'   ni-n-Ø-mi.
     I   have-FUT1s-JUST-AFFIR say-PRES-3-AFFIR

14a. Then she said, 'I will not give it';

14a. Chi-munda-ga 'Na cu-sha'   ni-sha;
     that-ABL-TOP not give-FUT1s say-ADVSS

14b. ni-gu-qui-lla   'Uy-i,   tinu illa-j.
     say-PROG-ADVDS-JUST hear-IMP tact lack-AG

Qui-chun'   ni-n-∅   apa-ri-shca-∅.
remove-PURDS say-PRES-3 take-REFL-PERF-3

15. Ricu-qui-ga,   mundungu-hua-lla-da apa-ri-shca
    look-ADVDS-TOP head-DIM-JUST-ACC   take-REFL-PTCPL

ga-shca-∅ nin. 16. ña shina-i-dij   cuti shuj shuj
be-PERF-3 RPT   now thus-FEEL-EXCL again one one

huarmi-da maña-g-lla nin. 17. Chai huarmi-ga shina
woman-ACC beg-AG-JUST RPT   that woman-TOP thus

micu-sha   micu-sha   puri-g-lla   nin.
eat-ADVSS eat-ADVSS walk-AG-JUST RPT

18a. Chi-ga   shina tanto   mara-guna-da
     that-TOP thus so.much child-PLUR-ACC

micu-shca-munda, chi huarmi-da-ga shuj rucu   nin;
eat-PTCPL-ABL   that woman-ACC-TOP one old.man RPT

18b. ñauba rucu   ashtan   ñauba-di   rucu
     olden old.man moreover olden-EXCL old.man

ni-shca-∅ nin; 18c. 'Cai-bi   piqui tiya-n-∅.
say-PERF-3 RPT   here-LOC flea live-PRES-3

Surcu-ba-i'   ni-sha.   19. 'Siqui-cu-bi-di-mi
remove-POL-IMP say-ADVSS   base-DM-LOC-EXCL-AFFIR

piqui tiya-gu-n-∅-mi,   pero ucu-mun-di'
flea live-PROG-PRES-3-AFFIR but inside-DAT-EXCL

14b. The mother just said, 'Listen to me, you who is without tact. Let (my baby) go.' The mother carried (the baby's head) away. 15. Then she saw that the woman was one who carried only the little heads. 16. Now in the same way one mother after another begged the woman (to let their children go.) 17. That woman just kept walking like that, eating, eating.

18a. Then, after having eaten so many children, they say that an old man spoke to that woman. 18b. That old man, that very very old man said, 18c. 'There are fleas here. Please take them out,' he said. 19. 'Inside your little bottom some fleas are living, but toward the inside,' he

ni-shca-Ø-mi.   20. Chi-munda supi-shca-Ø nin
say-PERF-3-AFFIR   that-ABL   fart-PERF-3 RPT

asha-i-da.   21. Chi-munda-ga mancha-ri-shca-Ø nin chi
bit-FEEL-ACC   that-ABL-TOP fear-REFL-PERF-3 RPT that

huarmi-ga. 22. Chi-munda-ga 'Mana ucu-bi-dij-mi
woman-TOP   that-ABL-TOP not   inside-LOC-EXCL-AFFIR

tiya-n-Ø'   ni-sha;   23. 'Ashtan   piqui-da shina
live-PRES-3 say-ADVSS   moreover flea-ACC thus

parti-lla ricu-chi-shca-Ø, ucu-mun-dij-mi
part-JUST look-CAUS-PERF-3 inside-DAT-EXCL-AFFIR

tiya-n-Ø   piqui' ni-sha.   24. Chi-munda-ga pai
live-PRES-3 flea   say-ADVSS   that-ABL-TOP 3P

huarmi-ga ricu-shca-Ø nin siqui-da shina parti-lla
woman-TOP look-PERF-3 RPT base-ACC thus   part-JUST

ucu-mun-di.   25. Chi-munda-ga chi   ñauba rucu-ga
inside-DAT-EXCL   that-ABL-TOP that olden old.man-TOP

manchanai-dij surpi-shca-Ø nin-mi. 26. Rucu-da
many-EXCL   fart-PERF-3 RPT   old.man-ACC

surpi-shca-Ø nin. 27. Chi-munda-ga tugyi-shca-Ø nin;
fart-PERF-3 RPT   that-ABL-TOP burst-PERF-3 RPT

chi huarmi-cu libri tsirapa ri-shca-Ø, huarmi.
that woman-DM total mist   go-PERF-3 woman

28. Chi-munda-ga shina uri-guna-da   yacu-mu
    that-ABL-TOP thus   under-PLUR-ACC water-DAT

said. 20. Then he farted a little bit.
21. Then the woman got scared.
22. Then she said 'There are not any inside.' 23. So he showed her the fleas, just a part, saying, 'There are fleas toward the inside.'
24. Then the woman looked at her bottom, at the part toward the inside.
25. Then that old, old man farted a whole bunch, it is said. 26. She farted at the old man, it is said.
27. Therefore she burst, it is said; that woman went away completely dispersed.
28. Then, like that, she hurried to the water, to underneath the water. 29. The woman became a rock, an old gray rock; she became a great big rock, it is said.

vula-shca-∅ nin-mi. 29. Pai huarmi rumi tucu-sha,
run-PERF-3 RPT   3P woman rock become-ADVSS

rucu   puzu rumi, jatun rumi tucu-shca-∅ nin.
old.man gray rock great rock become-PERF-3 RPT

30. Shina-da ñuca uya-rga-ni; chi-lla-mi.   30. That's
    thus-ACC I   hear-PST-1 that-JUST-AFFIR   how I heard it;
                                    just like that.

HUASI-MUN RI-SHCA-MUNDA
house-DAT go-PTCPL-ABL

THEY WENT[9] TO
OUR HOUSE

1. Miguelito Anita ñucuchi-g huasi-mun ri-ga-∅.   1. Michael
   Mike   Anne we-POSS   house-DAT go-PST-3 and Anne went
                                      to our house.
                                      2. Both Peter

2. Pedro-bish Cristina-bish cachi-ga-∅-lla-mi.   and Kris just
   Peter-TOO Kris-TOO   send-PST-3-JUST-AFFIR   sent them.

3. Chi-munda-ga huasi-mun chaya-sha-ga   3. Then when
   that-ABL-TOP house-DAT arrive-ADVSS-TOP   they got to the
                                      house, they
                                      wanted to ride

caballo-bi sicu-ngu   muna-ga-∅ burro-bi. a horse and a
horse-LOC climb.up-PURSS want-PST-3 donkey-LOC donkey: 4. Anne
                                        on the donkey
                                        and Michael on

4. Anita-ga burro-bi; Miguelito caballo-bi ñuca-g the horse with
   Anne-TOP donkey-LOC Mike   horse-LOC I-POSS   my brother.

turi-n-mi.
brother-WITH-AFFIR

5. Chi-munda tuta-ya-qui   ahuila-g   huasi-mun 5. When it
   that-ABL   night-BEC-ADVDS grandma-POSS house-DAT became night,
                                        we went to my
                                        Grandmother's

ri-ga-n-chig. 6. Chi-munda-ga chugllu-da cusa-sha
go-PST-1-PLV   that-ABL-TOP corn-ACC   roast-ADVSS

ahuila   caru-ga-Ø Anita-mun.
grandma feed-PST-3 Anne-DAT

house. 6. Then roasting the corn, Grandma offered it to Anne.

7. Chi-munda Miguelito-da Rogelio apa-shca
   that-ABL Mike-ACC   Roger   take-PTCPL

pudi-ga-Ø,   ñuca-g turi.   8. Chi-munda huasi-mun
be.able-PST-3 I-POSS brother   that-ABL house-DAT

tuta-yi-g-da   ri-ga-n-chig. 9. Chi-munda-ga
night-BEC-AG-ACC go-PST-1-PLV   that-ABL-TOP

huasi-bi   micu-sha puñu-ga-n-chig, yanu-shca arroz.
house-LOC eat-ADVSS sleep-PST-1-PLV cook-PTCPL rice

7. Then my brother Rogelio was able to take Michael (on the horse). 8. Then we went home when it had become night. 9. Then eating cooked rice at home, we slept. 10. Then they slept.

10. Chi-munda-ga puñu-ga-Ø-cuna.
    that-ABL-TOP sleep-PST-3-3PL

11. Chi-munda tuqui jatari-ga-Ø-guna Miguelito-n
    that-ABL   all   get.up-PST-3-3PL Mike-WITH

Anita-sh. 12. Chi-munda-ga cultu-mun   apura ri-ngu
Anne-TOO   that-ABL-TOP worship-DAT fast go-PURSS

jatari-ga-n-chig. 13. Chi-munda cutin shamu-ga-n-chig.
get.up-PST-1-PLV   that-ABL again come-PST-1-PLV

11. Then everybody got up, Michael with Anne too. 12. Then we got up to hurry to church. 13. Then we came home again.

14. Runa-da ruru-shca-Ø Anita-da. 15. Chi-munda-ga
    man-ACC make-PERF-3 Anne-ACC   that-ABL-TOP

'runa tucu-sh   shamu-sh' ni-ga-Ø   Anita.
man   become-ADVSS come-FUT1s say-PST-3 Anne

16. Chi-munda runa tucu-sha   cuill shamu-ga-n-chij.
    that-ABL man become-ADVSS lovely come-PST-1-PLV

14. They made Anne into a 'runa', (i.e. dressed up like a Salasacan). 15. Anne said, 'I will come, changing into a runa.' 16. Becoming like a runa, we came.

17. Chi-munda-ga cultu-mun   ri-ga-n-chig.
    that-ABL-TOP worship-DAT go-PST-1-PLV

18. Chi-munda-ga mamu-n   yayi-n   japi-ngu
    that-ABL-TOP mom-WITH daddy-WITH take-PURSS

shamu-shca-∅ Domingo las_dies-da.   19. Chi-munda-ga
come-PERF-3 Sunday 10.o'clock-ACC   that-ABL-TOP

pues shamu-ga-∅ huasi-mun. 20. Chi-lla.
well come-PST-3 house-DAT   that-JUST

17. Then we went back to the church service. 18. Their mother and father came at 10:00 on Sunday to take them (Michael & Anne). 19. Then well, they came to their house. 20. That's all.

SHUHUA-GUNA-MUNDA
thief-PLUR-ABL

THE THIEVES[10]

1. Primero cai, ñuca uya-rga-ni cai
   first   this I   hear-PST-1 this

parlanti-bi   capari-c-ta. 2. 'Cai shuhua-guna
loudspeaker-LOC yell-AG-ACC   this thief-PLUR

Quero jahua-bi tiya-n-∅'   ni-sha   'shuj
Quero above-LOC exist-PRES-3 say-ADVSS one

carcel-bi.' 3. Chi parlanti-bi   capari-g cashna
prison-LOC   that loudspeaker-LOC yell-AG thus

ni-ga-∅. 4. 'Jacu-chi' ni-sha   'ricsi-ngu
say-PST-3   C'mon-PLV say-ADVSS meet-PURSS

ima-laya -∅-shca-da. 5. Cai-bi   puri-qui
what-LIKE be-PTCPL-ACC   this-LOC walk-ADVDS

1. First I heard someone shouting on the loudspeaker 2. saying, 'There are thieves above Quero, others at the prison.' 3. He kept shouting over the loudspeaker like that. 4. 'Let's go get acquainted with what it's been like' he said. 5. 'They (the thieves) were walking around here in order to take whatever there was' he said.

japi-ngu'   ni-sha   'ima-laya, ima-laya ga-shca.'
take-PURSS say-ADVSS   what-LIKE what-LIKE be-PTCPL

6. 'Cai Salasaca-munda-bish shuhua-ga-n-chi
   this Salasaca-ABL-TOO   steal-PST-1-PLV

huagra-da.' 7. Chai-bi   shina ni-sha
cow-ACC   that-LOC thus say-ADVSS

declara-gu-n-Ø-guna-mi   ni-ga-Ø   chai
declare-PROG-PRES-3-3PL-AFFIR say-PST-3 that

carcel-bi.
prison-LOC

8. Chai-manda ñuca ri-gu-ga-ni. 9. Chi-bi
   that-ABL   I   go-PROG-PST-1   that-LOC

shuj auto pasa-qui, chi-munda saqui-ri-ga-ni.
one car pass-ADVDS that-ABL leave-REFL-PST-1

10. Chai-manda Pedru-g   auto-bi ri-ga-ni, taugua
    that-ABL   Pedro-POSS car-LOC go-PST-1   alot

chai auto junda.
that car full

11. Chi-munda ri-ga-n-chi; Quero pasa-ga-n-chi.
    that-ABL   go-PST-1-PLV Quero pass-PST-1-PLV

12. Chai-munda chaya-rga-n-chi, chai pushtu-mun,
    that-ABL   arrive-PST-1-PLV that place-DAT

13. mai-bi   chai shuhua-r-guna tiya-shca-mun.
    where-LOC that thief-DEP-PLUR exist-PTCPL-DAT

14. Chai-bi ñuca auto-munda uri-ya-ga-n-chi.
    that-LOC I   car-ABL   under-BEC-PST-1-PLV

6. 'We have
stolen cows
from here in
Salasaca too.'
7. Saying thus,
(the thieves)
were declaring
(their guilt)
there in that
jail.

8. So, I was
going. 9. One
car passed me
there, so I was
left behind.
10. So I went
in Pedro's car,
in that car
full of people.

11. So we
went; we passed
Quero. 12. Then
we arrived at
that place,
13. toward
where those
awful thieves
were. 14. We
got out of the
car. 15. Then
we went to
look.

15. Chi-munda-ga ri-ga-n-chi   ricu-ngu.
    that-ABL-TOP go-PST-1-PLV look-PURSS

16. Chi-munda ricu-qui-ga,   manchanai
    that-ABL   look-ADVDS-TOP many

16. Then while we looked, a whole bunch of police came, the whole path full.
17. I thought there were just five.
18. But it wasn't like that, there were really a lot, a whole big batallion.
19. So, being afraid, I got into the car.

policia-guna shamu-ga-Ø, ñan   junda. 17. Ñuca-ga
police-PLUR   come-PST-3 path full   I-TOP

pichca-lla -mi-Ø-shca   yuya-ga-ni. 18. Pero
five-JUST -AFFIR-be-PTCPL think-PST-1   but

mana-cha chashna-Ø-shca-ga, sino_que
not-DUB thus-be-PTCPL-TOP   but.not

taugua-lla-dij, taugua shuj batallon
alot-JUST-EXCL alot   one batallion

entero-ma   -mi-Ø-shca-n-ga.   19. Chai-munda
entire-CERT -AFFIR-be-PTCPL-WITH-TOP   that-ABL

ñuca mancha-ri-sha   auto-mun sica-rga-ni.
I   fear-REFL-ADVSS car-DAT   climb.up-PST-1

20. Chi-munda policia-guna libri auto-da
    that-ABL   police-PLUR   total car-ACC

20. Then the policemen said to all the cars, 'Go, all of you, go!'
21. So we were sitting inside the car, fearing.
22. Then while we watched, the policemen wrote down the plates, the car license plates, Pedro's too.

'R-i-chi,   r-i-chi'   ni-sha   ni-ga-Ø   tuqui
 go-IMP-PLV go-IMP-PLV say-ADVSS say-PST-3 all

auto-da. 21. Chai-manda ñucuchi mancha-ri-sha
car-ACC   that-ABL   we   fear-REFL-ADVSS

tiya-ga-n-chi   auto ucu-bi. 22. Chi-munda-ga
exist-PST-1-PLV car room-LOC   that-ABL-TOP

ricu-qui   policia-guna placa-da   punta-ga,
look-ADVDS police-PLUR   lic.plate-ACC point-TOP

auto placa-da,   Pedro-j-ta-sh.
car lic.plate-ACC Pedro-POSS-ACC-TOO

   23. Chi-munda-ga ñuca parla-ga-ni pai-guna-mun,
      that-ABL-TOP I   talk-PST-1   3P-PLUR-DAT

pero pai-guna mana intindi-ga-∅.   24. Chi-munda
but 3P-PLUR not understand-PST-3   that-ABL

ri-ga-n-chi, Pedro mancha-ri-sha   ri-ga-∅ ña
go-PST-1-PLV Pedro fear-REFL-ADVSS go-PST-3 now

'R-i'   ni-qui.   25. Chi-munda ri-sha,
 go-IMP say-ADVDS   that-ABL   go-ADVSS

chi-munda-ga Berna cati-sha   salta-mu-qui
that-ABL-TOP Berna follow-ADVSS jump-HERE-ADVDS

tiya-ri-ga-∅.   26. Chi-munda-ga, cuti
exist-REFL-PST-3   that-ABL-TOP again

siqui-ya-ga-∅   auto. 27. Chi-munda ri-qui-sh
bottom-BEC-PST-3 car   that-ABL go-ADVDS-TOO

tiya-qui-ga,   policia-guna-ma libri
exist-ADVDS-TOP police-PLUR-CERT total

ri-ga-∅-mi.   28. Ginti-guna-ma,   chai ladu
go-PST-3-AFFIR   people-PLUR-CERT that side

runa-guna, cai Salasaca ginti-guna, tuqui-guna ña
man-PLUR   this Salasaca people-PLUR all-PLUR   now

ri-ga-∅.
go-PST-3

23. Then I talked to them, but they didn't understand. 24. Then we left, Pedro left, fearing, because the police said, 'Go!' 25. Then we sat and as we left, Berna jumped toward us, following us. 26. Then the car returned to the bottom (of the road). 27. Then while we were there and while we were going, all the policemen completely left. 28. The people, those from that area, those from Salasaca, everybody now left.

29. Chai-bi   ricu-qui,   siqui   shamu-sha, auto
    that-LOC   look-ADVDS bottom come-ADVSS car

tiya-ri-qui,   ricu-ga-n-chi   bomba lacrimojeno
exist-REFL-ADVDS   look-PST-1-PLV bomb tear.gas

ni-shca-da   pigu-c-ta.   30. Chi-munda
say-PTCPL-ACC   beat-AG-ACC   that-ABL

ginti-guna-j   libri mancha-r-sh   tsirapa
people-PLUR-POSS   total fear-REFL-ADVSS mist

ri-sha   salta-ga-Ø. 31. Chi-munda uni-hua-bi
go-ADVSS   jump-PST-3   that-ABL   awhile-DIM-LOC

ricu-qui   yacu-bi   manchanai-dij ñahui-da
look-ADVDS water-LOC   many-EXCL   eye-ACC

mailla-shca-guna. 32. Chi-munda-ga   bayeta-guna-n
wash-PTCPL-PLUR   that-ABL-TOP   shawl-PLUR-WITH

ñahui-da p'icha-shca, ñahui rauru-qui.
eye-ACC sweep-PTCPL   eye   burn-ADVDS

33. Chai-munda tiya-gu-n-Ø-chi   chi-bi,
    that-ABL   exist-PROG-PRES-1-PLV   that-LOC

chai pushtu-bi. 34. Chi-munda-ga teniente
that place-LOC   that-ABL-TOP leader

shamu-ga-Ø. Teniente shamu-qui-ga   na-chu
come-PST-3   leader   come-ADVDS-TOP not-NEG

tapu-ga-n-chi '¿Ima rura-n-Ø?' ni-sha   '¿Mai-da
ask-PST-1-PLV what make-PRES-3 say-ADVSS   where-ACC

29. While we watched there (the police) came toward the bottom; while we were seated in the car, we saw those who threw a bomb called a tear gas bomb. 30. Then the people, greatly fearing, jumped away dispersing (going like mist). 31. Then in a little while we saw that they washed their eyes a lot in water. 32. They brushed their eyes with their shawls, (because) their eyes burned.

33. Then we were still staying there in that same place. 34. Then our leader came. As our leader came, we asked 'What are they doing? Where did they go?' 35. He said, 'Didn't they just now leave?' he said. 'They

ri-shca-Ø?' ni-sha.   35. Chi-ga   ni-ga-Ø   '¿Ña-chu
go-PERF-3   say-ADVSS   that-TOP say-PST-3 now-NEG

ri-shca-Ø?' ni-sha   ni-n-Ø   'Apuri-shca' ni-sha,
go-PERF-3   say-ADVSS say-PRES-3 hurry-PTCPL say-ADVSS

'Jambato sic-mu' ni-ga-Ø.   'Chai-mun pushu-shca' nin
Ambato   SIC-DAT say-PST-3   that-DAT lead-PTCPL   RPT

'chai shuhua-guna-da.' 36. Chi-munda-ga ginti   tuqui
that thief-PLUR-ACC   that-ABL-TOP people all

ginti   ni-sha   ri-ga-Ø 'Ri-n-Ø-chi'   ni-sha
people say-ADVSS go-PST-3   go-PRES-1-PLV say-ADVSS

'chi shuhua-guna-j   huasi-da p'a-qui-shta-ngag.'
that thief-PLUR-POSS house-ACC knock-NOI-ALOT-PURSS

Chi-munda ñucuchi mancha-r-sh   tiya-rga-n-chi
that-ABL   we   fear-REFL-ADVSS exist-PST-1-PLV

shina ni-qui.
thus say-ADVDS

37. Chai-munda ñucuchi tiya-ga-n-chi mai-mu-sh
    that-ABL   we   be-PST-1-PLV where-DAT-TOO

na cuyu-ri-sha,   auto ucu-lla-bi tiya-rga-n-chi.
not moved-REFL-ADVSS car   in-JUST-LOC exist-PST-1-PLV

38. Chai-manda chi   mancha-r-sh   tiya-rga-n-chi.
    that-ABL   that fear-REFL-ADVSS exist-PST-1-PLV

39. Chi-munda uni-da   tiya-qui-ga shamu-shca-ga
    that-ABL   while-ACC be-ADVDS-TOP come-PTCPL-TOP

cai Juanchu parlu-ngu shamu-shca-ga ña libri
this John   talk-PURSS come-PTCPL-TOP now total

hurried to S.I.C. in Ambato. They led those thieves there.' 36. Then everybody left, saying 'We are leaving to knock down the house of those thieves.' When they said that, we stayed there being afraid.

37. So we stayed; not being moved to anywhere else, we stayed only inside the car. 38. So we stayed, being afraid. 39. Then a while later, while we were there, John came to say that they caused the whole house to completely fall to the ground.

huasi-da   urma-chi-n-∅-guna-mi.
house-ACC ·fall-CAUS-PRES-3-3PL-AFFIR

40. Chi-munda parla-ga-∅ cutin cai
    that-ABL   talk-PST-3 again this

40. Then he
spoke again
that these
policemen were
good friends to
some of those
thieves. 41. He
said that in
the jail those
terrible
thieves had
everything,
whatever they
had stolen.
42. Those
policemen
hurried those
who had
(everything,
i.e. thieves)
off to Ambato,
43. Carrying
them to Ambato,
the police will
keep them (the
thieves) there.
Then I think
those policemen
will hand over
those thieves
to them (the
authorities).

policia-guna-ga cai   compadre-guna
police-PLUR-TOP this m.relative-PLUR

0-shca-mi-sh   shuj shuhua-guna-da. 41. Chi
be-PTCPL-AFFIR-TOO one   thief-PLUR-ACC   that

carcel-bi, chi ima-lla   shuu-shca   tuqui-da
prison-LOC that what-JUST steal-PTCPL all-ACC

chari-shca-∅ nin-mi,   chi   shuhua-r-guna. 42. Chi
have-PERF-3 RPT-AFFIR that thief-DEP-PLUR   that

chara-shca-da-ga,   chi policia-guna apuri-shca
have-PTCPL-ACC-TOP that police-PLUR   hurry-PTCPL

nin cai Jambato-mun. 43. Chi-munda Jambato-mun
RPT this Ambato-DAT   that-ABL   Ambato-DAT

apa-ri-sha   chi-bi   chari-nga. Chi-munda ñuca
take-REFL-ADVSS that-LOC have-FUT3   that-ABL   I

yuya-n-i   chi policia-guna intriga-nga-mi,
think-PRES-1 that police-PLUR   hand.out-FUT3-AFFIR

pai-guna shuu-shca-da   pai-guna-lla-mun-di.
3P-PLUR   steal-PTCPL-ACC 3P-PLUR--JUST-DAT-EXC

44. Chi-munda chi-bi   tiya-sha shamu-ga-n-chi.
    that-ABL   that-LOC be-ADVSS come-PST-1-PLV

44. Then
being there we
started home.
45. Following

45. Chi-munda-ga pasa-hua-n-Ø-chi   ñan-da
    that-ABL-TOP pass-POL-PRES-1-PLV path-ACC

cati-sha.   46. 'Chi-da   trancu-ga,' chi   ladu-munda
follow-ADVSS   that-ACC barrier-TOP that side-ABL

runa-guna   47. 'O_sea ñan   ichca-shca-mi
man-PLUR   it's path close-PTCPL-AFFIR

O-gu-n-Ø,   48. Ama   r-i-chi-chu'   ni-sha,
be-PROG-PRES-3   don't go-IMP-PLV-NEG say-ADVSS

'cai-da ri-chun' ni-sha   'shuj ñan-da
this-ACC go-PURDS say-ADVSS one   path-ACC

ricu-chi-ngu'. 49. Chi-munda, chi-da   shamu-sha
look-CAUS-PURSS   that-ABL   that-ACC come-ADVSS

ricu-hua-n-Ø-chi.
look-POL-PRES-1-PLV

50. Huasi-da libri urma-chi-shca-Ø libri
    house-ACC total fall-CAUS-PERF-3 total

teja-guna libri ñutusca-guna. 51. Chi-munda libri
tile-PLUR total crushed-PLUR   that-ABL   total

p'utsi-munda-shca-Ø achpa p'ajta-sh.
straw-ABL-BEEN-3S   earth be.enough-ADVSS

52. Chi-munda ñucuchi mancha-ri-sha   ricu-sha
    that-ABL   we   fear-REFL-ADVSS look-ADVSS

shamu-n-Ø-chi, 'Ima-laya llaqui-nai-da huasi-da
come-PRES-1-PLV what-LIKE sad-FEEL-ACC house-ACC

the path we carefully passed by.[11]
46. 'There is a barrier' (said) people from that area.
47. 'That is, the road is closed. Don't go. 48. So you can go through here, we will show you another path.'
49. So, coming through there we looked cautiously.

50. They completely felled the house, the tiles were completely crushed.
51. Then from the straw roof to the ground they completely finished it.
52. Then we came seeing and being scared, saying, 'How sad they made the house!'
53. Then we came inside the

rura-shca' ni-sha.   53. Chi-da   auto ucu-bi
make-PTCPL say-ADVSS   that-ACC car room-LOC

car talking
about their
sadness,
54. and that
now some
policemen
rising up
against the
indigenous
people, will
simply put them
in jail.

parla-nucu-sha shamu-rga-n-chi, pai-guna-j
talk-RCPR-ADVSS come-PST-1-PLV   3P-PLUR-POSS

llaqui-da, 54. cuti shuj policia-guna-ga chi
sad-ACC   again one police-PLUR-TOP that

runa-guna-j   contra jata-ri-sha-ga   ña
man-PLUR-POSS against raise-REFL-ADVSS-TOP   now

carcel-bi   churu-nga-lla-mi.
prison-LOC   put-FUT3-JUST-AFFIR

55. Chi-munda-ga shina ni-sha   parla-nucu-sha
    that-ABL-TOP thus say-ADVSS   talk-RCPR-ADVSS

55. Then,
saying thus, we
came talking
with this one
and that one.
56. Then,
coming, coming,
hurrying from
Salasaca, a car
(of spectators)
came through
those people,
through these
Salasaca
people, it came
near that
place. 57. It
did not bring
them (those on
foot). 58. They
came on foot.
59. We (came)
by car, just in
Pedro's car
itself.
60. Then we
came (home).
61. Then we
went to buy
potatoes,
right?

chai-shuj cai-shuj parla-nucu-sha   shamu-ga-n-chi.
that-ONE this-ONE talk-RCPR-ADVSS come-PST-1-PLV

56. Chi-munda shamu-sha, shamu-sha chi-munda-ga
    that-ABL come-ADVSS come-ADVSS that-ABL-TOP

cai Salasaca-munda apur-sh   shuj auto-ga chi
this Salasaca-ABL   hurry-ADVSS one car-TOP that

ginti cai Salasaca jinti-da-ga   chi pushtu-ca-cha
people this Salasaca people-ACC-TOP that place-TOP-DUB

shamu-ga-Ø. 57. Mana apa-mu-ga-Ø.   58. Pai-guna-ga
come-PST-3   not take-HERE-PST-3   3P-PLUR-TOP

chaqui-n   shamu-ga-Ø. 59. Ñucuchi auto-bi, Pedro-g
foot-WITH come-PST-3   we   car-LOC   Pedro-POSS

auto-lla-bi-di.   60. Chi-munda shamu-rga-n-chi.
car-JUST-LOC-EXCL   that-ABL come-PST-1-PLV

61. Chi-munda-ga papa-da   randi-ngu ri-ga-n-chi.
    that-ABL-TOP potato-ACC buy-PURSS go-PST-1-PLV

62. Chai-munda shamu-rga-n-chi ña   huasi-mun.
    that-ABL   come-PST-1-PLV now house-DAT

63. Cai   auto ucu-bi   ñuchi-sh tiya-rga-n-chi
    this car room-LOC we-TOO   exist-PST-1-PLV

taugua chi   mancha-ri-sha.   64. Chai-munda Juanchu
alot   that fear-REFL-ADVSS   that-ABL   John

shamu-sha ni-ga-Ø   'Jacu-chi' ni-sha.   65. 'Ña
come-ADVSS say-PST-3 C'mon-PLV say-ADVSS   now

policia libri-ga libri-mun ri-n-Ø'   ni-sha.
police total-TOP total-DAT go-PRES-3 say-ADVSS

66. 'Jacu-chi' ni-sha.   67. 'Ña ri-na-lla-mi
    C'mon-PLV say-ADVSS   now go-INF-JUST-AFFIR

ga-n-Ø-chi.   68. Na mancha-na cu-n-Ø-chi,
be-PRES-1-PLV   not fear-INF give-PRES-1-PLV

nima-da-sh.' 69. Shina-lla.
none-ACC-TOO   thus-JUST

62. Finally, we came home.[12]

63. We stayed inside the car, fearing (the situation) a lot. 64. When John came, he said, 'Let's go. 65. Now the police left completely. 66. C'mon everybody,' he said. 67. 'Now we must just go. 68. We do not give in to fearing, not at all.' 69. Just that.

SEVILLA HUACHCA-GUNA
bead   necklace-PLUR

THE SEVILLA BEAD NECKLACE[13]

1. Cai huachca-guna, colores huachca-guna-mi.
   this necklace-PLUR color   necklace-PLUR-AFFIR

1. These necklace beads are colored beads. 2. My

2. Ñuca mama randi-shca, uchilla-qui randi-sha
   my mom buy-PTCPL   small-AT   buy-ADVSS

apa-chi-ga-Ø   cazi   pusuj huata-ma chari-qui.
take-CAUS-PST-3 almost eight year-CERT have-ADVDS

3. Chi-da   mama taita cu-ga-Ø   ñuca-mun
   that-ACC mom father give-PST-3 I-DAT

apa-ri-chun.
take-REFL-PURDS

mother bought them when I was small; buying them, she made me take them when I was almost 8 years old. 3. Mother and father gave them to me for carrying (wearing).

4. Shuj gringo ni-ga-n-chi, chi shamu-ga-Ø
   one wh.man say-PST-1-PLV that come-PST-3

c'atu-ngu cai-bi. 5. Shuj huachca muru cai tiempo
sell-PURSS this-LOC   one necklace grain this time

vali-ga-Ø   pichca sucri, quinsa sucri vali-ga-Ø.
value-PST-3 five   sucre three sucre value-PST-3

6. Chi-da   mama randi-sha cu-ga-Ø.
   that-ACC mom buy-ADVSS give-PST-3

4. A foreigner, we called 'gringo', came here to sell. 5. During that time, one necklace bead cost three to five sucres. 6. Buying them, mother gave them to me.

7. Primero ñuca solo huarmi-gu ga-n-i.   8. Shuj,
   first   I   only wife-DM be-PRES-1   one

ñuca-j q'uipa, shuj turi-lla utilla tiya-ga-Ø.
I-POSS after   one bro-JUST small exist-PST-3

9. Chi   ñuca-mun sevilla-da muna-ga-ni. 10. Randi-sh
   that I-DAT   bead-ACC   want-PST-1   buy-ADVSS

cu-chun, ñuca yalli chari-n-i. 11. Ñuca-j q'uipa ñaña
give-PURDS I   more have-PRES-1   I-POSS after sis

tiya-n-Ø   quilla-da chari-n-Ø.
exist-PRES-3 month-ACC have-PRES-3

7. First I was the only little girl they had. 8. After me, there was only one small brother. 9. So I wanted the beads for me. 10. When mother bought them to give me, I had more beads (than before). 11. After me there was a one-month-old sister.

12. Cai-guna   yalli vali-n-∅.   13. Shina-guna-da   12. These are
    this-PLUR more   value-PRES-3   thus-PLUR-ACC   worth a lot.
                                                          13. I like ones
                                                          like these or
muna-n-i,   shina-guna. 14. Yalli sevilla-da muna-n-i. these. 14. I
want-PRES-1 thus-PLUR   more bead-ACC   want-PRES-1 want more
                                                          beads.

15. Cai   Sevilla-ga quillu color-un,   azul-un,   15. This bead
    this bead-TOP   yellow color-WITH blue-WITH   has yellow,
                                                           blue, red and
                                                           white. 16. It
puca-gu-n,   yuruj-guna. 16. Dibuja-shca-laya-hua-na   appears like
red-DM-WITH white-PLUR   draw-PTCPL-LIKE-DIM-PLUR   drawings
                                                          (designs).

ricu-ri-n-∅.
look-REFL-PRES-3

17. Cai culur-guna puca, yuruj, quillu, cafe.   17. This one
    this color-PLUR red   white yellow brown   has red, white,
                                                          yellow, and
                                                          brown. 18. This
18. Sisa-laya-mi,   cai-bi   estrella-laya, cai-bi   is like a
    flower-LIKE-AFFIR this-LOC star-LIKE   this-LOC   flower, here
                                                          like a star,
                                                          here like a
sisa-i-yuj,   cai-bi   shuj luzero-laya. 19. Cai-bi   flowering
flower-FEEL-HAS this-LOC one star-LIKE   this-LOC   plant, and here
                                                          like a sort of
                                                          star. 19. Here
shina-i-dig.   it's like that.
thus-FEEL-EXCL

20. Cai-bish shina-i-dij. 21. Sisa-guna, luziru-ma   20. This one
    this-TOO thus-FEEL-EXCL   flower-PLUR star-CERT   is also like
                                                          that. 21. There
                                                          are flowers,
indi-laya-guna-ma tiya-n-∅.   stars, and
sun-LIKE-PLUR-CERT exist-PRES-3   sun-like
                                                          objects.

22. Cai quillu, asha virdi-n,   asha puca-n,   22. This one
    this yellow bit green-WITH bit red-WITH   is yellow with
                                                          a bit of green

cuadrado cai-bi.
square   this-LOC

and a bit of
red; here is a
square.

23. Cai caramelo-laya, caramelo, rayadu-guna
    this candy-LIKE   candy   line-PLUR

tiya-n-∅,   puca, asul, virdi, cafe tiya-n-∅.
exist-PRES-3 red   blue green brown exist-PRES-3

24. Caramelo diseño cai.
    candy   design this

23. This one
is like a
candy; there
are lines;
there is red,
blue, green, and
brown. 24. This
is a candy
design.

25. Cai botilla, botilla-laya cai. 26. Botilla
    this bottle   bottle-LIKE this   bottle

huachca.
necklace

25. This is a
bottle, it's
like a bottle.
26. It's a
bottle bead.

27. Yuruj quillu cai, yuruj quillu huachca.
    white yellow this white yellow necklace

28. Cai-bi shuj puntu-sh tiya-n-∅,   yuruj raya cafe
    this-LOC one point-TOO exist-PRES-3 white line brown

raya. 29. Cazi   p'undu laya, yacu p'undu laya, na-chu.
line   almost jug   like water jug   like   not-NEG

30. Shuj pilotu-ma-laya, shina tiya-n-∅.
    one ball-TH-LIKE   thus exist-PRES-3

27. This is
light yellow,
it's a light
yellow bead.
28. Here there
is a dot, a
white line, and
a brown line.
29. It's almost
like a jug,
like a water
jug, right?
30. It's like a
kind of ball,
it's like that.

31. Cai-bi   urpi lulun-laya, urpi lulun shina
    this-LOC dove egg-LIKE   dove egg thus

32. Shina puntu, puntu churu-shca, puca-i-llahua.
    thus point, point put-PTCPL red-FEEL-JUST

31. Here it's
like a dove
egg, like a
dove egg.
32. Dots are
put like that
with a little
bit of red.

33. Cai-bish quillu, shina rayadu, oro-da
    this-TOO yellow thus line gold-ACC

churu-shca-laya. 34. Shina sisa-laya cai-guna.
put-PTCPL-LIKE thus flower-LIKE this-PLUR

33. This one too is yellow with lines like before and like they put gold on. 34. These are also like flowers.

35. Cai ñauba chini c'uru, ñauba chini c'uru cai,
    this olden nettle worm olden nettle worm this

yana-n azul puntu chaubi urcu churu-shca manya
black-WITH blue point half mountain put-PTCPL edge

manya quillu-n.
edge yellow-WITH

35. This is the old kind of nettle worm, it's a nettle worm, with black, a blue dot, with half of a mountain drawn, with yellow along the edges.

36. Cai corazon huachca, virdi caya-n-Ø.
    this heart necklace green call-PRES-3

36. This is a heart bead, it's called green.

37. Cai paila mama cu-shca-Ø. 38. Ñauba paila cai
    this pan mom give-PERF-3 olden pan this

paila-mi.
pan-AFFIR

37. This pan, mother gave me. 38. It's an old-style p ; this is a 'paila'.

VELORIO-BI PUGLL-I-GUNA-MUNDA
wake-LOC play-NOM-PLUR-ABL

GAMES AT A WAKE (FUNERAL BURIAL)[14]

1. Ñuca parla-sh ni-n-i ima-laya ca-shca
   I talk-ADVSS say-PRES-1 what-LIKE be-PTCPL

1. I want to tell what it is like at a wake here in

velorio-bi cai Salasaca llacta-bi.   Salasaca.
wake-LOC   this Salasaca town-LOC

2. Primero p'unlla huañu-qui saqui-n-∅   2. On the
   First   day   die-ADVDS leave-PRES-3   first day when
                                                someone dies,
                                                they take (the
huasha-mun llugshi-chi-sha. 3a. Chi qu'ipa   body) out (of
behind-DAT leave-CAUS-ADVSS   hat after   the house),
                                                leaving it
                                                behind (the
arma-chi-n-∅-guna   y   chi qu'ipa   house). 3a.
bathe-CAUS-PRES-3-3PL and that after   After that they
                                                bathe it and
                                                after that they
chura-chi-n-∅;   3b. mushug churana o ima dress it; 3b.
get.dressed-CAUS-PRES-3   new   clothes or what they leave it,
                                                dressing it in
                                                new clothing or
laya-sh alli churana-guna-da   chura-chi-sha   whatever good
like-TOO good clothing-PLUR-ACC get.dressed-CAUS-ADVSS clothing.

saqui-n-∅.
leave-PRES-3

4. Chi-munda p'unlla-bi ña atua-da   randi-ngu   4. Then
   that-ABL day-LOC   now casket-ACC buy-PURSS   during the day
                                                     they go to buy
                                                     the casket.
ri-n-∅. 5. Chi qu'ipa atua   randi-sh qu'ipa,   5. Then, after
go-PRES-3   that after casket buy-ADVSS after   having bought
                                                     the casket,
                                                     making a
funeraria tuqui-da contrata-mu-sha   ña chura-n-∅ contract for
mortuary all-ACC contract-HERE-ADVSS now put-PRES-3 everything at
                                                     the mortuary,
                                                     now they place
ña. 6. Chi atua-bi   chura-n-∅,   chi-bi ña (the body).
now   that casket-LOC get.dressed-PRES-3 that-LOC now 6. This they
                                                     put in the
                                                     casket; now
velari-gu-n-∅.   7. Chi-munda huañu-shca p'unlla-bi they are in
mourn-PROG-PRES-3   that-ABL die-PTCPL day-LOC   mourning.
                                                     7. So, on the
                                                     day (the
na-rig velorio ga-n-∅.   person) died,
not-YET wake   be-PRES-3   it is not yet
                                                     the wake.

8. Chi p'unlla chi tuta ña pasa-n-Ø
   that day   that night now happen-PRES-3

                                    8. They spend that day and night like that. 9. We sleep (that night); they do not sleep (at) a wake.

shina-lla. 9. Na velorio puñu-n-Ø   shina laya,
thus-JUST   not wake   sleep-PRES-3 thus like

puñu-n-Ø-chi.   10. Ginti-guna parti parti
sleep-PRES-1-PLV   people-PLUR part part

                                    10. People come little by little. 11. The next afternoon, that's when the wake is.

shamu-n-Ø. 11. Cayi-ndig   tardi   ña chi-bi
come-PRES-3   tomorrow-JOIN afternoon now that-LOC

ga-n-Ø   velorio. 12a. Chi-bi ña chi p'unlla
be-PRES-3 wake   that-LOC now that day

                                    12a. Now that (next) day they have to offer food; 12b. now the family has to kill,

cara-na ga-n-Ø, 12b. ña p'amilia-guna ña
feed-INF be-PRES-3   now family-PLUR now

                                    whether there is a cow, whether there is a pig, they kill it;

huañu-chi-na ga-n-Ø, ima-sh huagra ga-qui c'uchi
die-CAUS-INF be-PRES-3 what-TOO cow   be-ADVDS pig

ga-qui ima-sh, huañu-chi-sha, 12c. ña moti
be-ADVDS wh-.t-TOO die-CAUS-ADVSS   now hominy

                                    12c. now they have to put (prepare) the hominy, make the hot sauce & cook the broth, for the afternoon, for the wake.

chura-na-ma, uchu   rura-na-ma, caldo-da
put-INF-CERT hot.sauce make-INF-CERT broth-ACC

yanu-na-ma, tardi-g,   velorio-bug. 13. Ña
cook-INF-CERT afternoon-POSS wake-POSS   now

                                    13. Now at the wake, the family or the male in-laws have to give 'huairu'[15] to

velorio-bi, ña p'amilia-guna o masha-guna
wake-LOC   now family-PLUR or male.in.law-PLUR

                                    the people, to the drinking people. 14. Now they spend all night playing 'huairu' and they drink.

huairu ni-shca-da   cu-na   ga-shca-Ø ginti-guna-mun,
huairu say-PTCPL-ACC give-INF be-PERF-3 people-PLUR-DAT

ubia-g   ginti-guna-mun. 14. Chi-ga   ña tuqui tuta
imbibe-AG people-PLUR-DAT   that-TOP now all   night

ña huairu-ma   puglla-sha p'aca-ri-n-∅-guna   y
now huairu-CERT play-ADVSS hide-REFL-PRES-3-3PL and

ubia-n-∅-guna.
imbibe-PRES-3-3PL

15. Tuqui laya pugll-i tiya-n-∅-mi
    all   like play-NOM exist-PRES-3-AFFIR

velorio-bi. 16. Taugua pugll-i-guna tiya-n-∅:   atil
wake-LOC   alot   play-NOM-PLUR exist-PRES-3 hen

pugll-i ni-shca,   gallu   pugll-i. 17. Nina
play-NOM say-PTCPL rooster play-NOM   fire

cati-chi-n-∅-guna   shug pushtu-bi. 18. Y   chi
follow-CAUS-PRES-3-3PL one place-LOC   and that

jahua-da   huasi jahua-munda salta-n-∅-guna. 19. Chi
above-ACC house above-ABL   jump-PRES-3-3PL   that

ga-n-∅   y shug pugll-i ga-n-∅,   mashti.dicu-n-∅.
be-PRES-3 and one play-NOM be-PRES-3 UHMM.mean-PRES-3

20. Na yuya-ri-n-i,   pero taugua pugll-i
    not think-REFL-PRES-1 but alot   play-NOM

tiya-n-∅.   21. Y   shug pugll-i ga-n-∅
exist-PRES-3   and one play-NOM be-PRES-3

huagra-guna-da aisa-mu-sha.   22. Huasi-da
cow-PLUR-ACC   drag-HERE-ADVSS   house-ACC

vuelta-cu-n-∅-guna   huasi-qui-da. 23. Chi-guna y
return-PROG-PRES-3-3PL house-AT-ACC   that-PLUR and

15. There are
all kinds of
games at a
wake. 16. There
are many games:
the hen game,
the rooster
game. 17. They
light a fire in
one place.
18. And they
jump from above
the house to
above that.
19. That is one
game. 20. Now I
cannot
remember, but
there are a lot
of games.
21. And one
game is
dragging the
cattle home.
22. They are
returning
(them) to the
house.
23. Those are
it, there were
a lot of games.

```
pugll-i-guna   taugua tiya-g    ga-shca-Ø.
play-NOM-PLUR  alot   exist-AG  be-PERF-3
```

24a. Chi-munda masti-n-Ø-guna, shina puglla-sha ña
     that-ABL UHMM-PRES-3-3PL thus play-ADVSS now

```
pugllu-sh   tucu-chi-sha,       mañu-n-Ø-guna
play-ADVSS  finish-CAUS-ADVSS  beg-PRES-3-3PL
```

24b. 'Pugllu-sh tucu-chi-n-Ø-chi-mi'   ni-sha,
     play-ADVSS happen-CAUS-PRES-1-PLV-AFFIR say-ADVSS

```
mañu-n-Ø-guna    mashti-da,  caldo yanu-shca, mote,
beg-PRES-3-3PL   UHMM-ACC    broth cook-PTCPL hominy
```

```
uchu,        24c. chi-da     mañu-qui,  cara-na   tucu-j
hot.sauce         that-ACC  beg-ADVDS  feed-INF  happen-AG
```

```
ca-shca-Ø. 25. Shina-i-dig     huairu pugllu-g-guna,
be-PERF-3      thus-FEEL-EXCL  huairu play-AG-PLUR
```

```
maqui luts-qui-nucu-sha     puglla-n-Ø-guna.
hand  slap-NOI-RCPR-ADVSS  play-PRES-3-3PL
```

24a. Then playing like that, ending their playing, they ask for (food).
24b. Saying 'We finish playing' they ask for cooked broth, hominy, hot sauce.
24c. When they (the players) ask, they (the family) must start to feed them. 25. Just like that the players play 'huairu', slapping each other.

FINADOS-MUNDA
Finados-ABL

1. Finados-da mara-guna-ga   na ima-da
   Finados-ACC child-PLUR-TOP not what-ACC

```
rura-n-Ø.    2. Cati-shca      ri-sha   shina
make-PRES-3     follow-PTCPL  go-ADVSS thus
```

ABOUT FINADOS[16]

1. During Finados the children don't do anything specific.
2. Followed by their parents, the children

```
qu'ipi-guna-da chapa-sha-ma,       mama-guna taita-guna
after-PLUR-ACC guard-ADVSS-CERT mom-PLUR   father-PLUR
```

watch the ones
who come after
and drag the
drunk parents,

```
shinga-da aisa-sha,  huasi-bi  saqui-sha   puri-n-Ø,
drunk-ACC drag-ADVSS house-LOC leave-ADVSS walk-PRES-3
```

leaving them at
the house; the
children walk,
really crying.

```
huaqu-i, huaqu-i mara-guna. 3. Shinga-guna 'Na
cry-NOM  cry-NOM child-PLUR     drunk-PLUR  not
```

3. The drunks
stay at the
cemetery
saying, 'I will

```
shamu-sh' ni-sha    siri-n-Ø        pantiun-bi.
come-FUT1s say-ADVSS remain-PRES-3 cemetary-LOC
```

not come.'
4. Some sleep;
some come.

```
4. Puñu-n-Ø       parti; parti-ga shamu-n-Ø.
   sleep-PRES-3 some   some-TOP come-PRES-3
```

5. The children
say, 'C'mon.'
6. The ones who
say, 'I will
not come' sleep

```
5. Mara-guna-ga    'Jacu' ni-n-Ø.      6. Parti-ga 'Na
   child-PLUR-TOP C'mon  say-PRES-3     some-TOP not
```

right there (in
that place).

```
shamu-sh' ni-sha,    chi  pushtu-bi puñu-n-Ø.
come-FUT1s say-ADVSS that place-LOC sleep-PRES-3
```

```
7. Mara-guna-ga    cai-bi    ayuda-n-Ø, tanda
   child-PLUR-TOP this-LOC help-PRES-3 bread
```

7. Children
help here, like
making bread.
8. By putting
wood under the

```
rura-sha    shina. 8. Muti-qui  yanta sati-sha,
make-ADVSS thus      hominy-AT wood  insert-ADVSS
```

hominy, or by
passing over
some water,
they help.

```
ayuda-n-Ø  yacu-hua-da   pasa-chi-sha.
help-PRES-3 water-DIM-ACC hand-CAUS-ADVSS
```

9. Yes, they do
help in this
house.

```
9. Ayuda-n-Ø-mi     cai  huasi-bi.
   help-PRES-3-AFFIR this house-LOC
```

10. When they
help, they eat;
they do not eat
free.

```
10. Ayuda-sha-mi      micu-n-Ø; na yanga
    help-ADVSS-AFFIR eat-PRES-3 not free
```

```
micu-n-Ø-chu.
eat-PRES-3-NEG
```

11. Tanda ra-ga,   harina-da apa-mu-n-Ø
    bread make-TOP f lour-ACC take-HERE-PRES-3

quintal-bi. 12. Quintal-bi   apa-mu-sha-ga,
50.kilo-LOC   50.kilo-LOC take-HERE-ADVSS-TOP

livadura-da chapu-n-Ø. 13. Cachi-n,   lulun-ma
yeast-ACC   mix-PRES-3   salt-WITH egg-CERT

churu-n-Ø. 14. Yacu   cunuj-chi--sha, chapu-sha, tanda
put-PRES-3   water warm-CAU-ADVSS mix-ADVSS   bread

rura-n-Ø.   15a. Chi-munda tanda tuqui mara-guna
make-PRES-3   that-ABL bread all   child-PLUR

ayuda-sha, 15b. shina familia-guna, shina huasi-bi,
help-ADVSS   thus family-PLUR   thus   house-LOC

tiu-cuna-ga,   tuqui ri-n-Ø-chi   15c. yanta
uncle-PLUR-TOP all   go-PRES-1-PLV   wood

apa-ri-shca,   ña cuta chapu-shca-da apa-ri-sha.
take-REFL-PTCPL now f lour mix-PTCPL-ACC take-REFL-ADVSS

16. Shina jurnu-bi ña   yanta carga-da rupa-chun
    thus   oven-LOC now wood   load-ACC burn-PURDS

shita-n-Ø   ña chai-qui.
throw-PRES-3 now that-AT

17. Chi tanda-da ña ruru-ngu   callari-n-Ø-chi
    that bread-ACC now make-PURSS begin-PRES-1-PLV

jurnu-bi. 18. Jurnu-bi ruru-sha   qu'ipa
oven-LOC   oven-LOC make-ADVSS after

11. To make
bread, one
brings flour in
a 50 kilo bag.
12. Bringing it
in the bag, one
mixes the
yeast. 13. One
puts in the
salt with eggs.
14. Heating
water and
mixing, one
makes bread.
15a. So while
all the
children help
with the bread,
15b. at the
house, this way
the family, the
relatives,
everybody, we
go
15c. carrying
the carried
wood and then
the mixed
flour.
16. Thus at the
oven now, one
throws the load
of wood there
in order for it
to burn.

17. Now we
begin to make
the bread in
the oven.
18. After doing
that at the
oven, now
finishing that,

tucu-chi-sha   ña, shina tuqui mara-ma   asha asha
finish-CAUS-ADVSS now thus   all   child-CERT bit bit

cu-n-∅   'huahua-da rura-chun' ni-sha.
give-PRES-3 child-ACC   make-PURDS say-ADVSS

19. Huahua-ma, urpi-ma,   shina parti-guna rura-n-∅
    child-CERT dove-CERT thus   some-PLUR make-PRES-3

llama-ma-da   rura-n-∅.   20. Chi-guna-da   mara
llama-CERT-ACC make-PRES-3   that-PLUR-ACC child

cushi-lla japi-n-∅   huahua, 'cai ñuca-j huahua'
happy-JUST take-PRES-3 child   this I-POSS child

ni-sha. 21. Ña jurnu-ma-da   parti-ga apa-ri-shca
say-ADVSS   now oven-CERT-ACC some-TOP take-REFL-PTCPL

shamu-n-∅. 22. Marca-shca   shamu-n-∅, jatun
come-PRES-3   in.arms-PTCPL come-PRES-3 great

huahua-guna, jatun urpi-ma.
child-PLUR   great dove-CERT

23a. Chi   cusa-chun   churu-sha tanda-da ña,
     that roast-PURDS put-ADVSS bread-ACC now

cusa-chi-sha,   23b. ña apa-ri-mu-n-∅-chi
roast-CAUS-ADVSS   now take-REFL-HERE-PRES-1-PLV

ishqui saco junda-ma, yalli-n-bish. 24. Quintal
two   bag full-CERT more-WITH-TOO   50.kilo

cuta-munda ishqui saco-da-mi   apa-ri-n-∅-chi.
flour-ABL   two   bag-ACC-AFFIR take-REFL-PRES-1-PLV

then one gives
bit by bit
(some dough) to
all the
children,
saying, 'For
you to make
(bread in the
shape of)
children.'
19. Thus some
make children
or doves; they
make llamas.
20. The
delighted
children take
those
bread-children,
saying 'This is
my child.'
21. Now some
come home
having carried
the oven
things.
22. They come
with many
children and
many doves in
their arms.

23a. Putting
the bread there
in order to
bake it, baking
it, 23b. now we
carry home two
bags full, even
more. 24. From
50 kilos of
flour, we carry
home two bags
full.
25a. Those that
have that many
bread-children,
eating only

25a. Chi   parti, shina achca mara chari-j-ca,
     that   some   thus   much child have-AG-TOP

huahua-ll-ma   tanda-guna-ma-da   micu-sha 25b. tuqui
child-JST-CERT bread-PLUR-CERT-ACC eat-ADVSS   all

p'unlla shuj shuj micu-sha-ga, ishqui semana-bi tanda
day   one one eat-ADVSS-TOP two   week-LOC bread

quintal tucu-ri-n-Ø   ña. 26. Ishqui semana-ma,
50.kilo finish-REFL-PRES-3 now   two   week-CERT

quilla-ma, tucu-ri-n-Ø   ña. 27. Parti shina
month-CERT finish-REFL-PRES-3 now   some thus

huahua-i-lla-guna-ga   chari-n-Ø. 28. Enero-gama,
child-FEEL-JNST-PLUR-TOP have-PRES-3   January-TIL

diciembre-gama chari-g ga-shca-Ø. 29. Pero shina huahua
December-TIL   have-AG be-PERF-3   but thus   child

tauga-yuj-ga tanda-da escuela-mu apa-ri-shca-Ø.
alot-HAS-TOP bread-ACC school-DAT take-REFL-PERF-3

30. Huaicu-da-bish ñuñuca-shca ri-n-Ø-chi.
    ravine-ACC-TOO carry-PTCPL go-PRES-1-PLV

31. Shina mai-bi   yarijana-j-qui micu-sha-ga
    thus where-LOC hungry-AG-AT   eat-ADVSS-TOP

huasi-bi na   tantu   yanu-n-Ø-chi.
house-LOC not so.much cook-PRES-1-PLV

32. Tanda-i-da   yalli micu-n-Ø-chi. 33. Shinu-sha,
    bread-FEEL-ACC more eat-PRES-1-PLV   thus-ADVSS

tanda-da milga-da rura-chi-n-Ø-chi.
bread-ACC much-ACC make-CAUS-PRES-1-PLV

bread children,
25b. every day
eating them one
by one, in two
weeks they
finish the 50
kilos of bread.
26. It is
finished in two
weeks or a
month.
27. Some have
the
bread-children
like that.
28. They have
(bread) until
December or
January.
29. So the ones
having a lot of
bread-children
carry bread to
school.
30. Carrying
bread inside
our shirts,
we also go
through the
ravine (which
is far from
home to feed
the animals).
31. Thus we
don't cook much
at home because
of eating
(bread)
wherever when
we're hungry.
32. We eat a
lot of bread.
33. For this
reason, we make
a lot of bread.

CAN-GUNA-N   SALUDA-N I
you-PLUR-WITH greet-PRES-1

    I GREET YOU ALL[17]

1. Buenos dias. Ñuca can-guna-n   cai Jambato
   good   days I   you-PLUR-WITH this Ambato

carcel-munda saluda-n-i. 2. Tuqui ñucuchi-j ladu
prison-ABL   greet-PRES-1   all   we-POSS   side

Salasaca jinti-guna-da.
Salasaca people-PLUR-ACC

    1. Good morning. I greet you all from the prison in Ambato.
    2. to everyone of our area of Salasaca.

3. Cai-bi-mi   ña ñuca huata sucta quilla-da
   this-LOC-AFFIR now I   year six   month-ACC

tiya-n-i.   4. Chi-munda can-guna-n   uya-chun
exist-PRES-1   that-ABL you-PLUR-WITH hear-PURDS

muna-n-i   ñuca shimi parla-shca-da.
want-PRES-1 my   mouth talk-PTCPL-ACC

    3. I have now been here one year and six months.
    4. Therefore I want you to hear my words (lit: my mouth having spoken).

5. Cai-bi   cacha-gu-n-i   cai caset-ta ñuca
   this-LOC send-PROG-PRES-1 this tape-ACC I

rima-ri-sha,   ñuca-l-dij parlu-sha cai-bi.
discuss-REFL-ADVSS I-JUST-EXCL talk-ADVSS this-LOC

6. Cai ñuca-j amigo Pedro Waskosky-huan y   señora
   this I-POSS friend Peter Waskosky-WITH and Mrs.

Cristina-n.   7. Pai-guna-mi   cai caset-ta apa-nga
Kristine-WITH   3P-PLUR-AFFIR this tape-ACC take-FUT3

    5. I am sending this cassette, (containing) only me talking and discussing on it 6. with my friend Peter Waskosky and his wife Kristine.
    7. They will take this cassette to that area of Salasaca for

chai Salasaca ladu-mun can-guna uya-chun.
that Salasaca side-DAT you-PLUR hear-PURDS

you all to
hear.

8. Can-guna-da ni-sha ni-rga-ni 'Cai
   you-PLUR-ACC say-ADVSS want-PST-1 this

8. I wanteᵈ
to say to you
all, 'Have a
very nice
Finados this
(time).

finados-da alli cuilla-hua-da pasa-ngui-chi'
Finados-ACC good pretty-DIM-ACC pass-FUT2-PLV

9. Don't be
angry with each
other; don't
just fight,

ni-sha. 9. Ama p'iña-nucu-sha-lla; ama
say-ADVSS don't angry-RCPR-ADVSS-JUST don't

10. meeting
with your
people (i.e.
relatives);
drinking and
eating.'

pelea-sha-lla. 10. Can-guna-j ginti-guna-n
fight-ADVSS-JUST you-PLUR-POSS people-PLUR-WITH

tanda-nucu-sha, ubiya-sha, micu-sha.
meet-RCPR-ADVSS drink-ADVSS eat-ADVSS

11. Ima laya pasa-na na ña yacha-n-gui-chi
    what like pass-INF not now know-PRES-2-PLV

11. You
yourselves do
not know how
things will
happen (lit:
pass), how it
will procede
there (lit: on
that side) on
Finados.

can-guna-lla-di ña ima laya puri-na-da-sh chai
you-PLUR-JUST-EXCL now what like walk-INF-ACC-TOO that

12. HMMM, I do
not know if
there is a
fiesta or if
there isn't.

lado-bi chi finas p'unlla. 12. No_se mana
side-LOC that Finados day I.dunno not

yacha-n-i-chu pishda tiya-n-∅-chari o na-cha
know-PRES-1-NEG party exist-PRES-3-DUB or not-DUB

tiya-gu-n-∅.
exist-PROG-PRES-3

13. Chi-munda ñuca cai-munda ni-gu-n-i.
    that-ABL I this-ABL say-PROG-PRES-1

13. Therefore
I am speaking
about this.

14. You all do
not know about
what it's like

14. Can-guna ña yacha-n-gui-chi ñuca cai carcel-bi
    you-PLUR now know-PRES-2-PLV my this prison-LOC

tiya-shca-da.　15. Chi-munda talvez ña
exist-PTCPL-ACC　　that-ABL　maybe　now

cunga-n-gui-chi-chari. 16. Na　chai
forget-PRES-2-PLV-DUB　　not that

yuya-ri-n-gui-chi-chu　　ña ñuca cai-bi
think-REFL-PRES-2-PLV-NEG now my　this-LOC

causa-shca-ma　na　can-guna-mu ña na-cha falta
live-PTCPL-CERT not you-PLUR-DAT now not-DUB lack

rura-n-i-chu　　chai-bi.
make-PRES-1-NEG that-LOC

17. Ña na-cha culera-chi-sha puri-n-i-chu.
　　now not-DUB hate-CAUS-ADVSS walk-PRES-1-NEG

18. Talvez can-guna-da-cha ñuca p'iña-chi-sha,
　　maybe you-PLUR-ACC-DUB I　angry-CAUS-ADVSS

culera-chi-sha, o ima-da　ruru-sha puri-j ca-rga-ni.
hate-CAUS-ADVSS or what-ACC do-ADVSS walk-AG be-PST-1

19. Pero ñuca-j yuy-i-bi,　ñuca-j pensamiento-bi-ga,
　　but I-POSS think-NOM-LOC I-POSS thought-LOC-TOP

na shina ga-shca-da　yuya-n-i-chu.
not thus be-PTCPL-ACC think-PRES-1-NEG

20. Pero shina-sh　　ña cunga-j-laya
　　but be.thus-ADVSS now forget-AG-LIKE

ni-n-gui-chi　tuqui ginti-guna. 21. Pero allildi ña
want-PRES-2-PLV all　people-PLUR　　but in.vain now

in this prison.

15. Therefore
maybe you now
forget.
16. You do not
think about my
life here,
because I do
not make lack
to you there
(you don't miss
me).

17. I do not
walk around
causing hatred.
18. Maybe I
used to walk
around making
you all angry
or making you
hate or doing
whatever.
19. But in my
mind, in my
thoughts, I
don't think it
was like that.

20. But being
thus, now all
of you want to
be like those
who forget.
21. But even if
it's in vain,
whether you

mas que oya-sh   ni-qui   na oya-sh
more than hear-ADVSS want-ADVDS not hear-ADVSS

want to hear or
not, discussing
this, I just
send this
(message),

ni-qui-sh,   cai-da   rima-ri-sha,   cai-da
want-ADVDS-TOO this-ACC discuss-REFL-ADVSS this-ACC

saying, 'Have a
nice Finados,'
saying, 'Spend
it well.'

ni-sha   cacha-n-i-lla-mi   'Cai finados-da
say-ADVSS send-PRES-1-JUST-AFFIR this Finados-ACC

22. The fiestas
are taking
place, maybe

cuilla-da   pasa-ngui-chi' ni-sha   'Alli
pretty-ACC pass-FUT2-PLV   say-ADVSS good

not, I do not
know, I say
just that.

pasa-ngui-chi' ni-sha.   22. Fishta-guna
pass-FUT2-PLV say-ADVSS   party-PLUR

tiya-gu-n-Ø-chi   mana-chari mana yacha-n-i-chu
exist-PROG-PRES-1-PLV not-DUB   not know-PRES-1-NEG

ni-n-i-mi   chi-lla-dij.
say-PRES-1-AFFIR that-JUST-EXCL

23. Chi-munda talvez can-guna muna-sha-ga   ñuca
    that-ABL   maybe you-PLUR want-ADVSS-TOP I

23. Therefore
I beg you all
while I live
here in jail.

carcel-bi tiya-sha-ga   ñuca-mi ruga-sh   ni-n-i.
prison-LOC exist-ADVSS-TOP I-AFFIR beg-ADVSS say-PRES-1

24. If maybe
you all are
wanting to do
(something to

24. Si talvez rura-sh ni-sha,   rura-n-gui-chi; na
    if maybe do-ADVSS want-ADVSS do-PRES-2-PLV   not

help me), do
(it); if you
are not wanting
to do

rura-sh ni-sha-sh,   mana.
do-ADVSS want-ADVSS-TOO not

(anything),
don't.

25. Cai ginti ñuca-j ricsi-shca-guna-mi
    this people I-POSS meet-PTCPL-PLUR-AFFIR

25. These
people, my
acquaintances,
speak

ni-n-Ø,   26. masti ni-sha   'Cai problema-munda cai
say-PRES-3   UHMM say-ADVSS thi problem-ABL   this

26. saying
about the
problem, uhhmm,

carcel-bi tiya-shca-da-ga   facilita-ri-chun'
prison-LOC exist-PTCPL-ACC-TOP facilitate-REFL-PURDS

y   como 'Tuqui ginti-lla-da   salva-ri-chun', y
and like all   people-JUST-ACC save-REFL-PURDS and

'Tuqui ginti-j-lla-di   favor-da-chun-ga.'   'Cai
all   people-POSS-JUST-EXCL favor-ACC-PURDS-TOP this

amnestiya-da maña-chun' ni-sha-mi   ni-n-∅
amnesty-ACC beg-PURDS say-ADVSS-AFFIR say-PRES-3

ñuca-da. 27. Shina 'Ima-shna na ginti ñucuchi-j
I-ACC   thus   what-SIM not people we-POSS

ladu-guna-n   cam-buj ladu-guna-n   parla-ri-ngui'
side-PLUR-WITH you-POSS side-PLUR-WITH talk-REFL-FUT2

ni-sha.
say-ADVSS

'May they
facilitate
(i.e. improve)
life in the
prison' and
like 'May they
save everyone'
and 'May they
do favors for
everyone', 'May
they plead for
amnesty,' they
tell me,
27. saying, 'So
why will you
not talk with
people (from)
our area, with
(those from)
your area?'

28. Tuqui ginti-guna yachi-sha, tuqui ginti-guna
    all   people-PLUR know-ADVSS all   people-PLUR

intindi-sha   ga-chun. 29. Tuqui ginti-guna
understand-ADVSS be-PURDS   all   people-PLUR

ayuda-chun, ima laya manera pudi-sh-ish.
help-PURDS what like manner able-ADVSS-TOO

30a. Muna-sha-ga   na muna-sha-ga,   ña ima-dij
     want-ADVSS-TOP nct want-ADVSS-TOP now what-EXCL

rura-n-gui-chi ña cai-bi   saqui-ngui-chi-chari.
do-PRES-2-PLV now this-LOC leave-FUT2-PLV-DUB

28. May every
one know and
may everyone
understand
(my situation
here in jail).
29. May it be
that everyone
would help
however they
are able.
30a. Whether
you want to or
not, whatever
you all do, you
will maybe
leave (me)
here. 30b. I go
on (living
here) becoming

30b. Cai-bi   ima-sh   tucu-sha-ma   cai-bi-ma
     this-LOC what-TOO become-ADVSS-CERT this-LOC-CERT

chinga-sha-cha ri-n-i   ña.
lost-ADVSS-DUB go-PRES-1 now

whatever (i.e.
a nobody) here
and maybe being
lost here.

31. Shina laya ga-n-Ø,   can-guna-da ñuca
     thus   like be-PRES-3   you-PLUR-ACC I

ricu-n-i   ña na sinti-n-gui-chi-chu ña, ñuca
look-PRES-1 now not feel-PRES-2-PLV-NEG now my

chai-bi   falta-shca na falta-shca-ma,   causa-shca na
that-LOC lack-PTCPL not lack-PTCPL-CERT live-PTCPL not

causa-shca ña. 32a. Shina-sha   pero chi-da
live-PTCPL now   thus-ADVSS   but   that-ACC

ruga-n-i-mi   maijin can-guna muna-sha   can-guna
beg-PRES-1-AFFIR   which   you-PLUR want-ADVSS you-PLUR

shungu chari-sha. 32b. Can-guna-sh   churi-yu,
heart   have-ADVSS   you-PLUR-TOO   son-HAS

ushushi-yu,   masha-i-yu,   jachun-yug-mi
daughter-HAS male.in.law-FEEL-HAS sis-inlaw-HAS-AFFIR

ga-n-gui-chi.
be-PRES-2-PLV

31. That's
how it is, I
see that you
all do not
care, whether I
lacked or not,
whether I lived
or not.
32a. (With the
situation
being) thus, I
beg that of
you, of whoever
of you wants,
of whoever of
you has a
heart. 32b. You
all are ones
who have sons,
daughters, and
male/female
in-laws.

33. Chi-munda talvez cai-munda shuj chunga huata,
     that-ABL   maybe   this-ABL   one   ten   year

ishqui chunga huata, mashna   huata pasa-qui-sh,
two   ten   year   how.many   year   pass-ADVDS-TOO

ima-sh   tiya-nga   talvez ima-sh   sucedi-nga-mi.
what-TOO exist-FUT3 maybe   what-TOO happen-FUT3-AFFIR

33. So, maybe
because of
this, while ten
years or twenty
years or
however many
years go by,
anything might
take place or
maybe anything
might happen.

34. Chai-bi-mi   .ya-ri-n-gui-chi   shina
    that-LOC-AFFIR   .iink-REFL-PRES-2-PLV thus

shina-mi   ga-rga-   ni-sha,   shina shina na   ima
thus-AFFIR be-PST-) say-ADVSS thus   thus   not what

rura-rga-n-chi ni-sha.   35. Talvez chi-bi   ña   tardi
do-PST-1-PLV   say-ADVSS   maybe   that-LOC now late

ga-qui   ima-da-sh   pensa-ri-n-gui-chi   o
be-ADVDS what-ACC-TOO think-REFL-PRES-2-PLV or

arrepenta·· i- i-gui-chi.
repent-REFL-PRES-2-PLV

34. Think about (what happened) there, saying, 'It was like this,' saying, 'We did not do anything like that.'
35. Maybe now that it is late there, you will reflect on things or you will feel sorry (lit: repent).

36. (hi-munda ni-n-i   na   can-guna-da   na
    that-ABL   say-PRES-1 not you-PLUR-ACC not

manda-n; -ma   chari-n-i-chu.   37. Cashna rur-i-chi,
order-I!iF-CERT have-PRES-1-NEG   thus   do-IMP-PLV

chashn;· rur-i-chi   ni-sha.   38. Can-guna-j
thus   do-IMP-PLV say-ADVSS   you-PLUR-POSS

pensamiento, can-guna-j   uma-bi   chari-shca,
thought   you-PLUR-POSS head-LOC have-PTCPL

can-guna-j   sentimiento, ima-da-sh   parla-nucu-sha,
you-PLUR-POSS feeling   what-ACC-TOO talk-RCPR-ADVSS

maijin ña   ñucuchi-j ni-n-Ø-chi   na-chu   ña   asha
which   now we-POSS   say-PRES-1-PLV not-NEG now bit

vivu   tucu-shca-lla   ña asha yachu-g-lla   ña,
clever become-PTCPL-JUST now bit   know-AG-JUST now

36. So I want to not have to command you all 37. saying, 'Do (it) this way. Do (it) that way.'
38. You & I want to talk among ourselves concerning your thoughts, concerning what you thought, (lit: had in your head) concerning your feelings, concerning whatever, right? having only become a little bit clever, as ones who know a bit, as ones who go to grade school or high school.

escuela-ma-bish puri-j, colegio-ma-bish
school-CERT-TOO walk-AG high.sch-CERT-TOO

puri-j-cuna-ga   ña.
walk-AG-PLUR-TOP now

39. Pensa-ri-na   -mi-Ø-ngui-chi,   hasta-mi
    think-REFL-INF -AFFIR-be-FUT2-PLV until-AFFIR

ñuca yacha-n-i   ña, chi escuela-bi puri-j-cuna,
I   know-PRES-1 now that school-LOC walk-AG-PLUR

colegio-bi   puri-j-cuna-sh. 40. Mal-bi
high.sch-LOC walk-AG-PLUR-TOO   evil-LOC

rima-sha   ñuca contra-bi rima-sha,
discuss-ADVSS I   against-LOC discuss-ADVSS

puri-j-cuna-da   yacha-n-i-mi.
walk-AG-PLUR-ACC know-PRES-1-AFFIR

41. Pero ima-dij rura-sha ña cai carcel-bi
    but what-EXCL do-ADVSS now this prison-LOC

tiya-shca, cai-bi   tiya-sha-chari. 42. Ña
exist-PTCPL this-LOC exist-FUT1s-DUB   now

can-guna-sh mas senti-qui ña, can-guna-sh na ña
you-PLUR-TOO more feel-ADVDS now you-PLUR-TOO not now

ni-ga-Ø   cuenta ña, ñuca ña Salasaca-munda
say-PST-3 story now I   now Salasaca-ABL

-ma-Ø-shca-munda-laya   rura-sha-mi   na ima-bish
-CERT-be-PTCPL-ABL-like do-ADVSS-AFFIR not what-TOO

acudamiento cu-sha,   na ima-bish ayuda-ngui-chi.
aid.help   give-ADVSS not what-TOO help-FUT2-PLV

39. You who
attend grade
school and also
you who attend
high school,
you will have
to reflect (on
it) until I
know. 40. I
know the ones
who walk around
complaining
against me and
discussing
about bad
things.

41. But
whatever I do,
now having
lived here in
prison, I will
probably still
live here.
42. Now when
you all also
feel more, you
will not help
in whatever
way, you will
not give
whatever aid, I
will make (it)
now like having
been from
Salasaca.

43. Chai-lla-da-mi   ni-sha   ni-n-i   si
    that-JUST-ACC-AFFIR say-ADVSS want-PRES-1 if

favores ni-sha-ga   ima laya-sh
favor   want-ADVSS-TOP what like-TOO

favora-ba-ngui-chi.   44. Y   si na rura-sh
do.favor-POL-FUT2-PLV   and if not do-ADVSS

ni-sha-sh   ima-dij   rura-sha.
want-ADVSS-TOO what-EXCL do-ADVSS

45. Ima laya-sh ña Dius apa-n-∅-gama-ma,
    what like-TOO now God take-PRES-3-TIL-CERT

Dius ima rura-n-∅-gama, ima-sh   tucu-n-∅-gama,
God what do-PRES-3-TIL what-TOO become-PRES-3-TIL

mai-bi   cai-bi   ga-sha-ma,   Quito-bi
where-LOC this-LOC be-ADVSS-CERT Quito-LOC

ga-sha-ma,   mai-mun   cachi-qui-sh. 46. Ima
be-ADVSS-CERT where-DAT send-ADVDS-TOO   what

laya-sh causa-sha-chari, ña can-guna ña
like-TOO iive-FUT1s-DUB   now you-PLUR now

cunga-ri-j-pi-dij,   ima-dij   rura-sha.
forget-REFL-AG-LOC-EXCL what-EXCL do-ADVSS

47. Ñuca-lla ima daña ñuca-lla carcel-bi
    I-JUST   what damage I-JUST   prison-LOC

tiya-n-i.   48. Chi-lla-da-mi   ni-sha
exist-PRES-1   that-JUST-ACC-AFFIR say-ADVSS

43. I want to
say just that.
If you want (to
do) favors,
please do them
in whatever
manner. 44. If
you do not want
to do (them),
do whatever
you want.

45. Until God
takes (me out)
somehow, until
God does
something,
until something
happens,
wherever, if I
am here, if I
am in Quito,
wherever they
send me,
46. however I
will be living,
you will forget
to do anything.
47. It's just
me, just me,
living in the
prison with the
damages. 48. I
want to say
just that. If
you understand,
understand;
maybe you who
listen today
will talk among
yourselves
about my
thoughts and my
ideas.

```
ni-n-i        si intindi-sha-ga         intindi-n-gui-chi
want-PRES-1 if understand-ADVSS-TOP understand-FUT2-PLV
```

```
talvez can-guna oya-j-guna    chai-shuj cunan
maybe  you-PLUR hear-AG-PLUR that-ONE  today
```

```
parla-nucu-ngui-chi-chari ñuca pensi-shca-da   ñuca
talk-RCPR-FUT2-PLV-DUB     my   think-PTCPL-ACC my
```

```
yuyi-shca-da.
think-PTCPL-ACC
```

49. Chi-lla-da-mi   ni-sha   ni-n-i
    that-JUST-ACC-AFFIR say-ADVSS want-PRES-1

```
'Cuilla-hua-da cai  finas-da       pasa-ngui-chi'
pretty-DIM-ACC this Finados-ACC pass-FUT2-PLV
```

```
ni-sha,    cai-bi  cunun ratu   tiya-n-Ø     cai
say-ADVSS this-LOC now   moment exist-PRES-3 this
```

```
M___ C____-bish. 50. Cai  M___ C____-sh ña pichca
M___ C____-TOO       this M___ C____-TOO now five
```

```
quilla yalli-da-mi     cai-bi   ga-n-Ø.   51. Chi-da
month  more-ACC-AFFIR this-LOC be-PRES-3     that-ACC
```

```
chashna-l-dij ima-da  rur-i  pudi-sha-ga,
thus-JUST-EXCL what-ACC do-NOM able-ADVSS-TOP
```

```
rura-ba-i-chi. 52. Rura-sh  ni-sha-ga
do-POL-IMP-PLV     do-ADVSS want-ADVSS-TOP
```

```
na  ruru-sh ni-sha-sh        chi-lla-di
not do-ADVSS want-ADVSS-TOO that-JUST-EXCL
```

```
ni-n-i       ña 'Ima-ti   rura-na' ni-sha.
say-PRES-1 now what-EXCL do-INF   say-ADVSS
```

49. I want to say just that, 'Have a nice Finados.'[18] Right now M____ C____ is also still here. 50. M____ C____ is now here for more than five months. 51. If you are able to do something just like that, please do it. 52. Wanting to do (it) or not wanting to do (it), I say just that, 'What has to be done?'

```
53. Can-guna  ña   libri  ñucuchij-da  ña
    you-PLUR now  free  we-ACC        now
```

```
cunga-ri-n-gui-chi        ña. 54. Na  ña  Salasaca-munc
forget-REFL-PRES-2-PLV  now      not now Salasaca-ABL
```

```
cuenta ña  shita-n-gui-chi. 55. Pero asha ñuca
story  now throw-PRES-2-PLV     but  bit  my
```

```
yuy-i-bi-ga           na  shina-ga rura-na-da-mi
think-NOM-LOC-TOP not thus-TOP do-INF-ACC-AFFIR
```

```
rura-ngui-chi.
do-FUT2-PLV
```

```
56. Can-guna chiri-ri   ni-n-i        huahua yuj-cuna
    you-PLUR cold-EMPH say-PRES-1 L.chil i-HAS-PLUR
```

```
-mi-Ø-ngui-chi.     57. Y    tuqui-sh chi
-AFFIR-be-FUT2-PLV      and all-TOO  that
```

```
quinri-bi-mi       tiya-n-Ø-chi,      tuqui-sh ima-sh
about-LOC-AFFIR exist-PRES-1-PLV all-TOO  what-TOO
```

```
pas-i-buj-ma-mi            ga-n-Ø-chi    pero chi-munda
pass-NOM-POSS-CERT-AFFIR be-PRES-1-PLV but  that-ABL
```

```
'Acudimiento-cuna -mi-Ø-ngui-chi-mi
 aid.help-PLUR     -AFFIR-be-FUT2-PLV-AFFIR
```

```
ni-sha-mi         ruga-n-i.
say-ADVSS-AFFIR beg-PRES-1
```

```
58. Chai-lla-da-mi          ni-n-i,     shuj ratu-gama
    that-JUST-ACC-AFFIR say-PRES-1 one  moment-TIL
```

53. You are completely forgetting us now. 54. Now you are abandoning the story from Salasaca. 55. But in my mind you will not do a deed like that.

56. I say that you all, who have children, are cold. 57. And all live near there, and all of us have to pass to the other side, but therefore I beg you, saying, 'You will be my aid.'

58. I say just that. Until later, my friends and my

ñuca-j amigu-guna. na amigu-guna. 59. No_se can-guna not-friends.
I-POSS friend-PLUR not friend-PLUR I.dunno you-PLUR 59. I don't
know how you
all might be
thinking.
ima-laya-da yuya-n-gui-chi-chari. 60. Talvez 60. Maybe
what-LIKE-ACC think-PRES-2-FLV-DUB maybe because of
that, I say,
'You do not
chi-da chi-lla-munda-di ni-n-i 'Na chai think that,
that-ACC that-JUST-ABL-EXCL say-PRES-1 not that maybe you do
not feel that.'
yuya-ri-ngui-chi-chu, na-cha sinti-ngui-chi-chu'
think-REFL-FUT2-PLV-NEG not-DUB feel-FUT2-PLV-NEG

ni-sha.
say-ADVSS

61. Na ima-sh rura-sh yuya-rga-ni can-guna-mun 61. I thought
not what-TOO do-ADVSS think-PST-1 you-PLUR-DAT of not doing
anything to you
if you maybe
ni can-guna talvez na-cha ima ruru-sh pero would not do
not you-PLUR maybe not-DUB what do-ADVSS but anything, but
(with the
situation)
shina-sh ña runa-pura-ga ña chi runa-pura-bi ña being thus
thus-ADVSS now man-AMONG-TOP now that man-AMONG-LOC now among
indigenous
people, maybe I
have gone among
culera-chi-sha, estorba-sha-ma, ima-sh you bothering
hate-CAUS-ADVSS obstruct-ADVSS-CERT what-TOO somehow or
obstructing or
molesta-sha-ma talvez puri-j-cha ri-ga-ni. making you
bother-ADVSS-CERT maybe walk-AG-DUB go-PST-1 hate.

62. Pero ña na cunun-ga chi-bi puri-n-i-chu, 62. But
but now not now-TOP that-LOC walk-PRES-1-NEG nowadays I do
not wander
around there;
ña cunga-n-gui-chi-mi can-guna. 63. Pero si now you all
now forget-PRES-2-PLV-AFFIR you-PLUR but if forget. 63. But
maybe if you
want to help
talvez ñuca llujshi-ch-i muna-sha-ga ayuda-sh get me out or
maybe I leave-CAUS-NOM want-ADVSS-TOP help-ADVSS you want to
help in

```
ni-sha-ga           ima   manera-bish  can-guna-pura
say-ADVSS-TOP  what  manner-TOO   you-PLUR-AMONG
```

```
parla-nucu-sha  can-guna-pura  yuya-ri-nucu-sha,
talk-RCPR-ADVSS you-PLUR-AMONG think-REFL-RCPR-ADVSS
```

```
shuj ginti-guna-da    tapu-sha  'Ima laya-dij  rura-na
one  people-PLUR-ACC ask-ADVSS what like-EXCL do-INF
```

```
ga-nga' ni-sha      ayuda-na-da-mi        chari-ngui-chi
be-FUT3 say-ADVSS help-INF-ACC-AFFIR  have-FUT2-PLV
```

whatever manner, talk among yourselves, think among yourselves, wanting to ask certain people 'How will it be done?' You will have help, but you will not feel.

```
pero na  sinti-ri-ngui-chi-chu.
but  not feel-REFL-FUT2-PLV-NEG
```

```
64. Bainu, ña  'shuj ratu-gama'  chai-lla-da-mi
    well   now  one  moment-TIL  that-JUST-ACC-AFFIR
```

64. Well, 'Until later', I want to say just that.

```
ni-sha     ni-n-i.      65. Chi-lla-di      builta, builta
say-ADVSS want-PRES-1      that-JUST-EXCL return  return
```

65. Returning to the same point, I am saying just that, but maybe someone will understand.

```
ni-gu-n-i-lla,         pero talvez intindi-nga-chari
say-PROG-PRES-1-JUST  but  maybe  understand-FUT3-DUB
```

```
ni-sha.
say-ADVSS
```

```
66. Cai  caset-ta-mi       can-guna-mun yacha-chi-nga
    this tape-ACC-AFFIR you-PLUR-DAT know-CAUS-FUT3
```

66. Mr. Peter Waskosky will play this cassette for you; maybe on Finados or on a fiesta day he will go to our area.

```
cai  Sr. Pedro Waskosky talvez chi  finas
this Mr. Peter Waskosky maybe  that Finados
```

```
p'unlla-guna o  pishta p'unlla-guna-ma chi  ñucuchi-j
day-PLUR     or party  day-PLUR-CERT    that we-POSS
```

ladu-mu   ri-nga.
side-DAT go-FUT3

    67. Tuqui-n-mi   saluda-n-i,   tuqui-n-mi
        all-WITH-AFFIR greet-PRES-1 all-WITH-AFFIR

'Shuj ratu-gama' ni-n-i.   68. Alli puri-ngui-chi;
one   moment-TIL say-PRES-1   good walk-FUT2-PLV

alli causa-ngui-chi. 69. Por_lo_menos Dios-da
good live-FUT2-PLV   at.least   God-ACC

maña-ba-ngui-chi. 70. Chai-lla-da-mi   ni-n-i.
beg-POL-FUT2-PLV   that-JUST-ACC-AFFIR say-PRES-1

71. 'Shuj ratu-gama;' ya.
    one moment-TIL now

67. I greet everyone; I say with everyone 'Until later. 68. Have a good time; live well. 69. At least plead with God, please.' 70. I say just that. 71. 'Until later;' that's it.

Chapter 1

[1] The orthography used in this thesis is based on the Spanish orthography.

Spelling	Sound Represented
ca	ka
co	ko
cu	ku
qui	ki
que	ke
hu	w
p'	aspirated bilabial stop
qu'	aspirated velar stop
ch	voiceless palatal stop
ts	voiceless dental affricate
sh	voiceless palatal fricative
ll	voiced palatal fricative
j	velar fricative
ñ	palatal nasal
r	dental flap

Since no orthography decisions have been made in Salasaca concerning how to represent the velar stop (which alternates with the velar fricative), I have used both of the symbols currently being debated: /g/ and /j/. Usuall I have written /g/ before a voiced segment and /j/ befor a voiceless segment, but which symbol is used doesn t

156

really matter since both symbols represent the same phoneme.

[2]The capital letters in the glosses for the morphemes represent the abbreviated glosses which are used in the glossed texts of Chapter 4 and in the examples cited throughout the thesis.

Chapter 2

[1]See section 2.3 for an explanation of the lack of morpho-syntactic distinctions in Quichua between nouns and adjectives.

[2]Throughout the thesis 'X' will be used within the English definitions for each suffix. 'X' represents either the nominal stem or the verb stem for the suffix currently being explained.

[3]Habitual aspect is a combination of a verb or clause ending with the agentive suffix -g followed by the copula ga 'to be' conjugated for tense and person. Habitual aspect is explained in section 3.3.2.

[4]-Ga occurs before -la in three instances in Text 1. I do

not have sufficient data about -la to determine if it occurs after all the evidentials or only after -ga. I also do not know where it occurs in relation to -bish, if at all.

Chapter 4

[1]The Lost Cattle is a folktale narrated by a man in his late 40's. This man has the reputation in Salasaca of being the best storyteller and one of the few people who still knows some of the old traditional folktales. This tale was provided by the courtesy of Hugh Dufner, who recorded and transcribed it in the 1970's while he was working in Ecuador.

The narrator of The Lost Cattle has a slight tendency (in other texts not in this collection) to use some words or pronunciations that are not standard SQ. In this story he uses two suffixes not discussed in this thesis as a part of SQ; the first, -cama 'GUARD, one who guards X', is borrowed from another Quichua dialect, and the other, -itu 'Spanish DiMinutive' is borrowed from Spanish.

The Lost Cattle is a story about two herdsmen who lose the cattle they are caring for. The boss demands that they return the cattle. While the herdsmen are looking for the cattle, they meet two foreign women who agree to show

the men the cattle if the men will make love with them. The women instruct the men to blow a bugle the next day on the back side of the mountain and to ask the boss for the two cattle that will be bearing huicundo plants. These two animals are a gift for the men from the women. After blowing on the bugle, the herd of cattle appears including the two bearing huicundo plants. The cattle have all matured in only 4 nights, so the boss is very pleased. He agrees to give the two cattle bearing the huicundo plants as a gift to the men. When they arrive home, the two herdsmen kill the two cattle and discover that the cattle are all gold. The men become very rich. Meanwhile the boss's cattle are dying, and he becomes very poor. The men are able to buy the land of the man who had been their boss, because they become so rich.

[2]Nigmican translated literally means 'they used to say' or 'they are in the habit of saying'. Although it takes the form of a complex verb, it really behaves more like a story-telling evidential, that is, a word to remind the listener that a story is being told, such as the English phrase 'once upon a time'. In some cases, when including a translation of this word would make the free translation sound less natural, I have taken the liberty to omit it. Ninga, nigcan, nin and other variations are also used in

the same sense as **nigmican**; they mean that someone else told the narrator what he/she is now narrating. As with **nigmican** I do not translate all instances of **ninga**, **nigcan**, or **nin** in the free gloss.

[3]About the Bear who Killed the Husband was narrated by a woman in her 30's who was telling the story to an anthropologist, her young children, and me. During the same session, she also told Text 3 The Gray (Intestine) Rock. These were both stories her grandmother had told her.

About the Bear who Killed the Husband is the story of a man who was away from home for three months, running out on his wife. While he was away, a bear-like animal killed and skinned him. The bear put on the man's skin and pretended to be the wife's husband. The bear went to the wife's home and had sex with her. He asked her not to look at the back of his head, where his bear face was. While he slept, she saw lice on his face which aroused her curiosity. She looked at the back of his head and discovered the bear face. She threw the bear into a big pot and went far away to her brother's house. She told her brother about the bear and he told her to dress in men's clothing and hide on the roof. The bear came to the brother's house searching for the wife. Even though the

brother claimed he had not seen the wife, the bear insisted that she was on the roof. From the roof the woman yelled down to the people working below that they should kill the bear. The leader of the work crew agreed to kill him. Afterward the people burned the house with the bear inside and filled all the ashes into 3 or 4 sacks. The wife told the people to throw the sacks into the river, and she ordered them not to open up the sacks. The people did not heed her warning, and they opened up the sacks. As a result, the ashes were changed into fleas, worms and lice. These creatures ate up the inhabitants of long ago and left only their bones. If the work crew had not opened up the bags, there would not be lice, fleas or worms today.

[4]Salasaca men sometimes leave the community to do seasonal work in another part of Ecuador. They may work away from their families for months at a time. One common place for Salasaca men to work is on the Galapagos Islands building houses.

[5]One Salasaca speaker told me that the narrator had contracted two words together by deleting the syllable shown in parentheses. The suffix -sha is often shortened to -sh in fast speech, and it is quite conceivable that it

would be deleted altogether. The meaning of the sentence is clear when -sha is included at the end of **pasca**.

[6]The rock is referred to as **puzun** 'intestines' and **puzu** 'gray'. This is probably a play on words in that the rock was gray colored because it was created from the intestines of the women when she exploded.

[7]The story called The Gray (Intestine) Rock is about a woman who tricked other women into giving her their children. After she convinced the women to let her take care of their child, she would eat the children leaving only the heads, which she carried on her back in a shawl. Finally one woman discovered what the child-eating woman had done. All the women asked for their children back. An old man came and told the woman that she had fleas living inside her anus. She disagreed. He farted at her twice, and she farted back which resulted in her bursting. The pieces that had been the woman flew through the air and ended up in the water where they turned into a gray (intestine) rock.

[8]Salasaca women do not often work outside of the home, but when they do they are usually employed in a restaurant washing dishes or doing food preparation or in someone's

home as a domestic employee. Usually children would be left in the care of a member of the family such as husband or mother of the working woman.

[9]They Went to Our House was told to me by a teenage girl who had invited my children, Anne and Mike, to spend the night at her house. She recounts riding the animals to her grandmother's house, returning to her own home to sleep, going to church the next day, and dressing Anne up as a Salasaca person.

[10]The Thieves was told to my husband Shedd, known locally as 'Pedro', by a female high school student who had accompanied him on a spur-of-the-moment trip to find out what was happening in another community with some newly discovered thieves. She begins by telling that she heard about the thieves over the community loudspeaker. She couldn't catch a bus, so she rode in Shedd's car with a bunch of other people. They arrived and went to look at what was happening. Many policemen arrived and ordered the onlookers to leave. Shedd's carload left, the policemen left, and all the people left. The police threw a tear bomb and everybody scattered, washing their eyes with water and drying them with their shawls. The people in the car asked their community leader 'teniente' for

information. He told them that the police took the thieves to the criminal investigation center 'S.I.C.' in the nearby city 'Ambato'. The other people that were there went to destroy the house of the thieves. The carload of people were scared so they stayed in the car. John came to report that the thieves' house had been completely felled and that the thieves were friends with the policemen and kept stolen things in the jail. The police had led the thieves to the jail in Ambato and handed them over. The carload of people started home but the path was blocked with a barrier. They saw the house which had been destroyed. They left for home, buying potatos on the way (because the incident had happened near Quero, the town which has a potato market).

[11]The path went by the thieves' house which had been felled.

[12]The narrator switches here to an earlier point in time.

[13]The Sevilla Bead Necklace was told to me by a neighbor lady in her 30's in response to my queries about the necklace she was wearing. This type of necklace is the traditional one worn by Salasaca women. It consists of many strands of beads, the majority of which are plain red

or gold, interspersed with colorful hand painted ceramic
beads. The ceramic beads are called 'Sevillas'. First the
woman describes about her parents buying her the beads
when she was a child (sentences 1-11). Then she begins to
point to individual beads, first telling of their worth
(12-14), then describing the beads one by one (15-38).

[14]Games at a Wake (Funeral Burial) was told to my husband
by a young man who is in his early 20's. This text is the
initial part of his description of what happens during the
entire week of a wake in Salasaca. I have not had time to
transcribe and check the other sections of his recording
so they are not included in this thesis.

[15]Huairu is the term for a carved jawbone of an animal
which functions similarly to a pair of dice for one of the
traditional Salasaca games played during a wake. Based on
the number of pairs of circles which face up after the
bone is tossed, a rank is established for the first
player. Subsequent players either slap the first player
or get slapped by him depending if they throw more or less
pairs of circles.

[16]About Finados was told to me by a mother in her 30's in
response to my query about what children do during

Finados. I include it as my procedural text because of sentences 11-22, in particular. I have not been able to record other procedural texts.

Finados is celebrated on November 2nd to remember dead loved ones. The text begins with the children leading the drunk parents home from the cemetery on the day of Finados. Beginning in sentence 7 the text recounts preparing bread for Finados; bread making begins 1-4 days before Finados. Traditionally each family buys a 50 kilo bag of flour and mixes it up into bread dough. The children help form the bread into various shapes, especially shapes of children or animals. Bread is brought to the cemetery on the day of Finados to share with friends, neighbors, and relatives; enough is left for the family to last several weeks afterward.

17I Greet You All was recorded by a man in his 40's who had served over a year in jail. He recorded this discourse with the intention that my husband and I would bring the tape to Salasaca and play it for the people he knew in Salasaca. It was recorded shortly before Finados so that we could play the tape during the celebrations when people would have more time to listen.

This text is a plea for the Salasaca people to remember him again (since his friends were not visiting

him), to sympathize with his situation (especially the unfairness of him paying the penalty for a community crime), to talk over with him what has happened, and to lend a hand in practical ways, such as facilitating the legal process and pleading for pardon.

Although the text contains some portions in which the train of thought is not yet clear, I have included it because it illustrates hortatory text and certain less commonly used suffixes such as -chari.

[18]Another Salasaca man, M____ C_____, was also in jail for the same legal case that the narrator was accused of. M____ C____'s case of mistaken identity was set straight and he was released after this text was recorded.

APPENDICES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR SQ SUFFIXES

1	1st person	-ni	2.2.2.10
2	2nd person	-ngui	2.2.2.11
3	3rd person	-ø	2.2.2.12
3PL	3rd person PLural	-guna	2.2.2.14
ABL	ABLative	-munda	2.3.2.12
ACC	ACCusative	-da	2.3.2.9
ADVDS	ADVerbializer Different Subject	-qui	2.4.2
ADVSS	ADVerbializer Same Subject	-sha	2.4.1
AFFIR	AFFIRmation	-mi	2.5.3
AG	AGentive	-j/g	2.3.1.1.4
AMONG	AMONG	-pura	2.3.1.2.11
AT	nearby (AT)	-qui	2.3.2.2
BASE	base, i.e. fundamental quality	-siqui	2.3.1.2.7
BEC	BEComes	-ya	2.2.1.1.1
CAU	CAUsative (N)	-chi	2.2.1.1.2
CAUS	CAUSative (V)	-chi	2.2.1.2.2
CERT	CERTain	-ma	2.5.9
CLOSE	follow behind CLOSE	-jichi	2.2.1.2.10
CON	CONditional	-mu	2.2.2.2
DAT	DATive	-mu(n)	2.3.2.11
DEP	DEPrecative	-r(u)cu	2.3.1.2.5
DES	DESiderative	-naya	2.2.1.1.3
DIM	DIMinutive	-hua	2.3.1.2.4
DM	DiMinutive	-cu/gu	2.3.1.2.3
DRS	DReSs (put on clothing)	-lli	2.2.1.1.4
DUB	DUBitative	-chari	2.5.4
EMPH	EMPHatic	-ri	2.5.6
EXCL	EXCLusive	-dij	2.5.1
FEEL	FEELing	-(n)ai	2.3.1.2.9
FUT1s	FUTure, 1st person	-sha	2.2.2.5
FUT1p	FUTure, 1st person plural	-shun	2.2.2.8
FUT2	FUTure, 2nd person	-ngui	2.2.2.6
FUT3	FUTure, 3rd person	-nga	2.2.2.7
HAS	HAS (possesses)	-yuj/g	2.3.1.2.8
HERE	motion to HERE	-mu	2.2.1.2.6
IMP	IMPerative	-i	2.2.2.9
INC	INCeptive	-gri	2.2.1.2.8
INF	INFinitive	-na	2.3.1.1.1
JOIN	JOINed	-ndi	2.3.2.5
JUST	JUST, only	-lla	2.2.1.2.9
LIKE	LIKE, similar	-laya	2.3.1.2.1
LOC	LOCative	-bi	2.3.2.8

MUCH	MUCH	-sapa	2.3.1.2.6
NEAR	NEARby	-nij	2.3.2.6
NEG	NEGative	-chu	2.5.2
NOI	NOIse	-qui	2.2.1.1.5
NOM	NOMinalizer	-i	2.3.1.1.2
ONE	ONE	-shuj	2.3.2.7
PERF	PERFect aspect	-shca	2.2.2.1
PLUR	PLURal, nominal	-guna	2.3.1.2.10
PLV	PLural, Verbal	-chi	2.2.2.13
POL	POLite	-ba	2.2.1.2.7
POSS	POSSessive	-(bu)g	2.3.2.1
PRES	PRESent tense	-n	2.2.2.3
PROG	PROGressive	-gu	2.2.1.2.5
PST	PaST tense	-(r)ga	2.2.2.4
PTCPL	ParTiCiPLe	-shca	2.3.1.1.3
PURDS	PURpose Different Subject	-chun	2.4.4
PURSS	PURpose Same Subject	-ngabuj	2.4.3
RCPR	ReCiPRocal	-nucu	2.2.1.2.4
REFL	REFLexive	-ri	2.2.1.2.3
SIDE	SIDE	-ladu	2.3.2.3
SIM	SIMilar	-shina	2.3.1.2.2
SUR	SURprise	-la	2.5.8
TIL	unTIL ('limitative' by others)	-gama	2.3.2.10
TOO	TOO, also	-(bi)sh	2.5.10
TOP	TOPic	-ga	2.5.7
WITH	WITH, accompaniment	-n	2.3.2.4
WON	WONder	-shi	2.5.5

APPENDIX B
CONJUGATION OF SQ VERB **RI** 'GO'

PRESENT TENSE

rini   ri-n-(n)i
I go   go-PRES-1

ringui   ri-n-(n)gui
You go   go-PRES-2

rin   ri-n-∅
He goes   go-PRES-3

rinchi   ri-n-(n)-chi
We go   go-PRES-1-PLV

ringuichi   ri-n-(n)gui-chi
You (pl) go   go-PRES-2-PLV

rin(guna)   ri-n-∅-(guna)
They go   go-PRES-3-(3PL)

PAST TENSE

rigani   ri-ga-ni
1 went   go-PST-1

rigangui   ri-ga-ngui
You went   go-PST-2

riga   ri-ga-∅
He went   go-PST-3

riganchi   ri-ga-n-chi
We went   go-PST-1-PLV

riganguichi   ri-ga-ngui-chi
You (pl) went   go-PST-2-PLV

riga(guna)   ri-ga-∅-(guna)
They went   go-PST-3-(3PL)

FUTURE TENSE

```
risha                   ri-sha
I will go               go-FUT1s

ringui                  ri-ngui
You will go             go-FUT2

ringa                   ri-nga
He will go              go-FUT3

rishun                  ri-shun
We will go              go-FUT1p

ringuichi               ri-ngui-chi
You (pl) will go        go-FUT2-PLV

ringa(guna)             ri-nga-(guna)
They will go            go-FUT3-(3PL)
```

PRESENT TENSE, PERFECT ASPECT

```
rishcani                ri-shca-n-i
I have gone             go-PERF-PRES-1

rishcan                 ri-shca-n-(n)gui
You have gone           go-PERF-PRES-2

rishca                  ri-shca-∅
He have gone            go-PERF-3

rishcanchi              ri-shca-n-(n)-chi
We have gone            go-PERF-PRES-1-PLV

rishcanguichi           ri-shca-n-gui-chi
You (pl) have gone      go-PERF-PRES-2-PLV

rishca                  ri-shca-∅
They have gone          go-PERF-3
```

PAST TENSE, PERFECTIVE ASPECT

```
rishcagani              ri-shca-ga-ni
I had gone              go-PERF-PST-1

rishcagangui            ri-shca-ga-ngui
You had gone            go-PERF-PST-2

rishcaga                ri-shca-ga-∅
He had gone             go-PERF-PST-3
```

```
rishcaganchi              ri-shca-ga-n-chi
We had gone               go-PERF-PST-1-PLV

rishcaganguichi           ri-shca-ga-ngui-chi
You (pl) had gone         go-PERF-PST-2-PLV

rishcaga                  ri-shca-ga-Ø
They had gone             go-PERF-PST-3
```

FUTURE TENSE, PERFECTIVE ASPECT

```
rishcasha                 ri-shca-sha
I will have gone          go-PERF-FUT1s

rishcangui                ri-shca-ngui
You will have gone        go-PERF-FUT2

rishcanga                 ri-shca-nga
He will have gone         go-PERF-FUT3

rishcashun                ri-shca-shun
We will have gone         go-PERF-FUT1p

rishcanguichi             ri-shca-ngui-chi
You (pl) will have gone   go-PERF-FUT2-PLV

rishcanga                 ri-shca-nga
They will have gone       go-PERF-FUT3
```

PAST TENSE, HABITUAL ASPECT

```
rig gani                  ri-g  0-ga-ni
I used to go              go-AG be-PST-1

rig gangui                ri-g 0-ga-ngui
You used to go            go-AG be-PST-2

rigmi                     ri-g-Ø-Ø-Ø-mi
He used to go             go-AG-(be)-(PST)-(3)-AFFIR

rig ganchi                ri-g 0-ga-n-chi
We used to go             go-AG be-PST-1-PLV

rig ganguichi             ri-g 0-ga-ngui-chi
You (pl) used to go       go-AG be-PST-2-PLV

rigmi                     ri-g-Ø-Ø-Ø-mi
They used to go           go-AG-(be)-(PST)-(3)-AFFIR
```

PRESENT TENSE, PERFECT AND HABITUAL ASPECTS

rig shcani   ri-g 0-shca-ni
I've been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-1

rig shcangui   ri-g 0-shca-ngui
You've been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-2

rig shca   ri-g 0-shca-∅
He's been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-3

rig shcanchi   ri-g 0-shca-n-chi
We've been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-1-PLV

rig shcanguichi   ri-g 0-shca-ngui-chi
You've been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-2-PLV

rig shca   ri-g 0-shca-∅
They've been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-3

PAST TENSE, PERFECT AND HABITUAL ASPECT

rig shcagani   ri-g 0-shca-ga-ni
I'd been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-PST-1

rig shcagangui   ri-g 0-shca-ga-ngui
You'd been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-PST-2

rig shcaga   ri-g 0-shca-ga-∅
He'd been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-PST-3

rig shcaganchi   ri-g 0-shca-ga-n-chi
We'd been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-PST-1-PLV

rig shcaganguichi   ri-g 0-shca-ga-ngui-chi
You'd been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-PST-2-PLV

rig shcaga   ri-g 0-shca-ga-∅
They'd been used to going   go-AG be-PERF-PST-3

PRESENT CONDITIONAL TENSE

rinimu   ri-n-(n)i-mu
I would go   go-PRES-1-COND

ringuimu   ri-n-(n)gui-mu
You would go   go-PRES-2-COND

rinmu   ri-n-∅-mu
He would go   go-PRES-3-COND

```
rinchimu                    ri-n-(n)-chi-mu
We would go                 go-PRES-1-PLV-COND

ringuichimu                 ri-n-(n)gui-chi-mu
You (pl) would go           go-PRES-2-PLV-COND

rinmu                       ri-n-Ø-(guna)-mu
They would go               go-PRES-3-(PL)-COND
```

PAST CONDITIONAL TENSE

```
rimurgani                   ri-mu-rga-ni
I would have gone           go-COND-PST-1

rimurgangui                 ri-mu-rga-ngui
You would have gone         go-COND-PST-2

rimurga                     ri-mu-rga-Ø
He would have gone          go-COND-PST-3

rimurganchi                 ri-mu-rga-n-chi
We would have gone          go-COND-PST-1-PLV

rimurganguichi              ri-mu-rga-ngui-chi
You would have gone         go-COND-PST-2-PLV

rimurga                     ri-mu-rga-Ø
They would have gone        go-COND-PST-3
```

OR

```
rinmumi gani                ri-n-mu-mi ga-n-i
I would have gone           go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-1

rinmumi gangui              ri-n-mu-mi ga-n-gui
You would have gone         go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-2

rinmumi ga                  ri-n-mu-mi ga-Ø
He would have gone          go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-3

rinmumi ganchi              ri-n-mu-mi ga-n-chi
We would have gone          go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-1-PLV

rinmumi ganguichi           ri-n-mu-mi ga-n-gui-chi
You would have gone         go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-2-PLV

rinmumi ga                  ri-n-mu-mi ga-Ø
They would have gone        go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-3
```

APPENDIX C
INDEX BY SUFFIX

This index contains an alphabetical listing of the
suffixes which occur in the interlinear glossed texts of
Chapter 4. For each suffix all locations of that suffix
are cited. The number of the text is cited first,
follwed by   the sentence numbers of
that text in which he suffix appears. For example, the
suffix -la has the citation 1:5, 31, 52. This means that
-la is found in text 1 The Lost Cattle in sentences 5, 31,
and 52.

-∅ 3 (3rd person subject)
        1:1 2 4 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25 28
29 30 31 36 37 38 39 40 41 43 44 45 48 49 53 54 55 56 57
58 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 69 70 71 72; 2:2 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15 16 17 20 21 22 23 24 26 27 28 29 31 32 34 35 36
37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55
56; 3:2 3 4 5a 5 7 8 9 11 12 13c 14b 15 18b 18c 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 27 28 29; 4:1 2 3 6 7 10 11 14 15 18 19;
5:2 3 7 16 20 23 24 25 26 27 28 30 34 35 36; 39 40 41 47
50 51 56 57 58 64 65; 6:2 3 4 5 6 8 11 12 16 21 23 28 30
36 37; 7:2 3a 3b 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12a 12b 14 15 16 17 18
19 20 21 22 24a 24b 25; 8:1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
16 18 19 20 21 22 25b 26 27 28 29; 9:12 25 26 30 31 34 42
45 49 50.

-ba POL
        1:14; 2:19 38; 3:18c; 5:45 49; 9:43 51 69.

-bi LOC
        1:1 6 7 11 19 27 34 41; 2:7 19 20 26 27 37 41 47 48
49 52 55; 3:13a 18c 19 22; 4:3 4 9: 5:1 2 3 5 7 9 10 13 14
21 29 31 33 37 41 43 44 53 54 59 63; 6:18 19 22 28 31; 7:1
4 6 7 11 13a 13 15 17; 8:2 3 6 7 9 11 12 15b 16 17 18 25b
31; 9:3 5 12 14 16 19 23 16 30 31 34 35 38 39 40 41 45 46
47 49 50 55 57 61 62.

-bish TOO
        1:22 34 37 48 63 64 70; 2:11 22 56; 4:2 11; 5:6 22
27 37 40 63 68; 6:20 28 33; 7:3b 12b; 8:23b 30; 9:12 21 24
29 30 32 33 35 38 39 42 43 44 45 46 49 50 52 57 61 63.

-bug POSS
    1:49 69; 2:11 12 13 14 44; 3:9 11; 4:1 4 5 7; 5:10
22 30 36 53 54 58; 6:8 11; 7:12c; 8:20; 9:2 6 10 19 25 26
27 38 53 57 58 66.

-cu DM
    1:16 37 41 43 58 59 60; 2:25 34 37 40 54; 3:19 27;
6:7 15

-chari DUB
    1:59; 2:25; 9:12 15 16 17 18 22 30 41 46 48 59 60
61 65.

-chi CAUS (V)
    1:MT 1 2 12 13 15 16 18 36 42 47 50; 2:MT 17 26 44
45 46 47 48; 3:5b 10a 13a 23; 5:39 48 50; 6:2; 7:2 3a 3b
12b 17 24a 24b; 8:8 18 23a 33; 9:17 18 61 63.

-chi CAU (N)
    2:27; 8:13.

-chi PLV
    1:5 6 9 11 12 15 16 19 20 25 29 36 39 42 46 55 56;
2:50; 4:5 8 9 13 16 17; 5:4 6 11 12 14 15 20 21 24 29 33
34 36 37 38 44 45 48 49 52 53 55 60 61 62 63 64 66 67 68;
6:4; 7:9 24b; 8:15b 17 23b 24 30 31 32 33; 9:8 11 15 20 21
22 24 30 31 32 34 35 37 38 39 42 43 48 49 51 53 54 55 56
57 59 60 63 68 69.

-chu NEG
    1:4 11 14 22 42 56 57; 2:18 38 43 50; 5:34 35 48;
6:29; 8:10; 9:12 14 16 17 19 22 31 36 38 60 62 63.

-chun PURDS
    1:16; 2:21; 5:48; 6:3 10; 8:16 18 23a; 9:4 7 26 28
29.

-da ACC
    1:1 2 5 6 11 12 13 15 16 18 19 21 23 24 25 31 32 36
39 40 43 44 46 48 49 55 63 64 66 68 71 72; 2:MT 1 2 3 5 7
9 10 11 12 13 16 17 18 20 21 26 33 38 44 45 47 49 50 51 52
53 54 56; 3:1 3 5a 5b 6 7 8 9 10a 13a 15 16 18a 20 23 24
26 28 30; 4:6 7 8 14 18; 5:1 4 6 20 22 29 31 32 34 35 36
39 40 41 42 43 45 46 48 49 50 52 53 56 61 68; 6:3 4 6 9 11
13 14 31 33; 7:3b 4 5 12c 13 18 21 22 24b 24c; 8:1 2 8 11
12 15c 16 17 18 19 20 21 23a 24 25a 29 30 32 33; 9:2 3 4 8
12 14 18 19 21 26 31 32 35 36 38 40 43 48 49 50 51 55 58
59 60 63 64 69 70.

-dij EXCL
      1:7 8 14 16 25 27 32 35 44 48 56 63 70; 2:30 41 45;
3:16 18b 19 22 24 25; 5:18 31 59; 6:19 20; 7:25; 9:11 22
26 30 41 44 46 51 52 55 56 60 63 65.

-g AG
      1:1 2 7 13 55 58 60 67 68 71; 2:5 17 20 23 26 43
56; 3:3 4 5a 6 8 9 10b 11 12 14b 16 17; 4:8; 5:1 3 29;
7:13 23 24c 25; 8:25a 28 31; 9:18 20 38 39 40 46 48 61.

-ga TOP
      1:1 2 3 5 6 8 9 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 23 24
25 26 29 31 32 33 34 35 36 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 49
50 52 53 54 56 57 58 59 60 61 63 65 67 72; 2:16 18 19 28
32 34 35 38 40 43 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 53 55; 3:2 3 7 9 10
11 12 13a 13b 14a 15 17 18a 21 22 24 25 27 28; 4:3 4 6 9
10 12 15 17 18 19; 5:15 16 17 18 22 23 25 26 27 32 34 35
36 39 40 42 45 46 54 55 56 58 61 65; 6:15; 7:14; 8:1 4 5 6
7 11 12 15b 21 25a 25b 27 29 31; 9:19 23 26 30 38 43 48 51
52 55 61 62 66.

-gama UNTIL
      1:50; 8:28; 9:45 58 64 67 71.

-gari EMPH
      1:59 66; 2:41.

-gri INC
      2:48.

-gu PROG
      1:7 12 61 70; 2:27 50 51 56; 3:11 12 14a 19; 5:7 8
33 47; 7:6 22; 9:5 12 13 22 65.

-guna PLUR (N)
      1:1 3 5 8 11 13 15 17 21 23 24 27 33 34 36 41 44 46
48 49 55 61 63 68 72; 2:1 17 20 44 47 49 51 52 53 54 56;
3:3 5a 9 11 18a 28; 5:MT 2 13 16 20 22 23 27 28 30 31 32
35 36 40 41 42 43 46 50 53 54 58; 6:MT 1 12 13 15 16 17 21
23 34; 7:3b 10 12b 13 16 21 23 25; 8:1 2 3 5 7 15a 15b 19
20 22 25a 27; 9:1 2 4 7 8 10 11 14 16 18 20 22 23 25 27 28
29 31 32 36 38 39 40 42 46 48 53 56 58 59 61 62 63 66.

-guna 3PL (V)
      1:17 49; 4:10 11; 5:7 39; 7:3a 14 17 18 22 24a 24b
25.

-hua DIM
      1:3 16 44 55; 2:2 37 45; 3:10b 13b 15; 5:31; 6:16;
8:8; 9:8.

-i IMP
        1:15 25 44 55 56; 2:13 33 48; 3:5b 10a 10b 13a 14b
18c; 5:20 24 48; 9:37 51.

-i NOM
        1:5; 2:19; 7:15 16 19 20 21 23; 8:2; 9:19 51 55 57
63.

-jichi CLOSE
        (Not found in these 9 interlinear texts.)

-la SUR
        1:5 31 52.

-ladu SIDE
        2:14 21 22 31.

-laya LIKE
        1:28; 2:40 45; 5:4 5 52; 6:16 18 21 23 25 30 31 33;
7:1; 9:20 42 59.

-lla JUST
        1:7 8 14 15 25 27 32 34 44 56 58 60 63 64; 2:26 41
44 57; 3:7 10a 10b 12 13b 13c 14a 15 16 17 23 24 30; 4:2
20; 5:17 18 37 41 43 54 59 67 69; 6:8, 32; 7:8; 8:20, 25a,
27; 9:5 9 11 21 22 26 38 43 47 48 49 51 52 58 60 64 65 70.

-lli DRS
        (Not found in these 9 interlinear texts.)

-ma CERT
        1:34; 2:25 37 47 56; 5:18 27 28; 6:2 21; 7:12c 14;
8:2 13 18 19 21 22 23b 25a 26; 9:16 30 31 36 38 42 45 57
61 66.

-mi AFFIR
        1:1 3 12 15 18 21 22 37 41 42 54 63 64 68 69 70 71;
2:11 23 56; 3:2 8 13b 13c 19 22 23 30; 4:2 4; 5:7 17 18 27
39 40 41 43 47 54 67; 6:1 18 38; 7:15 24b; 8:9 10 24; 9:3
7 21 22 23 25 26 32 33 34 39 40 42 43 48 49 50 55 56 57 58
62 63 64 66 67 70.

-mu HERE
        1:39 42 48 72; 2:48; 5:25 57; 7:5 21; 8:11 12 23b.

-mu CON
        2:50 56.

-mu DAT
        1:21 23 36 41 44 63; 2:5 6 14 15 22 31 34 35 36 45;
3:19 23 24 28; 4:MT 1 3 5 6 8 12 17 19; 5:12 13 19 23 35
37 42 43 6: 65; 6:3 9; 7:2 13; 8:29; 9:7 16 45 61 66.

-munda ABL
        1:MT 19 29 30 49 64; 2:MT 1 10 13 20 21 27 32 37 39
40 43 45 9 50 54; 3:13a 14a 18a 20 21 22 24 25 27 28;
4:MT 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19; 5:MT 6 8 9 10
11 12 14 15 16 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 30 31 32 33 34
36 37 38 39 40 43 44 45 46 49 51 52 55 56 60 61 62 64;
7:MT 4 7 18 24a; 8:MT 15a 24; 9:1 13 15 23 26 33 36 42 54
57 60.

-n WITH
        1:20 26 64; 2:17 46; 4:4 11 18; 5:18 32 58; 6:15 22
35; 8:12 13 23b; 9:4 6 10 27 48 67.

-n PRES
        1:1 2 4 9 10 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 25
29 30 36 37 38 39 40 42 43 44 45 48 49 53 54 55 56 57 58
60 61 62 63 64 65 68 69 70 71 72; 2:2 4 19 20 21 22 23 25
38 41 45 50 55 56; 3:3 13c 14b 18c 19 22 23; 5:2 7 33 34
35 36 39 43 45 47 49 52 65 67 68; 6:7 10 11 12 13 14 16 21
23 28 30 36; 7:1 2 3a 3b 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12a 12b 14 15
16 17 18 19 20 21 22 24a 24b 25; 8:1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
12 13 14 15b 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23b 24 25b 26 27 30 31
32 33; 9:1 3 4 5 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
27 30 31 32 34 35 36 38 40 42 43 45 47 48 49 50 52 53 54
56 57 58 59 60 62 64 65 67 70.

-na INF
        1:24; 5:67 68; 7:12a 12b 12c 13 24c; 9:11 12 36 39
48 55 63.

-nai FEEL
        1:16 58 60; 2:54; 3:5a 16 20; 5:52; 6:18 19 20 32;
7:25; 8:27 32; 9:32.

-naya DES
        (Not found in these 9 interlinear texts.)

-ndi JOIN
        1:16 21 44; 7:11

-nga FUT3
        1:22 26; 5:43 54 ; 9:7 33 63 65 66.

-ngabuj PURSS
    1:36; 2:28 37 38 49; 3:3 10b; 4:3 12 18; 5:4 5 15
36 39 48 61; 6:; 7:4; 8:17.

-ngui FUT2
    1:5 19 20 25 46; 2:18 50; 9:8 11 22 30 39 42 43 48
49 55 56 57 60 63 68 69.

-ngui 2
    1:6 9 11 14 39 42; 2:38; 9:14 15 16 20 24 27 30 31
32 34 35 48 53 54 59 62.

-ni 1
    1:12 16 21 29 36 68; 2:2 4 19 25; 3:30; 4:5 8 9 12
13 16 17; 5:1 6 8 9 10 11 12 14 15 17 19 21 23 24 29 33 34
36 37 38 43 44 45 49 52 53 55 60 61 62 63 67 68; 6:4 7 9
10 13 14; 7:1 9 20 24b; 8:15b 17 23b 24 30 31 32 33; 9:1 3
4 5 8 12 13 16 17 18 19 21 22 23 31 32 34 36 38 40 43 47
48 49 52 52 56 57 58 60 61 62 64 65 67 70.

-nij NEAR
    (Not found in these 9 interlinear texts.)

-nucu REC
    5:53 55; 7:25; 9:9 10 38 48 63.

-pura AMONG
    9:61 63.

-qui ADVDS
    1:5 15 17 49 50 54; 2:20 34 46 56; 3:13a 14a 15;
4:5; 5:5 9 16 22 24 25 27 29 31 32 34 36 39; 6:2; 7:2 12b
24c; 9:21 33 35 45.

-qui AT
    6:2; 7:22; 8:8 16 31.

-qui NOI
    5:36; 7:25.

-rga PST
    1:6 28 66; 2:2 6 10 12 13 14 15; 3:30; 4:1 2 3 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 19; 5:1 3 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 14
15 16 17 19 20 21 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 34 35 36 36 37
38 40 44 53 55 56 57 58 60 61 62 63 64; 6:2 3 4 5 6 8 9;
9:8 18 34 42 52 61.

-ri REFL
    1:21 23 25 32 33 44 46 46 49 54 61 70 72; 2:7 19 50
51 56; 3:7 8 12 14b 15 21; 5:9 19 21 24 25 29 30 36 37 38

43 52 54 63; 6:3 16; 7:14 20; 8:15c 21 23b 24 25b 29; 9:5
16 21 26 27 34 35 39 46 53 60 63.

-rucu DEP
        1:5 8 17 23 33 34 40 48 51 59; 5:13 41.

-sha FUT1s
        1:23; 2:1; 3:1 5b 10a 13c 14a; 4:15; 8:3 5; 9:41
46.

-sha ADVSS
        1:1 3 5 7 9 12 13 14 16 18 23 24 32 41 42 47 50 56
60 61 67 72; 2:5 8 11 13 17 19 21 25 26 31 36 38 39 45 47
48 51 54 55; 3:4 5b 7 8 10a 10b 11 13b 14a 17 18c 22 23
29; 4:3 6 9 15 16; 5:2 4 5 7 19 20 21 24 25 29 30 34 35 36
37 38 43 44 45 48 49 51 52 53 54 55 56 63 64 65 66; 6:2 6
10; 7:MT 2 3b 5 12b ᴸ4 21 24a 24b 25; 8:2 3 6 7 8 10 12 13
15a 15c 18 20 23a 25a 25b 31 33; 9:5 8 9 10 17 18 20 21 23
24 26 27 28 29 30 32 34 37 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 48 49
51 52 57 60 61 63 64 65.

-shca PERF
        1:2 31 39 41 42 64; 2:6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
17 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 31 32 34 35 36 37 39 40 42
43 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 51 52 53 54 56; 3:2 4 5a 6 7 8 9
11 12 14b 15 18b 19 20 21 23 24 25 26 27 28 29; 4:14 18;
5:34 35 41 50, 51; 6:37; 8:28 29.

-shca PTCPL
        1:MT 8 18 21 23 24 25 27 29 32 33 34 44 46 47 48 49
50 64 70; 2:MT 1 10 13 40 41 45 52; 3:2 15 18a; 4:7 9; 5:4
5 13 17 18 29 31 32 35 39 40 41 42 43 47 52; 6:2 16 32 33
35; 7:1 7 13 16 23 24b 24c; 8:2 15c 21 22 30; 9:4 14 16 19
25 26 31 38 41 42 48.

-shi WON
        1:28 39 41 42 47 57 58; 2:21 37.

-shina SIM
        1:9; 9:27.

-shuj ONE
        5:55; 9:48.

-shun FUT1p
        1:15 18 57; 2:17 44.

-ya BEC
        1:72; 4:5 8; 5:14 26.

-yuj HAS
      2:19 30; 3:5a; 6:18; 8:29; 9:32 56.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY[1]

Athens, O., H. Dufner, A. Jerez J., and M. Lyons, eds.
    1975. **Urdimal Tiempomunda.** Proyecto Piloto de
    Educación Bilingüe. Quito: Instituto Inter Andino
    de Desarrollo.

Black, Andy and Gene Chase. 1J88. **INTR User's Guide.**
    (unpublished manuscript).

Centro de Investigaciones para la Educación Indígena
    (CIEI). 1983. Ñucanchic Llactapac Shimi. 3rd
    ed, Vol. 1. Quito: Universidad Católica.

Catta Q., P. Javier. 1987. **Gramatica del Quichua
    Ecuatoriano.** Quito: Abya Yala.

Cole, Peter. 1985. **Imbabura Quechua.** London: Croom
    Helm Ltd. Publishers.

DICEE. 1981. **Apuntes de Gramatica Quichua.**
    Latacunga, Ecuador: Departamento de Indigenismo de la
    Conferencia Episcopal Ecuatoriana.

Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thomson. 1984. " The
    discourse basis for lexical categories in universal
    grammar." Language. Vol. 60. 703-747.

Muysken, Pieter. 1977. **Syntactic Developments in the
    Verb Phrase of Ecuadorian Quechua.** Dordrecht,
    Holland: Foris Publications.

[1]This bibliography includes all the references cited in
the thesis plus the major works that I am aware of which
have been written about Ecuadorian Quichua. The
bibliography is probably not complete.

Parker, Gary.   1969.   " Comparative Quechua Phonology
    and Grammar I: Classification." **Working Papers in**
    Linguisitics.   1:65-87.   Honolulu: University of
    Hawaii.

Ross, Ellen.   1963.   Introduction to Ecuador Highland
    Quichua. 2nd edition.   Beaver Falls,
    Pennsylvania: Eastvale Reformed Presbyterian Church.

Stark, Louisa.   1973.   **El Quichua de Imbabura:** Una
    Gramática Pedagógica.   Otavalo, Ecuador: Instituto
    Inter Andino de Desarrollo.

Torero, Alfredo.   1964.   " Los Dialectos Quechuas."
    Anales Científicos de la Universidad Agraris.   Vol.
    2.   446-478.   Lima, Peru.

Waskosky, Kristine E.   1991.   The Functions of -Ga in
    Written Salasaca Quichua Folklore.   (unpublished
    manuscript).

Waskosky, Sheldon P.   1990.   **The Phonology of Salasaca**
    Quichua.   Grand Forks, ND: University of North
    Dakota Master's Thesis.

Weber, David J.   1980.   **Comments on the So-Called**
    "Topic" Marker.   (SIL and UCLA manuscript).

Weber, David J.   1983.   **Relativization and Nominalized**
    Clauses in Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua.   Berkeley:
    University of California Press.

Weber, David J., H. Andrew Black, and Stephen R.
    McConnel.   1988.   **AMPLE: A Tool for Exploring**
    Morphology.   Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of
    Linguistics.

Zook, Ken.   1983.   **User's Guide for the INTER.PTP**
    Program.   (unpublished manuscript).