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Affixes of Salasca Quichua with Special Attention to Derivational Affixes Which Attach to Verbs

Kristine E. Waskosky

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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
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

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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.

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Dean of the Graduate School
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Title AFFIXES OF SALASACA QUICHUA WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES WHICH ATTACH TO VERBS

Department Linguistics

Degree Masters of Arts

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Signature Kristine Waskoody

Date July 15, 1992
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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
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.
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
The 'manzanas'

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

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

The surrounding towns

Rosario
Nitón
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 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', 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 less 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.
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.
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, -lIi 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'; 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 embarrassment'
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'ilullu-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'
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) cunu j 'warm' > cunujya 'warm up'
chiri 'cold' > chiriya 'cool off'
yacu 'water' > yacuya 'melt'
mishqui 'sweet' > mishquiya 'ripen' (as with fruit)
irqui 'weak' > irquiyia '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-Ø.
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' > siquiyia 'sink in water'
ucu 'inside' > ucuya 'go inside, go underwater'
uri 'under' > uriyia 'deflate, lower oneself'

(8) 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.
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.
2.2.1.3 -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 naubu-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 'sound 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 tearing 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 something'
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-ø,
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-ø-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 can be added to several verb stems.
22

(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. 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.

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'.

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

  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-∅ 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-∅.
   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-∅.
   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-FUTlp 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-∅.
    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. -Llla does not change the valence of the verb stem.

    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.
    eat-IMP-JUST
    Just eat.

(50) Micu-ba-i-lla.
    eat-POL-IMP-JUST
    Just eat please.
This deverbalative 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 Urdimal Tiempomunda. (Athens et al:32)

(51) Pishta-da ricu-j gente-guna pai-lla-da-mi
cati-jichi-sha ri-cu-shca-∅.
Party-ACC see-AG people-PLUR 3-JUST-ACC-AFFIR
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: -shea '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.
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 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 (I'm glad) you haven't caused (them) to be lost before.

2.2.2.2 -mu(n) (PrE man, UnQ man) 'CONditi0nal'

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 rimimu 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-Ø-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 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) ŕuca uy-a-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) ŕuca caya Quitu-mu ri-sha.
I tomorrow Quito-DAT go-FUT1s
Tomorrow I will go to Quito.

(61) Saqu-i-lla. ŕuca 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.

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.

      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-Ø.
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 passe-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 na 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 -Ø (PrE NIn, UnQ n) '3'

There is no overt suffix for third person singular.

(72) Puñu-n-Ø parti; parti-ga shamu-n-Ø.
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 wanting 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-∅-guna y ubia-n-∅-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINAL STEM</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERB ROOT + DVN</td>
<td>DENOMINATIVE NOMINALIZERS (DNN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>(like) (size)(has/feel) (plur) (just)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-laya -gu -yuj -guna -lla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shca</td>
<td>-shna -hua -nai -pura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-g/j</td>
<td>-rucu -sapa -siqui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMINAL ROOT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-∅.
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 -shea (PrE shqa, UnQ shca) ‘PartiCiPLE’

The participial suffix -shea 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 -11a. 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-Ø '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 -shina also means 'like X' or 'similar to
X'. It is seldom used.
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 not 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'.

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.

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.

¿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-∅.
  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'.

  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) Nuca 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'.

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-Ø.
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-Ø.
Mother-TOP sad-JUST speak-PERF-3
The mother spoke sadly.
(105) Parli-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'
    alii '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-Ø. 
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM. STEM</th>
<th>POSSESSIVE, NEAR, ETC.</th>
<th>CASE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-buj</td>
<td>'POSS'</td>
<td>-bi 'LOC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qui</td>
<td>'AT'</td>
<td>-da 'ACC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ladu</td>
<td>'SIDE'</td>
<td>-gama 'TIL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>'WITH'</td>
<td>-mu 'DAT'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndij</td>
<td>'JOIN'</td>
<td>-manda 'ABL'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nij</td>
<td>'NEAR'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shuj</td>
<td>'ONE'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 -bu/-bug/-j/-g (PrE PaK, UnQ pac) 'POSSessive'

The suffix -bu/-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 precedes 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. nºuca nºuca or nºucaj
2 sg. can cambuj
3 sg. pai paibu
1 pl. nºucuchi nºucuchibuj or nºucuchij
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.
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-FUTls
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 ŋuca (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 ŋahui-yuj huasha-ladu-mu ŋauba-ladu-mu
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-∅.
María-WITH Jose-WITH meet-RCPR-PST-3
Maria 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 synchronically 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).

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).
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.

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

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'.

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-∅ 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-∅-chi.
gorge-ACC-TOO go-PRES-1-PLV
We go through the gorge also.

(130) Na ñan-da ri-n-∅, sino derecho ri-n-∅-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-Ø-chi.
   Ambato-ABL come-PRES-1-PLV
   We have just come (are coming) from Ambato.

(138) Ocho-munda diez-gama tanda-nucu-shca-Ø.
   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 mi:u-shca-munda, chi
   Many child-PLUR-ACC eat-PTCPL-ABL that
   huarmi-da-ga shuj rucu ni-shca-Ø.
   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-Ø 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-FUTls  
If/when someone else cuts the wood, I will cook.

2.4.3 -ngabug/-ngabuj/-ngabu/-ngaug/-ngag/-ngu  
(PrE nqa+Pak, UnQ ncacap) '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 ūuca 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.
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.

What-EXCL be-PRES-2 boss-TOP ask-PERF-3
What are you? -- asked the boss.
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 nucà-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-Unnamed 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-FUTls-NEG this woods-ABL  
I will not send (you) from these woods.

(153) Ni ima maijin na miqu-i pudi-j-chu ca-shca-∅  
Not what which not 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 ūuca cusa-chu ga-shca-∅.  
Not my husband-NEG be-PERF-3  
He was not my husband.

(155) Na ūuca cusa chu-(0)-shca-∅.  
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-∅-chu.  
But 3-PLUR not understand-PST-3-NEG  
But they did not understand.

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

-Chu must always appear on a negative command. These commands are preceded by ama 'don't'.
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.
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-Ø, cai mayu-da talvez shamu-nga-chari.
3-TOP come-INF-AFFIR be-PRES-3 this May-ADV maybe 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
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-V’ ON that ciothes-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 --
i-n-∅-shi.
say-PRES-3-WON
Why is the ditch caving in like that? -- he wonders.

Which clothes-DIM-ACC-TOO give-IMP-JUST --
i-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?
What-ACC do-FUTls-EMPH
(176) N-i-ri!
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)
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) Ōuca-g huañu-g churi mas reza-ba-ngui. I-POSS die-AG son more recite-POL-FUT2 Ōuca-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-PTCPM 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) Ōa chi-guna si yanu-n-∅ Ōa, puzun Now that-PLUR if cook-PRES-3 now intestines llugshi-sha-ma puzun mailla-sha-ma Ōa. 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-∅.
Ajit-WITH mote-CERT make-PRES-3 soup-CERT cook-PRES-3
They make aji 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 librì 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) Na-sh ga-qui alli-mi ga-∅.
Now-TOO be-ADVDS good-AFFIR be-PRES-3
Considering that it is now, he is good.

(193) Chashna-sh causa-gu-sh ga-∅-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'.

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-∅.
I-TOP five-JUST-AFFIR-TOO here think-PST-1
I thought (there were) also just five here.
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-PREF-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 are given below to show the meanings which result from the addition of the 'nominalizing' suffixes described previously. As described above, -shca indicates the result or product of the action, -g indicates the one doing the action, -na indicates the item to which or with which the action will be performed, and -i indicates the process of doing the action or the abstract entity involved in that process.

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

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

   micu
   micushca   'eat'
   micug      'one who has eaten'
   micuna     'eater'
   micui, miqui 'food to eat (present on table)'
   '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] molino-bi limosnero-ga puñu-shca-Ø.  
[throw-PTCPL] mill-LOC beggar-TOP sleep-PERF-3  
The beggar slept in an abandoned mill.

(9) [C'atu-na] tanda jatun precio-da chari-n-Ø.  
[sell-INF] bread 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 equi-deletion, i.e. the subject
of the relative clause is identical (equivalent) with the head nominal and is deleted 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 amu-rcu. mount-PTCPL] white poncho boss-DEP
The old white-poncho'd boss who was seated on a white horse just meets (him), it is said.

That container which is sitting on the ground is my sister's.

(12) [Shamu-na] runa-ga Otavalo-bi trabaja-n-∅. [Come-INF] man-TOP 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 ] granu-da tarbu-n-i.  
all [God give-PTCPL] grain-ACC plant-PRES-1  
I plant all the grains which God has given.

that [man make-INF] house-TOP 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] c'ari.  
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] c'ari.  
That man-AFFIR [Juana love-PTCPL] male  
That indigenous man is the man whom Juana  
loves/loved.

[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 ] caspa-da-mi chai  
[yesterday-EXCL throw-PTCPL] cob-ACC-AFFIR that  
yacu pugyu-munda japi-shca-Ø.  
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 ] runa-ga ſuca churi-mi.  
[Hill-LOC plant-AG] man-TOP 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 pai-ga, ... [gold-ACC take-AG] lustful-EMPH 3-TOP, ...
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 ] huarmi-ga... that [child take-REFL-PTCPL] woman-TOP That woman who carried a baby ...

(22) Chai [papa c'atu-g] huarmi piña-ri-ga-∅. that [potato sell-AG] woman 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).

[throw-PTCPL] mill-LOC beggar-TOP sleep-PERF-3
The beggar slept in an abandoned mill.

(26) [Shita-shca ]-bi limosnero-ga puñu-shca-∅.
[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 object of the sentence (29) and (30); or as the predicate of 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-∅ 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-∅.
[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-ø-chi.
    [weave-NOM-ACC] begin-PRES-1-PLV
    We begin weaving.

    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-IN'-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:
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.

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-Ø.
     [house-ACC make-INF-TOP] hard-AFFIR be-PRFS-3
To build a house is difficult.

(43) [Cai-bi ga-i-ga ] alli-mi ga-n-Ø.
     [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) Nucuchi muna-n-∅-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 rici-chun]
What-ABL [behind-SIDE-ACC not look-PURDS]
ni-n-∅-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
sweep-PURSS ] begin-PERF-3
Her son-in-law began (in order) to sweep the ashes with his tail.
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.

(48) [Nuca chaya-qui-ga ] pai ña ri-shca ga-rga-Ø.
[I arrive-ADVDS-TOP] 3P now go-PTCPL be-P3T-3
When I arrived, he had already gone.

This construction is one of the most commonly occurring 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:

[Thus say-ADVDS-TOP] devil-PLUR-TOP go-PERF-3-3PL
Saying thus, the devils left.

3.2.3.1.2 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 interpreted 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]
     huasí-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.
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 [ña ca 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-Ø 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 huai cu lubu [lazy be-PTCPL-ABL] thus gorge wolf tucu-shca-Ø. 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-Ø. 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').

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) ??Nuca-ga [jatun mara-mun riqu-i ] tucu-n-i.
I-TOP [great child-DAT look-NOM] become-PRES-1

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c}
S & \text{Complement} & \text{Copula}
\end{array} \]

I become seeing-the-youngster.
I am able to see the youngster (and I wasn't able to previously).

(69) ??Nuca-ga [jatun mara-da riqu-i ] tucu-n-i.
I-TOP [great child-ACC look-NOM] become-PRES-1

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c}
S & \text{Complement} & \text{Copula}
\end{array} \]

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-Ø.
corn-TOP [woman look-NOM] become-PRES-3

\[ \begin{array}{c|c|c}
S & \text{Complement} & \text{Copula}
\end{array} \]

*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 migu-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.
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. As the herders were walking and searching, the mean boss beat the your men and said, ‘Give me back my cattle!’ 6. Now, where did you get rid of all the cattle?’

7. The herders were walking around
8. Ishqui chula, gringa go-PROG-AG-JUST-LOC-EXCL two mestizo woman
crying at the foot of Mt. Chimborazo.
8. There, two mestizo women, who were just like white-skinned, red-headed (blond) foreigners, were bathing.

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

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


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

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 herdsmen, 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, űcuchi-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-Ø nin-ga. look-CAUS-FUT1p-JUST-AFFIR say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP

16. 'Yuma-n-Ø-chi' ni-n-Ø 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

17. Yuma-qui-ga ashtan agradisi-n-Ø-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 na huagra-da-ga well now-TOP now cow-ACC-TOP

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

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

a_las_cuatro quinri-da jahua Chuqui p'uygu luma at_4.o'clock about-ACC above Spear spring back

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 huicundo.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-FUTls say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP that ma'am-DEP-PLUR-TOP

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

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. 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,
101

26. Na siñal-un ri-nga' nin-ga but now sign-WITH go-FUT3 RPT-TOP

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

'Jicundu-n.'

huicundo.plant-WITH

27. Cachu-guna-bi jicundu iña-shca-Ø chuscu horn-PLUR-LOC plant grow-PERF-3 four

27. The huicundo plant grew out of the horns in just four nights!


28. What strange times those were!

29. Chi-munda-ga 'Ni-shca uras tuca-n-Ø-chi' that-ABL-TOP say-PTCPL time play-PRES-1-PLV ni-n-Ø nin-ga. 30. Chuqui p'ugyu urcu say-PRES-3 RPT-TOP Spear spring mountain

29. Then the men said, 'We will blow at the said time.'

30. They blew the bugle from the back of the mountain at Spear-spring.

31. Huagra canlla-ga-la back-ABL trumpet-PRES-3 cow herd-TOP-SUR intiru urcu luma-da puri-shca-Ø, nin nin-ga. entire mountain hill-ACC walk-PERF-3 RPT RPT-TOP

31. The entire herd of cattle was walking on the back of the mountain!

32. Chi-ga, cuntintu-lla-dig nin, 'Huagra-da-ga that-TOP happy-JUST-EXCL RPT cow-ACC-TOP

32. Being happy through and through, they said 'Now the women sent us the cattle.'

ña cachá-ri-shca-Ø ni-sha. 33. Al=cabu, ishqui now send-REFL-PERF-3 say-ADVSS finally two

33. Finally the two animals bearing huicundo plants came. 34. The small little calves had simply matured completely into bulls in only

jicundu apa-ri-shca-r-cuna shamu-shca-Ø nin-ga. plant take-REFL-PTCPL-DEP-PLUR come-PERF-3 RPT-TOP

34. Uchinlla billí-r-cuna-ma-sh linshu, rucu turu small calf-DEP-PLUR-CERT-TOO total old bull
tucu-shca-∅-lla  nin-ga  chuscu  tuta-lla-bi.  
become-PERF-3-JUST  RPT-TOP  four  night-JUST-LOC

35. ¡Chi-dig-ca!  
that-EXCL-TOP

36. 'Chaya-n-∅-chi'  ni-n-∅  nin-ga  
arrive-PRES-1-PLV  say-PRES-3  RPT-TOP

'patrun-mun-ga  ricu-chi-ngug  huagra-guna-da-ga,  
boss-DAT-TOP  look-CAUS-PURSS  cow-PLUR-ACC-TOP

36. 'We have come,' they said, 'to show our master all the cattle, the whole herd.
37. The boss also is happy,' they said.

37. Patrun-cu-sh  cuntintu'  ni-n-∅  
all  total  boss-DM-TOO  happy  say-PRES-3

38. '¡Carajo!'  ni-n-∅  nin-ga  '¿Donde  
My.gosh!  say-PRES-3  RPT-TOP  where

traiste?  39. ¡Simijanti  huagra-da  
you.brought  excessive  cow-ACC

rura-mu-shca-n-gui-chi!'  ni-n-∅-shi.  
make-HERE-PERF-PRES-2-PLV  say-PRES-3-WON

39. You've made these into magnificent cattle,' he said with awe.
40. The happy boss took the cattle.

happy  take-PRES-3  cow-ACC  boss-DEP-TOP

41. Chi-ga  'Jahua  urcu-bi-mi  
that-TOP  above  mountain-LOC-AFFIR

41. The men, still awestruck, said to the owner, 'They were wandering above on the mountain, Master.'
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-∅
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

that plant take-REFL-PTCPL-PLUR-ACC-TOP thus-TOP

47. Na chinga-chi-shca-∅' ni-sha-shi cunctintu
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
49. After the boss gave them the huicundo bearing animals, the men left their boss’s house. Those two killed their animals and discovered: Those cattle were solid gold as far as the tips of their hooves.

50. They were completely gold to the end of the horn. ’Wow!, they said with tremendous excitement.

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

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

53. So they became rich.

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

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

56. ’Just come (and help). The cattle do not want to grow,’ he said.
na ri-shun-chu. 58. Taca-g-lla can-gu-i-ga' not go-FUTlp-NEG fight-AG-JUST you-DM-FEEL-TOP

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

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-Ø. say-ADVSS not say-PRES-3

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

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

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

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

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

nin-mi chi Chimburasu-munda cachá-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-Ø nin-ga. 66. Linshu ashtan only become-PRES-3 RPT-TOP total moreover

patrun-da yalli ricu tucu-ga-Ø-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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

68. I am used
to hearing
stories like
that from the
olden days.
69. Our
father’s
stories are
like that.
70. How many
stories are
being lost?
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.

ABOUT THE BEAR
WHO KILLED THE
HUSBAND3

1. I will
start this old
tale from what
my grandmother
told. 2. I know
only a little.
3. My
grandmother
3. Ñuca ahuila ñauba parla-ga-Ø shuj cuento-da. 4. Na my grandma olden talk-PST-3 one story-ACC not
told this story long ago. 4. I don't know the name.

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

5. Shuj cusa trabajo-mun ri-sha puri-g one husband work-DAT go-ADVSS walk-AG
told this story long ago. 4. I don't know the name.

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. T don't know the name.

6. That husband went to work, it's said. 7. The wife stayed at home more than 3 months.

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

8. Coming like that, the husband lived walking around (cheating on his wife).

8. Coming like that, the husband lived walking around (cheating on his wife).

9. Huarmi huasi-bi go-PERF-3 say-PST-3 wife house-LOC

9. The wife checked on her husband.

11. Shuj animal ni-shca micu-shca-Ø ni-ga-Ø. husband-ACC one animal say-PTCPL eat-PERF-3 say-PST-3

11. Then (something) known as an animal ate the husband.

10. Shuj cuento-da. 4. Na my grandma olden talk-PST-3 one story-ACC not
told this story long ago. 4. I don't know the name.

10. Then (something) known as an animal ate the husband.

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

11. Skinning his (the man's) skin, his very flesh, the bear, or whatever kind of animal it was, ate him.

12. Shuj cuento-da. 4. Na my grandma olden talk-PST-3 one story-ACC not
told this story long ago. 4. I don't know the name.

12. Thus (the bear) dressed;
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.'

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.

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.
20. Chi-munda huarmi ŋa pai shina cusa
that-ABL wife now 3P thus husband

changa-bi puñu-qui ricu-n-ŋ nin usa-guna-da
thigh-LOC sleep-ADVDS look-PRES-3 RPT louse-PLUR-ACC

shina ŋaubuj-cuna. 21. 'Ima-munda huasha-ladu-da na
thus front-PLUR what-ABL behind-SIDE-ACC not

ricu-chun ni-n-ŋ-shi' ni-sha ricu-shca-ŋ nin
look-PURDS say-PRES-3-WON say-ADVSS look-PERF-3 RPT

huarmi. 22. 'Chi huasha-ladu-mu-sh ŋahui puñu-shca-ŋ'
wife that behind-SIDE-DAT-TOO face sleep-PERF-3

ni-n-ŋ. 23. Ńaubuj-mi ŋahui puñu-shca-ŋ
say-PRES-3 front-AFFIR face sleep-PERF-3

ni-n-ŋ. 24. 'Chi na ŋuca cusa ga-shca-ŋ.
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-ŋ nin huarmi.
throw-AG go-PERF-3 RPT wife

27. Chi-munda shuj turi huasi-chi-gu-shca-ŋ
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 ūca cusa ga-shca-∅. RPT that wife-TOP not my husband be-PERF-3

30. Manchanai-di, ishqui ūahui-yuj. 31. Huasha-ladu-mu many-EXCL two face-HAS behind-SIDE-DAT

ñaua-ladu-mu ūahui 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

'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

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

shamu-shca-∅ nin ratu-hua-bi ūa tapu-ngu. come-PERF-3 RPT moment-DIM-LOC now ask-PURSS

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.'

35. The woman climbed above to the roof. 36. Putting on pants, putting on a poncho she climbed up.

37. Then that animal, whatever creepy animal it was, came at that moment in order to ask
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-Ø turi-da tapu-n-Ø nin. look-POL-PRES-2 say-PRES-3 brother-ACC ask-PRES-3 RPT

39. Chi-munda-ga 'Na' ni-sha parla-shca-Ø turi. that-ABL-TOP not say-ADVSS talk-PERF-3 brother

40. Chi-munda shina parlu-shca q'uiipa-ga ni-shca-Ø 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

41. Chi-gari jahua-bi shaya-shca' ni-n-Ø that-WH above-LOC stand-PTCPL say-PERF-3

pai-lla-dij. 42. Ricu-shca-Ø nin. 3P-JUST-EXCL look-PERF-3 RPT

43. Chi-munda-ga huarmi-ga ni-shca-Ø nin 'Na ñuca that-ABL-TOP wife-TOP say-PERF-3 RPT not my

usaha-chu 0-shca-Ø. 44. Huañu-chi-shun-lla' husband-NEG be-PERF-3 die-CAUS-FUT1p-JUST

ni-shca-Ø 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

44. Huanu-chi-shun-lla'

45. Chi-da, chi-munda-ga, mashti-shca-mu that-ACC that-ABL-TOP UHMM-PTCPL-DAT

questions.
38. Coming to ask, he said, 'Please, haven't you seen my wife?' he asked the brother. 39. So the brother answered, 'No.'

40. Then after having said thus, that so-called 'husband' said, 'Is that woman not my wife?'
41. Surely that's her seated there up above,' he said to himself.
42. He looked.

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.
cepi-sha amu-hua 'Ima-laya-ti huañu-chi-shca-∅'
brush-ADVSS boss-DIM what-LIKE-EXCL die-CAUS-PERF-3

ni-n-∅. 46. Huañu-chi-qui-ga, nina-n
say-PRES-3 die-CAUS-ADVDS-TOP fire-WITH

rupa-chi-shca-∅ nin shina mushuj huasi tuqui.
get.burned-CAUS-PERF-3 RPT thus new house all

47. Chi mushuj huasi-bi-ga, rupa-chi-sha-ga
that new house-LOC-TOP get.burned-CAUS-ADVSS-TOP

sacu-bi cushtal cushtal nin chi-bi aciniza-ma
sack-LOC bag bag RPT that-LOC ash-CERT

ushpa-guna-da junda-chi-shca-∅ nin quinsa o chuscu
ashes-PLUR-ACC fill-CAUS-PERF-3 RPT three or four

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
that-ABL-TOP go-PERF-3 RPT 3P-PLUR Patate

yacu-bi shitu-ngu ushpa-da. 50. Chi-munda-ga
water-LOC throw-PURSS ashes-ACC that-ABL-TOP

'Pajta pasca(-sha)\(^5\) ri-cu-ngui-chi-mu cai-da-ga
careful open(-ADVSS) go-PROG-FUT2-PLV-CON this-ACC-TOP

ama pasca(-sha) ri-cu-ngui-chi-chu' ni-n-∅.
don't open(-ADVSS) go-PROG-FUT2-PLV-NEG say-PRES-3

51. Chi-ga na uyi-sha, pai-guna ushpa-da
that-TOP not hear-ADVSS 3P-PLUR ashes-ACC

said, as he was sweeping, 'How do you want him killed?'
46. Killing him, they burned (him &)
the entire new house with fire. 47. When they burned the
new house, they filled all the ashes into
large bags, three or four
sacks.
48. Filling them, she said, 'Go and
throw this behind into the
Patate River.'

49. So they went to throw
the ashes in the Patate
River. 50. 'Careful, if
you go opening,
don't open
(the sacks),' she said.
51. The people, not listening
to that, passing by the
ashes, they
opened up the
sacks.
52. After they opened the
sacks, the things in the ashes, the ashes, became fleas, worms and lice. 53. These creatures completely ate the people (our ancestors).

usa tucu-shca-∅ nin. 53. Chi-ga libri paya louse become-PERF-3 RFT that-TOP total old
ginti-guna-da micu-shca-∅ nin. people-PLUR-ACC eat-PERF-3 RPT

54. 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.
that gray rock-ACC talk-FUTIs

2. Chi puzu rumi-ga shuj huarmi ni-shca  
that gray rock-TOP one woman say-PTCPL

- mi-Ø-shca-ga-Ø.  3. Chi huarmi-ga shina  
- AFFIR-be-PERF-PST-3  that woman-TOP thus

huarmi-guna-da trabaja-ngu ri-c-ta chapa-n-Ø nin.  
woman-PLUR-ACC work-PURSS go-AG-ACC guard-PRES-3 RPT

4. Chi trabaja-sha huarmi puri-j-Ø-shca-Ø.  
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-Ø.  5b. 'Nuca chari-sha. Mara-da  
beg-AG be-PERF-3  I have-FUTIs 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-Ø.  7. Chi-ga mara-da  
eat-AG woman be-PERF-3 that-TOP child-ACC

apa-ri-sha, puri-g-llá pai ga-shca-Ø.  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

THE GRAY  
(INTESTINE)  
ROCK

1. I will  
tell about the  
gray rock.

2. That gray  
rock was a  
so-called  
woman.  3. It's  
said that that  
woman cared for  
the children of  
the women who  
got 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.
9. Now that woman used to beg from all the women.

10a. 'Loan me,' she said, (thinking) 'I will trick the child,' 'Just loan me,' she said. 10b. 'Go to work just you (without taking your children), she said. 11. Then all the women who previously had not given to the woman said, 'Here, take it!'

12. That woman carried (the children), saying absolutely nothing. 13a. Then at that moment one mother said, 'Loan me my child.' 13b. The woman responded, 'No, the child is a little sleepy. Just let it be. 13c. I will just keep it,' she said.

14a. Then she said, 'I will not give it';
14a. Chi-munda-ga 'Na cu-sha' nis-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


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


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

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.
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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

thus-ACC I hear-PST-1 that-JUST-AFFIR

30. That's how I heard it; just like that.

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HUASI-MUN RI-SHCA-MUNDA
house-DAT go-PTCPL-ABL

1. Miguelito Anita ñucuchi-g huasi-mun ri-ga-∅.
Mike Anne we-POSS house-DAT go-PST-3

2. Pedro-bish Cristina-bish cachi-ga-∅-lla-mi.
Peter-TOO Kris-TOO send-PST-3-JUST-AFFIR

3. Chi-munda-ga huasi-mun chaya-sha-ga
that-ABL-TOP house-DAT arrive-ADVSS-TOP

caballo-bi sicu-ngu muna-∅ burro-bi.
horse-LOC climb.up-PURSS want-PST-3 donkey-LOC

4. Anita-ga burro-bi; Miguelito caballo-bi ñuca-g
Anne-TOP donkey-LOC Mike horse-LOC I-POSS

turi-n-mi.
brother-WITH-AFFIR

5. Chi-munda tuta-ya-qui ahuila-g huasi-mun
that-ABL night-BEC-ADVDS grandma-POSS house-DAT

5. When it became night, we went to my Grandmother's
6. Then roasting the corn, Grandma offered it to Anne.

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.

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. 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. 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

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.

that-ABL-TOP worship-DAT go-PST-1-PLV

18. Chi-munda-ga mamu-n yayi-n japi-ngu
that-ABL-TOP ^om-WITH daddy-WITH take-PURSS

shamu-shca-Ø Domingo las_dies-da. 19. Chi-munda-ga
come-PERF-3 Sunday 10.o’clock-ACC that-ABL-TOP

pues shamu-ga-Ø huasi-mun. 20. Chi-lla.
well come-PST-3 house-DAT that-JUST

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THE THIEVES

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-Ø’ 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

mi-ga-Ø. 4. ‘Jacu-chi’ ni-sha ‘ricsi-ngu
say-PST-3 C’mon-PLV say-ADVSS meet-PURSS

ima-laya -Ø-shca-da. 5. Cai-bi puri-qui
what-LIKE be-PTCPL-ACC this-LOC walk-ADVDS
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-∅-guna-mi ni-ga-∅ 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

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

that-LOC I car-ABL under-BEC-PST-1-PLV

15. Chai-bi huca auto-munda uri-ya-ga-n-chi.
that-LOC I car-ABL under-BEC-PST-1-PLV

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

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

mancha-chashna-Ø-shca-ga, sino_que
not-DUB thus-be-PTCPL-TOP but.not

taugua-lla-dij, taugua shuj batallion
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

'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

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.
ricu-qui policia-guna placada punta-ga, look-ADVDS police-PLUR lic.plate-ACC point-TOP

auto placada, 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

'Ña' 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-ADVSS


siqui-ya-ga-∅ auto. 27. Chi-munda ri-qui-sh bottom-BEC-PST-3 car that-ABL go-ADVSS-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

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. Chi-munda say-PTCPL-ACC beat-AG-ACC that-ABL

30. Then the people, greatly fearing, jumped away dispersing (going like mist). 

31. Chi-munda uni-hua-bi go-ADVSS jump-PST-3 that-ABL awhile-DIM-LOC

31. Then in a little while we saw that they washed their eyes a lot in water. 

32. Chi-munda-ga bayeta-guna-n wash-PTCPL-PLUR that-ABL-TOP shawl-PLUR-WITH

32. They brushed their eyes with their shawls, (because) their eyes burned. 

33. Chai-munda tiya-gu-n-0-chi chi-bi, that-ABL exist-PROG-PRES-1-PLV that-LOC

33. Then we were still staying there in that same place. 

34. Chi-munda-ga teniente that place-LOC that-ABL-TOP leader

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-∅' ni-sha. 35. Chi-ga ni-ga-∅ ‘Ña-chu go-PERF-3 say-ADVSS that-TOP say-PST-3 now-NEG

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.

ri-shca-∅' ni-sha ni-n∅ 'Apuri-shca' ni-sha, go-PERF-3 say-ADVSS say-PRES-3 hurry-PTCPL say-ADVSS

'Jambato sic-mu' ni-ga∅. '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

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.

ginti ni-sha ri-ga∅ 'Ri-n∅-chi' ni-sha people say-ADVSS go-PST-3 go-PRES-1-PLV say-ADVSS

'chai shuhua-guna-j huasi-da p'a-qui-shta-ngag.' that thief-PLUR-POSS house-ACC knock-NOI-ALOT-PURSS

Chi-munda ŋucuchi mancha-r-sh tiya-rga-n-chi that-ABL we fear-REFL-ADVSS exist-PST-1-PLV

Chai-munda ŋucuchi mancha-r-sh tiya-rga-n-chi that-ABL we fear-REFL-ADVSS exist-PST-1-PLV

37. Chai-munda ŋucuchi tiya-ga-n-chi mai-mu-sh that-ABL we be-PST-1-PLV where-DAT-TOO

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.

na cuyu-ri-sha, auto uculla-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

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.

39. Chi-munda uni-da tiya-qui-ga shamu-shca-ga that-ABL while-ACC be-ADVDS-TOP come-PTCPL-TOP

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.

cai Juanchu parlu-ngu shamu-shca-ga ña libri this John talk-PURSS come-PTCPL-TOP now total

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.
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).

44. Then being there we started home.

45. Following
45. Chi-munda-ga pasa-hua-n-∅-chi  ŋan-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 ŋan ichca-shca-mi
man-PLUR it's path close-PTCPL-AFFIR
0-gu-n-∅, 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 ŋan-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-∅-chi.
look-POL-PRES-1-PLV

50. Huasi-da libri urma-chi-shca-∅ libri
house-ACC total fall-CAUS-PERF-3 total
teja-guna libri ŋutusca-guna. 51. Chi-munda libri
tile-PLUR total crushed-PLUR that-ABL total
p'utsi-munda-shca-∅ achpa p'ajta-sh.
straw-ABL-BEEN-3S earth be.enough-ADVSS

52. Chi-munda ŋucuchi mancha-ri-sha ricu-sha
that-ABL we fear-REFL-ADVSS look-ADVSS
shamu-n-∅-chi, 'Ima-laya llaqui-nai-da huasi-da
come-PRES-1-PLV what-LIKE sad-FEEL-ACC house-ACC

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!'
rura-shca' ni-sha. 53. Chi-da auto ucu-bi
make-PTCPL say-ADVSS that-ACC car room-LOC
car talking about their sadness,

parla-nucu-sha shamu-rga-n-chi, pai-guna-j
talk-RCPR-ADVSS come-PST-1-PLV 3P-PLUR-POSS

54. and that now some policemen rising up against the
indigenous people, will simply put them in jail.

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

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?

55. Chi-munda-ga shina ni-sha parla-nucu-sha
that-ABL-TOP thus say-ADVSS talk-RCPR-ADVSS

chaj-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-∅. 57. Mana apa-mu-ga-∅. 58. Pai-guna-ga
come-PST-3 not take-HERE-PST-3 3P-PLUR-TOP

chaqui-n shamu-ga-∅. 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
came home.

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-∅ 'Jacu-chi' ni-sha. 65. ña come-ADVSS say-PST-3 C'mon-PLV say-ADVSS now
policia libri-ga libri-mun ri-n-∅' 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-∅-chi. 68. Na mancha-na cu-n-∅-chi, be-PRES-1-PLV not fear-INF give-PRES-1-PLV

nima-da-sh.' 69. Shina-lla. none-ACC-TOO thus-JUST

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SEVILLA HUACHCA-GUNA bead necklace-PLUR

1. Cai huachca-guna, colores huachca-guna-mi. this necklace-PLUR color necklace-PLUR-AFFIR

THE SEVILLA BEAD NECKLACE

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
   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
   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
   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-PST-3 month-ACC have-PRES-3
   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. A foreign-
   er, we called
   'gringo', came
   here to sell.
   5. During that
   time, one neck-
   lace bead cost
   three to five
   sucre.
   6. Buying them,
   mother gave
   them to me.
   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-Ø. 13. Shina-guna-da this-PLUR more value-PRES-3 thus-PLUR-ACC
muna-n-i, shina-guna. 14. Yalli sevilla-da muna-n-i. want-PRES-1 thus-PLUR more bead-ACC want-PRES-1 want more beads.

15. Cai Sevilla-ga quillu color-un, azul-un, this bead-TOP yellow color-WITH blue-WITH
ricu-ri-n-Ø. look-REFL-PRES-3

17. Cai culur-guna puca, yuruj, quillu, cafe. this color-PLUR red white yellow brown

18. Sisa-laya-mi, cai-bi estrella-laya, cai-bi flower-LIKE-AFFIR this-LOC star-LIKE this-LOC
sisa-i-yuj, cai-bi shuj luzero-laya. 19. Cai-bi flower-FEEL-HAS this-LOC one star-LIKE this-LOC
shina-i-dig. thus-FEEL-EXCL

20. Cai-bish shina-i-dij. 21. Sisa-guna, luziru-ma this-TOO thus-FEEL-EXCL flower-PLUR star-CERT
indi-laya-guna-ma tiya-n-Ø. sun-LIKE-PLUR-CERT exist-PRES-3

22. Cai quillu, asha virdi-n, asha puca-n, this yellow bit green-WITH bit red-WITH

12. These are worth a lot. 13. I like these or these. 14. I want more beads.
15. This bead has yellow, blue, red and white. 16. It appears like drawings (designs).
17. This one has red, white, yellow, and brown. 18. This is like a flower, here like a star, here like a sort of star. 19. Here it's like that.
20. This one is also like that. 21. There are flowers, stars, and sun-like objects.
22. This one is yellow with a bit of green
cuadrado cai-bi.
square this-LOC

23. Cai caramelo-laya, caramelo, rayadu-guna
this candy-LIKE candy line-PLUR
tiya-n-Ø, puca, asul, virdi, cafe tiya-n-Ø.
exist-PRES-3 red blue green brown exist-PRES-3

24. Caramelo diseño cai.
candy design this

this bottle bottle-LIKE this bottle
huachca.
necklace

27. Yuruj quillu cai, yuruj quillu huachca.
white yellow this white yellow necklace

28. Cai-bi shuj puntu-sh tiya-n-Ø, 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-Ø.
one ball-TH-LIKE thus exist-PRES-3

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

and a bit of red; here is a square.

23. This one is like a candy; there are lines; there is red, blue, green, and brown. 24. This is a candy design.

25. This is a bottle, it’s like a bottle. 26. It’s a bottle bead.

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. 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 ṇauba chini c'uru, ṇauba 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

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-∅. this heart necklace green call-PRES-3

36. This is a heart bead, it's called green.

37. Cai paila mama cu-shca-∅. 38. ṇauba paila cai this pan mom give-PERF-3 olden pan this
paila-mi. pan-AFFIR

37. This pan. It's an old-style pan; this is a 'paila'.

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VELORIO-BI PUGLL-I-GUNA-MUNDA
wake-LOC play-NOM-PLUR-ABL

1. ḇuca 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
2. Primero p'unlla huañu-qui saqui-n-∅
First day die-ADVDS leave-PRES-3

huasha-mun llugshi-chi-sha. 3a. Chi qu'ipa
leave-CAUS-ADVSS hat after

arma-chi-n-∅-guna y chi qu'ipa
bathe-CAUS-PRES-3-3PL and that after

chura-chi-n-∅; 3b. mushug churana o ima
get.dressed-CAUS-PRES-3 new clothes or what

laya-sh alli churana-guna-da chura-chi-sha
like-TOO good clothing-PLUR-ACC get.dressed-CAUS-ADVSS

saqui-n-∅.
leave-PRES-3

4. Chi-munda p'unlla-bi ſha atua-da randi-ngu
that-ABL day-LOC now casket-ACC buy-PURSS

ri-n-∅. 5. Chi qu'ipa atua randi-sh qu'ipa,
go-PRES-3 that after casket buy-ADVSS after

funeraria tuqui-da contrata-mu-sha ſha chura-n-∅
mortuary all-ACC contract-HERE-ADVSS now put-PRES-3

ſha. 6. Chi atua-bi chura-n-∅, chi-bi ſha
now that casket-LOC get.dressed-PRES-3 that-LOC now

velari-gu-n-∅. 7. Chi-munda huañu-shca p'unlla-bi
mourn-PROG-PRES-3 that-ABL die-PTCPL day-LOC

na-rig velorio ga-n-∅.
not-YET wake be-PRES-3

Salasaca.

2. On the first day when someone dies, they take (the body) out (of the house), leaving it behind (the house). 3a. After that they bathe it and after that they dress it; 3b. they leave it, dressing it in new clothing or whatever good clothing.
8. They spend that day and night like that. 9. We sleep (that night); they do not sleep (at) a wake.

10. People come little by little. 11. The next afternoon, that's when the wake is.

12a. Now that (next) day they have to offer food; 12b. now the family has to kill, whether there is a cow, whether there is a pig, they kill it;

12c. now they have to put (prepare) the hominy, make the hot sauce & cook the broth, for the afternoon, for the wake.

13. Now at the wake, the family or the male in-laws have to give 'huairu' to the people, to the drinking people. 14. Now they spend all night playing 'huairu' and they drink.
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-Ø-guna y now huairu-CERT play-ADVSS hide-REFL-PRES-3-3PL and ubia-n-Ø-guna.
imbibe-PRES-3-3PL

15. Tuqui laya pugll-i tiya-n-Ø-mi all like play-NOM exist-PRES-3-AFFIR velorio-bi. 16. Taugua pugll-i-guna tiya-n-Ø: 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-Ø-guna shug pushtu-bi. 18. Y chi follow-CAUS-PRES-3-3PL one place-LOC and that

jahua-da huasi jahua-munda salta-n-Ø-guna. 19. Chi above-ACC house above-ABL jump-PRES-3-3PL that

ga-n-Ø y shug pugll-i ga-n-Ø, mashti.dicu-n-Ø. 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-Ø. 21. Y shug pugll-i ga-n-Ø exist-PRES-3 and one play-NOM be-PRES-3


vueltas-cu-n-Ø-guna huasi-qui-da. 23. Chi-gunc y return-PROG-PRES-3-3PL house-AT-ACC that-PLUR and
pugll-i-guna taugua tiya-g ga-shca-∅.
play-NOM-PLUR alot exist-AG be-PERF-3

24a. Chi-munda masti-n-∅-guna, shina puglla-sha ña
that-ABL UHMM-PRES-3-3FL thus play-ADVSS now

pugllu-sh tucu-chi-sha, mañu-n-∅-guna
play-ADVSS finish-CAUS-ADVSS beg-PRES-3-3PL

24b. 'Pugllu-sh tucu-chi-n-∅-chi-mi' ni-sha,
play-ADVSS happen-CAUS-PRES-1-PLV-AFFIR say-ADVSS

mañu-n-∅-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-∅. 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-∅-guna.
hand slap-NOI-RCPR-ADVSS play-PRES-3-3PL

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\text{r’INADOS-MUNDA}
\text{r’inados-ABL}

1. Finados-da mara-guna-ga na ima-da
Finados-ACC child-PLUR-TOP not what-ACC

rura-n-∅. 2. Cati-shca ri-sha shina
make-PRES-3 follow-PTCPL go-ADVSS thus

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\text{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

shinga-da aisa-sha, huasi-bi saqui-sha puri-n-Ø, drunk-ACC drag-ADVSS house-LOC leave-ADVSS walk-PRES-3

huauq-i, huaqu-i mara-guna. 3. Shinga-guna 'Na cry-NOM cry-NOM child-PLUR drunk-PLUR not

shamu-sh' ni-sha siri-n-Ø pantiun-bi. come-FUTls say-ADVSS remain-PRES-3 cemetary-LOC

4. Puñu-n-Ø parti; parti-ga shamu-n-Ø. sleep-PRES-3 some some-TOP come-PRES-3


shamu-sh' ni-sha, chi pushtu-bi puñu-n-Ø. come-FUTls 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

rura-sha shina. 8. Muti-qui yanta sati-sha, make-ADVSS thus hominy-AT wood insert-ADVSS


9. Ayuda-n-Ø-mi cai huasi-bi. help-PRES-3-AFFIR this house-LOC

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

watch the ones who come after and drag the drunk parents, leaving them at the house; the children walk, really crying. 3. The drunks stay at the cemetery saying, 'I will not come.' 4. Some sleep; some come. 5. The children say, 'C'mon.' 6. The ones who say, 'I will not come' sleep right there (in that place).
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-Ø '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-Ø
child-CERT dove-CERT thus some-PLUR make-PRES-3

llama-ma-da rura-n-Ø. 20. Chi-guna-da mara
llama-CERT-ACC make-PRES-3 that-PLUR-ACC child

cushi-lla japi-n-Ø 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-Ø. 22. Marca-shca shamu-n-Ø, jatun
come-PRES-3 in.arm-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-Ø-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

floour-ABL two bag-ACC-AFFIR take-REFL-PRES-1-PLV

then one gives bit by bit
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
merre. 24. From
50 kilos of
flour, we carry
home two bags
full.

23a. 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 ſu. 26. Ishqui semana-ma,
50.kilo finish-REFL-PRES-3 now two week-CERT

quilla-ma, tucu-ri-n-Ø ſu. 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

ravine-ACC-TOO carry-PTCL 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 yaru-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

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 ‘his
reason, we make
a lot of bread.
1. Buenos días. 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
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
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-n-ga
Kristine-WITH 3P-PLUR-AFFIR this tape-ACC take-FUT3
8. Can-guna-da ni-sha ni-rga-ni 'Cai you-PLUR-ACC say-ADVSS want-PST-1 this

finados-da alli cuilla-hua-da pasa-ngui-chi' Finados-ACC good pretty-DIM-ACC pass-FUT2-PLV

ni-sha. 9. Ama p'iña-nucu-sha-lla; ama say-ADVSS don't angry-RCPR-ADVSS-JUST don't

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

can-guna-lla-di ña ima laya puri-na-da-sh chai you-PLUR-JUST-EXCL now what like walk-INF-ACC-TOO that

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-Ø-chari o na-cha know-PRES-1-NEG party exist-PRES-3-DUB or not-DUB

tiya-gu-n-Ø. exist-PROG-PRES-3

13. Chi-munda ñuca cai-munda ni-gu-n-i. that-ABL I this-ABL say-PROG-PRES-1

14. Can-guna ña yacha-n-gui-chi ñuca cai carcel-bi you-PLUR now know-PRES-2-PLV my this prison-LOC

you all to hear.

8. I wanted to say to you all, 'Have a very nice Finados this (time).

9. Don't be angry with each other; don't just fight,

10. meeting with your people (i.e. relatives); drinking and eating.'

11. You yourselves do not know how things will happen (lit: pass), how it will proceed there (lit: on that side) on Finados.

12. HMMM, I do not know if there is a fiesta or if there isn't.

13. Therefore I am speaking about this.

14. You all do not know about what it's like
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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

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


na shina ga-shca-da yuya-n-i-chu. not thus be-PTCPI-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-ADVSS not hear-ADVSS

ni-qui-sh, cai-da rima-ri-sha, cai-da
want-ADVDS-TOO this-ACC discuss-REFL-ADVSS this-ACC

ni-sha cacha-n-i-lla-mi 'Cai finados-da
say-ADVSS send-PRES-1-JUST-AFFIR this Finados-ACC

cuilla-da pasa-ngui-chi' ni-sha 'Alli
pretty-ACC pass-FUT2-PLV say-ADVSS good

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-chi;
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

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. Si talvez rura-sh ni-sha, rura-n-gui-chi; na
if maybe do-ADVSS want-ADVSS do-PRES-2-PLV not

rura-sh ni-sha-sh, mana.
do-ADVSS want-ADVSS-TOO not

25. Cai ginti ñuca-j ricsi-shca-guna-mi
this people I-POSS meet-PTCPL-PLUR-AFFIR

ni-n-Ø, 26. masti ni-sha 'Cai problema-munda cai
say-PRES-3 UHMM say-ADVSS thi' problem-ABL this

want to hear or not, discussing this, I just
send this (message), saying, 'Have a
nice Finados,' saying, 'Spend
it well.'

22. The fiestas
are taking
place, maybe
not, I do not
know, I say
just that.

23. Therefore
I beg you all
while I live
here in jail.

24. If maybe
you all are
wanting to do
(something to
help me), do
(it); if you
are not wanting
to do
(anything),
don't.

25. These
people, my
acquaintances,
speak
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 sala-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-Ø
amnesty-ACC beg-PURDS say-ADVSS-AFFIR say-PRES-3

ña-ca-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

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, ſa ima-dij
want-ADVSS-TOP not want-ADVSS-TOP now what-EXCL

rura-n-gui-chi ſa cai-bi saqui-ngui-chi-chari.
do-PRES-2-PLV now this-LOC leave-FUT2-PLV-DUB

'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. 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
whatever (i.e. a nobody) here and maybe being lost here.

chinga-sha-cha ri-n-i ŋa.
lost-ADVSS-DUB go-PRES-1 now

31. Shina laya ga-n-ŋ, can-guna-da ŋuca
thus like be-PRES-3 you-PLUR-ACC I

ricu-n-i ŋa na sinti-n-gui-chi-chu ŋa, ŋuca
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 ŋa. 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
gu-n-gui-chi.
be-PRES-2-PLV

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 yaya-ri-n-gui-chi shina
that-LOC-AFFIR think-REFL-PRES-2-PLV thus

shina-mi ga-rga-ndi-sha, shina shina na ima
thus-AFFIR be-PST-3 say-ADVSS thus thus not what

rura-rga-n-chi ni-sha. 35. Talvez chi-bi ūa 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-ri-n-gui-chi.
repent-REFL-PRES-2-PLV

36. Chi-munda ni-n-i na can-guna-da na
that-ABL say-PRES-1 not you-PLUR-ACC not

manda-na-ma chari-n-i-chu. 37. Cashna rur-i-chi,
order-INF-CERT have-PRES-1-NEG thus do-IMP-PLV

chashna 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 ūa ūucuchi-j ni-n-Ø-chi na-chu ūa asha
which now we-POSS say-PRES-1-PLV not-NEG now bit

vivu tucu-shca-lla ūa asha yachu-g-lla ūa,
clever become-PTCPL-JUST now bit know-AG-JUST now

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. 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


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-l-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-FUTls-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


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


47. ųuca-lla ima daña ųuca-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
ni-ni  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  ŋuca pensi-shca-da  ŋuca
talk-RCPR-FUT2-PLV-DUB  my think-PTCPL-ACC my

yuyi-shca-da.
think-PTCPL-ACC

49. Chi-lla-da-mi  ni-sha  ni-ni
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-∅  cai
say-ADVSS this-LOC now moment exist-PRES-3 this

M___C____-bish. 50. Cai M___C____-sh  naï pichca
M___C____-TOO  this M___C____-TOO now five

quilla yalli-da-mi  cai-bi ga-n-∅. 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-ni  naï 'Ima-ti rura-na'  ni-sha.
say-PRES-1 now what-EXCL do-INF say-ADVSS


58. Chai-lla-da-mi ni-n-i, shuj ratu-gama that-JUST-ACC-AFFIR say-PRES-1 one moment-TIL
59. No se can-guna 1-POSS friend-PLUR not friend-PLUR 1.dunno you-PLUR not-friends.

59. I don't know how you all might be thinking.

60. Talvez what-LIKE-ACC think-PRES-2-FLV-DUB maybe

60. Maybe because of that, I say, 'You do not think that, maybe you do not feel that.'


61. I thought of not doing anything to you if you maybe would not do anything, but (with the situation) being thus among indigenous people, maybe I have gone among you bothering somehow or obstructing or making you hate.

62. Pero ha na cunun-ga chi-bi puri-n-i-chu, but now not now-TOP that-LOC walk-PRES-1-NEG

62. But nowadays I do not wander around there; now you all forget. 63. But maybe if you want to help get me out or you want to help in

ni-sha.
say-ADVSS

shina-sh ŋa runa-pura-ga ŋa chi runa-pura-bi ŋa thus-ADVSS now man-AMONG-TOP now that man-AMONG-LOC now
culera-chi-sha, estorba-sha-ma, ima-sh hate-CAUS-ADVSS obstruct-ADVSS-CERT what-TOO

molesta-sha-ma talvez puri-j-chu ri-ga-ni.
bother-ADVSS-CERT maybe walk-AG-DUB go-PST-1

63. Pero si now forget-PRES-2-PLV-AFFIR you-PLUR but i'

63. But maybe if you want to help get me out or you want to help in

talvez ŋuca llujshi-ch-i muna-sha-ga ayuda-sh maybe I leave-CAUS-NOM want-ADVSS-TOP help-ADVSS

Nguca-j amigu-guna na amigu-guna. 59. No se can-guna 1-POSS friend-PLUR not friend-PLUR 1.dunno you-PLUR
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

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

ni-sha ni-n-i. 65. Chi-lla-di builta, builta
say-ADVSS want-PRES-1 that-JUST-EXCL return return

ni-gu-n-i-lla, pero talvez intindi-nga-chari
say-PROG-PRES-1-JUST but maybe understand-FUT3-DUB

ni-sha.
say-ADVSS

65. Cai caset-ta-mi can-guna-mun yacha-chi-nga
   this tape-ACC-AFFIR you-PLUR-DAT know-CAUS-FUT3

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

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.

64. Well, 'Until later', I want to say just that.

65. Returning to the same point, I am saying just that, but maybe someone will understand.

66. Mr. Peter Waskosky will play this cassette for you; maybe on Finados or on a fiesta day he will go to our area.
ladu-mu ri-nge.
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
Chapter 1

1 The orthography used in this thesis is based on the Spanish orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Sound Represented</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca</td>
<td>ka</td>
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<tr>
<td>co</td>
<td>ko</td>
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<td>cu</td>
<td>ku</td>
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<td>qui</td>
<td>ki</td>
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<td>que</td>
<td>ke</td>
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<tr>
<td>hu</td>
<td>w</td>
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<tr>
<td>p'</td>
<td>aspirated bilabial stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qu'</td>
<td>aspirated velar stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>voiceless palatal stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>voiceless dental affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>voiceless palatal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll</td>
<td>voiced palatal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>velar fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>palatal nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>dental flap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/. Usually I have written /g/ before a voiced segment and /j/ before a voiceless segment, but which symbol is used doesn't
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

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 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.

*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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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).

The path went by the thieves' house which had been felled.

The narrator switches here to an earlier point in time.

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).

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.

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.

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.

I 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.
APPENDIX A

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  DEPreceptive -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

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>NEAR</td>
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<td>PERFect aspect</td>
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<td>PLURal, nominal</td>
<td>2.3.1.2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLV</td>
<td>PLural, Verbal</td>
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<td>POLite</td>
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<td>PartiCiPLE</td>
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<td>PURDS</td>
<td>PURpose Different Subject</td>
<td>2.4.4</td>
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<td>PURpose Same Subject</td>
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<td>RCPR</td>
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<td>SIMilar</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUR</td>
<td>SURprise</td>
<td>2.5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIL</td>
<td>unTIL ('limitative' by others)</td>
<td>2.3.2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOO</td>
<td>TOO, also</td>
<td>2.5.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>TOPic</td>
<td>2.5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WITH</td>
<td>WITH, accompaniment</td>
<td>2.3.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WON</td>
<td>WONder</td>
<td>2.5.5</td>
</tr>
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</table>
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-Ø               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-Ø-(guna)        They go
            go-PRES-3-(3PL)

PAST TENSE

rigani     ri-ga-ni             I went
            go-PST-1

rigangui   ri-ga-ngui           You went
            go-PST-2

riga       ri-ga-Ø              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-Ø-(guna)       They went
            go-PST-3-(3PL)
FUTURE TENSE

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<thead>
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<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>risha</td>
<td>I will go</td>
<td>go-FUT1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ringui</td>
<td>You will go</td>
<td>go-FUT2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ringa</td>
<td>He will go</td>
<td>go-FUT3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rishun</td>
<td>We will go</td>
<td>go-FUT1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ringuichi</td>
<td>You (pl) will go</td>
<td>go-FUT2-PLV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ringa(guna)</td>
<td>They will go</td>
<td>go-FUT3-(3PL)</td>
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</table>

PRESENT TENSE, PERFECT ASPECT

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<th>Verb</th>
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<td>I have gone</td>
<td>go-PERF-PRES-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rishcar</td>
<td>You have gone</td>
<td>go-PERF-PRES-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rishca</td>
<td>He have gone</td>
<td>go-PERF-3</td>
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<tr>
<td>rishcanchi</td>
<td>We have gone</td>
<td>go-PERF-PRES-1-PLV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rishcanguichi</td>
<td>You (pl) have gone</td>
<td>go-PERF-PRES-2-PLV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rishca</td>
<td>They have gone</td>
<td>go-PERF-3</td>
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</table>

PAST TENSE, PERFECTIVE ASPECT

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<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>rishcagani</td>
<td>I had gone</td>
<td>go-PERF-PST-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rishcagangui</td>
<td>You had gone</td>
<td>go-PERF-PST-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rishcaga</td>
<td>He had gone</td>
<td>go-PERF-PST-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rishcaganchi
We had gone
ri-shca-ga-n-chi
go-PERF-PST-1-PLV

rishcaganguichi
You (pl) had gone
ri-shca-ga-ngui-chi
go-PERF-PST-2-PLV

rishcaga
They had gone
ri-shca-ga-∅
go-PERF-PST-3

FUTURE TENSE, PERFECTIVE ASPECT

rishcashasha
I will have gone
ri-shca-sha
go-PERF-FUT1s

rishcangui
You will have gone
ri-shca-ngui
go-PERF-FUT2

rishcanga
He will have gone
ri-shca-nga
go-PERF-FUT3

rishcashun
We will have gone
ri-shca-shun
go-PERF-FUT1p

rishcanguichi
You (pl) will have gone
ri-shca-ngui-chi
go-PERF-FUT2-PLV

rishcanga
They will have gone
ri-shca-nga
go-PERF-FUT3

PAST TENSE, HABITUAL ASPECT

rig gani
I used to go
ri-g 0-ga-ni
go-AG be-PST-1

rig gangui
You used to go
ri-g 0-ga-ngui
go-AG be-PST-2

rigmi
He used to go
ri-g-∅-∅-∅-mi
go-AG-(be)-(PST)-(3)-AFFIR

rig ganchi
We used to go
ri-g 0-ga-n-chi
go-AG be-PST-1-PLV

rig ganguichi
You (pl) used to go
ri-g 0-ga-ngui-chi
go-AG be-PST-2-PLV

rigmi
They used to go
ri-g-∅-∅-∅-mi
go-AG-(be)-(PST)-(3)-AFFIR
PRESENT TENSE, PERFECT AND HABITUAL ASPECTS

rig shcani  I've been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-ni  go-AG be-PERF-1
rig shcangui  You've been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-ngui  go-AG be-PERF-2
rig shca  He's been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-0  go-AG be-PERF-3
rig shcanchi  We've been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-n-chi  go-AG be-PERF-1-PLV
rig shcanguichi  You've been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-ngui-chi  go-AG be-PERF-2-PLV
rig shca  They've been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-0  go-AG be-PERF-3

PAST TENSE, PERFECT AND HABITUAL ASPECT

rig shcagani  I'd been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-ga-ni  go-AG be-PERF-PST-1
rig shcagangui  You'd been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-ga-ngui  go-AG be-PERF-PST-2
rig shcaga  He'd been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-ga-0  go-AG be-PERF-PST-3
rig shcaganchi  We'd been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-ga-n-chi  go-AG be-PERF-PST-1-PLV
rig shcaganguichi  You'd been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-ga-ngui-chi  go-AG be-PERF-PST-2-PLV
rig shcaga  They'd been used to going  ri-g 0-shca-ga-0  go-AG be-PERF-PST-3

PRESENT CONDITIONAL TENSE

rinimu  I would go  ri-n-(n)i-mu  go-PRES-1-COND
ringuimu  You would go  ri-n-(n)gui-mu  go-PRES-2-COND
rinmu  He would go  ri-n-Ø-mu  go-PRES-3-COND
rinchimu
We would go
ri-n-(n)-chi-mu
go-PRES-1-PLV-COND

ringuichimu
You (pl) would go
ri-n-(n)gui-chi-mu
go-PRES-2-PLV-COND

rinmu
They would go
ri-n-Ø-(guna)-mu
go-PRES-3-(PL)-COND

PAST CONDITIONAL TENSE

rimurgani
I would have gone
ri-mu-rga-ni
go-COND-PST-1

rimurgangui
You would have gone
ri-mu-rga-ngui
go-COND-PST-2

rimurga
He would have gone
ri-mu-rga-Ø
go-COND-PST-3

rimurganchi
We would have gone
ri-mu-rga-n-chi
go-COND-PST-1-PLV

rimurganguichi
You would have gone
ri-mu-rga-ngui-chi
go-COND-PST-2-PLV

rimurga
They would have gone
ri-mu-rga-Ø
go-COND-PST-3

OR

rinmumi gani
I would have gone
ri-n-mu-mi ga-n-i
go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-1

rinmumi gangui
You would have gone
ri-n-mu-mi ga-n-gui
go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-2

rinmumi ga
He would have gone
ri-n-mu-mi ga-Ø
go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-3

rinmumi ganchi
We would have gone
ri-n-mu-mi ga-n-chi
go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-1-PLV

rinmumi ganguichi
You would have gone
ri-n-mu-mi ga-n-gui-chi
go-PRES-COND-AFFIR be-PRES-2-PLV

rinmumi ga
They would have gone
ri-n-mu-mi ga-Ø
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, followed by the sentence numbers of that text in which the 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.

-Ø 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 6 7 8 9 11 12 13c 14b 15 18b 18c 19 20 21
  22 23 24 25 26 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 38 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: 5 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

-cu DM
  1:16 37 41 43 58 59 60; 2:25 34 37 40 54; 3:19 27; 6:7 15

-chari DUB

-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

-čiu 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 15 17 19 22 31 36 38 60 62 63.

-chun PURDS

-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 84 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;
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;

-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 4e 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
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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.


